

出國報告（出國類別：考察）

參訪立陶宛、拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞
黨產處理及轉型正義相關機構
及人員

服務機關：不當黨產處理委員會

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姓名職稱：吳晉安聘任研究員

派赴國家：立陶宛、拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞

出國期間：113年9月26日至同年10月10日

報告日期：113年1月10日

摘要

立法院前於民國（下同）105 年 7 月 25 日通過政黨及其附隨組織不當取得財產處理條例（下稱黨產條例），並經總統於 105 年 8 月 10 日公布。不當黨產處理委員會（下稱本會）因此於 105 年 8 月 31 日起依據黨產條例成立運作迄今。但因為不當黨產之追討為我國近年來推動轉型正義之嘗試，為參考其他國家類似法規制定與實際作法，因此本會此次規劃前往立陶宛、拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞等波羅的海國家，考察其黨產處理及轉型正義相關法制與運作，希望作為本會未來業務規劃與執行之參考。

立陶宛、拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞之轉型正義與黨產處理經驗，主要係對二次世界大戰前後納粹統治與共黨統治的檢討，這三國在歷史上遭到納粹德國與前蘇聯的反復佔領，除了國內民眾受到迫害外，更遭到大規模關押至集中營與流放，因此三國皆在恢復獨立及民主化後，積極推動轉型正義與黨產處理，因而都累積了不少的處理經驗，這三國的轉型正義及黨產處理之相關法制與運作經驗，應該都有值得本會參考借鏡之處。

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壹、目的

立法院係於 105 年 7 月 25 日通過黨產條例，並經總統於 105 年 8 月 10 日公布，本會於 105 年 8 月 31 日依據黨產條例成立運作迄今。

本會成立之後，為確實執行全民所託之轉型正義、政黨公平競爭之任務，即積極依黨產條例進行各項調查工作、舉辦多場聽證及學術研討會，並作成多項行政處分。

本會自成立運作迄今(114)年 1 月初，已逐年陸續作成黨產處字第 105001 號至 105005 號處分；黨產處字第 106001 號處分；黨產處字第 107001 號至 107007 號處分；黨產處字第 108001 號至 108003 號處分；黨產處字第 109001 號處分；黨產處字第 110001 號至 110002 號處分；黨產處字第 111001 號至 111002 號處分；黨產處字第 112001 號處分，共計 22 號處分。

截至 114 年 1 月，本會運作業已超過八年，除了已累積一些黨產調查及處理之行政及司法經驗，為了進一步精進業務，參考其他國家推動轉型正義與黨產處理業務之經驗，規劃前往立陶宛、拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞三國，就轉型正義及黨產處理的相關法規規劃與執行經驗進行國際交流，俾作為本會後續業務運作之參考，亦期望藉此國際參訪行動，強化我國與歐洲各國，就轉型正義及黨產處理議題之互動與交流。

貳、過程

一、本會行程介紹及說明

本會至立陶宛、拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞參訪行程表

日期	時間	行程
9月26日(週四)	晚間	從桃園機場搭機赴維也納。
9月27日(週五)	早上	抵達維也納機場。
	中午	從維也納轉機至立陶宛維爾紐斯機場。
	下午	抵達立陶宛維爾紐斯機場。
	晚上	下榻 Novotel Vilnius Centre 飯店。
9月28日(週六)	中午	拜會立陶宛國會友臺小組主席馬瑪竇議員 (Matas Maldeikis)。
	晚上	下榻 Novotel Vilnius Centre 飯店。
9月29日(週日)	上午	參觀猶太歷史博物館 VILNIAUS GAONO ŽYDŲ ISTORIJOS MUZIEJUS (Vilna Gaon Museum of Jewish History -Litvak Museum)。
	下午	整理後續拜會、參訪行程所需相關資料。
9月30日(週一)	上午	與種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心 Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos tyrimo centras (The Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania) GRD 主任 Kristina Burinskait 博士會談，並參觀佔領與自由奮戰博物館 Okupacijų ir laisvės kovų muziejus (Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights)。
	中午	駐立陶宛王雪虹大使午宴，宴請訪團及立陶宛國會友台小組 Matas Maldeikis 議員。
	下午	參訪立陶宛國家美術館 Lithuanian National Gallery of Art 所藏有關立陶宛歷史與轉型正義相關展品，館長 Arūnas Gelūnas 博士導覽。

10月1日(週二)	上午	拜會立陶宛特殊檔案局 Lithuanian Special Archives (LYA)。
	下午	從立陶宛維爾紐斯塔長程客運至拉脫維亞里加。
	晚餐	駐拉脫維亞李憲章大使宴請訪團。
	晚上	下榻 Radisson Blu Elizabete Hotel 飯店。
10月2日(週三)	上午	參訪佔領歷史博物館 Latvijas Okkupācijas muzejs (Occupation Museum of Latvia, LOMB)。
	下午	參觀拉脫維亞前 KGB 展覽館。
10月3日(週四)	上午	拜會拉脫維亞國際透明組織(Sabiedrība par atklātību – Delna / Transparency International LATVIA, TI LATVIA) ，就轉型正義議題進行會談。
	中午	駐拉脫維亞李憲章大使宴請訪團，就拉脫維亞政情與雙邊關係進行餐敘。
10月4日(週五)	上午	參觀拉脫維亞歷史博物館(Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation)。
	晚上	下榻 Radisson Blu Elizabete Hotel 飯店。
10月5日(週六)	上午	從拉脫維亞里加搭長程客運至愛沙尼亞塔林。
	下午	參訪佔領與自由展覽館 Vabamu Museum of Occupations and Freedom 。
	晚上	下榻 Radisson Collection Hotel 飯店。
10月6日(週日)	上午	參觀自由廣場與獨立戰爭紀念碑。
	下午	整理後續拜會、參訪行程所需相關資料。
10月7日(週一)	10:00	拜會歷史記憶院 Eesti Mälu Instituut (Estonian Institute of Historical Memory) 。
	14:00	拜會愛沙尼亞人權組織 Estonian Institute of Human Rights 。
10月8日(週二)	上午	拜會愛沙尼亞國家檔案局 The National Archives of Estonia 。
	下午	參觀前 KGB 展覽館。
	晚上	應駐拉脫維亞李憲章大使邀請，出席於愛沙尼亞舉辦之國慶酒會。

	晚上	下榻 Mercure Tallinn 飯店。
10月9日(週三)	早上	從愛沙尼亞塔林機場轉機至赫爾辛基機場。
	上午	從赫爾辛基機場轉機至維也納機場。
	下午	從維也納機場搭機返回桃園。
10月10日(週四)	下午	抵達桃園機場。

就上述各行程中，經本會整理行程、參訪單位資訊，及會談紀錄等成果，就轉型正義、黨產處理機構、展覽館之參訪成果，將以文字搭配照片方式摘要敘述說明，並檢附相關資料於附件。

二、拜會立陶宛轉型正義、黨產處理機構、展覽館及相關人士，及相關會談

說明：關於立陶宛的政治史與民主化過程，扼要說明如下表。

年份	事件
1918 年 2 月	立陶宛宣布獨立
1940 年	蘇聯佔領波羅的海三國後，進行「六月大流放」(June deportation)
1941 年	納粹德國入侵，對立陶宛猶太人進行大規模屠殺
1944 年	二次大戰期間先後被蘇聯和納粹德國佔領，後蘇聯併吞立陶宛
1989 年 8 月 23 日	波羅的海自由之鏈示威(Baltic Way)，200 萬人手牽手組成一個長度超過 675 公里的人鏈，穿越波羅的海三國，宣示獨立的決心。
1990 年 3 月 11 日	立陶宛首先宣布脫離蘇聯獨立
1991 年 1 月	蘇聯試圖在立陶宛發動政變失敗
1991 年 9 月 6 日	蘇聯承認立陶宛獨立
1992 年 10 月 25 日	公投通過憲法
1992 年 11 月 2 日	行憲
1993 年	俄羅斯部隊完全撤出立陶宛
2004 年	立陶宛加入北約及歐盟
2015 年	立陶宛加入歐元區

(一) 拜會立陶宛國會友臺小組主席馬瑪竇議員 (Matas Maldeikis)，並與其會談

Matas Maldeikis 是立陶宛國會(Seimas)議員，黨籍為家園聯盟—立陶宛基督教民主黨(Homeland Union – Lithuanian Christian Democrat)，係自 2020 年開始當選國會議員。(補充說明：Matas Maldeikis 已於 2024 年國會選舉中連任議員)他是立陶宛國會友臺小組主席，自 2021 年迄 2024 年底曾兩度訪問臺灣。此次黨產會出訪立陶宛，與 Matas Maldeikis 議員進行會談。

會談內容除了臺灣與立陶宛的關係之外，亦提及俄羅斯與中國相關議題。Matas Maldeikis 議員對於臺灣與立陶宛兩國之歷史淵源、立陶宛社會的對俄及對中態度、立陶宛轉型正義與歷史記憶相關工作等議題，都分享他的見解。議員並表示對於黨產會此次訪問立陶宛十分樂見，關於轉型正義與歷史記憶議題，議員表示立陶宛主要負責的單位是種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心，也樂見本會此次前往拜會，並推薦參觀立陶宛佔領與自由奮戰博物館。



[本會林峯正主任委員與立陶宛國會友臺小組主席馬瑪竇議員（Matas Maldeikis）(左)合影。]

以下是就立陶宛與臺灣轉型正義及黨產處理相關議題座談之紀錄整理：

Matas Maldeikis 議員表示，歡迎本會訪問立陶宛，並概略說明立陶宛國會當中之政黨體系。他表示，各政黨可以大概區分為保守派、自由派、反對派。而由於立陶宛國會選舉採取政黨比例代表制，因此有些政黨會採取較為批判的立場，來吸引選民注意，並且獲得選票。各個政黨之間的競爭很激烈，國會選舉的結果大多難以預測。選舉之後，各政黨間會組成執政聯盟。他表示，由於內閣需要處理各種不同的政策議題，所以會希望能夠成功組建穩定的執政聯盟。

議員表示，立陶宛目前依法已經不能成立共產黨，但容許社會主義政黨的運作，現在有社會民主政黨，但是因為之前蘇聯統治歷史的影響，多數選民仍然會將他們視為親俄羅斯的政黨，對他們抱持保留的態度。在立陶宛民眾當中，他認為大約有 85% 的民眾，希望立陶宛政府對俄羅斯和中國採取堅定抗拒的立場。對年輕民眾來說，這段佔領的歷史比較遙遠，但是因為目前俄羅斯和中國的問題，年輕世代基本上也和老一輩一樣有類似的抗拒態度。立陶宛的年輕世代關心譬如人權、環境、同性戀權利、媒體自由等議題，但是中國在這些議題上，好像都恰好站在對立面。

議員表示，對於理解立陶宛轉型正義議題的處理，也可以從立陶宛的近代歷史來切入。立陶宛被帝俄統治之後，到 1918 年才成功獨立，但是不久到 1940 年被蘇聯佔領，1941 年夏季納粹德國入侵蘇聯後被佔領，但是 1942 年左右蘇聯反攻納粹德國之後，再度佔領立陶宛，此後一直到 1990 年冷戰結束期間才從蘇聯統治中恢復獨立狀態。因此他認為，立陶宛上述反復被納粹德國與蘇聯佔領的歷史，是立陶宛，甚至也可說是拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞的主要歷史課題，也是轉型正義的重要歷史背景。

欲理解立陶宛社會如何看待及處理轉型正義議題，議員認為，可以參考相關機構與展覽館的業務，譬如種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心，已經有許多歷史學家參與各項研究，目的是讓民眾對這個議題有更多的了解。

議員表示，在轉型正義議題中，立陶宛的猶太人是一個課題。因為立陶宛社會中有許多猶太人，維爾紐斯曾經被稱為北邊的耶路撒冷城。但是在納粹德國佔領時期，許多猶太人受到迫害或被帶去集中營，這個議題對立陶宛來說不容易處理。在二戰大戰之前，原本這些猶太人已經被視為社會的一份子，但是納粹德國佔領之後，部分立陶宛人為了要對抗蘇聯，選擇和納粹德國合作。可以說當時立陶宛被卡在納粹德國和蘇聯中間，面對艱難的處境。令人遺憾的，很多公民和猶太人受害。據統計，立陶宛的猶太人在二戰時期有高達 95% 的人被殺害。

關於一般民眾受蘇聯迫害或被流放的問題，議員表示，他自己家族的長輩也有被蘇聯流放到西伯利亞，許多立陶宛人家裡面都有長輩有類似的經驗，因此歷史記憶的保存工作很重要。他認為這是一個跨世代應該關注的議題。

關於蘇聯統治時期民眾的土地和財產被強制國有化的問題，議員表示，在恢復獨立和民主化之後，政府試圖進行返還，有成立負責處理的單位，民眾可以提出相關證明文件向政府申請，政府經過調查之後可以讓民眾取回財產，或是領取補償。另外關於猶太人補償的問題，因為涉及俄羅斯過去的迫害行為，因此立陶宛也向俄羅斯政府表示他們應該要負責，但是迄今俄羅斯沒有表示出願意負責的態度。至於在立陶宛這邊對猶太人的補償工作，議員認為大致應該已經結束，但由於猶太人受害者太多，仍然有一些個案難以直接進行補償，所以是將補償交由猶太社區自行分配處理。

議員也關心臺灣民主化及轉型正義的推展，以及黨產會的運作情形。訪團向議員簡介了臺灣民主化的歷程，以及為何在 2016 年後開始推動轉型正義的原因，特別是黨產會成立的歷史原因、法律依據、面臨的課題以及實際運作的情形，議員也了解到臺灣過去在黨國威權統治時期結束後，進入民主時代但遺留

待處理的不當黨產問題。議員表示，前蘇聯統治時期立陶宛也有附庸的共產黨，但在民主化之後已依法被解散，當然也就不得合法持有財產。

訪團除了與議員討論兩國轉型正義與政黨不當黨產的議題，也提及後來私有化的處理。議員表示，在立陶宛結束集體化經濟之後，政府有對民眾發放股份作為財產被國有化的補償。不過整體來說在私有化過程中，仍出現部分前政府官員取得不平等優勢的情形。

另外，關於轉型正義當中檔案與人事的議題，議員表示，立陶宛民主化之後曾經討論過人事淨化以及公開檔案的問題，但是因為一些前蘇聯的安全檔案與監控檔案被帶回俄羅斯，所以立陶宛掌握的檔案資料的完整性可能有問題，造成進行完整調查與檢視的困難性，再加上俄羅斯也確實會用他們手上的資料，操縱個案的討論，因此在公開檔案的議題上，立陶宛認為應該謹慎以對，避免受到俄羅斯的影響和操縱，擔心政治情勢和社會穩定會受到俄羅斯的干擾。

最後關於納粹德國和蘇聯統治時期留下來的政治標誌，恢復獨立及民主化之後，也明確的規定公開場合不可以出現，紀念標誌和雕像也已經被處理完畢。

(二) 參觀猶太歷史博物館 VILNIAUS GAONO ŽYDŲ ISTORIJOS MUZIEJUS (Vilna Gaon Museum of Jewish History -Litvak Museum)

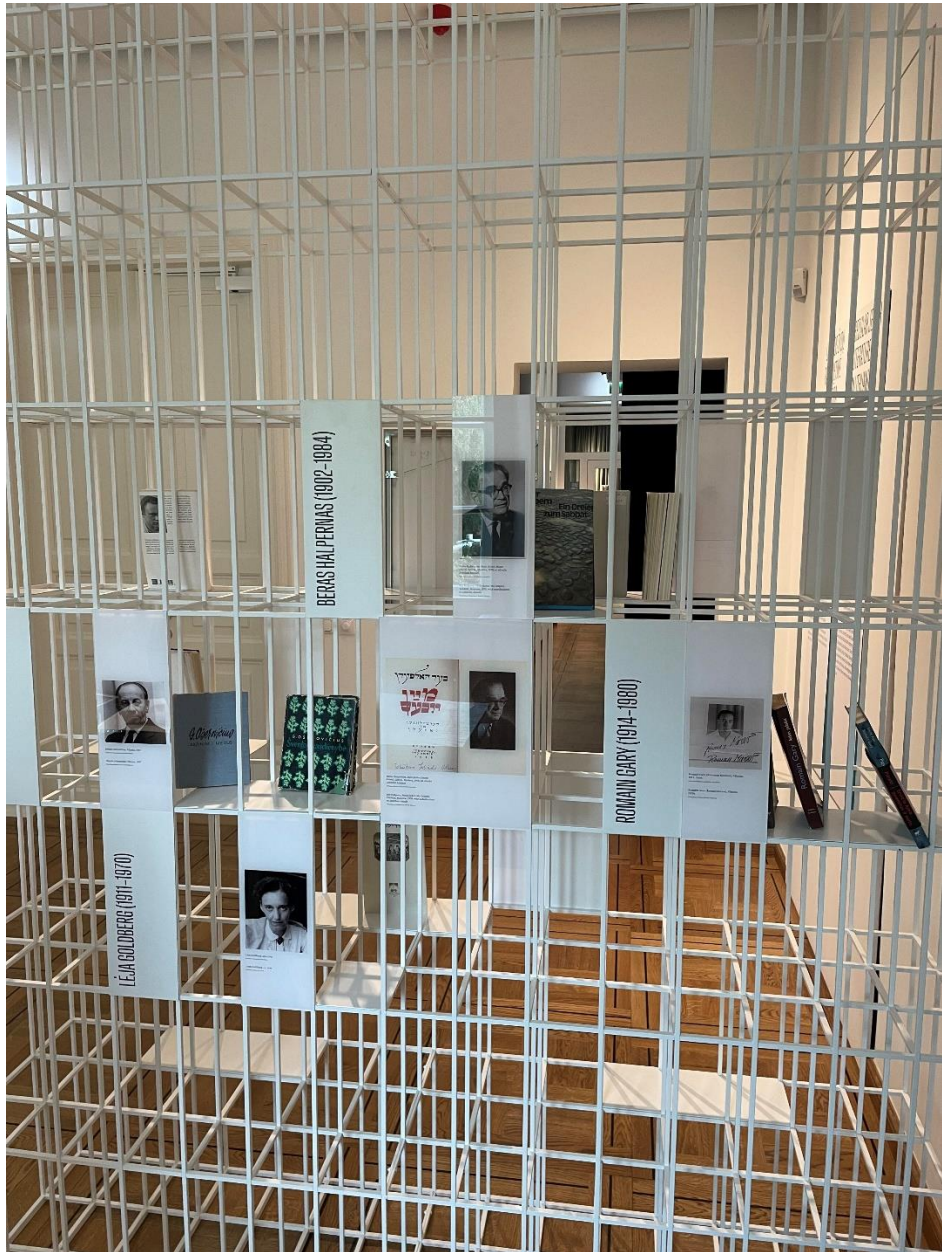
猶太歷史博物館(Vilna Gaon Museum of Jewish History)致力於立陶宛猶太社群文物的保存與推廣，在二次大戰前，猶太人社群已經開始有文物的收藏機構與計畫，但是在二次大戰期間，由於納粹德國對猶太人大規模的迫害，使得猶太社群遭遇艱難處境，但是猶太人仍努力保存各類文物與文化。猶太歷史博物館及其收藏品，截至 2019 年時已有 30 年的歷史。從他們的文物保存及展覽，可看出立陶宛猶太人社群對於保存及發展其自身文化的努力。(猶太歷史博物館網站：<https://www.jmuseum.lt/en/>)



[二次大戰期間，納粹德國佔領立陶宛維爾紐斯，並設立猶太人隔離區。照片為目前街道旁展示的當時隔離區地圖及說明，照片地點過去曾為隔離區入口。]



[猶太歷史博物館(Vilna Gaon Museum of Jewish History -Litvak Museum)入口。]



[猶太歷史博物館收藏的猶太作者作品。]



[猶太歷史博物館收藏的猶太藝術家作品。]

(三) 與種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心 Lietuvos gyventojų genocide ir rezistencijos tyrimo centras (The Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania) GRTD 主任 Kristina Burinskait 博士會談，並參觀佔領與自由奮戰博物館 Okupacijų ir laisvės kovų muziejus (Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights)

種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心、佔領與自由奮戰展覽館是立陶宛關於轉型正義與歷史記憶議題主要的處理機構。種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心此次係由研究部門主任 (Head of genocide and resistance research department, GRTD) Kristina Burinskait 博士與訪團會談，會談後並親自導覽佔領與自由奮戰展覽館，說明館中所藏檔案文物。

種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心係依據立陶宛法律而成立，由政府提供經費支持，其主任之任命須由總理提名經國會通過。其前身 State Residents Genocide Centre of Lithuania (VLGGTC)係於 1992 年 10 月 29 日由國會決議成立。1997 年 2 月時，為了由單一組織統籌負責相關轉型正義與歷史記憶業務，促使政府經費有效運用，該中心併入了 Centre for the Research of Repression in Lithuania 以及 Lithuanian Museum of Genocide Victims 兩個單位。

自該中心成立之初，曾由歷史學家或蘇聯統治時期之政治異議人士擔任主任。該中心主要任務，包括對過往極權統治時期人道犯行的檢討、對人權鬥士及異議

人士的紀念、對過去極權政府遺留檔案進行研究、對政府未來繼續推動轉型正義與歷史記憶相關政策提出建議等，任務與活動相當多元（種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心網址：<https://www.genocid.lt/centras/en/>）。

在會談中，訪團介紹了臺灣推動轉型正義與處理不當黨產的進展，Kristina Burinskait 博士對於臺灣推動轉型正義與追討不當黨產表示關注，並說明該中心的業務與未來推動方向，以及立陶宛因為過去歷史過程遺留下來的課題。蘇聯、納粹德國大規模迫害立陶宛民眾，而且許多人被流放，其中也包括猶太人被迫害的問題。因此該中心很重視利用各種檔案資料進行歷史研究，希望讓各個世代的民眾都能對這些歷史有更深入的了解。這一點可以從該中心的佔領與自由奮戰展覽館，豐富的展出內容及史料文物可以看出。

關於立陶宛佔領與自由奮戰展覽館 Okupacijų ir laisvės kovų muziejus (Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fights)，其坐落在位於立陶宛的前蘇聯 KGB 大樓中，在空間上除了豐富的展出內容與歷史說明之外，並妥善保存了關押的空間，供國內外民眾參觀。類似這樣一站式的展覽館，館藏豐富且解說清楚，有助於參觀民眾對這段歷史有深入的理解。（佔領與自由奮戰展覽館網址：<https://www.genocid.lt/muziejus/en/>）



[本會林峯正主任委員與種族滅絕與抵抗研究中心研究部門主任(Head of genocide and resistance research department, GRTD) Kristina Burinskait 博士(左)合影。]



[佔領與自由奮戰博物館所藏納粹德國設置猶太隔離區當時的照片。]



[前蘇聯對立陶宛人進行大流放，圖中的白色標記為流放地點，遍及蘇聯各偏遠地區。部分立陶宛人最後未能返回家園，迄今下落不明。]



[1991 年立陶宛宣布獨立後，親蘇聯人士發動政變，當時的民眾勇敢的在街道架起壁壘，阻止政變車輛前進。]



[1991 年立陶宛宣布獨立後，親蘇聯人士發動政變，當時的民眾勇敢的以肉身抵擋戰車前進。當時有數十人傷亡。]

以下是就立陶宛與臺灣轉型正義及黨產處理相關議題座談之紀錄整理：

Kristina Burinskait 博士表示，歡迎訪團此次訪問立陶宛及該中心，並樂意分享立陶宛關於轉型正義與不當黨產的處理。訪團向 Kristina Burinskait 博士說明臺灣民主化歷史及轉型正義的相關工作，特別是黨產會的任務、組成與運作，並且說明截至 2024 年 10 月不當黨產業務的進度。

Kristina Burinskait 博士表示，該中心係一功能性的組織，主要進行歷史研究，並且建立納粹德國與蘇聯統治時期的受害者的資料庫，其中也包括在蘇聯統治時期，社會當中和極權政府機構合作的人士的資料。該中心另外一個業務主軸是歷史研究的進行與研究成果的推廣，將研究的成果以教育題材的方式呈現，希望能讓社會不同的人群有機會可以接觸這些材料，深化對這段歷史的理解，希望讓民眾更重視民主化的成果。

關於歷史教育的做法，該中心的重點業務包括經營管理展覽館，教材的研發與推廣、和民間社團交流、至各級學校巡迴展覽等。該中心出版了一些相關歷史記憶主題的出版品，由於館藏檔案文件相當豐富，也會和學術研究工作者合作，就各主題進行調查研究。

Kristina Burinskait 博士表示，該中心另一個業務是探尋過去在納粹德國和蘇聯統治時期的受害者，因為迄今仍有許多人尚未被找到。因此希望藉由檔案資料的研究可以找到這些人的蛛絲馬跡，民眾也很支持這些工作。除了現有的檔案文物，他們也會和相關的見證者來一起尋找。在這個議題上，該中心也會和其他政府機構一起合作。

關於受害者補償的部分，博士表示立陶宛在恢復獨立及民主化之後，對於當時國內反抗蘇聯統治的受害者和政治犯，已進行補償及回復名譽的工作。就這一點，訪團也向她表示，臺灣也有在推動這類工作，已有明確的進展。

就紀念的部份，該中心會去特別紀念 1991 年，因為該年對於立陶宛擺脫蘇聯統治恢復獨立，以及走向民主化是關鍵的一年。除了會紀念在蘇聯統治時期的異議人士和政治犯之外，由於 1991 年時親蘇聯勢力曾試圖發動政變，當時有一些民眾站出來奮勇抵抗，也會特別紀念他們，會在國內各個適當的地點設立紀念碑。在一些過去人物的歷史研究上，有時會面臨複雜的歷史解釋問題，也會影響對於特定人物的定位。譬如說有些個案，曾是反俄組織的人士，但是卻曾參與納粹德國統治時期政府機關的工作，該中心對這些情況會和歷史學者進行研究。

Kristina Burinskait 博士表示，立陶宛社會對於過去納粹德國與蘇聯統治時期的歷史，一直都在進行反思，但是因為蘇聯和納粹反復佔領的歷史過程，使得史料的整理及對一些人與事的定位，可能面臨一些難題。該中心認為，希望去了解各個人物各自歷史的複雜性，在蘇聯極權統治的背景下，去探討和理解當時人的作法與選擇。

關於納粹德國佔領時期迫害猶太人的問題，根據史料確實有一些立陶宛人，為了要對抗蘇聯，考慮是否要聯合納粹德國，而當時納粹德國也利用這一點，誘使一些立陶宛人誤以為和納粹合作對恢復立陶宛獨立有幫助。因此進行歷史記憶的研究，也是要去揭露納粹或是蘇聯當時對立陶宛說的謊言，並且呈現立陶宛先後面對著兩個極權政權的控制。

(四) 參訪立陶宛國家美術館 Lithuanian National Gallery of Art 所藏有關立陶宛歷史與轉型正義相關展品，館長 Arūnas Gelūnas 博士導覽

經由我國駐立陶宛代表處的協助聯繫，訪團參訪了立陶宛國家美術館。立陶宛國家美術館館長 Arūnas Gelūnas 博士表示，他們收藏了許多關於轉型正義和那個時期的藝術作品，但是在佈展的規劃上只展出了其中的一部分，這是因為不希望展覽太多的令人沉重的作品，讓看展民眾過於陷入歷史的黑暗，相反的，佈展的想法，是希望呈現出蘇聯統治時期宣傳的假象，與社會真實樣貌的對比。希望藉此讓立陶宛民眾，對過去蘇聯統治時期有一個更完整的理解。館長(Director General) Arūnas Gelūnas 博士幫訪團進行導覽。（立陶宛國家美術館網址：<https://www.lndm.lt/en/ndg/>）



[立陶宛國家美術館 Lithuanian National Gallery of Art]



[Arūnas Gelūnas 博士(左一)及同仁幫訪團導覽館藏藝術品及文物]



[立陶宛國家美術館工作人員導覽館藏藝術品及文物]

(五) 拜會立陶宛特殊檔案局 **Lithuanian Special Archives (LYA)**，並與局長 **Remigijus Černius** 會談

特殊檔案局 **Lithuanian Special Archives (LYA)**負責保存包括前蘇聯安全部門的檔案，及立陶宛共黨與相關組織的檔案，時間上含括 1940 年到 1991 年期間。

由於前蘇聯對立陶宛人民進行廣泛且嚴密的監控，因此檔案庫頗為豐富，目前藏有約 135 萬件檔案文件。此次行程係由國家特殊檔案局局長(Director) Remigijus Černius 親自接待並與訪團會談。

Remigijus Černius 局長在會談中說明了立陶宛處理前述檔案的各種規定及作法，並聽取訪團對於臺灣推動轉型正義與不當黨產處理業務的說明。Remigijus Černius 局長並提及，由於前蘇聯在離開立陶宛前，已將部分檔案文件帶回俄羅斯，因此有些檔案他們目前僅存有目錄與索引資料，未保有檔案全卷。

在會談後，Remigijus Černius 局長並親自導覽特殊檔案局內的設施與館藏物件。（立陶宛國家特殊檔案局網址：<https://lya.archyvai.lrv.lt/en/>）



[立陶宛特殊檔案局]



[本會林峯正主任委員與立陶宛特殊檔案局 Remigijus Černius 局長(中)座談。]



[本會林峯正主任委員與立陶宛特殊檔案局 Remigijus Černius 局長(右一)合影。]



[立陶宛特殊檔案局人員導覽檔案局內所藏檔案文件及文物。]



[立陶宛特殊檔案局所藏前蘇聯留下之檔案卷宗。]

以下是就立陶宛與臺灣轉型正義及黨產處理相關議題座談之紀錄整理：

Remigijus Černius 局長表示，歡迎訪團來檔案局參訪交流，他在聽取訪團就臺灣民主化及轉型正義的推展，以及黨產會的運作情形等進行簡介之後，向訪團說明檔案局的業務。檔案局負責保管 1991 年立陶宛獨立之後，前蘇聯政府留下來的共產黨、KGB 以及內政部警察單位等三個部門的檔案。其中內政部相關單位的檔案就超過 30 多萬件，顯示出當時政府對於人民監控的密度。

局長表示，檔案局的主要業務是上述這些檔案文件的保存與管理，因為這些歷史文件對於了解立陶宛的歷史非常重要，可以作為未來調查以及學術研究的素材。除了國內的監控檔案之外，另外一些檔案是關於被迫流亡海外民眾的檔案。

關於這些檔案文件的取得過程，局長表示，當初 1991 年左右前蘇聯單位離

開時，現在檔案局所在的這棟大樓，當時就是用作檔案文件的儲存、管理，因此有些檔案資料就留在這裡。在立陶宛恢復獨立及民主化之後，當時的立陶宛政府為了了解整體檔案庫藏的情況，也有試圖找尋曾協助蘇聯政府安全部門進行檔案管理的人士。在清查與了解過後，發現大約 50 萬份的檔案文件被帶回俄羅斯。大多數關於情報人員的檔案，都已被帶回俄羅斯。而基於對這些檔案文件內容進行的研究，目前已知立陶宛社會當中有一些人過去曾經幫助 KGB 或其他的安全部門進行監控工作。

也有一些檔案是關於立陶宛的游擊隊，記載蘇聯逮捕以及虐殺他們的過程，這些文物的保存有助於立陶宛社會去了解這段歷史，他們過去英勇的事蹟。檔案局目前藏有一些游擊隊的照片，不過據他們估計，仍然有一些關於游擊隊的檔案還沒有被找到。除了蘇聯留下來的檔案，有些民眾也自己收藏檔案，有些會將檔案或照片捐出來。

在人事清理相關議題上，經過對檔案文件內容進行整理與研究，後來發現確實有一些政府公務人員，曾經幫 KGB 工作過。立陶宛在 2000 年時通過立法，要求那些曾經和 KGB 合作的人，要自我揭露這段歷史。如果自白了，那麼這些檔案政府就會保存起來不公開民眾閱覽。相對的，如果不願意進行自我揭露，那他們的檔案就會供人們閱覽。

蘇聯統治時期，除了一般民眾受到嚴厲監控外，政治人物當然也受到迫害，一些人被流放或被帶去集中營，少數人流亡國外。立陶宛 1920 年代時的總統 Aleksandras Stulginskis 曾參與 1918 年的獨立建國，並於 1920 年至 1926 年擔任總統，1940 年時他遭到蘇聯逮捕囚禁在集中營，在 1952 年時又被判處監禁 25 年，赫魯雪夫上台後在 1956 年他才獲釋並回到立陶宛。在前蘇聯留下的檔案文件中也有他的資料。

蘇聯監控的對象，除了政治人物與社會大眾外，甚至外國來到立陶宛的人士也不例外，局長表示他們在檔案中發現，冷戰時期曾有韓國的企業人士來到立陶宛，試圖經營電腦的生意，也遭到 KGB 監控，而他的商業提案最後也是被蘇聯政府拒絕。

局長向訪團分享了一幅他們館藏的立陶宛國旗，之所以會收藏是因為，這是在 1966 年左右當時的蘇聯政府沒收的國旗，案情是當時有民眾自己手工縫製這幅國旗，之後掛在 KGB 大樓的外面，然而 KGB 後來才發現，可能是沒有注意到國旗的顏色不熟悉，沒收了這面國旗後還去調查手工國旗的材質，最後將國旗及調查結果納入檔案文件中，在立陶宛恢復獨立後及民主化後，這件事才被發現。

關於檔案文件的數位化，局長表示，他們一直在就所藏各類檔案文件、照片進行數位化的工作。當然花費時間會比較久，會持續進行。數位化之後，這些檔案也會較容易閱覽及使用，成為歷史研究的珍貴素材。

就民眾如何申請閱覽檔案，局長表示，蘇聯統治時期被監控案件的受害者，可以自己來申請閱覽關於自己的檔案。另外，學者也可以基於學術研究的目的來申請閱覽。當然也必須遵守相關規定，譬如就敏感內容或關於第三者的內容不得無故洩漏。依照立陶宛的法律，這些檔案文件必須保密 75 年。之所以保密期間設定較久，局長表示，是因為一些檔案卷宗原件已經被帶回俄羅斯，所以立陶宛自己收藏的檔案，在完整性及正確性上不是很容易辨識，需要採取小心謹慎的態度。

三、拜會拉脫維亞轉型正義、黨產處理機構、展覽館及相關人士，及相關會談

說明：關於拉脫維亞的政治史與民主化過程，扼要說明如下表。

年份	事件
1918 年 11 月 18 日	拉脫維亞宣布獨立
1940 年	蘇聯併吞拉脫維亞
1941 年	納粹德國入侵，對猶太人進行大規模屠殺
1944 年	蘇聯再度併吞拉脫維亞
1991 年	拉脫維亞宣布脫離蘇聯獨立
1991 年 1 月	親蘇聯勢力試圖發動政變失敗
1991 年 9 月 6 日	蘇聯承認拉脫維亞獨立
1994 年	俄羅斯部隊完全撤出拉脫維亞
2004 年	拉脫維亞加入北約及歐盟
2014 年	拉脫維亞加入歐元區

(一) 參訪佔領歷史博物館 **Latvijas Okkupācijas muzejs (Occupation Museum of Latvia, LOMB)**

該館創立於 1993 年，係由民間組織 Occupation Museum Association of Latvia (LOMB) 經營管理。該館的財務來源，除了參觀民眾的門票收入與捐款外，亦有部分是來自政府的經費（每年營運預算的約 12%）。

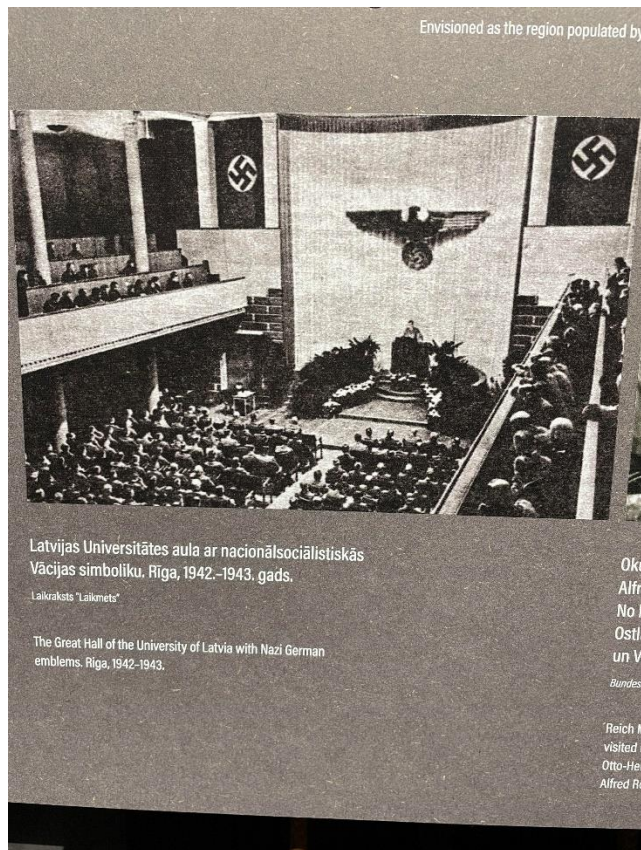
由於部分經費穩定的來自政府預算，拉脫維亞國會在 2006 年通過了《佔領歷史博物館條例》(Law of the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia)，規定該館與

政府之關係，以及政府經費的提供等事宜。該館館藏內容與立陶宛的佔領與自由奮戰展覽館類似，包括過去極權政府的暴行、對人權的侵害，社會對極權統治的抵抗，以及受害民眾的個人文物等，相當豐富。有助於看展民眾完整認知 1940 年到 1991 年這段歷史（佔領歷史展覽館網址：

<https://okupacijasmuzejs.lv/en>)



[佔領歷史博物館 Latvijas Okkupācijas muzejs (Occupation Museum of Latvia)]



[佔領歷史博物館所藏照片，納粹德國佔領拉脫維亞之後，於拉脫維亞大學內集會]



[蘇聯二次大戰期間佔領拉脫維亞之後，對拉脫維亞人進行大流放]



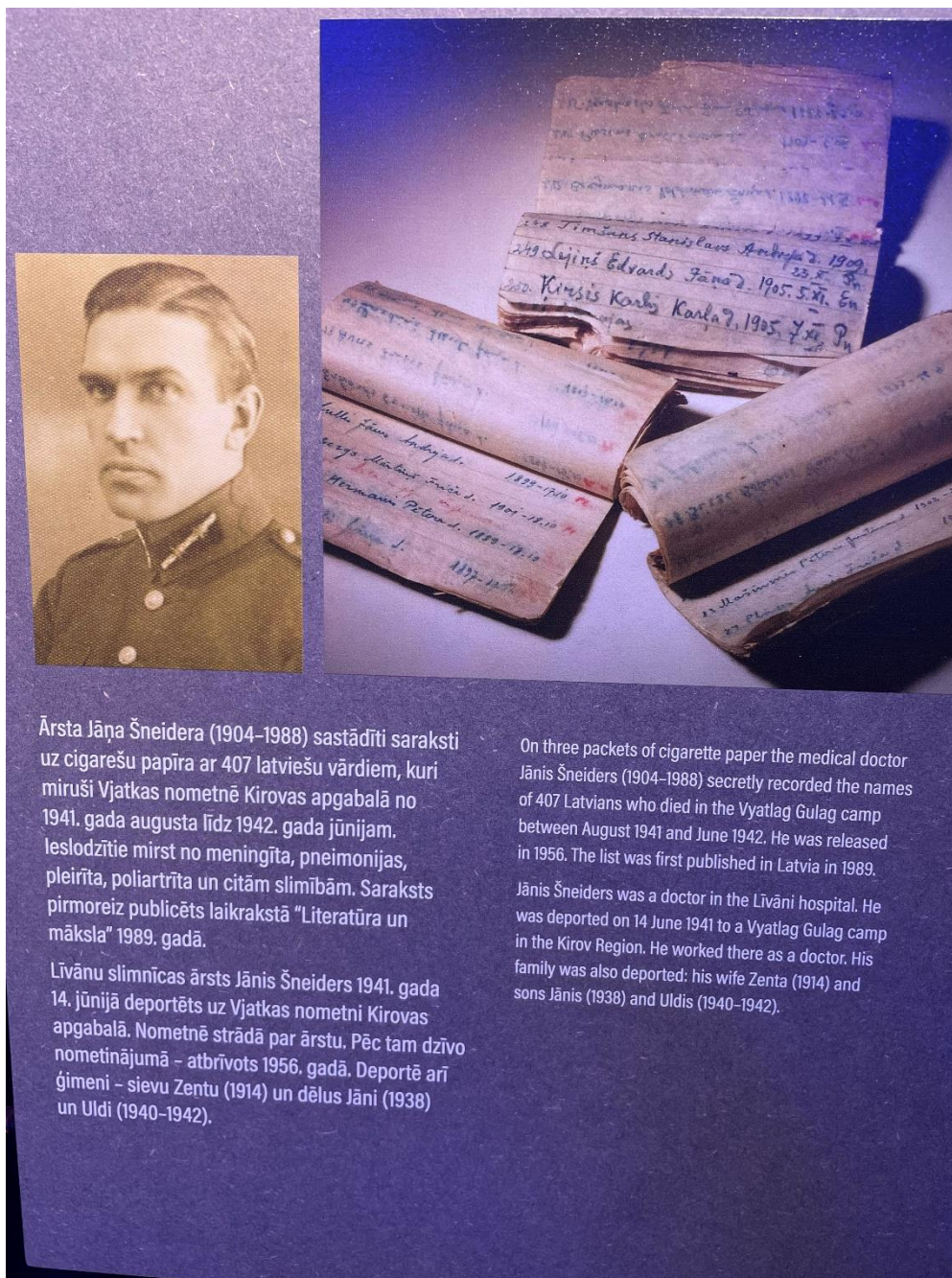
[1941 年至 1953 年，被流放的拉脫維亞人統計數據]



Zvejnieku laiva "Centība" ar bēgļiem no Kurzemes Baltijas jūrā
ceļā uz Gotlandi. 1944. gada 10. novembris.

The fishing boat *Centība* (Diligence) with refugees from Kurzeme on their
way across the Baltic Sea to Gotland. 10 November 1944.

[佔領歷史博物館所藏照片，拉脫維亞人於 1944 年時逃離家園遠離蘇聯統治。照片中拉脫維亞民眾試圖搭小船橫越波羅的海。]



Ārsta Jāņa Šneidera (1904–1988) sastādīti saraksti uz cigarešu papīra ar 407 latviešu vārdiem, kuri miruši Vjatkas nometnē Kirovas apgabalā no 1941. gada augusta līdz 1942. gada jūnijam, ieslodzītie mirst no meningīta, pneimonijas, pleirīta, poliartīta un citām slimībām. Saraksts pirmoreiz publicēts laikrakstā "Literatūra un māksla" 1989. gadā.

Līvānu slimnīcas ārsts Jānis Šneiders 1941. gada 14. jūnijā deportēts uz Vjatkas nometni Kirovas apgabalā. Nometnē strādā par ārstu. Pēc tam dzīvo nometinājumā – atbrīvots 1956. gadā. Deportē arī ģimeni – sievu Zentu (1914) un dēlus Jāni (1938) un Uldi (1940–1942).

On three packets of cigarette paper the medical doctor Jānis Šneiders (1904–1988) secretly recorded the names of 407 Latvians who died in the Vyatlag Gulag camp between August 1941 and June 1942. He was released in 1956. The list was first published in Latvia in 1989.

Jānis Šneiders was a doctor in the Līvāni hospital. He was deported on 14 June 1941 to a Vyatlag Gulag camp in the Kirov Region. He worked there as a doctor. His family was also deported: his wife Zenta (1914) and sons Jānis (1938) and Uldis (1940–1942).

[佔領歷史博物館所藏照片，照片中為一名醫生，1941 年時被流放至集中營，紙張記載集中營中其他受害者的姓名。這份名單一直到 1989 年才得以公諸於世。]

(二) 參訪拉脫維亞前 KGB 展覽館

與立陶宛宛類似，拉脫維亞也認真保存前蘇聯 KGB 大樓（被稱為 The Corner House）作為展覽館，並展出受害者的照片與詳細事件說明，臺灣亦可參考此類做法。讓民眾有機會實地看展，深化對這段歷史的理解。

此棟大樓建造於 1910 年，從 1940 年到 1991 年作為 KGB 於拉脫維亞的總部。在拉脫維亞恢復獨立及民主化後，從 1990 年到 2008 年，這棟大樓轉由警察部門使用，自 2015 年始轉為 KGB 展覽館。






[拉脫維亞前 KGB 展覽館]

The Utilization of "The Corner House" from 1912.

- rental property: apartments, offices, stores.
- 1919. During the reign of the "Red Terror": Latvian Revolutionary War Committee.
- 1920–1940. Latvian Ministry of the Interior and its branches: Border Guard, Emigration Office, Tourism Office and others. Latvian Anti-Alcoholism Organization and the editorial office of its magazine "Jaunā Bals" (The New Voice). Ministry of Social Affairs (from 1934). The State Statistical Office. The publishing house "Pagalms."
- August 1940–July 1941, a period known in Latvia as the Year of Terror. The Peoples Commissariat of State Security of Latvia (Cheka) and Prison Nr. 1.
- July 1941–September 1944. Place of the research activities of a patriotic youth group "Nacionālā Sardaže" (National Watch) documenting the operations of the Cheka and the history of "The Corner House." Offices of the German-appointed Latvian Self-Administration: General Directorates of the Interior and Education and Culture, Departments of the Order Police, Municipal Administrations, Art and Social Affairs, etc.
- October 1944–August 1991. Cheka, which changed its name several times, last known as the KGB, and remand prison.
- 1992–2007. Latvian State Police.
- 2007–. Not utilized.

Использование «Углового дома» с 1912 года:

- доходный дом: магазины, конторы и квартиры;
- 1919 год: Латвийский революционно-военный комитет во время «красного террора»;
- 1920–30-е годы: Министерство внутренних дел и ей подчиненные учреждения: Государственная пограничная охрана, Бюро эмиграции и др.; антиалкогольное общество Латвии и редакция газеты «Двор»;
- после 1934 года — Министерство общественных дел, статистики, издательство «Двор»;
- с 1940 года, который в истории Латвии известен как «Год террора», — органы государственной безопасности (ЧК, КГБ) и тюрьма № 1.

[拉脫維亞前 KGB 展覽館歷史演變說明]



[拉脫維亞前 KGB 展覽館中展示的前蘇聯監控器材]



[拉脫維亞前 KGB 展覽館中展示的關押牢房照片]

(三) 拜會拉脫維亞國際透明組織(Sabiedrība par atklātību – Delna / Transparency International LATVIA (TI LATVIA) ，就轉型正義議題進行會談

拉脫維亞國際透明組織成立於 1998 年，主要關注議題是公民社會對政府治理及法治的監督，包括民主化後仍待努力的腐敗問題，也涉及該國轉型正義的相關議題。該組織關注的另一議題係資訊透明化，特別是政府組織透明化，可說本質上與轉型正義關注歷史記憶、檔案保存，及如何方便民眾接近資訊有共同的宗旨。(拉脫維亞國際透明組織網址：<https://delna.lv/en/>)



[拉脫維亞國際透明組織]



[本會林峯正主任委員與拉脫維亞國際透明組織部門主管 Jekabs Rasmacs(左一)合影]

以下是就拉脫維亞與臺灣轉型正義及黨產處理相關議題座談之紀錄整理：

拉脫維亞國際透明組織部門主管(project manager) Jekabs Rasnacs 表示，此次很歡迎訪團訪問該組織，很樂意說明拉脫維亞民主化與轉型正義推動的現況。訪團就臺灣轉型正義與不當黨產問題以及處理進度，也向他進行簡要說明。

Jekabs Rasnacs 表示，拉脫維亞透明組織成立於 1998 年。在蘇聯統治結束之後，拉脫維亞就各個政治及社會議題開始進行改革，從成立一直到 2002 年，該組織除了關注民主化之後待解決的轉型正義課題外，也在處理腐敗及政府透明度的問題。拉脫維亞因為試圖加入歐洲聯盟，也持續在關注政府採購當中的腐敗問題，希望能符合歐盟的規範架構。大部分民主鞏固的努力，都和試圖加入歐洲統合有關係，因為這是歐盟的要求。

他表示，在恢復獨立及民主化之後，拉脫維亞就規定前共產黨及相關組織必須解散，因此他們也不能持有財產。而關於政黨財務制度的規範，其中比較重要的制度改革是對於政治人物政治獻金的規範。與此同時，作為配套也由政府提供各政黨大約 60% 的運作經費，希望藉此降低商業利益對政黨的影響。立法規定政黨不能經營事業，因為有明顯的利益衝突。目前各政黨他們的財產，絕大多數都已經和前蘇聯時期沒有關聯。但他表示拉脫維亞社會當中，仍然存在寡頭延續的問題，其中有些人仍較親近俄羅斯和中國。雖然共產黨依法不能成立及運作，但仍容許社會主義政黨的存在。

關於納粹德國及蘇聯佔領時期的轉型正義議題，他表示，主要處理的機構是佔領歷史博物館、KGB 博物館。就猶太人被迫害的問題，拉脫維亞就集中營以及相關檔案文物進行保存，希望保留這些歷史記憶場址。就猶太人被迫害以及財產被奪取的問題，對於社會來說仍然是一個爭議很大、難以解決的問題。主要是因為大多數的財產在經過幾十年後已經被破壞。政府在民主化之後曾經就部分猶太人進行補償，在 2020 年時，國會亦通過預算，補償 4,000 萬歐元給猶太人社區，讓猶太人社區自行決定經費的發放與分配。不過，相對於猶太人社區的受損的財產總數，以上已處理的仍然只是一部分，問題仍沒有完全解決。由於前蘇聯政府亦必須為這個問題負起部分責任，因此政府曾經對俄羅斯要求賠償，但是俄羅斯並沒有回應。除此之外，社會當中也有反抗人士、政治犯受到不當審訊、監禁的恢復名譽及補償問題，這部分政府也進行了處理。

訪團也向 Jekabs Rasnacs 說明，臺灣民主化前後的歷史背景、民主化後遺留的轉型正義課題，在黨國威權體制結束後，臺灣也有反抗人士、政治犯受到

不當審訊、監禁的恢復名譽及補償問題，還有流亡國外的黑名單問題，這些是在臺灣民主化之後，持續在處理的議題。而對於政黨不當財產的調查和處理，臺灣是在 2016 年後才得以立法處理。

在人事除垢議題上，Jekabs Rasnacs 表示，法律規定那些曾經擔任前蘇聯政府官員以及在共黨與外圍組織工作的人，不可以參選國會議員。在參選時有義務說明是否有參與前蘇聯政府工作的歷史，如果後來被政府發現，則過去的這些事蹟就會被揭露，而且會面臨法律的懲罰。在公務員的部分，依照法律他們也應該敘明過去是否有參與前蘇聯政府的歷史，相關規定與作法就跟前面所說議員的部分一樣。

關於有民眾過去協助前蘇聯進行監控工作的問題，拉脫維亞政府並沒有對他們追究責任，因為就檔案文件來說，社會當中民眾涉入的比率不低，估計約有高達三分之一的民眾當時和情報或警察單位合作進行監控。而這是因為當時的蘇聯政府採取高壓與高密度監控政策的緣故。另外對於在前蘇聯時期在警察或情報單位工作的拉脫維亞人，如果他們犯下參與迫害的罪行，民主化之後是否加以處理，他表示，民主化之後有一些政府單位負責調查的工作，也利用遺留下來的安全部門檔案及文件進行了解，但是大體來說追究範圍仍然有限制。

就前蘇聯統治所留下來的雕像，前蘇聯政治人物的雕像在民主化之都已經拆除，這部分的處理較為明快。關於社會民眾對於歷史記憶的態度，由於恢復獨立及民主化已一段時間，民眾多認為納粹德國及前蘇聯政權，應該為他們在佔領期間所犯下的罪行負責。

另外一個問題是前蘇聯政府不當佔有人民財產，在民主化與私有化後有進行一些返還的工作，但是需要民眾提出證明文件，而且在處理過程當中仍然有不透明和不平等的問題。在蘇聯統治時期國有化的政策下，很多人的財產都已經受損，在歷經數十年後進行補償處理有困難性。政府並沒有像其他東歐國家那樣發放股份券。

關於該組織的運作，他表示，除了關注前述各項議題之外，他們在許多國家都設有分部，從事一些跨國的研究案，並有拿到歐盟的經費補助。他並表示，在拉脫維亞的民主鞏固當中，他認為公民社會的參與以及媒體的積極介入，一直是重要的推動因素。

(四) 參觀拉脫維亞歷史博物館(Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation)

該博物館是波羅的海三國中歷史就悠久的展覽館，藏有豐富的歷史文物，對於拉脫維亞的歷史，從中古時代以前延續至蘇聯統治時期，使看展者得以深入理解拉脫維亞的歷史。



[拉脫維亞歷史博物館]



[拉脫維亞歷史博物館收藏許多歷史文物。]

四、拜會愛沙尼亞轉型正義、黨產處理機構、展覽館及相關人士，及相關會談

說明：關於愛沙尼亞的政治史與民主化過程，扼要說明如下表。

年份	事件
1918 年	愛沙尼亞宣布獨立
1940 年	蘇聯併吞愛沙尼亞
1941 年	納粹德國入侵，對猶太人進行大規模屠殺
1944 年	蘇聯再度併吞愛沙尼亞
1991 年	愛沙尼亞宣布脫離蘇聯獨立
1991 年 9 月 6 日	蘇聯承認愛沙尼亞獨立
1994 年	俄羅斯部隊完全撤出愛沙尼亞
2004 年	愛沙尼亞加入北約及歐盟
2011 年	愛沙尼亞加入歐元區

(一) 參訪佔領與自由展覽館 Vabamu Museum of Occupations and Freedom

該館係一民間展覽館，但其設有監督委員會(Supervisory Council)，監督理事會成員中現包括文化部高階官員。該館展覽內容包括：極權政府對人權的侵害、愛沙尼亞人民被大規模流放至蘇聯各地、逃出鐵幕的民眾、蘇聯統治下人民的生活，以及脫離蘇聯宣布獨立及走向民主化各面向。該館展覽善用人物訪談等影音資料，佐以豐富政府歷史檔案與個人文物，且善於運用電子科技讓民眾可以有更豐富的看展體驗，此類做法亦可供臺灣展覽館參考。(佔領與自由展覽館網址：<https://vabamu.ee/en/visit-us/>)



[佔領與自由展覽館]



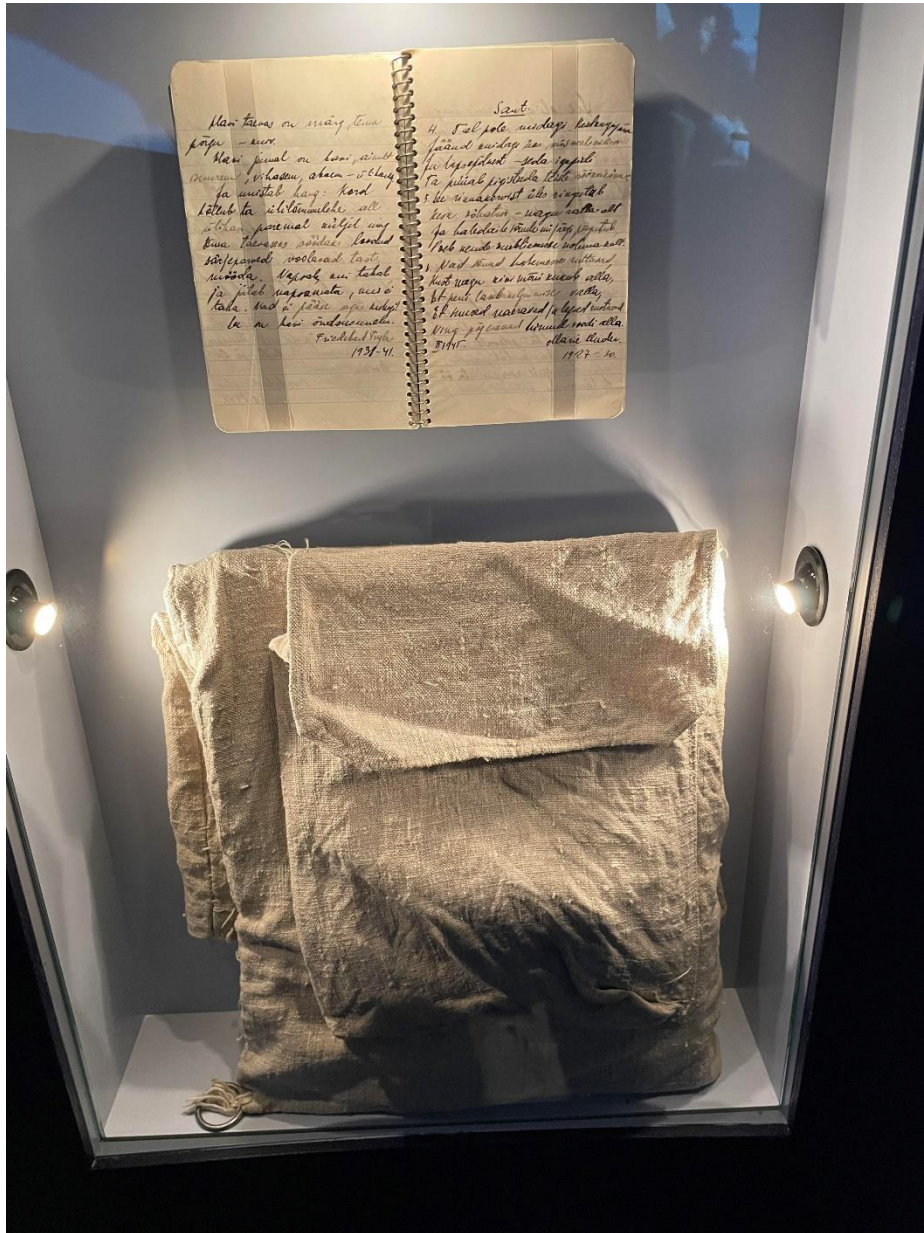
[佔領與自由展覽館所藏柏林圍牆一部]



[佔領與自由展覽館所藏成功逃離蘇聯統治民眾之照片]



[佔領與自由展覽館所藏「波羅的海之路」影像。「波羅的海之路」和平示威係發生於 1989 年 8 月 23 日，約有 200 萬人加入，民眾手牽手組成一個長度超過 600 公里的人鏈，穿過波羅的海三國（愛沙尼亞、拉脫維亞和立陶宛）。此示威希望世界關心三國被蘇聯非法佔領。]



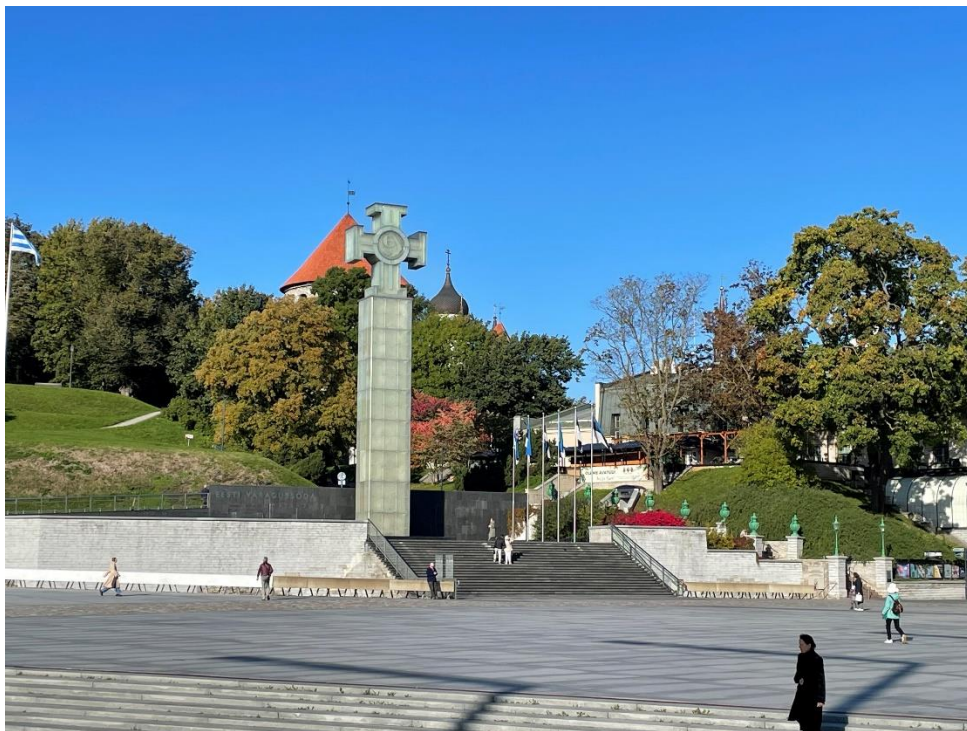
[佔領與自由展覽館所藏集中營受害者遺物]

(二) 參訪自由廣場與獨立戰爭紀念碑(Freedom Square, Cross of Liberty and the Monument to the War of Independence)

開幕於 2009 年 6 月，係紀念在愛沙尼亞 1918 年獨立戰爭中奮勇犧牲的民眾。在 1918 年到 1920 年的獨立戰爭期間，約有 4000 人犧牲，14,000 人受傷，在 1936 年即開始立法準備興建紀念碑，但是由於二戰大戰及後來的蘇聯佔領而受阻，終於在恢復獨立及民主化後得以興建完成。



[自由廣場與獨立戰爭紀念碑]



[自由廣場與獨立戰爭紀念碑]



[自由廣場與獨立戰爭紀念碑]

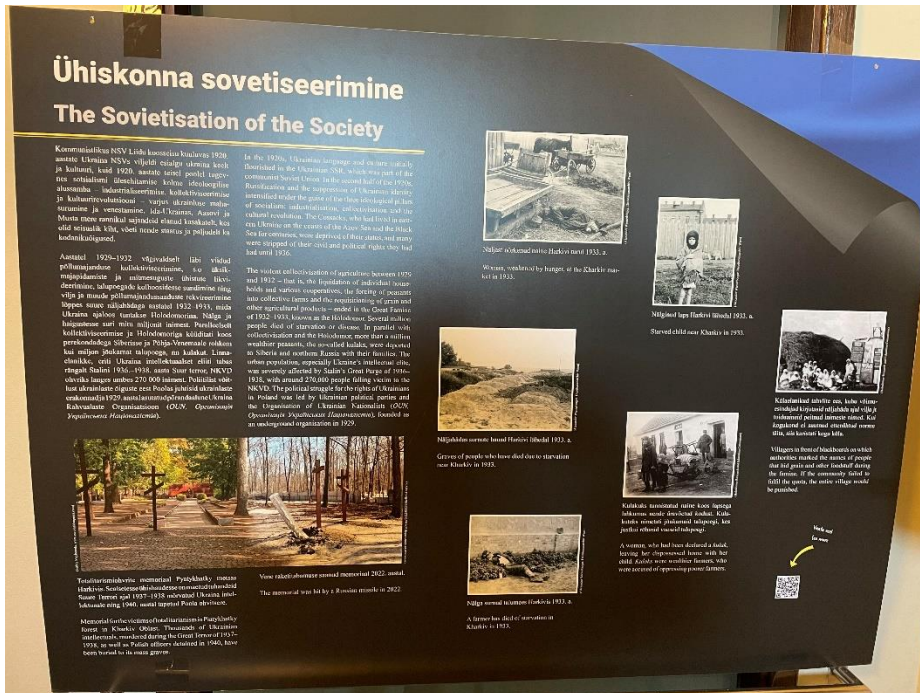
(三) 拜會歷史記憶院 Eesti Mälu Instituut (Estonian Institute of Historical Memory)，並與理事 Martin Andreller 會談

1998 年當時的愛沙尼亞總統 Lennart Meri 促成了 Estonian International Commission for Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity (Inimsusvastaste kuritegude uurimise Eesti Rahvusvaheline Komisjon (IKUERK)的成立，主要關注蘇聯與納粹德國在愛沙尼亞所作的無人道犯行，後來 Toomas Hendrik Ilves 總統在 2008 年創立歷史記憶院，以接續前述委員會的運作。

另外該院亦關注東亞對抗共產主義的議題，和香港異議人士合作舉行「自由之鍊」活動(Chains of Freedom: the Legacy of the Baltic Way in Hong Kong)。為紀念 1989 年 8 月 23 日在波羅的海三國，當時共有三國約 200 萬人參與這場「波羅的海之路」示威，並支持香港人民追求自由民主，在博物館園區進行香港主題的展覽。(歷史記憶院網址：<https://mnemosyne.ee/en/>)



[本會林峯正主任委員與歷史記憶院理事 Martin Andreller(左二)及同仁合影]



[歷史記憶院內關於蘇聯統治情形之說明]

以下是就愛沙尼亞與臺灣轉型正義及黨產處理相關議題座談之紀錄整理：

Martin Andreller 理事表示，歡迎訪團此次訪問愛沙尼亞及該院，樂意就歷史記憶、轉型正義及財產處理等議題進行交流。該院係於 1998 年成立，主要的工作是歷史研究，並和各學門學者進行研究合作。他表示，愛沙尼亞在經歷蘇聯和納粹德國統治之後，約失去了五分之一的總人口，約有超過 7 萬 5,000 人遭到殺害、監禁或流放。因此在 2018 年，政府立法建立了共產政權受害者紀念園區(Victims of Communism Memorial)，除了有佔地廣大的實體紀念園區之外，並由該院主責建立共產統治受害者的線上資料庫，方便民眾可以在線上直接檢索受害者的資訊。除此之外，該院並積極進行受害者的口述歷史匯集，希望能夠把握時間幫社會留下歷史記憶，並持續與受害者或其家屬聯繫。

該院並負責籌建、經營國際共產主義受害者紀念博物館(International Memorial Museum for the Victims of Communism)，該館係坐落於 Patarei 監獄園區，此係蘇聯與納粹德國時的監獄，在民主化後，政府在 2018 年立法啟動此館的成立，預計在 2026 年完成。該館在創建時的構想，即希望發展成國際紀念共產暴行受害者的園區，與其他國家進行交流合作。希望向未來世代的民眾傳達一些價值，希望促使他們關注自由，並了解過去共黨統治的歷史。目前這個監獄展覽園區，已經有展出非洲、拉丁美洲的展覽內容，不會只關心歐洲的議題，因為他們認為共黨的罪行是對人類所犯下的罪行。而且在各種展覽當中，也包括德國以及波蘭的案例，希望可以豐富的呈現各國的歷史以及觀點。

Martin Andreller 理事表示，該院重視資料庫的收集及建置，在作法上會和受難者以及受害者家屬聯絡，除了檔案文件的收集之外，也會進行口述歷史的資料整理。對受害者以及民眾的訪談工作，在前幾年就已經開始，目前已經收集了大約 400 件個案。其中大約三分之一是逃難至國外的民眾，其他的大多數是 1940 年左右蘇聯大流放的受害者。此外也有些個案是關於在納粹以及蘇聯統治之下的生活情況，包括在戰爭期間的部分。他表示，該院很重視這些檔案文物，以及口述歷史的保留，一方面是他們的工作必須和時間賽跑，而且這些第一手的故事以及檔案文件對於歷史記憶的保留與後續研究至關重要。

關於訪問的問題，他表示，如果受訪者不願意現在就公開紀錄和文本，會先收集但承諾到往後約定的時期才會公開，公開他們的訪談紀錄或檔案，會經由他們的同意。訪問工作的一個重點，是讓他們願意談論這些歷史，家人的態度也很重要。口述歷史的呈現方式，有些是影片，有些是書面的形式。口述歷史的工作是在跟時間賽跑，有一個個案在 2019 年時接受訪問，但 2020 年時就過世。這個個案後來有製作成紀錄片，他所收藏的五百多幅珍貴照片，也有提

供給我們進行展覽。他們也會選擇一些個案出版回憶錄。

他表示，該院亦建立了難民資料庫，因為在納粹和蘇聯統治時期有許多民眾逃到國外，估計人數大約有 65,000 人，有些人成功有些人失敗，而且有些人還沒有被找到，對於這段在蘇聯統治時期被塵封的歷史，希望藉由這些工作，讓人們的故事重見天日。

在宣傳與教育工作方面，該院會研發、出版歷史教材，並進行教師的歷史培育課程，在宣傳的方式上也積極使用社群媒體，來接觸不同世代的民眾。許多影片、資料都已經放在網站上，目的也是持續的和社會各個層面接觸，推廣這些議題。他認為，該院工作有兩個重點，一個是收集資料檔案與文件，另一個就是分享給社會。該院的許多資料與教材，也積極的提供各個民間組織使用，會和其他的單位，譬如國家檔案局，以及民間學者進行研究合作。

關於目前各政黨對於該院工作的態度，他表示，這個單位不是政府機關，但大部分的預算來自司法部，所以必須遵守政府支出的規定。大多數的政黨都支持他們的工作，也和司法部有密切合作。由於民眾對這些歷史已經很熟悉，很支持該院的業務，這也是各政黨支持的原因之一。而這些前提，也是可以做好口述歷史的重要條件。

Martin Andreller 理事表示，就社會的歷史記憶來說，他們認為有兩個層次的意義，一個是國家社會整體記憶的保存，另一個是個人及家庭記憶的尋找。歷史記憶的工作同時有兩個面向，一個是回顧過去，另一個是展望未來，讓社會知道現在及未來應該做些什麼。

他表示，之所以會推動極權統治歷史記憶與轉型正義的國際合作，是因為他們認為，一些國家都有經歷共產主義類似的統治，包括中國和歐洲，大多數都是類似的意識形態，因此應該讓社會民眾深入理解這些歷史，這對於社會的未來民主發展很重要。

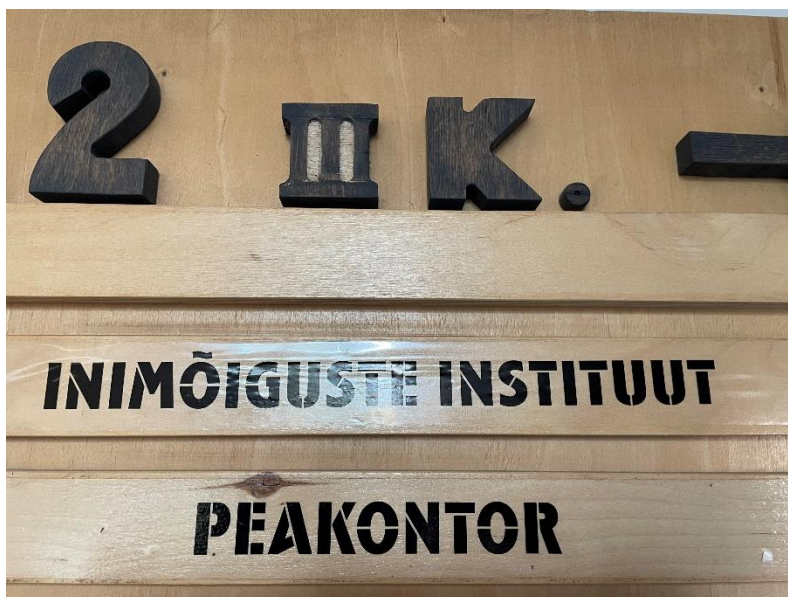
(四) 拜會愛沙尼亞人權組織 Estonian Institute of Human Rights

該民間組織成立於 1992 年，由當時的總統 Lennart Meri（1992 年至 2001 年擔任總統）創立，主要關注蘇聯佔領時期的人權問題，特別是 2 萬多名愛沙尼亞人民被流放，以及政治異議者受到的迫害。該組織的主要業務除了年度辦理人權研討會之外，包括關注前蘇聯地區人權的發展，並辦理各類研討會、座談會，及紀念過去蘇聯統治時期受害者的活動。（愛沙尼亞人權組織網址：

<https://inimõigusedeestis.ee/en/>



[本會林峯正主任委員與愛沙尼亞人權組織理事 Mart Rannut (中)合影]



[愛沙尼亞人權組織]

以下是就愛沙尼亞與臺灣轉型正義及黨產處理相關議題座談之紀錄整理：

Mart Rannut 理事表示，他們很樂意與來自臺灣的訪團進行交流，他們對於臺灣推動轉型正義，以及處理政黨黨產問題很關注。訪團就臺灣民主化及轉型正義的推展，以及黨產會的運作情形等進行簡介。

Mart Rannut 理事表示，該組織的主要工作是人權議題推動及國際研究交流，他們不處理個案的調查以及申訴業務。組織的成員大多都是民間人士，其中包括前蘇聯時期的政治異議份子，有些則是受害者或受害者的家屬。他表示，自己的父親就曾經被流放到西伯利亞，之後才被允許回到愛沙尼亞。也因此，他們希望喚起社會對這段歷史的重視，不要忘記蘇聯統治時期對人權的迫害。關於政治犯的部分，Mart Rannut 理事表示，該組織的主席以前就是政治犯，因此他們也推動政治犯的平反。

他們會舉辦人權講座、研討會，並推動國際合作。關心的議題不只是愛沙尼亞社會，在歐洲的部分也重視和其他波羅的海國家的合作，以及從前蘇聯獨立的其他國家。他們最主要的年度工作，就是每年的人權會議，許多政治人物都會來參加。

關於人民的財產在蘇聯統治時期被國有化的問題，以及民主化之後私有化的處理，他表示，民眾應該有獲得一些補償，就他所知是採取東德的處理模式。

（五）拜會愛沙尼亞國家檔案局 The National Archives of Estonia，並與該局副局長 Toivo Jullinen 及其他同仁會談

該局主管業務當中與轉型正義有關者，係負責管理前蘇聯留下的檔案文件資料，及處理民眾閱覽的申請。該局著重推動檔案系統的數位化、電子化，除了持續進行檔案的修復與影像化、數位化之外，該局亦建置頗為完備的線上檢索系統，方便民眾申請閱覽檔案。該局對電子化的重視令人印象深刻，可供臺灣檔案主管機關，及政府各單位整體檔案管理、公開化業務參考。（愛沙尼亞國家檔案局網址：<https://www.ra.ee/en/>）



[本會林峯正主任委員與愛沙尼亞國家檔案局副局長(Deputy Director General) Toivo Jullinen(中)及其他同仁合影]



[愛沙尼亞國家檔案局副局長 Toivo Jullinen 導覽館藏檔案文件之索引卡]



[愛沙尼亞國家檔案局人員導覽館藏地圖文件]



[愛沙尼亞國家檔案局]



[愛沙尼亞國家檔案局所藏前蘇聯留下之檔案]

編 號		日 期	70. 8. 1 .
新聞綱要			
報紙名稱	1. 中央日報	2.	3.

四項國際反共大會在臺舉行 結合全球自由力量 建立反共聯合陣線

【本報訊】世界反共聯合陣線昨日在臺舉行記者會，宣佈世界反共聯盟第十四屆大會、亞洲人民反共聯盟第二十七屆大會、亞洲青年反共聯盟第三屆大會，以及本年反共大會，將於八月三日在臺舉行。在說明本屆世界反共聯合陣線的具體表現。他在說明本屆世界反共聯盟大會的意義時指出，今年適逢我國建國七十週年，這四項國際反共大會的聯合舉行，是結合世界自由意志與力量，對我國當前推展自由民主、統一的中國奮鬥給予有力的支持，同時也展示了國際關係的開拓及國家地位，受到廣泛的重視。本屆大會共有來自全世界百零五個國家和地區自由地區及鐵幕內一百零二個國際反共組織的代表共四百八十人參加。這是全世界自由鬥士實踐先總統遺教，擴大這道不墜的政權影響。

谷正綱指出，這次大會的召開，不僅是反共運動的政權影響，更顯現了國際關係的開拓及國家地位，受到廣泛的重視。本屆大會共有來自全世界百零五個國家和地區自由地區及鐵幕內一百零二個國際反共組織的代表共四百八十人參加。這是全世界自由鬥士實踐先總統遺教，擴大這道不墜的政權影響。

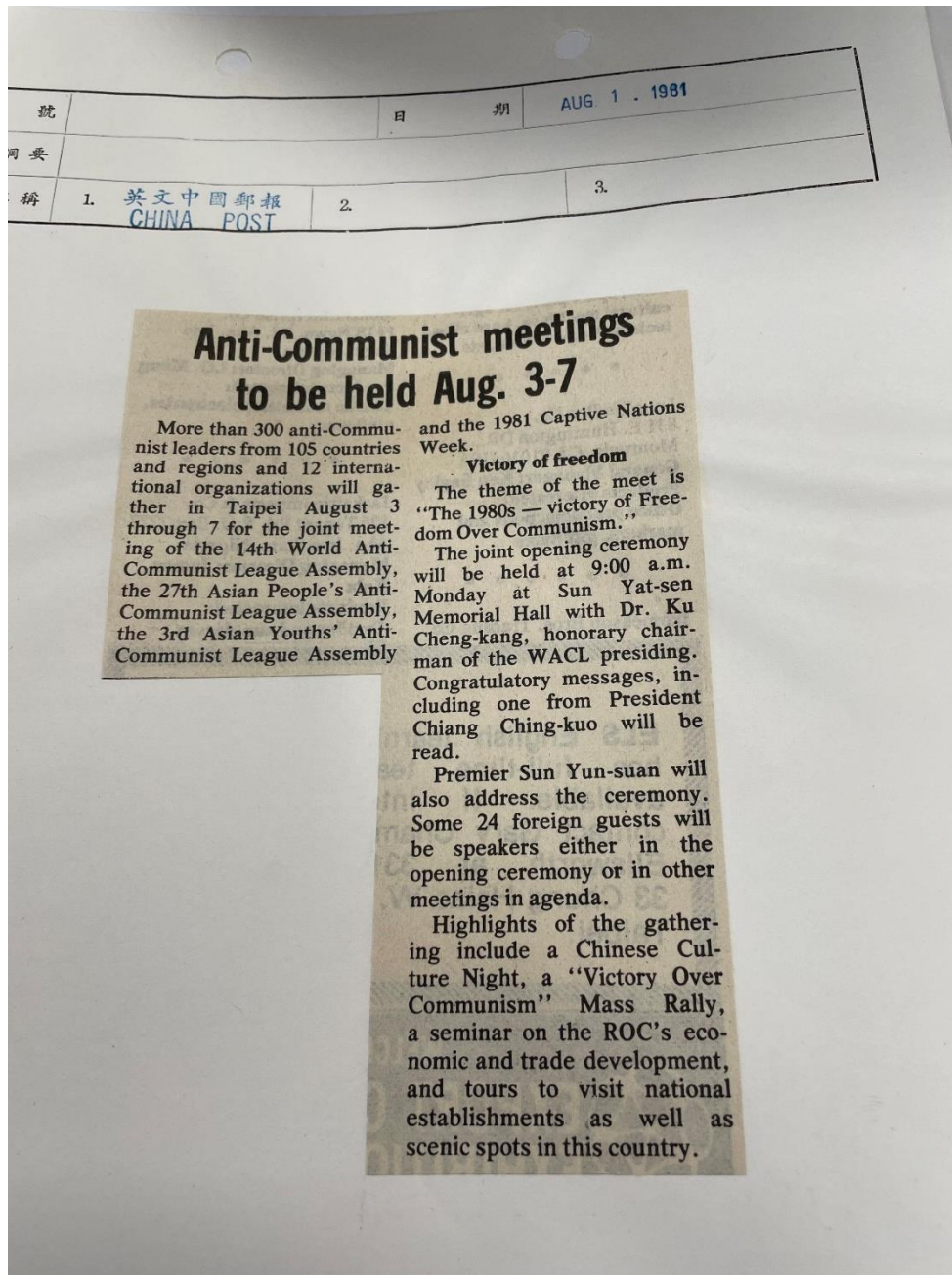
谷正綱表示，世界反共聯合陣線將分別在各大會中，將分別在各大會中，將分別在各大會中，將分別在各大會中...

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[蘇聯統治時期曾有一位愛沙尼亞政治人士流亡在外，曾應當時我政府邀請到臺灣訪問，參與國際反共大會，因此他手上留有一些中英文簡報資料，該人士的家人後來將檔案捐給檔案局。此為 1981 年 8 月 1 日中央日報新聞剪報。]



[蘇聯統治時期曾有一位愛沙尼亞政治人士流亡在外，曾應當時我政府邀請到臺灣訪問，參與國際反共大會，因此他手上留有一些中英文簡報資料，該人士的家人後來將檔案捐給檔案局。此為 1981 年 8 月 1 日英文中國郵報新聞剪報。]



[愛沙尼亞國家檔案局所藏舊地圖資料]

以下是就愛沙尼亞與臺灣轉型正義及黨產處理相關議題座談之紀錄整理：

Toivo Jullinen 副局長表示，此次行程是該局首次與來自臺灣的政府機關互動，很樂意與訪團就歷史檔案、轉型正義等議題進行交流，特別是他們主管的檔案文件業務。

他表示，該局除了建置實體的檔案閱覽空間外，也開發了線上的閱覽室，方便民眾申請調閱資料。資料的內容除了書面的檔案文件外，也收藏許多歷史照片。民眾可以在線上系統中檢索檔案資料的目錄，檢索的結果會顯示出資料目前的狀況，譬如可否申請閱覽、檔案的數量、庫藏地點等等。

檔案局主管的檔案，包括納粹德國以及蘇聯時期遺留下來的檔案文件，館藏很豐富，除了政治以及安全部門的檔案，有很多行政管理甚至地圖的文件。不過很可惜的，部分的安全檔案，譬如說 KGB 所製作的檔案文件一些已經被帶回俄羅斯，檔案局這邊只剩下檔案的檢索卡。這類檔案的閱覽申請就會有困難。另外關於共產黨以及相關組織的檔案，大多數已經被國有化，成為國有檔案。

關於民眾申請的程序，他表示，民眾在申請時必須敘明閱覽檔案的目的，譬如是在當事人或其家屬，或是為了進行學術研究。目前係依照相關的法規《公開資訊法》(public information act)，來管理檔案的申請及使用。

檔案局在處理民眾閱覽申請的時候，可以依據不同的申請原因以及身分別，就可以閱覽的版本及內容進行分類，譬如說政治異議人士，可以區分為本人閱覽的版本，家人、記者或學術研究者閱覽的版本。如果是當事人來申請，會加以許可。若是當事人的家人或親屬來申請，如果當事人已過世，那麼就會比照本人申請一樣的處理方式，會加以許可。檔案的當事人過世 10 年之後，其他一般民眾才可以申請閱覽。如果檔案文件是關於有些人過去的政治言論，或者是醫療紀錄、性傾向，會有特別的限制。

有一種情況是當事人雖然已經過世，但是檔案局在處理閱覽申請時，還是會看他的檔案當中有沒有涉及其他第三人的資訊，有時候也會看當事人的後代是否同意他人閱覽檔案。在一百年之後，由於當事人或相關人士應該都已過世，那時候大部分的檔案應該可以申請閱覽。

具體就政治異議人士的檔案來說，他們本人可以來申請閱覽，他們有權知道蘇聯統治時期檔案文件的內容，及製作檔案文件官員的名字，因為法律不認為這些官員應該受到保護。如果是基於學術研究目的來申請閱覽檔案，如果違反法規或是應該遵守的義務，申請人必須自己服從法規的規定，譬如說不應該將關於第三人的私人資料洩漏，申請時必須簽署切結書，但是這一類違反規定的例子事實上很少見。

關於參選國會議員自我陳述的問題，Toivo Jullinen 副局長表示，依據法律規定，在民主化之後的第一個十年期間，參選者必須自己陳述是否幫 KGB 等情報或安全單位工作過。隨著民主化完成，也就是第一個十年之後（大約是 2000 年之後），就沒有這類規定，因為實務上已經不需要，當事人多已年老。

關於在蘇聯統治時期民間的財產被強制國有化的問題，之後在民主化以及私有化之後，檔案局的檔案或者是地圖，對於民眾申請查證以及補償確實有幫助。

該局人員並與訪團分享，他們於檔案庫中找到與臺灣有關的資料，在過去蘇聯統治時期曾有一位愛沙尼亞政治人士流亡在外，曾應當時我政府邀請到臺灣訪問，因此他手上留有一些中英文簡報資料，該人士的家人後來將檔案捐給該局，因此檔案局藏有這一批文件。

(六) 參觀前 KGB 展覽館

愛沙尼亞如同立陶宛與拉脫維亞，亦保存了蘇聯統治單位 KGB(正式名稱為 People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR, NKVD 或 KGB)的建築，大樓當中展示了當時受迫害人士案件的說明，及關押受害者的牢房。



[愛沙尼亞前 KGB 大樓]



[愛沙尼亞前 KGB 大樓]

參、心得與建議

本會此次出訪立陶宛、拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞行程收穫頗豐，拜會參訪對象包括官方及民間與黨產處理、轉型正義有關機構與人員，以下分別說明訪問的心得與收穫。從這三國的做法看來，大多是成立民間單位，並由政府提供部分經費支援，來統籌轉型正義與歷史記憶的相關業務，避免多頭馬車的問題。至於檔案管理的主責單位，這三國是由隸屬於政府的檔案機關處理。

這三國在經歷納粹德國與蘇聯的反覆統治後，社會受到嚴重創傷，除了在國內的壓迫與監控之外，大量國民不是直接被迫害就是被流放至蘇聯境內，直至今日仍有許多受害者不知尚在何處。再加上 1944 年左右，許多民眾出逃國外以逃離蘇聯統治。因此這三國都很重視歷史記憶的工作。

在訪談與交流過程中，這三國單位與人員都對臺灣的歷史及推動轉型正義、處理不當黨產的進展頗感興趣，未來亦可進一步深化交流，促進彼此了解。而且許多單位都在進行相關議題的國際交流，參與國際組織，以國際合作的方式推動這類議題，臺灣亦可評估此類做法。

這三個國家處理轉型正義、前共產黨以及其財產，歷史記憶研究，以及檔案的管理，都各有值得台灣參考之處。在歷史的背景上，這三個國家都經歷二次大戰期間納粹德國的佔領，以及冷戰期間前蘇聯的佔領時期。一直到 1991 年左右前蘇聯統治才結束，甚至前蘇聯的軍隊一直到 1994 年才完全撤離。

這三個國家歷經反覆被佔領的過程，先是在 1940 年左右被前蘇聯短暫佔領，納粹德國在 1941 年夏天入侵前蘇聯時一併佔領這三國，但是到 1942 年蘇聯反攻時，又再佔領這三國。此後前蘇聯就一直統治，一直到 1991 年左右。這其中，蘇聯知道這三國曾與德國合作以抵抗蘇聯軍隊，因此在 1942 年占領之後，對這三國採取嚴酷的壓迫並進行大規模的遷徙與流放，對於三國社會造成嚴重影響。而且由於這三國位處德國與蘇聯中間，在戰爭期間，德蘇兩國都對三國大量徵兵，並將部隊推至前線進行戰爭。也就是說，這三國都經歷了納粹德國對於猶太人的迫害、前蘇聯對於這三國一般民眾的大規模流放與迫害。

基於這樣的歷史背景，三國都積極推動歷史記憶的保存與推廣工作，希望社會不要忘記這段歷史。三國都成立了民間的展覽館，也進行歷史相關研究。在社會對於歷史記憶的態度上，前述的這段歷史對於三國年長的民眾來說，是相當熟悉、無法忘懷的集體記憶，據訪談對象表示，幾乎每兩、三個家庭就有家人遭到流放或迫害。因此年長的民眾對歷史記憶的保存，支持度相當高。相對來說，年輕世代的理解與歷史教育，則持續推廣當中。

在保留歷史記憶的部分，參訪的各單位都重視對受害者與當事人的訪談接觸，並同時收集相關文物，因為他們都了解到隨著時間的往後推移，此些資料會越來越難取得，因此必須與時間賽跑。

關於前共產黨的處理，這三個國家在民主化之後都宣布共產黨為非法政黨，須解散，當然也就不能持有財產，社會都明確支持這些作法。目前已經沒有共產黨，不過法律仍允許社會主義政黨的成立與運作，但這些政黨已經難以

獲得民眾的支持。因此，這三國目前的政黨體系中，已經沒有與前共黨財產有關聯的政黨存在。

在轉型正義的人事淨化或除垢議題上，這三國大多藉由國會立法，規定欲參選國會議員及擔任公務員者，必須自行說明是否曾在前蘇聯政府機關當中，特別是安全與情報單位工作。

在檔案的保存及管理方面，除了此次未能參訪的拉脫維亞檔案管理單位外，立陶宛以及愛沙尼亞的檔案局都樂於與本會交流，都是由局長或副局長與本會訪團交流。

上述這兩國的檔案管理都已相當有制度，對於檔案的保存、數位化以及民眾申請閱覽，都已經有健全的法規規定。除了保存檔案之外，他們也希望便利民眾的閱覽申請。其中愛沙尼亞的檔案局特別重視數位化，以及網站線上資料庫的建置，積極推動數位化以及電子化，令人印象深刻。愛沙尼亞檔案局人員另表示，具體就政治異議人士的檔案來說，他們本人可以來申請閱覽，他們有權知道蘇聯統治時期檔案文件的內容，及製作檔案文件官員的名字，因為法律不認為這些官員應該受到保護。這突顯出愛沙尼亞檔案管理與公開政策的開明。

此外，這三國在接收及管理機密、監控檔案外，亦要求前共黨及周圍附隨團體交出檔案文件，處理方式顯然較為明快，這顯示出此三國與德國經驗類似，都將共黨與周圍附隨團體一併考量，非僅關注前共黨組織。

不過，這三國訪談人員亦皆提及，由於前蘇聯已將部分情報或監控檔案移至俄羅斯，使得前述部分檔案未能由檔案單位掌握完整卷宗。這使得要完整釐清一些個案的案情產生困難，而且有時不易區別安全部門檔案內容的真實性，有些安全部門人員所做的報告內容有進一步辨別真假的問題，並使他們對於公布檔案採取較審慎態度，避免對政治與社會體系造成不利影響。他們亦憂慮俄羅斯會藉由運用在其掌控下的檔案，對這三國國內情勢進行干預。

此外這三國在恢復獨立及民主化之後，也面對一些和臺灣不同的議題，譬如如何賠償納粹和共黨統治下的受害者，以及在共黨統治期間民間財產被迫公有化的補償問題。猶太人被殺害或被迫關入集中營的補償問題不易處理，還有民間財產被迫公有化的補償問題，都是需面對的難題。

綜合來說，這三個國家對於歷史記憶的保存，及教育推廣、展覽等工作，都積極推動。他們不認為這些僅是關於歷史記憶，而是攸關社會民眾如何面對

現在及未來。這顯示出他們對於歷史記憶所抱持的健全以及開放態度，受訪者也都表示，這一點對於民主鞏固以及民主深化相當重要。從這三國的相關經驗可知，社會大眾的支持、法律依據，以及能否尋得相關重要檔案史料，對於處理轉型正義及不當黨產工作相當重要。

最後，和歐洲其他國家，譬如德國、捷克、波蘭等國一樣，這三國都不認為轉型正義以及不當黨產的問題，只是國內的議題，相反地他們認為這是如何因應極權政治意識形態的問題，因此本質上應該屬於跨國議題，這可以從各個單位積極推動國際合作交流看出。對於臺灣後續推動轉型正義與處理不當黨產，及相關歷史記憶與教育推展工作，的確值得參考。綜合以上感想及心得，這次考察收穫頗豐。臺灣目前推動的轉型正義、處理政黨不當取得財產的工作，確實攸關臺灣的民主憲政秩序能否更為成熟穩固，本會將持續努力，讓臺灣社會更關注及了解相關議題，讓臺灣有更公平的政黨競爭環境，讓民主法治更為鞏固。

The Progress Report of Latvia's History Commission: Crimes against Humanity Committed in the Territory of Latvia from 1940 to 1956 during the Occupations of the Soviet Union and National Socialist Germany

Preamble

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, it has become possible in Eastern Europe to address the crimes against humanity committed by both the German and Soviet occupying powers during and following World War II and to do so in an open, unbiased and differentiated manner. These crimes cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of citizens, indeed, oftentimes, the national elite of the occupied countries. In the past decade, local historians have made great efforts to document and clarify these crimes in all the states of East Central and South Eastern Europe.

In the course of these investigations, one of the central problems has been the difference in public perceptions and awareness in these countries and outside, especially in the West, concerning the severity of Nazi and Soviet crimes. In the West, where the Nazis had been the enemy in World War II, the Nazi-instigated Holocaust has been and is still at the center of public interest and attention as an extremely brutal and unprecedented crime against humanity. On the other hand, Soviet crimes against humanity — mass deportations, persecutions, imprisonment, executions, death by deprivation in the GULAG or in forced resettlement — were neither a part of direct experience in the West, nor were widely known while they happened and thus did not become imprinted into the public consciousness. In East European countries, however, many of which were either occupied or under Soviet domination until the late 1980s or early 1990s, the awareness of Soviet crimes, which in their extreme form continued into the 1950s, dominates in public consciousness as something directly experienced and more immediate. These differences in perceptions and awareness sometimes lead to unfortunate downgrading of either the crimes of the Nazis in the East or the crimes of the Soviet regimes in the West. Therefore it is incumbent upon the historians in Eastern Europe and in the West to make full use of recently available sources and the freedom to investigate them so that the entire picture of recent history can be revealed and understood. Eastern Europe needs to come to grips with the Nazi-instigated Holocaust as it affected their countries, including questions of forced or voluntary collaboration of the indigenous populations, such as the recent accusations of complicity in Poland and Rumania. On the other hand, the West needs to confront and process the crimes against humanity committed by the Soviet regime and other Communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

Like all the countries concerned, Latvia sees herself confronted with this problem of different perceptions. Latvia, like the two other Baltic States, Estonia and Lithuania, were occupied *three* times within a short period of five years: by the Soviet Union in 1940, the National Socialist Germany 1941 and again by the Soviet Union in 1944–45. The forcible transformation of Latvia into a Soviet republic and the illegal annexation by the USSR in 1940 led, among other things, to a mass deportation of the political, economic, social and cultural elites (in 1941), farmers and members of national resistance (in 1949). It also led to an exodus of large numbers of the population in advance of the second Soviet occupation in 1944–45. The German occupation in the summer of 1941, which, after the terrible experience of the first Soviet occupation, had initially given rise to certain hopes of "normalization", quickly developed a scarcely less ruthless policy of suppression and exploitation. Nearly all of the Jews in Latvia were systematically murdered in the first six months of Nazi occupation.

Latvia's sudden loss of her hard-won independence, accompanied by two succeeding regimes of terror, presented the country's population with extraordinary and complex problems of ethical orientation. These were exacerbated by deliberate manipulation of public opinion and national sentiments, especially in terms of allegiances and enmities. It must be remembered that both occupying powers had conspired to rob Latvia's independence (the Hitler–Stalin Pact of 23 August 1939) and both worked toward total subjugation of the population as their long-term goal.

The analysis and evaluation of these problems and manipulations place the highest demands on present-day historians. The accurate description and classification of events is rendered more difficult by the persistence of historical legends that can be partly ascribed to the occupiers. Thus, Nazi authorities tried to justify their crimes by referring to the crimes by the preceding Soviet occupying power, while, after 1944–45, the Communist rulers used the same approach to justify their terror. Thus false connections and stereotypes were constructed, which in part still inform public opinion. For example, German propaganda claimed that members of Soviet secret police engaged in political persecution and deportations were mainly Jews, an assertion that some Latvians still use to excuse the participation of some of their compatriots in the persecution and execution of Latvian Jews in the second half of 1941. Conversely, the Soviet authorities and some Western writers frequently insinuated that almost all Latvians had played a role in the murder of the Jews, an insinuation which still has repercussions today. Therefore, thorough knowledge of the objectives and methods of the occupying regimes is required in order to appraise in a sensitive and discerning manner the sufferings of individuals, of social and ethnic groups and the nation as a whole — the political persecutions, the Holocaust, the concentration camps, the deportations and the GULAG — as well as the long-term consequences for the survivors and the nation.

In order to promote research into these complex problems and to make the results known to both the populace of Latvia and the international public, the President of the Republic of Latvia, Guntis Ulmanis, convened an International Commission of Historians on 13 November 1998, patterned on the model of such commissions in other Central and East European countries. The present President of the Republic of Latvia, Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, is continuing the policy of her predecessor and has extended the Commission's mandate. The Commission is charged with and committed to setting forth unequivocally and clearly the crimes against humanity during the rule of the occupation regimes. The Commission pursues its mission through international conferences and publications, the promotion of historical research and the development of appropriate historical curricula in schools and universities.

The international conferences, mainly in cooperation with the Latvian Institute of History, define the framework for research and inform the general public about the historians' findings. Up to now, three such conferences have taken place: "Latvia in the Second World War" (1999), "Problems of Research into the Holocaust in Latvia" (2000) and "The Deportation of 14 June 1941" (2001). The papers of the first two conferences have been published in the series "Symposium of the Commission of Historians of Latvia"; the third conference proceedings are in preparation.

The conferences have been useful for determining areas of agreement and disagreement with international scholars and need for comparative studies. Thus, on several occasions, extremely controversial discussions have taken place, especially concerning the Latvian participation in the Nazi-initiated Holocaust and the applicability of the term "genocide" to Soviet occupation policy, especially the deportations. These controversies indicate that Latvian historians have to be concerned not only with presenting and reviewing the facts but also with the status of current international research and the application of internationally accepted terminology.

International comparisons are also indispensable to evaluate several aspects of Latvian history and to place them into context. Such is the existence of an authoritarian regime in Latvia since 1934, whose political structures facilitated the Communist seizure of power in 1940 and whose emphasis on national and authoritarian education offered certain starting points for Nazi German propaganda after 1941. Such is the collaboration by Latvians with both the Soviet and the German side. These aspects are not in themselves exceptional and can be better understood if viewed in the context of other East Central and South Eastern European countries.

The Commission has paid special attention to the dissemination of appropriate historical knowledge and teaching methodology in the schools. For this purpose it has cooperated closely and successfully with the Ministry of Education and Science, the Latvian Association of History Teachers, the Museum Jews in Latvia, The Museum of the Occupation of Latvia (1940–1991) and other educational and cultural organizations. "The Teaching of Controversial Issues of World War II" was the title of a seminar for teachers in April 2000,

followed by "Holocaust Education" in the autumn. A further seminar for history teachers in November 2001 dealt with "The Holocaust in Latvia".

The Commission has formed four sub-commissions to promote research: 1. Crimes against Humanity Committed in the Territory of Latvia 1940–41, headed by Professor Dr. Valdis Bērziņš; 2. Holocaust in the Territory of Latvia 1944–44, headed by Professor Dr. Aivars Stranga; 3. Crimes against Humanity Committed in the Territory of Latvia during the German Occupation 1941–45, headed by Professor Dr. Inesis Feldmanis; 4. Crimes against Humanity Committed in the Territory of Latvia during the Second Soviet Occupation 1944–56, headed by Professor Dr. Heinrihs Strods. More than 30 Latvian historians are currently examining the most important aspects of crimes against humanity in Latvia. The aim is to compile a research record sufficiently complete and well documented to assure an accurate and undeniable portrayal of these crimes and their perpetrators.

The Holocaust and, in particular, the involvement of ethnic Latvians in the massacre actions in the summer and late fall of 1941, is the initial focus of research. The first findings indicate that there is no connection whatsoever between the events of the first Soviet occupation of 1940–41 and the participation of Latvian groups in the murder of the Jews. The motives for the participation are to be sought elsewhere (Rudīte Vīksne). It is also possible to name specific persons who were involved in the Jewish massacres in small towns (Dzintars Ērglis), thus contradicting the cliché that *the Latvians* collectively were engaged in the atrocities.

The research concerning crimes against humanity is only the beginning. Much work needs to be done analyzing the historical background, the respective oppression mechanisms, as well as the economic, demographic, cultural and ethnic impact and consequences of the entire occupation period 1940–1991. The sensitive questions of collaboration need to be addressed in much more detail. Comprehensive databases of murdered and persecuted persons must be created. All that takes time, especially since many sources have only recently become available. The work is further complicated by the fact that Latvian scholars a great deal of difficulty accessing many relevant archives in Russia. It is, however, well worth mentioning that many younger historians are engaged in this research. They are obtaining valuable experience and opportunities for academic advancement, thus assuring that Latvian historiography will have a new generation of scholars who will carry on the work.

The following reports by the chairmen of the four sub-commissions provide information about the objectives, the current state, the problems and the early results of research in their areas as of summer 2001.

First Sub-Commission: Crimes against Humanity in the Territory of Latvia during the Soviet Occupation 1940–41

Western societies that have never had directly experienced crimes against humanity committed by the Communist totalitarian regime are not well informed, sometimes misinformed and even disinformed about them. Information coming from the Soviet Union was strictly controlled. Soviet propaganda agencies and secret services portrayed the Soviet Union as the main, even only, bulwark of anti-Fascism in World War II, denied its own atrocities by ascribing them to others and attempted to vilify those exposing Soviet crimes as traitors or Nazi collaborators. Although it is now possible to find conclusive evidence of Soviet crimes against humanity, attempts are still made to cover up or gloss over the crimes of the Communist regime by using Soviet partnership in the anti-Nazi coalition as a pretext. Thus in case of Latvia, the Russian Federation is trying to use this pretext to justify and excuse actions of individuals accused of murder of civilians and carrying out mass deportations and to save them from prosecution.

Background

Before World War II, Latvia, along with the two other Baltic States, Estonia and Lithuania, was an independent and neutral country, a member of the League of Nations. It threatened no neighbouring country. True, on 15 May 1934 its parliamentary democracy was replaced by the authoritarian regime of Kārlis Ulmanis, but it was much milder than the totalitarian regimes of Nazi Germany and Communistic Soviet Union with their concentration and GULAG camps. The Ulmanis regime adhered to the prohibition of death penalty passed in 1929. Latvia, traditionally known for its tolerant attitudes toward minorities, was one of the few European countries giving refuge to persecuted Jews from Germany. Having attained a relatively high living standard for the day and age, as well as a high level of education and culture, Latvia was very much interested in preserving peace.

On 23 August 1939, the aggressively inclined Nazi Germany and Soviet Union concluded a non-aggression treaty, which led to German attack on Poland and to World War II. A secret amendment appended to the original treaty and to a subsequent treaty of 28 September 1939 decided the further fate of the Baltic States—a criminal act carried out behind their backs. Although more than 60 years have passed since that time, and although the successor states, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Russian Federation have acknowledged the existence of the secret amendments that led to multiple crimes against humanity in the Baltic, neither of these states have found it necessary to issue apologies to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

After the two aggressors had occupied and divided the territory of Poland between them, the Soviet Union proceeded to extend its influence over its "sphere of influence" as specified in the secret amendments. By claiming security reasons, it forced the Baltic States to accept "cooperation treaties" in late September and early October 1939. These provided for the stationing of major contingents of the Red Army in these countries. In June 1941, when the world's attention was focused on the German invasion of France, the Soviet Union, occupied Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The countries were powerless to resist the overwhelming military force. This occupation was carried out with utter disregard of international law and mutual non-aggression treaties.

Because of the brutal inhumanity experienced during this year (17 June 1940–7 July 1941), this first occupation became popularly known in Latvia as the "horrible year." Latvia ceased to exist as an independent and sovereign state in its own territory, although its annexation was not recognized by a large number of Western countries, including the U.S.A. and Great Britain. The incorporation into the Soviet Union was organized and carried out by local Communists and other collaborators under conditions of military occupation. The Communists, fewer than 400, had been in the pay of the Communist International and had exerted little influence in public affairs before the takeover. As the governing structures of the independent state were broken up, the incumbents—statesmen, diplomats, civil servants, military officers—were dismissed and persecuted. Repressions were directed against members of the cultural and intellectual elites who did not accept the ideology of Marxism–Leninism and any persons expressing dissent or exhibiting resistance. In the name of Communist pseudo-democracy, social structures were drastically changed, the freedom of the press was revoked, censorship—invoked. Private property was either liquidated or severely restricted. Latvia was, in effect, economically plundered.

The Soviet occupation culminated on 14 June 1941 when a mass deportation of civilians from Latvia to distant areas of the Soviet Union took place. A total of 15,424 persons, according to latest figures, were arrested and sent away in boxcars unsuited for human transportation. Among those deported were minor children and babies, most of whom died on the way or from cold or malnutrition in their settlement areas in Siberia. Many civilians were brutally executed in Rīga and many other places after the beginning of the war between Germany and Soviet Union, 22 June 1941, as the Red Army retreated in disarray.

Aims of the Sub-Commission

The major aim of the Sub-Commission is to investigate objectively and, as far as possible—concretely, crimes against humanity committed by the Soviet regime in the territory of Latvia during the time period 17 June 1940–7 July 1941. These crimes against citizens of independent Latvia included arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, execution, deportation to the so-called Gulag camps or banishment for life in distant areas of the Soviet Union. These actions were carried out without a proper court procedure, oftentimes without a proper arrest warrant. Most of the charges were based on Soviet laws and applied retroactively—for alleged transgressions while serving in institutions of the independent Latvian state. They completely ignored international conventions and laws. The investigations include determining the role of collaborators in carrying out these repressions, i.e. participation of local Communists and the so-called Soviet activists in the repressions against the inhabitants of occupied Latvia. It is also important to find out whether, where and to what extent the retreating members of the Red Army participated in the murder of civilians in the territory of Latvia during the last weeks of June and first week of July of 1941.

Previous Research

The crimes against humanity carried out by the Soviet regime could not be investigated in Latvia before the renewal of independence and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Only Western scholars, especially of Baltic origin, could address these questions and publish their findings, although they lacked access to sources in the Soviet Union and in occupied Latvia.¹ In Latvia, a certain amount of work dealing with the first Soviet occupation had taken place, before the Commission started its activities—since and even before regaining independence in 1991. Document collections concerning the occupation of Latvia (1939–40), the politics of the occupying powers (1939–91) and political processes (1940–86) have been published.² Published material also includes lists of repressed persons,³ testimonies of the victims⁴ and publications about other types of repression.⁵ These research activities were carried out on the initiative of enthusiastic scholars without a general plan and in many cases without financial support.

Work of the Sub-Commission

Systematic work began after the appointment of the Commission in late 1998. The Commission enlisted both experienced and younger scholars interested in pursuing topics in the Commission's purview. Research was stimulated by financial support supplied by the state.

¹ Although many of the early Western publications on the topic had a clearly political intent, especially on the background of the Cold War—denunciation of Soviet crimes and calls for liberation of the Baltic States—not all can be dismissed as lacking a documentary and serious scholarly dimension. Among the publications can be mentioned: *These Names Accuse: Nominal List of Latvians Deported to Soviet Russia in 1940–41* (Stockholm: Latvian National Foundation, 1952); *Report of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R.: Third Interim Report* (Washington: US Printing Office, 1954), 537 pages (known as the Kersten Committee Report); Ādolfs Šilde, *Pa deportēto pēdām* (Tracking the Deportees) ([New York]: Grāmatu Draugs, 1956) 304 pages (Šilde interviewed returning German POW's to obtain the information). An interesting and because of its publication date oftentimes overlooked source is Alfreds Ceichners, *Latvijas bolševizācija* (The Bolshevisation of Latvia) (Rīga: A Ceichnera apgāds, 1944, repr. 1986) 595 pages. The work of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies, which was founded in 1969, deserves special mention for its serious unpoliticized scholarly approach. Articles appearing in the *Journal of Baltic Studies* and other publications are listed in: Laurence Kitching, *Baltic Studies Indexes 1970–1997* (Hackettstown, NJ: AABS, 1998) 136 pages. Also see: Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940–1980* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983) 333 pages.

² I[ga] Grava-Kreituse, I[nesis] Feldmanis, A[ivars] Stranga, eds., *Latvijas okupācija un aneksija 1939–1940: Dokumenti un materiāli* (The Occupation and Annexation of Latvia 1939–40: Documents and Materials) (Rīga: Preses nams, 1995) 603 pages; Elmārs Pelkaus, ed., *Policy of Occupation Powers in Latvia 1939–1991: A Collection of Documents* (Rīga: State Archives of Latvia/Nordik, 1999) 624 pages (also in Latvian and Russian); Rudīte Vīksne and Kārlis Kangeris, eds., *Politiskās prāvas Latvijā 1940–1986: Noziegumos pret padomju valsti apsūdzēto Latvijas iedzīvotāju rādītājs* (Political Processes in Latvia 1940–86: A Register of Inhabitants of Latvia Charged with Crimes against the Soviet State) (Rīga: Latvijas Vēstures institūta apgāds, 1999) 978 pages.

³ *Represēto saraksts 1941* (List of Repressed Persons 1941), *Latvijas Arhīvi* 1–2, Pielikums (Rīga: Latvijas Republikas valsts arhīvu ģenerāldirekcija, 1995).

⁴ Anda Līce, compiler. and ed., *Via Dolorosa: Staļinisma upuru liecības* (Via Dolorosa: Testimonies of Victims of Stalinism), vols. 1–2 (Rīga: Liesma, 1990, 1993) 604, 622 pages; vols. 3–4 (Rīga: Preses nams, 1994, 1995) 312, 320 pages. An English edition: Astrid Sics, ed. and transl., *We Sang Through Tears: Stories of Survival in Siberia* (Rīga: Jānis Roze Publishers, 1999) 372 pages.

⁵ J[ānis] Riekstiņš, "Kulaki' Latvijā (1940.–1953. gads): Kā varasvīri Latvijā 'kulakus' taisīja un kādas sekas tas radīja ("Kulaks" in Latvia 1940–1953: How the Rulers Created the "Kulaks" and with What Results), *Dokumenti un fakti* (Rīga: Ievanda, 1996) p 129. A[inārs] Bambals, "Staļinisma genocīds pret Latvijas armijas karavīriem Baigajā gadā" (The Stalinist Genocide against Members of the Latvian Army during the "Horrible Year"), *Komunistiskā totalitārisma un genocīda prakse Latvijā: Zinātniskās konferences materiāli* (Rīga: Zinātne, 1992) pp. 74–86.

The international conference organized by the Commission on 14–15 June 1999 gave impetus to research on repressions carried out by the Soviet regime against the inhabitants of Latvia, including both mass and smaller scale deportations, arrests, torture and executions by the secret police.

In 2001, on the 60th anniversary of the 14 June 1941 mass deportation, a major international conference was organized under the aegis of the Sub-Commission. The Commission also helped subvention a major new list of the 15,424 deportees, *Aizvestie*.⁶ The conference presentations provided a comparative evaluation of the deportation from the perspectives and experiences of various nations. The majority of the participants, including all participants from Latvia, regarded the 14 June 1941 deportation in Latvia as a form of genocide based on several criteria named in Article 2 of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (9 December 1948).⁷ They rejected the attempts of conference participants from the Russian Federation to contest such an interpretation. The conference resolution, however, called for a more detailed evaluation and more thorough argumentation of this form of genocide.

The conference materials are being prepared for publication in 2002. Several research papers by Latvian historians not presented at the conference will be included as well. Dr. hist. Irēne Šneidere has prepared a report concerning Soviet retributions against civilians in Latgale (Eastern Latvia) June–early July 1941. Dr. hist. Ēriks Jēkabsons deals with Soviet repressions against ethnic minorities. He has also produced a co-authored report with Ainārs Bambāls concerning Soviet repressions against officers of the Latvian army. Ainārs Lerhis deals with the fates of Latvian diplomats.

Work in progress, to be completed by the end of 2001, includes several studies, including a study concerning collaboration during the first Soviet occupation. These studies are receiving financial support from the Commission. The results put forth underscore the fact that historical research concerning the crimes of the Soviet regime has significantly increased during the Commission's tenure.

Future Research

The following aspects need to be further studied and elaborated: the extent of Soviet repressions in occupied Latvia; the causes and reasons for collaboration; the social background of collaborators. It is also important to investigate the role of Latvia and the other Baltic States in the overall short and long-range plans of the Kremlin. Further research also must include studies concerning Soviet economic and nationalities policies, including Russification, cultural Sovietization and other aspects.

Further financial support is needed to carry out this research. Potential hurdles are posed by the relative inaccessibility of Russian archives. These are the main concerns about the future work of the Sub-Commission dealing with the first Soviet occupation 1940–41.

Second Sub-Commission: Holocaust in the Territory of Latvia during Nazi Occupation 1941-1945

The total annihilation of Jews, known as the Holocaust, in Nazi-occupied Latvia was the worst crime committed in Latvian territory in the twentieth century. It stands out because of the indescribable sadism with which it was committed and the huge number of victims.

Historical Background and Summary

The decision to annihilate the Jews was made by German occupation authorities. Latvia was not a sovereign state, and there were no Latvian institutions in existence that could have

⁶ Elmārs Pelkaus et al., eds., *Aizvestie: 1941. gada 14. jūnijs* (The Deported: 14 June 1941) (Rīga: Latvijas Valsts arhīvs, 2001) 808 pages.

⁷ See Article 2 of the Convention: "In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group." Cited from: Günter Hoog and Angela Steinmetz, eds., *International Conventions on Protection of Humanity and Environment*, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993) p. 32.

influenced the decision of the occupation authorities one way or another. Latvian civil society had been inflicted severe wounds by the brutal terror of the preceding Soviet occupation (17 June 1940–end of June 1941); it encountered German occupation physically and morally weakened.

The number of Holocaust victims comprises the largest single group of people who lost their lives because of occupation regimes from June 1940, the destruction of independence, to May 1945, the end of the war. More than 70,000 Latvian Jews and more than 20,000 Jews brought to Latvia from 1941 to 1944 from other occupied countries of Europe (Austria, the annexed parts of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Lithuania) and Germany proper were killed.

The total annihilation of the Jews and the killing of Jews from Latvia outside the territory of Latvia continued until the defeat of Germany in May of 1945. Shortly before the Soviet Army entered Riga on 13 October 1944, Nazi authorities transferred some 1500 Jews from the concentration camp "Lenta" and other camps to Liepāja. By March 1945, most of the prisoners had been transferred from Liepāja to Hamburg in Germany. Only a small number of the "Lenta" prisoners remained in Liepāja until the capitulation of Germany. Some 50 Jews who had escaped from the concentration camp in Dundaga hid out in the forests of Kurzeme; by the end of the war about half had survived. For those still living, the end of the Holocaust came on 9 May 1945. The same is true for those Jewish prisoners who had been transferred from the concentration camp "Kaiserwald–Riga" to the Stutthof concentration camp in Germany.

The Holocaust in the territory of Latvia is characterized by the fact that there were two periods of annihilation. During the first period, at the beginning of German occupation (July and August 1941), the annihilation was not always directed and administered centrally by the Nazi occupiers. The German Security Police (SD) was engaged primarily in general oversight and urged Latvian collaborators to carry out the murders. Local collaborators, especially in the provincial areas and towns, played an important role in the Holocaust. In the second period, from the fall of 1941 to May 1945, the annihilation was carried out by Nazi German occupation authorities as part of a planned, centralized and systematic policy.

One of the characteristics of Holocaust research in Latvia, especially concerning the first period in the summer of 1941, is the necessity to rely on sources whose evaluation requires particular caution and a critical approach: the investigation carried out by the Soviet Security Committee (KGB) during the second Soviet occupation in 1944–45, documents of Soviet court cases, the daily reports (*Ereignismeldungen*) and the semi-annual activity reports of the Nazi Operative Group A (*Einsatzgruppe A*) of the Security Service and SD. Another significant source, though of lesser importance, is Latvian provincial press from the Nazi occupation period.

Aims of the Sub-Commission

Holocaust research and education in Latvia has two very important aims:

1. To inform and educate the inhabitants of Latvia, especially the youth, about the Jewish tragedy and to keep alive the memory of the innocent victims.
2. To inform the international audience about the Holocaust in the territory of Latvia and to correct misinformation and erroneous stereotypes about it. To mention only three of the most widespread errors: (a) The stereotype that in independent Latvia there existed, before June 1940, a deep-seated anti-Semitism that was directly responsible for the annihilation of Latvia's Jews. Thus David J. Goldhagen in his bestseller *Hitler's Willing Executioners* asserts that radical anti-Semitism had informed Latvian culture in general.⁸ (b) The failure to note the fact that Latvia as an independent sovereign state ceased to exist in Latvian territory on 17 June 1940, as a result of Soviet military aggression. Thus the erroneous assumption is made that the Holocaust took place in the Latvian state with the acquiescence of independent Latvian institutions. (c) The assumption that in German-occupied Latvia widespread participation of the local population in the Holocaust took place. This opinion is

⁸ David Johan Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (London: Abacus, 1996) p. 409.

openly stated in the works of the Holocaust classic author Raul Hilberg, including his latest monograph on the topic.⁹

Previous Research

During the Soviet occupation, from 1944–45 on, Holocaust history was not a research object. A negative attitude toward research concerning the annihilation of Jews became even more pronounced in the 1960s and 1970s when the USSR actively promoted the "battle against Zionism" and supported the anti-Semitic resolution of the UN, which equated Zionism and racism. Research about the Holocaust in the territory of Latvia has been the topic of more than 25 books published outside Latvia, beginning with the second half of the 1940s: in the USA, Israel, Germany, Great Britain and other countries. Most of these books are memoirs. Scholarly studies have been published by Gertrud Schneider (USA.), Dov Levin (Israel), Hans–Heinrich Wilhelm and Helmut Krausnick (Germany), Mārgers Vestermanis (Latvia). The most significant work with lasting historiographic value is the monograph by Wilhelm and Krausnick about the role of the SD operative groups—the *Einsatzgruppen*—in the annihilation of Jews in Latvia.¹⁰ The most significant work completely devoted to the Holocaust in the territory of Latvia is the monograph by Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*.¹¹ This is the first work that presents the overall picture. The Latvian edition is especially significant because it contains a new chapter detailing the annihilation of Jews in a provincial district of Latvia, Ilūkste. This chapter is co-authored with Rudīte Vīksne, a researcher at the Institute of Latvian History of the University of Latvia. The most significant part of Ezergailis's work is the detailed description of the role of Latvian units in the Holocaust, especially the so-called Arājs Commando. Many scholarly works point out the indisputable criminal role of leading Nazi figures in the annihilation of Latvian Jews. These were the commanders of the security agencies of the occupying forces: Walter Stahlecker, Hans Adolf Prützmann, Friedrich Jeckeln, Heinz Jost, Rudolf Lange, as well as Latvian criminals: Viktors Arājs, Voldemārs Veiss, Roberts Štiglics, Mārtiņš Vagulāns. The role of Veiss, Roberts Osis, Kārlis Lobe and others in the first phase of the annihilation in the summer of 1941 needs to be investigated further. It must be noted that there had been little research concerning the Holocaust in the provinces.

Owing to years of dedicated work by historian Mārgers Vestermanis the Documentation Centre and Museum Jews in Latvia was established long before the Commission came into existence. Here, significant research and educational activities were carried on. The most extensive collection of testimonies by Holocaust survivors was collected here, and Museum staff members were the first to analyze KGB data concerning the murderers of the Jews. Already since 1989 Vestermanis has regularly published his findings in German academic publications. A part of the Museum's exposition was shown in Germany.

Work of the Sub-Commission

The formation of the Commission and the financial support by the state made possible a multi-faceted and broad investigation of the Holocaust in the territory of Latvia, involving several foreign scholars as well. During the present term of the Commission, two international conferences were organized: on 1–2 April 2000 in Līgatne, which included papers on teaching the Holocaust in the course on Latvian history in high schools, and on 16–17 October 2000 in Rīga, on Holocaust research problems. The materials of the Rīga conference have already been published. Several research papers are in English and all papers have been summarized in English so that the materials are available to a wide readership.¹² Mārgers Vestermanis, a member of the Commission, presented an analytic paper at the Rīga conference concerning the entire historiography on the Holocaust in Latvia, including works written in Yiddish and in Hebrew that had been mainly overlooked up to then.

⁹ Raul Hilberg, *Täter, Opfer, Zuschauer* (Frankfurt a.M., 1992) pp. 313–16.

¹⁰ Helmut Krausnick and Hans–Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges* (Stuttgart, 1981) 688 pages.

¹¹ Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia* (Rīga: Vēstures institūta apgāds, 1996) 465 pages; the expanded Latvian edition: Andrievs Ezergailis, *Holokausta okupētajā Latvijā* (Rīga: Vēstures institūta apgāds, 1999) 591 pages.

¹² Andris Caune, Aivars Stranga and Mārgers Vestermanis, eds., *Holokausta izpētes problēmas Latvijā / The Issues of the Holocaust Research in Latvia, Latvijas vēsturnieku komisijas raksti 2* (Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 2001) 408 pages.

During the present term, the following research work has been completed and published. (1) Dzintars Ērglis, "Several Holocaust Episodes in Krustpils: Beila Bella Veide." This work represents the newest Holocaust research direction in Latvia: investigation of the annihilation of Jews in small provincial towns. (2) Aivars Stranga, "Jewish Refugees in Latvia 1933–1940." (3) Rudīte Vīksne, "The Typical Member of the 'Arājs Commando' According to Soviet Court Records: Social Status, Education, Reasons for Enlistment, Court Sentence." (4) Marģers Vestermanis, "An Overview of the Saviours of Jews in Latvia." Vestermanis has determined that a total of 450 Jews were kept in hiding; of those 400 were saved and survived. Leo Dribins has completed a monograph *History of Anti-Semitism in Latvia*, which will be published in 2002.

During the Commission's tenure, the teaching of the history of the Holocaust in Latvian schools has considerably improved. The Commission cooperates in its educational efforts with the Latvian History Teachers' Association. Teacher exchanges between Israel and Latvia have been arranged.

The museum Jews in Latvia has obtained new, considerably larger exhibition space and has opened a new, improved and enlarged section dealing with Holocaust history. The Museum's staff members have produced three video films, a trilogy *Glābēji un izglābtie* (The Saviors and the Saved).

The Holocaust topic has also been taken up by provincial museums and their researchers. The work of Aigars Urtāns, Head of the History Section of the Bauska Regional History and Art Museum, deserves special mention. Regional history research has begun in Valdemārpils (Ēriks Propokovičs), in the Saldus area (Aldis Belsons) and in Pāvilosta. Maijers Mellers has begun collecting materials about the annihilation of Jews in the small towns of Latgale (Eastern Latvia).

The attitude of the general public toward Holocaust research has considerably improved since the beginning of the Commission's work. At this time, Holocaust research is taking place at all of the academic history research centers in Latvia: in the History Institute, the Faculty of History and Philosophy and the Jewish Studies Center (Project: "Oral History of Latvian Jews") of the University of Latvia; in the Museum Jews in Latvia; in the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia (1940–1991); in Daugavpils Pedagogical University (Dmitrijs Oļehnovičs). It is important to note that this research involves several promising young scholars (Svetlana Bogojavlenskaja, Dzintars Ērglis, Dmitrijs Oļehnovičs, Aigars Urtāns and others).

Future Plans

1. Rudīte Vīksne will continue research on the topic "The Holocaust in Latvian Provincial Towns and Districts." This topic will also be addressed and materials collected by Maijers Mellers, Aigars Urtāns and Dr. Grigorijs Smirins.
2. Marģers Vestermanis will continue his three research topics: (a) "Resistance of the Inhabitants of Latvia against the Holocaust"; (b) "Jewish Resistance against the Holocaust"; (c) "The History of the Concentration Camps Kaiserwald and Jungfernhof."
3. A Latvia-wide project will be started to ascertain and list the names of all Jews murdered in Latvian territory. This has already been done for Liepāja by the US scholar Edward Anders and Latvian scholar Juris Dubrovskis.¹³ Professor Ruvins Ferber of the Centre of Jewish Studies of the University of Latvia has led preparation of a research project to survey of all Jews murdered in Latvia.
4. Co-operation with the History Teachers' Association will continue with the following aims: (a) preparation of a collection of methodological teaching materials (author: Ieva Gundare, consultant: Marģers Vestermanis); (b) preparation of an audio-cassette *The Songs and Poetry of Ghettos and Concentration Camps in Latvia* as an aid for teaching the Holocaust in the schools (authors: Marģers Vestermanis and Vladens Šūlmans).

¹³ Edward Anders and Juris Dubrovskis, *Jews in Liepāja 1941–1945: A Memorial Book* (Burlingame, CA: Anders Press, 2001) 199 pages.

Further research topics include: (a) reactions of the inhabitants of Latvia to the mass annihilation of Latvian Jews under Nazi occupation; (b) evaluation of the attitudes toward Jews perceivable in Latvian press during Nazi occupation, especially articles condemning the "sympathisers of Jews"; (c) an encompassing research project concerning the attitudes of Latvian churches (Roman Catholic, Evangelical Lutheran, Orthodox and Baptist) toward the annihilation of the Jews.

Third Sub-Commission: Crimes against Humanity in the Territory of Latvia during Nazi Occupation 1941-1945

The so-called "German period" of the occupation is a most convoluted and contradictory time in Latvian history. The key to understanding this period is the objective evaluation of the context in which the events took place and a balanced perception of the past.

Historical Background and Summary

Nazi occupation replaced a Soviet occupation, which had been, for thousands of inhabitants of Latvia, a most tragic and wrenching experience. The hopes for renewed independence of Latvia turned out to have no foundation in reality. Nazi plans did not include a sovereign Latvia, but rather its subjugation and turning it into a Germanised province. As a "General District" (*Generalbezirk*) Latvia became part of the *Reichskommissariat Ostland*, which encompassed the territories of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and parts of Belarus. The so-called self-government that was formed in March 1942 had very limited authority. German sovereign power in the General District was exercised by a *Generalkommissar*, who was directly responsible to the *Reichskommissar*.

The Nazi occupation regime in Latvia ignored international law. It was fully responsible for the serious crimes against the civilian population that were carried out in the territory of Latvia. Nazi terror had a pronounced political and racist nature. Besides the Jewish Holocaust, the annihilation of the Roma and the mentally deficient was carried out. German repressions turned also against Communists and Soviet activists, as well as participants in various national resistance groups. Local inhabitants were caught up in the repressive system created by the occupiers. They were mobilized for military duty or sent as forced laborers to Germany. Nazi economic policy was aimed at the complete pilfering of Latvia.

Previous Research

The criminal nature of the Nazi occupation regime's policies has been dealt with in many historical treatises. Until the 1990s these questions could be seriously researched only in the West. In Latvia, all historical literature about Nazi occupation policies was to a great extent politicized and subjected to Communist ideological interpretation. It was basically the view of the Soviet occupiers about the "German period" in Latvia and as such—fragmentary, incomplete and one-sided.

Significant advances were made in the early 1990s, involving historians from Latvia and exile Latvian historians. Several document collections were published, thus expanding the available sources for research. Several monographs were published as well, such as by Haralds Biezais, *Latvija kāškrusta varā* (Latvia in the Grip of the Swastika),¹⁴ by Heinrihs Strods, *Zem melnbrūnā zobena* (Under the Black-and-Brown Sword)¹⁵ and Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*,¹⁶ which analyzed the most characteristic applications of Nazi policies in Latvian territory. Tens of articles appeared in scholarly periodicals, among

¹⁴ Haralds Biezais, *Latvija kāškrusta varā: Sveši kungi — pašu ļaudis* (Latvia in the Grip of the Swastika: Foreign Masters—Own Servants) ([Lansing, MI]: Gauja, 1992) 535 pages.

¹⁵ Heinrihs Strods, *Zem melnbrūnā zobena: Vācijas politika Latvijā* (Under the Black-and-Brown Sword: German Policies in Latvia), Rīga, 1994.

¹⁶ Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Rīga: The Historical Institute of Latvia, 1996) 465 pages. The expanded Latvian version was published in 1999.

which those of Kārlis Kangeris stand out with their professional approach and meticulous documentation.¹⁷

Latvian historians must continue this work by devoting special attention to Nazi crimes against humanity. An encompassing scholarly overview of the "Nazi period" of Latvia is a prime necessity.

Current and Future Research

The Commission has succeeded in activating new research activities. In the area of the Sub-Commission's charge these include:

1. *The determination of exact numbers of victims of Nazi persecution.* The numbers named in historical literature are oftentimes exaggerated and thus untrustworthy. The historians Uldis Neiburgs and Kaspars Zellis have now begun to inventory those repressed or killed during the Nazi occupation. A database is being developed with the following parameters: surname, first name, birth data, residence, occupation, charge, place of detention, the end result, etc. This database will provide scholars with empirical evidence and help identify groups of the prosecuted and repressed.
2. *The Nazi repressive system in Latvia.* Much new research is needed here. Attention must be given to the structure of Nazi prisons and concentration camps, as well as their functioning mechanisms. The formation of the police apparatus also deserves serious study, especially concerning the formation and the functions of the Latvian police battalions. Historical literature is still unable to provide answers to several questions, such as the reason for the formation of these battalions and the role they played in the repressive system of the occupying regime. A comparative study of similar formations in Nazi-occupied Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine is also of importance. These topics are being addressed by Kārlis Kangeris and other colleagues.
3. *Collaboration with Nazi occupation authorities.* Work in this area must be intensified. At present, Edvīns Evarts is conducting research regarding one aspect of collaboration, but a lot more needs to be done to elucidate the problem in its totality. Attention must be above all paid to the specific characteristics of Nazi occupation in Latvia, such as the fact that two different occupations, the Soviet and the Nazi, occurred within a brief period; the contemporary sense and understanding of loyalty by the population (for the main part—loyalty toward the Latvian state, which was destroyed *de facto*); attitudes toward the Nazi occupiers; and mass psychology at the time. The main characteristics of Nazi occupation must be worked out, especially the determining factors of the preceding Soviet occupation and the desire to regain independence.
4. *Historiographic research.* It has already been started (Inesis Feldmanis, Antonijs Zunda, Jānis Taurēns). This work is necessary to help determine areas that still need detailed attention. It also provides a chance to evaluate views of foreign authors about the German occupation period in Latvia.

Problems of Research

1. *A most important research problem is the process by which the Nazi occupation replaced the Soviet occupation in Latvia in the summer of 1941.* Juris Pavlovičs has been commissioned to start work on this topic. It is important to determine on which dates German occupation started in provincial towns and townships in Latvia, how the system of German command posts (*Kommandanturen*) developed early in the occupation and how the local "self-defense" units were involved in the German command structure. It is unclear, for example, which German institutions controlled the "self-defense" units.

¹⁷ Kārlis Kangeris. "Die baltischen Völker und die deutschen Pläne für die Räumung des Baltikums," *Baltisches Jahrbuch* (1988), pp. 177–196. Kārlis Kangeris. "Kollaboration vor der Kollaboration?" *Okkupation un Kollaboration (1938–1945)*, Berlin: Huthig, 1994, pp. 165–190. Kārlis Kangeris. "Die Deutschbalten und die nationalsozialistische Okkupationspolitik im Baltikum: Fragen der Rückkehr und des Einsatzes der Deutschbalten in Lettland 1941–1944," *Die deutsche Volksgruppe in Lettland. Bibliotheka Baltica 2000*, pp. 187–206.

2. *It is also necessary, in this connection, to solve the so-called "interregnum" problem, namely the question whether and to what extent in late June and early July 1941 there existed a power vacuum without effective control. Right now, two diametrically opposed views are represented in historical literature. One is the relatively untested and questionable thesis that there was a period of interregnum. Thus it is asserted that "there was no real German occupation, at least in the early phase, that Latvians acted on their own (for days, weeks, even months) without German control and orders." It is also asserted that members of the "self defense" "shot the Jews without German presence and knowledge." The opposite side is represented by historians who argue that Germans established immediate and tight control and that there was no extended interregnum.*
3. *Another important question is Latvian involvement in German armed forces. The numbers mentioned range from ca. 80,000 to 160,000. The newest research (Kangeris) suggests that the exact number may be closer to 100,000, of whom about 70% were members of the "Latvian SS Volunteer Legion." Despite the title "volunteer," the main recruiting tool was conscription. The proportion of real volunteers may not exceed 15%, but reliable data are difficult to come by because of lacking documentation.*
4. *It is important to counteract disinformation about the nature of Latvian involvement in German fighting units spread by Soviet agencies. The determination of the numbers and the method of recruitment of Latvians in German units is one way to show that there existed no direct link between the battle units of the Latvian Legion and war crimes committed by earlier military and paramilitary formations. The connection claimed by Soviet propaganda, "self defense"-police battalions-Legion, established guilt by association and is not supported by facts. Latvian soldiers were not involved in repressive acts, and no Latvian legionnaire has been accused or tried for war crimes in connection with service in the Legion. The Legion was formed after the last mass murders of Latvian Jews had taken place. The mere fact that members of former Latvian units under the control of the German Security Police SD later became members of the Latvian Legion does not make the Legion a criminal organization. "The Nuremberg war tribunal's final decree clearly determined persons who are to be considered part of the criminal organization SS in its totality. Persons conscripted by force who had not committed war crimes were exempted" (Kangeris).*
5. *The formation of the Latvian legion must be viewed and evaluated in the context of similar military formations and their actions in all of Nazi-occupied and administered countries. Such a view demonstrates that the Latvian Legion was not an exceptional creation, but it also allows conclusions to be drawn about the unique situation of Latvia. Latvian legionnaires fought only against Soviet armed forces, the army of the state that had occupied Latvia and deprived it of its independence, had persecuted and repressed its civilian population and was threatening to occupy it again.*

Difficulties Facing Research

In order to achieve considerable progress in researching the policies of Nazi occupation, it is necessary to ascertain and sift through large amounts of documentary material located in the archives in various countries.

Fourth Sub-Commission: Crimes against Humanity in the Territory of Latvia during the Soviet Occupation 1944–56

Aims of the Sub-Commission

The encompassing objective of the Sub-Commission is the investigation of all aspects of the second Soviet occupation of Latvia (1944–1991), including the economic, social, ethnic and cultural policies and their implementation. To fulfill these objectives, three areas must be researched first:

1. It is necessary to investigate and lay bare distortions and falsifications of fact put out by the authorities during the occupation period. These range from distortions of economic performance to falsifications of crimes against humanity. If the Nazi rulers (1941–45) tried to justify and legitimize their crimes against humanity by referring to the crimes of the previous Soviet regime (1940–41), the Communist rulers in turn legitimized their crimes by referring to Nazi crimes and creating historical myths.
2. It is necessary to investigate and reveal the internal workings of the central and local power structures of the Soviet Union and their real role in economy and public life, including agricultural policy, ethnic relations and cultural policy.
3. It is of prime importance to investigate criminal aspects of the occupying power and its administrative structures, emphasizing crimes against humanity.

The latter area of investigation is in the immediate purview of the Historical Commission's charge. Because of these crimes committed by both occupation powers and their war, Latvia lost a large number of its population, including most of its national elites, as well as its traditional minorities, Germans and Jews. The total loss is estimated at 325,000 (17%) as compared to 1940.¹⁸ Besides physical annihilation, mental deprivation took place. These crimes against humanity were not episodic. They continued throughout the occupation period and affected all population groups.¹⁹

Previous Research

Post-World War II crimes against humanity in Latvia were first researched by exile Latvian historians. With few exceptions,²⁰ exile research was hampered by the absence of substantial source material. Publications were oftentimes journalistic in nature. Memoir literature also developed in exile. Historians in Latvia could get involved only after the renewal of independence. Three research directions dominate in Latvia at this time: document discovery and edition, monographic publications and publications of eyewitness testimonies.

The first articles and documents about this topic were published by the history journal of the University of Latvia, *Latvijas vēsture* (The History of Latvia) in 1991.²¹ The journal continues its activities on a broad basis.

From the mid-1990s, the Latvian State Archive became an important center for the edition and publication of documents.²² Crimes against humanity committed by the Communist

¹⁸ Pārsla Eglīte, "Latvijas iedzīvotāju skaita un etniskā sastāva veidošanās XX gadu simtenī" (The Development of the Size and Ethnic Composition of Latvia's Population in the Twentieth Century), *Latvijas Okupācijas muzeja gadagrāmata 2001 Yearbook of the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia*, ed. Heinrihs Strods (Rīga: Okupācijas muzeja fonds, 2002) in print. Eglīte estimates the total loss of population 1940–1959, including Latvian Jews. The number 325,000 is her low estimate.

¹⁹ The estimates of people persecuted and repressed during the occupation regime indicate that about 1/3, or 600,000–700,000, of the population was directly affected. See P. Zvidriņš, J. Vanovska, *Latvieši. Statistiski demogrāfisks portretējums* (Rīga: Zinātne, 1992) pp. 23–24. Also: M. Šmulders, "The Results of 70 Years of Bilateral Relations between Latvia and the USSR," *Latvijas Zinātņu akadēmijas Vēstis*, (1992) 1: 31–38.

²⁰ Adolfs Šilde, *The Profits of Slavery: Baltic Forced Laborers and Deportees under Stalin and Khrushchev* (Stockholm: Latvian National Foundation, 1958) 302 pages. Periodical publications of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies are: *Journal of Baltic Studies* and *Baltic Studies Newsletter*. Articles published in the *JBS* and in books published by the AABS are indexed in: Laurence Kitching, *Baltic Studies Indexes 1970–1997* (Hackettstown, NJ: AABS, 1998), 136 pages. Tadeušs Puisāns, ed., *Okupācijas varu nodarītie postījumi Latvijā 1940–1990* (Stockholm/Toronto: Memento/Daugavas Vanagi, 2000) 592 pages.

²¹ *Latvijas vēsture*, a quarterly published by the University of Latvia continuously since 1991.

regime in the post-war period are well documented in the Latvian State Archive's annotated edition *Policy of Occupation Powers in Latvia 1939–1991*.²³ The document collections published by the Latvian State Archive are an important contribution to the documentation and further research on the second Soviet occupation. However, these collections emphasize more the human and economic losses than the role of various armed and non-violent forms of resistance.

The history of armed resistance was investigated by several scholars between 1994 and 1998.²⁴ Armed resistance of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian people against the occupation power, which in 1944 involved an estimated 80,000 men, was the most extensive partisan war in the history of these nations. It went by almost unnoticed by public opinion in the West. Research has been done about the 25 March 1949 mass deportations from the Baltic, which took ca. 94,000 from their homelands and were in part directed against the supporters and family members of the partisans. According to declassified documents from Russian archives, the deportations were planned in Moscow and carried out by local occupation authorities.²⁵

During the last few years both the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia (1940–1991) and the War Museum of Latvia have conducted research and published articles on crimes against humanity in Latvia in their yearbooks.²⁶ The Center for the Documentation of the Consequences of Totalitarianism also has a research program.

During the ten years of renewed independence, many eyewitness accounts have been published, mainly written by former participants in resistance groups and deportees to forced labor camps and settlement areas.²⁷ These accounts confirm many of the facts found in documentary sources. However in many cases they are published in a manner that decreases their value as historical sources: they lack biographical data about their authors and professional historical commentaries. The Occupation Museum is working on an encompassing database of such materials in its possession to allow scholars easy access to basic information (names, birth and family data, places, dates, organizations, record of imprisonment or administrative resettlement, type of document, key biographical data) and make cross-checking of information among various sources possible.²⁸

The following factors are currently impeding the development of a strong research program on crimes against humanity during the post-World War II period: absence of a research center, insufficient financing, lagging coordination of research in Latvia and in the Baltic, as well as limited access to foreign archives, especially in Russia.

²² Jānis Riekšņis, ed., *Represēto saraksts 1941–1953* (List of Repressed Persons), 2 vols. (Rīga: Latvijas valsts arhīvs, 1995). Jānis Riekšņis, ed., *Represēto saraksts 1949*, 4 vols. (Rīga: Latvijas valsts arhīvs, 1995). Elmārs Pelkaus et al., eds., *Aizvestie: 1941. gada 14. jūnijs* (The Deported: 14 June 1941) (Rīga: Latvijas Valsts arhīvs, 2001), 808 pages.

²³ Elmārs Pelkaus, ed., *Policy of Occupation Powers in Latvia 1939–1991: A Collection of Documents* (Rīga: State Archives of Latvia/Nordik, 1999), 624 pages (also in Latvian and Russian).

²⁴ Heinrihs Strods, *Latvijas nacionālo partizānu karš 1944–1956* (The War of the Latvian National Partisans) (Rīga: Preses nams, 1996) 574 pages. Heinrihs Strods compiler and ed., *Latvijas nacionālo partizānu karš: Dokumenti un materiāli 1944–1956* (Rīga: Preses nams, 1999) 656 pages.

²⁵ Heinrihs Strods, "PSRS Valsts drošības ministrijas pilnīgi slepenā Baltijas valstu iedzīvotāju isūtišanas operācija 'Krasta banga' (*priboj*)" (The Top Secret Operation "Surf" (*priboj*) Carried out by the State Security Ministry to Deport Inhabitants from the Baltic States), *Latvijas vēsture*, nr. 2 (1998) pp. 38–47. Also in *Latvijas Okupācijas muzeja gadagrāmata 1999 Yearbook of the Occupation Museum of Latvia 1999* (Rīga: Okupācijas muzeja fonds, 2000) pp. 164–186. Also published in Lithuanian, Russian and Ukrainian.

²⁶ *Latvijas Okupācijas muzeja gadagrāmata 1999 Yearbook of the Occupation Museum of Latvia*, ed. Heinrihs Strods (Rīga: Okupācijas muzeja fonds, 2000) 282 pages. *Latvijas Okupācijas muzeja gadagrāmata 2000 Yearbook of the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia*, ed. Heinrihs Strods (Rīga: Okupācijas muzeja fonds, 2001) 340 pages.

²⁷ Anda Līce, compiler and ed., *Via Dolorosa: Staļinisma upuru liecībasi* (Via Dolorosa: Testimonies of Victims of Stalinism), vols. 1–2 (Rīga: Liesma, 1990, 1993) 604, 622 pages; vols 3–4 (Rīga: Preses nams, 1994, 1995) 312, 320 pages. An English edition: Astrid Sics, ed. and transl., *We Sang Through Tears: Stories of Survival in Siberia* (Rīga: Jānis Roze Publishers, 1999) 372 pages.

²⁸ Matthew (Matīss) Kott, "Gaining Ground on the Battlefield of Public History: The Work of the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, June 1999–June 2000," *Latvijas Okupācijas muzeja gadagrāmata 2000 Yearbook of the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia* (Rīga: Okupācijas muzeja fonds, 2001) p. 309.

Work of the Sub-Commission

The Sub-Commission agenda for 2000 included three main problem areas on the theme "Crimes against Humanity during Soviet Occupation 1944–56." Seven scholars participated in the research projects.

1. *Repressive Organs of the Occupation Power and Genocide in Latvia*. This problem area was addressed by Indulis Zālīte, Ritvars Jansons and Aldis Bergmanis. They investigated the formation of the security apparatus of the Latvian SSR, identified the top leaders and their role in crimes against humanity during their tenure. Besides investigating the overall activities of all such Soviet-style agencies, including the KGB and its predecessor office, they focused specifically upon their role in the battle against national partisans. The counterintelligence activities of security agencies alone were responsible for the deaths of some 60 partisans and their leaders. This work is continuing with the aim of producing a monograph on the history of the Peoples Commissariat of the Interior, the Ministry for State Security and the State Security Committee (KGB). The dearth of factual material is the greatest obstacle to this project.
2. *The Destruction of the Economic, Social and Ethnic Structure of Latvia*. "The Genocide of Latvian Farm Population and Forced Collectivization" is a research paper by Daina Bleiere. Her research is based on archival materials and extensive review of secondary literature, both Latvian and foreign. She concludes that the destruction of traditional family farms and Soviet-style collectivization was the least accepted policy of the occupation regime. It led to wholesale mismanagement and despoliation of ownerless land under the administration of incompetent and irresponsible members of the Communist nomenclature and to various kinds of repression, including a mass deportation of farm families that resisted collectivization. An exodus of the farming population to the cities was one of the consequences; immigration of farm workers who had gotten used to malingering in the Soviet Union filled the void. Thus the entire economic, social and ethnic structure of the countryside was, in effect, dismantled.

"The Formation of Military–Industrial Production Facilities in the Territory of Latvia and the Subordination of Industry to Military Needs" is the title of Juris Ciganovs's analysis. To operate these Soviet military–industrial facilities trustworthy cadres of workers were moved from Russia to Latvia. Factory equipment obtained from Germany had to be reimbursed by Riga to Moscow.

"The Colonization of Latvia by Migrants" is addressed by Jānis Riekstiņš. He concludes that the internal migration from the Soviet Union brought three main groups to Latvia: (1) "spontaneous migrants," (2) "retired military personnel," (3) "planned migrants." They changed the traditional ethnic composition of Latvia.

Research on these topics is continuing by more extensive inclusion of materials found in Russian archives and foreign secondary sources.

3. *Resistance in Latvia*. "Youth Non-Violent Resistance in Latvia" was researched by Heinrihs Strods. Three modes of resistance were identified: (1) refusal to participate (mainly 1944–48); (2) anti-Soviet youth groups (1944–59); (3) involvement in general resistance. The non-violent youth resistance, which involved thousands of young people, had no organized center; individuals and groups worked autonomously. The demands of non-violent individuals and groups included the cessation of occupation and the restoration of an independent democratic state. The work continues and will be concluded in the next few years as a history of non-violent resistance in Latvia from 1944 to 1991.

Future Research

It is important to expand the scope of investigations beyond 1956. Contrary to some Western opinions that Soviet totalitarianism changed and assumed subtler forms after 1956, the changes were mainly in the operative mode rather than in the basic nature of totalitarianism. The underlying premises did not change, and even Gorbachev's *perestroika* was not able to change them. With this expanded scope in mind, the following long-term research projects must be added to the projects already mentioned:

1. Activities of exile Latvians and the international democratic society for the restoration of Latvian independence 1944–90.
2. The role of Christian churches in Latvia and abroad in the resistance 1944–90.
3. Investigation of armed and non-violent resistance in all provincial districts of Latvia and among various population groups.
4. The causes, forms and effects of collaboration.
5. The social, economic, cultural and ethnic policies and practices of the occupation power.
6. Creation of a database of all national partisans who were killed in action, murdered and who perished in Soviet prison camps, utilizing the experience of Estonian historians.
7. Creation of a database of inhabitants of Latvia who were deported in February 1945 and on 25 March 1949.

These projects must lead to the clarification of the following problem areas:

1. The role of the centralized power in Moscow, the local authorities, the collaborators and the migrants in enforcing occupation.

The effects of the policies and actions of the occupation power, especially the crimes against humanity, on deferred development of Latvia, problems of transition to a democratic society and problems of integration into Europe.

立陶宛、拉脫維亞、愛沙尼亞三國關於轉型正義及前共黨處理
相關法規清單

一、立陶宛

法規名稱	年份
Law on rehabilitation of persons repressed for resistance to occupation regime (last amended on November 13, 2008, No. X-1814)	1990
Decree N° 418 Banning KGB Employees and Informers from Government Positions	1991
Law on the Restoration of the Rights of Ownership of Citizens to the Existing Real Property	1991
Law on State Pensions	1994
Law on Documents and Archives	1995
Public apologies speech	1995
Law on the Centre of Research of the Genocide and Resistance of the Lithuanian Population	1997
Law on the Legal Status of the People of the Republic of Lithuania Who Fell Victims to the Occupations of 1939-1990	1997
Law on the Restitution of Remaining Immovable Property Rights of the Citizens of The Republic of Lithuania	1997
Law on State Support to the Participants of Armed Resistance	1997
Law on State Support to Families of the Fallen Participants of the Resistance against the 1940-1990 Occupations	1998

法規名稱	年份
International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania; composed by International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania	1998
Law on Registering, Confession, Entry into Records and Protection of the Persons Who Have Admitted to Secret Collaboration with Special Services of the Former USSR	1999
Law on the Assessment of the USSR State Security Committee (NKVD, NKGB, MGB, KGB) and the Current Activities of the Staff Members of this Organisation	1999
Law on Compensation of Damage Resulting from the Occupation by the USSR	2000
Rules of Procedure of the International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and the Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania	2000
Amendments to the Law on the Legal Status of Participants of Resistance to 1939-1990 Occupations (1997)	2007

二、拉脫維亞

法規名稱	年份
Law Concerning the Rehabilitation of Illegally Repressed People	1990
Law Concerning Lands Reform in the Rural Areas of the Republic of Latvia	1990
Law Concerning Amnesty for Persons Punished for Military Crimes	1991

法規名稱	年份
Law Concerning the Free Development of National and Ethnic Groups and their Rights to Cultural Autonomy	1991
Decision Concerning the Anti-constitutional Activities on the Latvian Communist Party in the Latvian Republic	1991
Decision On the Cessation of the Activities of the Security Services of the USSR in the Republic of Latvia	1991
Law Concerning the Denationalization of Private Real Estate in the Republic of Latvia and Law Concerning the Return of Real Estate to Lawful Owners	1992
Law on Citizenship	1995
Saeima Election Law	1995
Law Concerning the Determination of Repressed Status for Persons Who Suffered under the Communist and Nazi Regimes (amended in 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, and 2004)	1995
Commission of the Historians of Latvia	1998
Declaration on condemnation of the totalitarian communist occupation regime implemented in Latvia by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2005

三、愛沙尼亞

法規名稱	年份
Decree to rehabilitate all individuals convicted for political crimes in the Soviet Russian criminal code	1990

法規名稱	年份
Principles of Ownership Reform Act	1991
Implementation Law	1991
Law on the Rehabilitation of Persons Extra-judicially Repressed and Wrongfully Convicted	1992
Act on Procedure for Taking the Oath of Conscience	1992
Decision establishing the Estonian State Commission on Examination of the Policies of Repression	1992
Election Law on City and Town Councils, District Councils and Pagasts Councils, banned those who belong or have belonged to the salaried staff of the USSR, the Latvian SSR or another country's state security, intelligence or counterintelligence services from running in local elections	1994
Lustration Law (Law on Procedure for Registration and Disclosure of Persons who Have Served in or Co-operated with Intelligence or Counter-intelligence Organisations of Security Organisations or Military Forces of States which Have Occupied Estonia)	1995
Law on Citizenship	1995
Law Concerning the Determination of Repressed Status for Persons Who Suffered under the Communist and Nazi Regimes (amended in 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, and 2004)	1995
Decision establishing the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity	1998
Law on Persons Repressed by Occupying Powers	2003

法規名稱	年份
Public apologies speech	2005
Law creating the Memory Institute	2008

資料來源：<http://www.proyectos.cchs.csic.es/transitionaljustice/content/latvia> 。