

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The Argentine Experience]



National Endowment
for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world



SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Acuña, Carlos, Smulovitz, Catalina, Militares en la transición argentina: del gobierno a la subordinación constitucional, in VVAA: *Juicio, castigos y memorias. Derechos humanos y justicia en la política argentina*, Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 1995
- Aguila, Gabriela, “La dictadura militar argentina: interpretaciones, problemas, debates”, in *Páginas. Revista digital de la Escuela de Historia UNR*, Year 1, No. 1, 2008
- Alcántara, Manuel, Paramio, Ludolfo, Freidenberg, Flavia, Déniz, José, *Reformas económicas y consolidación democrática*, Madrid: Síntesis, 2006
- Alfonsín, Raúl, *Memoria política*, Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2009
- Argentina Country Report*, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 1980
- Arriagada, Genaro, Garreton, Manuel, “Doctrina de Seguridad Nacional y régimen militar”, in *Estudios Sociales Centroamericanos*, 1979, (20), 129–153
- Arosa, Ramón, *De Constitución a Retiro. Reseña y reflexiones del Jefe de la Armada 1984–1989*, Buenos Aires: Instituto de Publicaciones Navales, 2008
- Barrio, Fernando, “Trump entregó a Macri los nuevos archivos desclasificados de la Dictadura”, in *Perfil*, April 27, 2017, <http://www.perfil.com/noticias/perfil-usa/trump-entrego-a-macri-los-nuevos-archivos-desclasificados-de-la-dictadura.phtml>
- Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, UN General Assembly, December 16, 2005, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/RemedyAndReparation.aspx>
- Boletín Oficial de la República Argentina, December 13, 1983
- Brysk, Allison, *The Politics of Human Rights in Argentina*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994
- Camilión, Oscar, *Memorias políticas. De Frondizi a Menem (1956–1996)*, Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2000
- Canelo, Paula, “Construyendo elites dirigentes. Los gobernadores provinciales durante la última dictadura militar (Argentina, 1976–1983)”, in *Anuario del Centro de Estudios Históricos “Prof. Carlos S. A. Segreti”*, Year 11, No. 11
- Canelo, Paula, *El Proceso en su laberinto. La interna militar de Videla a Bignone*, Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2008
- Canelo, Paula, “La H es muda, pero habla. La palabra pública del represor Albano Harguindeguy entre 1976 y 2012”, paper presented at II Seminario de Discusión “Investigaciones y debates sobre la palabra pública de los represores”, Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social (IDES), September 7, 2018
- Canelo, Paula, *La política secreta de la última dictadura argentina (1976–1983): A 40 años del golpe de Estado*, Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2016
- Canelo, Paula, “La politique sous la dictature argentine. Le Processus de réorganisation nationale ou la tentative inachevée de refonte de la société (1976–1983)”, in *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d’Histoire*, No. 105, janvier–mars 2010
- Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (CELS), *Acceso a la información sobre violaciones a derechos humanos durante la dictadura cívico-militar (1976–1983) en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires, CELS, August 2014
- Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (CELS), *Derechos Humanos en la Argentina. Informe 2017*, Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2017
- Crenzel, Emilio, “El archivo de la CONADEP. Una perspectiva desde una experiencia de investigación en Ciencias Sociales”, in *Memoria Abierta, III Encuentro Regional de Archivos y Derechos Humanos, “El Archivo y el testimonio”*, Buenos Aires, 21 and 22 of September, 2009
- Crenzel, Emilio, “Veinticinco años de democracia en Argentina, un balance desde los derechos humanos”, in *Naveg@mérica. Revista electrónica de la Asociación Española de Americanistas* [online], 2011, volume 6
- Crenzel, Emilio, “Verdad, justicia y memoria. La experiencia argentina ante las violaciones a los derechos humanos de los años setenta revista”, in *Telar*, 2015, vol. 13–14
- Dandan, Alejandra, “Militares retirados que se reciclan en cargos de defensa”, in *page 12*, February 1st, 2016, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-291548-2016-02-01.html>
- Da Silva Catela, Ludmila, El mundo de los archivos, in Da Silva Catela, Ludmila, Jelin, Elizabeth, eds., *Los archivos de la represión: Documentos, memoria y verdad*, España: Siglo XXI Editores, 2002
- Decree No. 377/95, *Boletín Oficial de la República Argentina*, March 28, 1995
- “Denuncian un ‘vaciamiento’ en la investigación de archivos de la dictadura”, in *Perfil*, January 18, 2018, <http://www.perfil.com/noticias/politica/denuncian-un-vaciamiento-en-la-investigacion-de-archivos-de-la-dictadura.phtml>
- de Greiff, Pablo, “Los esfuerzos de reparación en una perspectiva internacional: el aporte de la compensación al logro de la justicia imperfecta”, in *Revista Estudios Socio-Jurídicos*, 2005, vol. 7 (Esp), agosto, 2005, 153–199
- Donadío, Marcela, *De los golpes a la colaboración. Una mirada a la mentalidad profesional en el Ejército Argentino*, Master’s Thesis, Buenos Aires: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), 2000, www.resdal.org/Archivo/mar-5.htm
- Druetta, Gustavo, Estévez, Eduardo, López, Ernesto, Miguens, José, *Defensa y Democracia. Un debate entre civiles y militares*, Buenos Aires: Puntosur, 1990
- Druetta, Gustavo, “Herencia militar y lucha parlamentaria”, in *Nuevo Proyecto*, (5–6), Buenos Aires: Centro de Estudios Para el Proyecto Nacional, 1989, 185–204
- Duhalde, Eduardo Luis, *El Estado Terrorista Argentino. Quince años después, una mirada crítica*, Buenos Aires: El Caballito, 1983
- Eissa, Sergio, *Hielos Continentales. Las variables domésticas en la política exterior argentina*, Buenos Aires: Fundación Síntesis, 2005

- Eissa, Sergio, *¿La irrelevancia de los Estados Unidos? La política de defensa argentina (1983–2010)*, Buenos Aires: Arte y Parte, 2015
- Eissa, Sergio, “Redefiniendo la defensa: posicionamiento estratégico defensivo regional”, in *Revista SAAP*, (1), 7, Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político, 2013, 41–64
- “El Vaticano también desclasificará sus archivos secretos sobre la dictadura argentina”, in *Infobae*, March 19, 2016, <https://www.infobae.com/2016/03/19/1798315-el-vaticano-tambien-desclasificara-sus-archivos-secretos-la-dictadura-argentina/>
- Estévez, Eduardo, “Las Fuerzas Armadas en la transición argentina”, in *Perfiles Liberales*, Bogotá: Fundación Friedrich Naumann, (17), 1990
- Estévez, Eduardo, “Reforma de sistemas de seguridad pública e investigaciones judiciales: tres experiencias en la Argentina”, paper presented at the International Conference on Crime and Violence: causes and policies of prevention, Bogotá: Banco Mundial and Universidad de los Andes, 2000
- Estévez, Eduardo, “Relaciones civiles – militares y política en la Argentina: de Alfonsín a Menem”, paper presented at the Seminar “Las Fuerzas Armadas y la Democracia”, Academia Libertad y Desarrollo, Fundación Friedrich Naumann – Stiftung, Sintra, 1991
- Feld, Claudia, Franco, Marina eds., *Democracia, hora cero. Actores, política y debates en los inicios de la postdictadura*, Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015
- Fraga, Rosendo, El concepto de las hipótesis de conflicto, in Cisneros, Andrés (Comp.), *Política exterior argentina 1989–1999. Historia de un éxito*, Buenos Aires: Nuevo Hacer. Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1998, 237–273
- Fraga, Rosendo, *La cuestión militar 1987–1989*, Buenos Aires: Editorial del Centro de Estudios para la Nueva Mayoría, 1989, 99
- Frontalini, Daniel, Caiati, María Cristina, *El mito de la guerra sucia*, Buenos Aires: CELS, 1984
- García, José, Ballester, Horacio, Rattenbach, Augusto, Gazcón, Carlos, *Fuerzas Armadas Argentinas. El cambio necesario: bases políticas y técnicas para una reforma militar*, Buenos Aires: Galerna, 1987
- Garretón, Manuel, *Incomplete Democracy*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003
- Gartner, Alicia, *Historia Oral, memoria y patrimonio. Aportes para un abordaje pedagógico*, Buenos Aires: Imago Mundi, 2015
- Ginzberg, Victoria, “Papeles de la prisión”, in *page 12*, 14 de marzo de 2014, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-241786-2014-03-14.html>
- Goyochea, Águeda, Pérez, Mariana Eva, Surraco, Leonardo, “Definiciones del universo de víctimas desde el Estado post0-genocida: la invisibilidad de los hijos de desaparecidos y asesinados como sujetos de derechos”, working paper, 2011
- Guembe, María José, “La experiencia argentina de reparación económica de graves violaciones de derechos humanos”, CELS, 1994
- Hilb, Claudia, *Usos del pasado. Qué hacemos hoy con los setenta*, 2da edición, Buenos Aires: Editorial Siglo XXI, 2014
- Huntington, Samuel, *La tercera ola. La democratización a finales del siglo XX*, Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1995
- Huser, Herbert, *Argentine Civil-Military Relations. From Alfonsín to Menem*, Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 2002
- International Institute for Strategic Studies (1978), “Balance Militar”, in *Ejército. Revista de las Armas y los Servicios*, XXXIX (461), Madrid: Ejército de Tierra
- Interview with Nahuel Perlinger, Secretary General of the Chamber of Cassation in Criminal and Correctional Matters of the Federal Capital, who intervened as a judicial officer in trials for crimes against humanity during the last dictatorship, between 2002 and 2012, Buenos Aires, April 24, 2018
- IPPDH-Mercosur (Instituto de Políticas Públicas de Derechos Humanos del Mercosur), *Principios fundamentales para las Políticas Públicas sobre Sitios de Memoria*, Buenos Aires: IPPDH-Mercosur, 2012
- Jaunarena, Horacio, *La casa está en orden. Memoria de la transición*, Buenos Aires: TAEDA, 2011
- Kalmanowiecki, Laura, Policing the people, building the state. The police-military Nexus in Argentina 1880–1945, in Davis, Diane, Pereira, Anthony (Ed.), *Irregular armed forces and their role in politics and state formation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008
- Lafferriere, Guillermo, Soprano, Germán, *El Ejército y la política de defensa en la Argentina del Siglo XXI*, Buenos Aires: Protohistoria Ediciones, 2015
- Larraquy, Marcelo, *Argentina. Un siglo de violencia política. 1890–1990. De Roca a Menem. La historia del país*, Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2017
- Larraquy, Marcelo, “La UCR y la década del '70: ‘Cuando decíamos “elecciones libres, sin proscripciones ni condicionamientos”, se nos cagaban de risa’”, in *Infobae*, April 16, 2018, <https://www.infobae.com/politica/2018/04/16/la-ucr-y-la-decada-del-70-cuando-deciamos-elecciones-libres-sin-proscripciones-ni-condicionamientos-se-nos-cagaban-de-risa/>
- Law No. 12.642, March 2001
- La Nación Newspaper, April 29, 1983
- La Nación Newspaper, September 24, 1983
- La Nación Newspaper, April 24, 1999
- La Prensa Newspaper, February 24, 1992
- Lessa, Francesca, *Amnesty in the Age of Human Rights Accountability: Comparative and international perspectives*, United States: Cambridge University Press, 2012
- López, Ernesto, La introducción de la Doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional en el Ejército Argentino, in Moreno, O. (Coord.), *La construcción de la Nación Argentina. El rol de las Fuerzas Armadas. Debates históricos en el marco del Bicentenario 1810/2010*, Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Defensa, 2010

- López, Ernesto, *Ni la ceniza ni la gloria. Actores, sistema político y cuestión militar en los años de Alfonsín*, Quilmes: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1994
- Lorenz, Federico, Archivos de la represión y memoria en la República Argentina, in Pérotin-Dumon, Anne, *Historizar el pasado vivo en América Latina*, 2007, <http://www.historizarelpasadovivo.cl/>
- Lorenz, Federico, “Lecciones contra el olvido. Memoria de la Educación y Educación de la Memoria”, in *Educación y Memoria en Argentina: las Memorias de la “Dictadura Militar” en la Escuela*, Barcelona: Octaedro, 2011, 259–279
- “Los ‘33 orientales’, hombres clave para las leyes de defensa”, in *Clarín*, December 31, 2007, https://www.clarin.com/ediciones-antiguas/33-orientales-hombres-clave-leyes-defensa_0_HkNeJtC0aYl.html
- Mainwaring, Scott, Brinks, Daniel, Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, “Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945–1999”, in *Studies in Comparative, International Development*, 2001, (1), 37–65
- Manzotti, Gloria Cecilia, “Reestructuración de las FF.AA.: hacia la consolidación de una política de defensa y una cuestión presupuestaria”, IV National Congress of Political Science, Argentine Society of Political Analysis (SAAP), Rosario, 2003
- Martínez, Pablo, *La reestructuración de las FF.AA. y el rol del Congreso. La experiencia argentina*, La Paz: Centro de Estudios Hemisféricos de Defensa, 2002
- Martínez, Pablo, Pascale, Norberto, El parlamento y la defensa en la Argentina, in Follietti, Gilda, Tibiletti, Luis (Eds.), *Parlamento y defensa en América Latina. El papel de las comisiones. Volumen 1: Argentina, Brasil, Chile y Uruguay*, Buenos Aires: Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL), 2004, 53–69
- McAdam, Andrew, Sukup Viktor, Katiz, Claudio, Raúl Alfonsín. *La democracia a pesar de todo*, Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 1999
- McSherry, Patrice, *Incomplete transition. Military power and democracy in Argentina*, Lexington: Authors Guild Backprint.Com Edition, 2008
- Memoria Abierta, *Guía de archivos útiles para la investigación judicial de delitos de lesa humanidad*, Buenos Aires: Memoria Abierta y Unidad Fiscal de Coordinación y Seguimiento de las Causas por Violaciones a los Derechos Humanos cometidas durante el Terrorismo de Estado, 2011
- Mignone, Emilio, *Derechos Humanos y Sociedad. El caso argentino*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Colihue, 1991
- Ministerio de Defensa, *Actas Secretas de la Dictadura*, Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Defensa de la República Argentina, 6 Tomos, <http://www.mindef.gov.ar/archivosAbiertos/> Available 20/9/2018
- Ministerio de Defensa, *Informe Rattenbach*, Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Defensa, 2012 [1982]
- Ministerio de Defensa, *Instructivo para la consulta de los acervos documentales de las Fuerzas Armadas*, Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Ministerio de Defensa, Ministerio de Defensa, Presidencia de la Nación, 2011
- Ministerio de Educación de la Nación, *Los “Lugares de Memoria” como Propuesta de Enseñanza*, Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación de la Nación, 2015
- Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos de la Nación, Secretaría de Derechos Humanos, *Espacios de Memoria en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Secretaría de DD.HH., Presidencia de la Nación, 2015
- Mittelbach, Federico, Mittelbach, Jorge, *Sobre Áreas y Tumbas. Informe sobre desaparecidos*, Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2000
- Montenegro, Germán, “El marco normativo y doctrinario de la defensa nacional”, in *Revista de la Defensa Nacional*, (1), Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Defensa, 2007, 14–27
- Muleiro, Vicente, *1976. El golpe civil*, Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2011
- National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons, *Nunca Más. Report of the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons*, Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2017
- Nazar, Mariana, “Debate I. Dictadura, archivos y accesibilidad documental. A modo de agenda”, at the Centre for Legal and Social Studies (CELS) (Ed.), *Human Rights in Argentina. 2007 Report*, Buenos Aires: CELS, 2007
- Nino, Carlos, *Juicio al mal absoluto. Los fundamentos y la historia del juicio a las Juntas del Proceso*, Buenos Aires: EMECE, 1996
- Novaro, Marcos, *Historia de la Argentina 1955–2010*, Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2010
- Novaro, Marcos, Palermo, Vicente, *La Dictadura Militar 1976/1983: Del golpe de Estado a la restauración democrática*, Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2003
- Ocantos, Ezequiel González, “Persuade Them or Oust Them: Crafting Judicial Change and Transitional Justice in Argentina”, in *Comparative Politics*, 46, 4, 2014
- O’Donnell Guillermo, “Accountability horizontal: la institucionalización legal de la desconfianza política”, in *Revista Española de Ciencia Política*, 2004, (11), 11–31
- O’Donnell, Guillermo, *Catacumbas*, Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2008
- O’Donnell Guillermo, “Delegative Democracy”, in *Journal of Democracy*, 1994 (1), 5, 55–69
- O’Donnell, Guillermo, Schmitter, Philippe, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1986
- O’Donnell, Guillermo, Schmitter, Phillippe, Whitehead, Lawrence, *Transiciones desde un gobierno autoritario*, Barcelona: Paidós, 1988
- O’Donnell, Guillermo, “Transiciones, continuidades y algunas paradojas”, in *Cuadernos Políticos*, 1989, (56), 19–36
- Oral Federal Criminal Court No. 5, “Case No. 1261–1268 – ‘Olivera Róvere, Jorge Carlos and others /homicidio, privación ilegítima de la libertad, tormentos y otros delitos del Código Penal’”, Buenos Aires: Poder Judicial de la Nación, December 10, 2009
- Oszlak, Oscar, *La formación del Estado argentino*, Buenos Aires: Planeta, 1997
- Panolo, Alicia, “Terrorismo de Estado: La reparación en números”, in *Adelanto24*, March 14, 2017, <http://adelanto24.com/2017/03/14/terrorismo-de-estado-la-reparacion-en-numeros/>
- Paradiso, José, *Debates y trayectorias de la política exterior argentina*, Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1993

- Penelli, Sebastián, “Documento con información oficial militar computa al menos 22.000 víctimas del Terrorismo de Estado”, in *Ámbito Financiero*, March 27, 2017, <http://www.ambito.com/877233-documento-con-informacion-oficial-militar-computa-al-menos-22000-victimas-del-terrorismo-de-estado>
- Perelli, Carina, Legacy of transition to democracy in Argentina and Uruguay, in Goodman, Louis W., Mendelson, Joanna S. R., Rial, Juan, eds., *The military and democracy. The future of civil-military relations in Latin America*, Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990, 93–106
- Pertot, Werner, “Nuevos secretos pueden salir a luz”, in *page 12*, March 18, 2016, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-294874-2016-03-18.html>
- Pion-Berlin, David, Civil-Military Circumvention. How Argentine State institutions compensate for a weakened chain of command, in Pion-Berlin, David (Ed.), *Civil-military relations in Latin America. New Analytical Perspectives*. Carolina del Norte: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001, 135–160
- Quiroga, Hugo, *El tiempo del Proceso. Conflictos y coincidencias entre políticos y militares. 1976–1983*, Rosario: Homo Sapiens Ediciones, 2004
- Rapoport, Mario, *Historia económica, política y social de la Argentina (1880–2000)*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Macchi, 2000
- Rapoport, Mario, Spiguel, Claudio, *Política exterior argentina. Poder y conflictos internos (1880–2001)*, Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2005
- República Argentina – Ministerio de Defensa, *Libro Blanco de la Defensa 2015*, Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Defensa, 2015
- Revista Gente, March 30, 1995
- Revista Microsemanario, Year 5, No. 189, March 25 to April 2, 1995
- Revista Noticias, December 8, 1991
- Romero, Luis Alberto, *Breve historia contemporánea de la Argentina. 1916–2010*, Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017
- Romero, Luis Alberto, “La violencia en la historia argentina reciente: un estado de la cuestión”, paper presented at the Workshop Historizing a troubled and living past in memory: Argentina, Chile, Peru, London: Institute of Latin American Studies, London University, 2003
- Rouquié, Alain, *Poder militar y sociedad política en la Argentina. Tomo I*, Buenos Aires: Hyspamerica, 1986
- Russell, Roberto, El proceso de toma de decisiones en la política exterior argentina (1976–1983), in Russell, Roberto (Ed.), *Política exterior y toma de decisiones en América Latina*, Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1990
- Russell, Roberto, Políticas exteriores: hacia una política común, in Rapoport, Mario (Comp.), *Argentina y Brasil en el MERCOSUR. Políticas comunes y alianzas regionales*, Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1995, 34–40
- Sabato, Hilda, “Los organismos de Derechos Humanos”, in *Derechos Humanos en Argentina. Informe 2004*, CELS, <https://www.cels.org.ar/web/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/IA2004-Dossier-2-Los-organismos-de-derechos-humanos.pdf>
- Saín, Marcelo, *La Casa que no cesa. Infortunios y desafíos en el proceso de reforma de la ex SIDE*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Octubre, 2016
- Saín, Marcelo, “Los intocables”, in *page 12*, January 26, 2010, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-139049-2010-01-26.html>
- Saín, Marcelo, *Los votos y las botas. Estudios sobre la defensa nacional y las relaciones civil-militares en la democracia argentina*, Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010
- Saín, Marcelo, *Seguridad, democracia y reforma del sistema policial en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002
- Salles Kobilanski, Facundo, “La política de las reformas policiales a nivel subnacional en Argentina: algunas contribuciones y lecciones desde la ciencia política”, in *Cuadernos de Seguridad*, no data, Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Seguridad, http://www.minseg.gob.ar/sites/default/files/cuadernos/14_Kobilanski.pdf
- Schwarzstein, Dora, “Historia Oral: memoria e historias traumáticas”, in *HISTORIA ORAL*, 4, 2001, 73–83, <http://arpa.ucv.cl/articulos/memoriaehistoriastraumaticas.pdf>
- Schwarzstein, Dora, “Memoria e Historia”, in *Desarrollo Económico*, 42, 167, Buenos Aires: IDES, 2002, 471–482
- “Según EE.UU., son 22.000 los muertos o desaparecidos víctimas de la represión entre el 75 y el 78 en Argentina”, in *DERF*, December 5, 2003, http://www.derf.com.ar/despachos.asp?cod_des=1770
- Seoane, María, *El dictador*, Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2001
- Sikkink, Kathryn, *The Justice Cascade. How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing World Politics*, New York: Norton, 2011
- Varas, Augusto, *Democratización y reforma militar en Argentina*, ponencia presentada en el Seminario Internacional “Autonomización castrense y democracia: dinámica del armamentismo y del militarismo en América Latina”, CLACSO-FLACSO-SERC, Santiago de Chile, 1985
- Verbitsky, Horacio, Bohoslavsky, Juan Pablo (Eds.), *Cuentas pendientes. Los cómplices económicos de la dictadura*, Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2013
- Verbitsky, Horacio, *Civiles y militares: memoria secreta de la transición*, Buenos Aires: Contrapunto, 1987
- Verbitsky, Horacio, “Cuentas Pendientes”, in *page 12*, April 13, 2014, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-244021-2014-04-13.html>
- Verbitsky, Horacio, “Nuevas/Viejas Amenazas”, in *page 12*, undated, <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/2001/01-02/01-02-25/pag11.htm>
- Vezzetti, Hugo, *Sobre la violencia revolucionaria. Memorias y olvidos*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Siglo XXI, 2009
- Young, Gerardo, *Código Stiuso*, Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2015
- Young, Gerardo, *Side. La Argentina secreta*, Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2006

WEBSITES

<https://www.abuelas.org.ar/>
<http://www.apdh-argentina.org.ar/>
<https://www.argentina.gob.ar/derechoshumanos/proteccion/leyesreparatorias>
<https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sitiosdememoria/mapacentrosclandestinos>
<https://www.cels.org.ar/web/>
https://www.clarin.com/ciudades/homenaje-desaparecidos-200-baldosas-recuerdan-capital_0_HkjEzem9G.html
<http://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/archivo/gestion-y-preservacion/>
<http://www.derechoshumanos.net/lesahumanidad/informes/argentina/informe-de-la-CONADEP-Nunca-mas.htm>
<http://www.derechos.org/ddhh/arg/ley/conadep.txt>
<http://www.desaparecidos.org/nuncamas/web/document/document.htm>
<https://www.dw.com/en/argentina-ex-ford-executives-on-trial-for-aiding-1970s-dictatorship-torture/a-41857423>
<http://www.hijos-capital.org.ar/>
www.latinobarometro.org
<https://www.madres.org>
<http://memoriaabierta.org.ar/wp/organismos-integrantes/>
<http://serpaj.org.ar>
<http://servicios.abc.gov.ar/docentes/efemerides/24marzo/htmls/presentacion.pdf>
<http://servicios.infoleg.gob.ar/>

www.cevro.cz/guide

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The Cambodian Experience]



**National Endowment
for Democracy**
Supporting freedom around the world



SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Arunrasmy, Norodom, Jeldres, Julio A., *A Life Dedicated to Cambodia: Commemorating the Life and Times of His Majesty the King Father, Preah Bat Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia*, Phnom Penh: The Princess Royal Norodom Arunrasmy, 2012
- Bultmann, Daniel B., *Inside Cambodian Insurgency: A Sociological Perspective on Civil Wars and Conflict: A Sociological Perspective on Civil Wars and Conflict*, Farnham, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015
- Chandler, David, *A History of Cambodia*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 4th edition, 2007
- Chandler, David, "Cambodia deals with its past: Collective memory, demonisation and induced amnesia", in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 2008, (9), 2-3, 355-369
- Chandler, David, *Voices from S-21: Terror and history in Pol Pot's secret prison*, University of California Press, 1999
- Charline, Yim, "Scope of Victim Participation before the ICC and the ECCC", Memorandum, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2011, http://www.d.dccam.org/Abouts/Intern/ECCC_ICC_Victim_Participation_C_Yim.pdf
- Chhang, Youk, "Restoring Cambodian Community and Way of Life: Breaking the Silence", in *Searching for the Truth Magazine*, First Quarter, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2010
- Chy, Terith, "Questions on Additional Prosecution Posted by the Co-Prosecutors at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC)", 2009
- Chy, Terith, *When the Criminal Laughs*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2014
- Ciorciari, John D., Chhang, Youk, Documenting the Crimes of Democratic Kampuchea, in Ramji, Jaya and Schaack, Beth V. (ed.), *Bringing the Khmer Rouge to Justice, Prosecuting Mass Violence Before the Cambodian Courts*, Edwin Mellen Pr, 2005
- Ciorciari, John D., History and Politics Behind the Khmer Rouge Trials, in Ciorciari, John D., Heindel, Anne, (ed.), *On Trial: The Khmer Rouge Accountability Process*, Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2009
- Ciorciari, John D., Heindel, Anne, "Experiments in International Criminal Justice: Lessons from the Khmer Rouge Tribunal", 35 Mich. J. Int'l L. 369, 2014
- Ciorciari, John D., "Justice and Judicial Corruption", Cambodia Tribunal Monitor, 2007
- Ciorciari, John D., Sok-Kheang, Ly, The ECCC's Role in Reconciliation, in Ciorciari, John, Hendel, Anne (Eds.), in *On Trial: The Khmer Rouge Accountability Process*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2009
- Cougill, Wynne, "Buddhist cremation traditions for the dead and the need to preserve forensic evidence in Cambodia", Documentation Center of Cambodia, http://www.d.dccam.org/Projects/Maps/Buddhist_Cremation_Traditions.htm
- DeFalco, Randle, "Case 003 and 004 at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal: The Definition of 'Most Responsible' Individuals According to International Criminal Law", in *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 8: Issue 2: 45-65, 2014
- Dwyer, Owen J., Alderman, Derek H., "Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors", in *GeoJournal*, 2008, (73), 3, 165-178
- Dy, Khamboly, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea 1975-1979*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2007
- Dy, Khamboly, *Genocide Education in Cambodia: Local Initiatives, Global connections*, Rutgers University, PhD Dissertation, 2015
- "ECCC at a glance", January 2018, https://www.eccc.gov.kh/sites/default/files/publications/ECCC%20at%20a%20glance%20-%20january%202018_5.pdf
- Fawthrop, Tom, Jarvis, Helen, *Getting Away With Genocide, Elusive Justice and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal*, University of New South Wales Press, 2005
- Findlay, Trevor, *Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995
- Gottesman, Evan, *Cambodia After the Khmer Rouge: Inside the Politics of Nation Building*, Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2003
- Heder, Steve, "A Review of the Negotiations Leading to the Establishment of the Personal Jurisdiction of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia", Cambodia Tribunal Monitor, 2011
- Heindel, Anne, Overview of the Extraordinary Chambers, in John Ciorciari and Anne Heindel (ed.), *On Trial: The Khmer Rouge Accountability Process*, Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2009
- Human Rights Watch, "Cambodia's Dirty Dozen: A Long History of Rights Abuses by Hun Sen's Generals", June 2018
- Hunt, Luke, "Cambodia's Well-Heeled Military Patrons", in *The Diplomat*, August 10, 2015
- International Bar Association, "The ECCC - A Failure of Credibility", 2012
- "In Sihanouk's words: the Cambodian monarch's private archives", in *Bangkok Post*, 25 February 2009, <https://www.pressreader.com/thailand/bangkok-post/20090301/282720517870470>
- "Inauguration of the Memorial to Victims of the Democratic Kampuchea Regime at Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum", Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, 26 March 2015, <http://giz-cambodia.com/inauguration-of-the-memorial-to-victims-of-the-democratic-kampuchea-regime-at-tuol-sleng-genocide-museum/>
- Jeffery, Renée, "Beyond Repair?: Collective and Moral Reparations at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal", in *Journal of Human Rights*, 13:1, 2014, 103-119
- Jeffery, Renée, "The Forgiveness Dilemma: Emotions and Justice at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal", in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Routledge, 2015, Vol. 69, No. 1, 35-52
- Keo, Dacil, Yin, Nean, *Fact Sheet*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2011

- Ledgerwood, Judy, "The Cambodian Tuol Sleng museum of genocidal crimes: National narrative." In *Museum Anthropology*, (21), 1, 1997, 82–98
- Kheang, Un, "Cambodia – Moving Away from Democracy?," in *International Political Science Review*, 2011, (32), 546–562
- Kheang, Un, Ledgerwood, Judy, "Cambodia in 2001: Toward Democratic Consolidation?," in *Asian Survey*, 2002, (42), No. 1 (January/February 2002), 100–106
- Kiernan, Ben, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975–79*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996
- Kirchenbauer, Nadine, et al., "Victims Participation before the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia: Baseline Study of the Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association's Civil Party Scheme for Case 002," Phnom Penh: ADHOC, 2013
- "Late King's Biographer Donates Archives to Documentation Center," in *VOA Cambodia*, 25 September 2015, <https://www.voacambodia.com/a/late-king-biographer-donates-archives-to-documentation-center/2977210.html>
- Manikas, Peter M., Bjornlund, Eric, "Cambodia's 1998 Elections: The Failure of Democratic Consolidation," in *New England Journal of Public Policy*, Vol. 14, Iss. 1, 145–160
- McCargo, Duncan, "Politics by other means? The Virtual trials of the Khmer Rouge tribunal," in *International Affairs* 87:3, 2011
- McPherson, Poppy, "Memorial plan prompts debate about victims and perpetrators of genocide," in *The Phnom Penh Post*, 9 May 2014, <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/7days/memorial-plan-prompts-debate-about-victims-and-perpetrators-genocide>
- Nem, Sowath, *Civil War Termination and the Source of Total Peace in Cambodia*, Phnom Penh: Reahoo, 2012
- Noseworthy, William B., "National Archives of Cambodia," University of Wisconsin-Madison, 13 March 2014, http://dissertationreviews.org/archives/8169?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=national-archives-cambodia
- "No third Khmer Rouge trial, says Hun Sen," in *RFI*, 2010, <http://en.rfi.fr/asia-pacific/20101027-no-third-khmer-rouge-trial-says-pm>
- Open Society Justice Initiative, "Political Interference at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia," July 2010, <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/political-interference-courts-cambodia-20100706.pdf>
- Open Society Justice Initiative, "Recent Developments at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia," 2012
- Pheaktra, Neth, "Sihanouk donates archives," in *The Phnom Penh Post*, 24 February 2009, <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/sihanouk-donates-archives>
- Public Affairs Section of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) (2018), "Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan Sentenced to Life Imprisonment in Case 002/02," Press Release dated on November 16, https://www.eccc.gov.kh/sites/default/files/media/20181116%20Case%20002.02%20Press%20Release_ENG_Final.pdf. For Trial Chamber's Summary of Judgement Case 002/02, please visit: https://www.eccc.gov.kh/sites/default/files/media/20181116%20Summary%20of%20Judgement%20Case%20002-02_Courtesy%20Copy_Public%20version_Final-ENG.pdf
- Remsburg, Robin E., Carson, Barbara, Rehabilitation, in Lubkin, Ilene, Larsen, Pamala (Eds.), *Chronic Illness: Impact and Interventions*, Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 2006, 579–16
- Richie, Richard, "Preserving Khmer Rouge Archives," in *Focus on Global Resources*, Fall 2005, Vol. 25, Num.1, <https://www.crl.edu/focus/article/493>
- Scheffer, David, "The Negotiating History of the ECCC's Personal Jurisdiction," *Cambodia Tribunal Monitor*, 2011
- SEAPA (Southeast Asian Press Alliance), "[Cambodia] How to dismantle a democracy?," 4 May 2018, <https://www.seapa.org/cambodia-how-to-dismantle-a-democracy/>
- Sirik, Savina, Seng, Kunthy, Men, Pechet, "Museum of Memory: Promoting Healing in Cambodia through History, Culture and Arts," in Dudley, Sandra, Message, Kylie (Eds.), "Museum Worlds: Advances in Research," *Berghahn Journals*, Vol. 2, 2014
- Slocomb, Margaret, *The People's Republic of Kampuchea, 1978–1989: The Revolution After Pol Pot*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silksworm Books, 2003
- Sok-Kheang, Ly, "Remember 17 April," in *Searching for the Truth Magazine*, First Quarter, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2012
- Sok-Kheang, Ly, *Reconciliation Process in Cambodia: 1979–2007 before the Khmer Rouge Tribunal*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2017
- Stackhouse, Rayna, "Khmer Rouge History Phone App to Educate Cambodian Youth," in *The Cambodia Daily*, August 29, 2016
- Strangio, Sebastian, *Hun Sen's Cambodia*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014
- Thomas, Sarah, Chy, Terith, Including the Survivors in the Tribunal Process, in Ciociari, John D., Hendel Anne (Eds.), *On Trial: The Khmer Rouge Accountability Process*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2009
- Tinh hinh Campuchia, gioi thieu voi cac vi tham gia hoi gam voi Doan Quoc hoi Campuchia [Cambodia's Situation [introduction for [Vietnamese] leaders who will meet the Cambodian National Assembly delegation]. Luu Tru Quoc Gia No. 3 [National Archive No. 3], Ho So Phu Thu Tuong [Prime Minister's Office Files], PTT 1589, 36–37
- Vachon, Michelle, "When I Believed in the Khmer Rouge," in *The Cambodia Daily*, 2006, <https://www.cambodiadaily.com/stories-of-the-month/when-i-believed-in-the-khmer-rouge-438/>
- Van Schaack, Beth, Reichert, Daryn, Chhang, Youk, (Eds.), *Cambodia's Hidden Scars: Trauma Psychology and the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia*, Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2nd Edition, 2016
- Victims Support Section and Civil Party Lead Co-Lawyers of the ECCC, "ECCC Reparation Program 2013–2017 for the Victims of the Khmer Rouge Regime 1975–1979," 2013, <http://vss.eccc.gov.kh/images/stories/2014/Reparation.pdf>

Whitley, Kelly, History of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal: Origins, Negotiations, and Establishment, in Ciorciari, John D. (ed.), *The Khmer Rouge Tribunal*, Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2006

“Yale scholar of Cambodia, Ben Kiernan, uncovers rare 19th-century Khmer-language documents”, Department of History at Yale University, 17 May 2018, <https://history.yale.edu/news/yale-scholar-cambodia-ben-kiernan-uncovers-rare-19th-century-khmer-language-documents>

WEBSITES

Anlong Veng Peace Center: <http://d.dccam.org/Projects/AVPC/avpc.htm>

Cambodia Genocide Databases (CGDB), Yale University Genocide Studies Program, <https://gsp.yale.edu/cambodian-genocide-databases-cgdb>

Documentation Center of Cambodia: <http://d.dccam.org/>

Overview of DC-Cam holdings: <http://www.d.dccam.org/Archives/index.htm>

Santebal Microfilms, Yale University Genocide Studies Program, <https://gsp.yale.edu/santebal-microfilms>

Sleuk Rith Institute: <http://www.cambodiasri.org/>

Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum: <http://www.tuolslenggenocidemuseum.com/>

Youth for Peace: <http://www.yfpcambodia.org/>

www.cevro.cz/guide

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The Czech Experience]



National Endowment
for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world



SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Act No. 82/1968 Sb., on Judicial Rehabilitation
- Act No. 170/1970 Sb., amending the Act No. 82/1968 Sb., on Judicial Rehabilitation
- Act No. 119/1990 Sb., on Judicial Rehabilitation
- Act No. 198/1993 Sb., on the Unlawfulness of the Communist Regime and Resistance against It
- Act No. 140/1996 Sb., on making publicly accessible files resulting from the activities of the former State Security Police
- Act No. 107/2002 Sb., amending the Act No. 140/1996 Sb., on the access to records created by the activity of the State security, and on some other acts
- Act No. 262/2011 Sb., on Participants in Anti-Communist Opposition and Resistance
- Ash, Timothy Garton, *We the People: The Revolution of '89*, London: Penguin Granta, 1990
- Balík, Stanislav, Hloušek, Vít, *The development and transformation of the Czech party system after 1989*, Praha: Acta Politologica, Univerzita Karlova, 2016
- Benda, Patrik, ed., *Přehled svazků a spisů vnitřního zpravodajství centrály Státní bezpečnosti v roce 1989*, Praha: ÚDVZK, 2003
- Benda, Patrik, Žáček, Pavel, eds., Denní situační zprávy StB z listopadu a prosince 1989, in *Securitas Imperii*, 2000, (6/III)
- Bílek, Jiří: *Pomocné technické prapory 1950–1954*, Praha: Nakladatelství R, 1992
- Blažek, Petr: “Akty revoluční spravedlnosti. Limity pražského jara, soudní rehabilitace a bývalí političtí vězni”, in Žáček, Pavel and oth., *Vyjádření úcty a vděčnosti. 2. sborník o protikomunistickém odboji*, Praha: MO ČR – VHÚ, 2015
- Borák, Mečislav, Janák, Dušan, *Tábory nucené práce v ČSR 1948–1954*, Šenov u Opavy: Tilia, 1996
- Bukovsky, Ladislav, “Archiv bezpečnostních složek – základní informace”, in *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek*, 2008, (6), 7–18
- Bukovsky, Ladislav, “Archivy bezpečnostních složek po dvaceti letech. Úvod k tzv. Quintanově zprávě”, in *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek*, 2009, (7), 7–13
- Czech National Council Act No. 97/1974 Sb., on Archiving
- David, Roman, *Lustration and Transitional Justice. Personnel Systems in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011
- Deset pražských dnů. 17.–27. listopad 1989. Dokumentace*, Praha: Academia, 1990
- Drda, Adam: *Příběhy bezpráví – příběhy vzdoru*, Praha: Člověk v tísni, 2009
- Dvořáková, Vladimíra, Kunc, Jiří, *O přechodech k demokracii*, Praha: SLON, 1994
- Fiala, Petr, Holzer, Jan, Mareš, Miroslav, Pšeja, Pavel, *Komunismus v České republice*, Brno: IIPS, 1999
- Friedrich, Carl Joachim, Brzezinski, Zbigniew, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, New York: Harvard University Press, 1961
- Frolík, Jan, “Několik poznámek k ‘Zveřejnění evidenčních podkladů a seznamu personálních spisů podle zákona č. 107/2002 Sb. Ministerstvem vnitra České republiky’”, in *Sborník Archivu ministerstva vnitra*, 2004, (2), 311–313
- Frolík, Jan: Transformace ministerstva vnitra a bezpečnostních složek, in: *Zkušenosti české transformace X crossing*, Praha, b. d., 62–65
- Fuková, Hana: *Rehabilitace politických vězňů v Československu. Zákony o soudní rehabilitaci z let 1968 a 1990*, Doctoral Dissertation, Praha: FSV UK, 2012
- Gebauer, František, Kaplan, Karel, Koudelka, František, Vyhnálek, Rudolf, eds., *Soudní perzekuce politické povahy v Československu 1948–1989. Statistický přehled*, Praha: ÚSD AV ČR, 1993
- Gregor, Pavel, “Informace o činnosti odboru vyšetřování”, in *Securitas Imperii*, 2006, (14), 424–432
- Grisová, Hana, *K 231. Sdružení bývalých politických vězňů. Příčiny jeho vzniku a zániku*, Doctoral Dissertation, Olomouc: FF UP Olomouc, 2009
- Halla, Josef, Průběh a podmínky rehabilitací a odškodnění v českých zemích, in Fajmon, Hynek, ed. *Sovětská okupace Československa a její oběti*, Brno: CDK, 2005
- Havlůjová, Hana, Najbert, Jaroslav a kol., *Paměť a projektové vyučování v dějepise*, Praha: ÚSTR, 2014
- Hloušek, Vít, Kopeček, Lubomír, *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties. East-Central and Western Europe Compared*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010
- Hoppe, Jiří, *Opozice '68. Sociální demokracie, KAN a K 231 v období pražského jara*, Praha, Prostor, 2009
- Hradecká, Vladimíra, Koudelka, František, *Kádrová politika a nomenklatura 1969–1974*, Praha: ÚSD AV ČR, 1998
- Huntington, Samuel, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961
- Jareš, Jakub: Český “komunismus” v muzeu. Mapování muzejní krajiny a konstitutivní faktory pro její formování, in Šustrová, Radka, Hédlová, Luba, eds., *Česká paměť. Národ, dějiny a místa paměti*, Praha: Památník Lidice, 2014, 356–376
- Jestřáb, Miloš, Hladil, Vladimír, *Soudní rehabilitace. Komentář k zákonu č. 82/1968 Sb., o soudní rehabilitaci*, Praha: Horizont, 1969
- Kaplan, Karel, *Tábory nucené práce v Československu v letech 1948–1954*, Praha: Nakladatelství R, 1992
- Kaplan, Karel, Paleček, Pavel, *Komunistický režim a politické procesy v Československu*, Brno: Barrister & Principal, 2001
- Kalous, Jan, Bárta, Milan, Sivoš, Jerguš, Žáček, Pavel, Několik poznámek k vývoji organizační struktury Ministerstva vnitra a Ministerstva národní bezpečnosti Československé (socialistické) republiky v letech 1945–1989, in: Kalous, Jan and oth., eds., *Biografický slovník představitelů ministerstva vnitra v letech 1948–1989. Ministři a jejich náměstci*, Praha: ÚSTR, 2009, 9–38
- Karl, Terry Lynn, Schmitter, Philippe C., “Models of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe”, in *International Social Journal*, 1991, (128), 269–284

- Kol. autorů: *Memory of Nation*. Praha: Post Bellum, 2015; http://www.pametnaroda.cz/data/page/File/PN_promo9.3._CZn.pdf
- Kol. autorů: *Soudní rehabilitace. Komentář k zákonu č. 119/1990 Sb.*, Praha, 1990
- Kopeček, Lubomír, *Éra nevinnosti. Česká politika 1989–1997*, Brno : Barrister & Principal, 2011
- Kopeček, Lubomír, *Trajectories of the Left. Social Democratic and (Ex-)Communist Parties in Contemporary Europe: Between Past and Future*, Brno: IIPS, 2005
- Kozák, Jiří, *Právo na pomezí diktatury a demokracie. Právní vyrovnání s totalitní minulostí v České republice po roce 1989*, Praha: Auditorium 2014
- Místa paměti česko-německého soužití. Sborník příspěvků z conference pracovní skupiny Česko-německého diskusního fora Místo paměti v Chebu 5. 6 2010*, Praha: Antikomplex pro Collegium Bohemicum, 2011, 16–23
- Leškiewicz, Rafał, Žáček, Pavel, eds., *Handbook of the European Network of Official Authorities in Charge of the Secret Police Files*, Prague: ÚSTR, IPN, 2013
- Linz, Juan J., *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, Boulder–London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000
- Linz, Juan J., Stepan, Alfred, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation, Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*, Baltimore–London: JHU Press, 1996
- Liška, Otakar a kol., eds., *Tresty smrti vykonané v Československu v letech 1918–1989*, Sešity No. 2, Praha: ÚDV, 2006
- Machonin, Pavel, Tuček, Milan, Geneze nové sociální struktury v České republice a její sociální aktéři, in Šafaříková, Vlasta a kol., eds., *Transformace české společnosti 1989–1995*, Brno: Doplněk, 1996, 9–49
- Majer, Jiří, “Muzeum třetího odboje v Příbrami (1992–1997)”, in: *Podbrdsko*, 1997, (4), 199–202
- Majer, Jiří, The museum of the Third Resistance, Příbram. Koncepce, činnost, perspektiva, in: Dolák, Jan, ed., *Muzea v procesu transformace / Museums in Transformation Process*, Brno: MU, 2004, 73–78
- Možný, Ivo, *Proč tak snadno... Některé rodinné důvody sametové revoluce. Sociologický esej*, Praha: SLON, 1999
- Novák, Miroslav, *Une transition démocratique exemplaire? L'émergence d'un système de partis dans les pays Tcheques*, Prague: CeFReS, 1997
- Pejčoch, Ivo, *Vojáci na popravišti*, Cheb: Svět křídel, 2011
- Pourová, Jitka, “Hlavní správa vojenské kontrarozvědky – III. správa SNB – a zpřístupňování dokumentů vzniklých její činností v souladu se zákonem č. 107/2002 Sb.”, in *Sborník Archivu Ministerstva vnitra*, 2005, (3), 413–419
- Prečan, Vilém, *Charta 77 1977–1989*, Scheinfeld–Praha–Bratislava: ČSDS, ÚSD ČSAV, Archa, 1990
- Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Market. Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991
- Pulec, Martin, *Organizace a činnost ozbrojených pohraničních složek. Seznamy osob usmrcených na státních hranicích 1945–1989*, Sešity 13, Praha: ÚDV, 2006
- Pullmann, Michal, *Konec experimentu. Přestavba a pád komunismu v Československu*, Praha: Scriptorum, 2011
- Quintana, Antonio Gonzáles, “Archivy bezpečnostních složek bývalých represivních režimů”, in *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek*, 2009, (7), 22–24
- Reiman, Michal, *O komunistickém totalitarismu a o tom, co s ním souvisí*, Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2000
- Rendek, Petr: EZO – Evidence zájmových osob, in *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek*, 2012, (10), 279–327
- Rudá nomenklatura*, Praha: Vydavatelství GMA 91, 1992
- Ruml, Jan, Moje působení na ministerstvu vnitra, in *Zkušenosti české transformace*, X crossing, Praha, b. d., 66–68
- Růžička, Filip, *Klub K 231 a jeho pobočky*, Pardubice: FF UP, 2013
- Sartori, Giovanni, *Parties and Party System. A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge, 1976
- Schovánek, Radek, “Organizační vývoj technických složek MV 1964–1989, II”, in *Securitas Imperii*, 1994, (2), 46–71
- Schovánek, Radek, “Zpřístupňování svazků Státní bezpečnosti v České republice”, in *Památ národa*, 2005, (2), 85–87
- Sivoš, Jerguš, ed., *XII. správa ZNB. Dokumenty k činnosti Správy kontrarozvědky v Bratislavě v letech 1974–1989*, Bratislava: ÚPN, 2008
- Sládek, Oldřich, “Ohlédnutí”, in *Archivní časopis*, 1993, (1), 1–22
- Spěváček, Vojtěch a kol., eds., *Transformace české ekonomiky. Politické, ekonomické a sociální aspekty*, Praha: Linde, 2002
- Suk, Jiří, *Labyrintem revoluce. Aktéři, zápletky a křižovatky jedné politické krize*, Praha: Prostor, 2003
- Suk, Jiří, *Občanské fórum. Listopad–prosinec 1989*, Volume II – documents, Brno : Doplněk, 1998
- Šubrt, Jiří, ed., *Historické vědomí jako předmět badatelského zájmu: teorie a výzkum*, Kolín: Historická sociologie, Nezávislé centrum pro studium politiky, ARC – Vysoká škola politických a společenských věd, 2010
- The decision of the Constitutional Court of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic (full court) from 26/ 11/ 1992, file No. Pl. ÚS 1/92; <http://www.abscr.cz/data/pdf/normy/nalez-us-pl-1-1992.pdf>
- Urbánek, Miroslav, “Správa sledování Ministerstva vnitra v letech 1948–89 (Stručný nástin organizačního vývoje)”, in *Sborník Archivu Ministerstva vnitra*, 2005, (3), 173–232
- Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů & Archiv bezpečnostních složek / Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes & the Security Services Archive*. Praha: ÚSTR, 2009
- Vaníčková, Vladimíra, “Odbor archivní a spisové služby MV: rok 2003”, in: *Sborník Archivu ministerstva vnitra*, 2004, (2), 307–309
- Veber, Václav, “O rehabilitacích a o tom, co s nimi souvisí”, in *Securitas Imperii*, 2010, (16), 1, 10–29
- Vondrová, Jitka, Navrátil, Jaromír, Moravec, Jan, eds., *Komunistická strana Československa. Pokus o reformu (říjen 1967 – květen 1968)*, Brno: Doplněk, 1999
- Zeman, Petr, Transformace zpravodajských služeb, in *Zkušenosti české transformace*, X crossing, Praha, b. d., 69–75

- Zetocha, Karel, *Zpravodajské služby v nové demokracii. Česká republika*, Brno: Barrister & Principal, 2009
- Zidek, Petr, *Příběh herečky: Ludmila Brožová a její svět*, Praha: Dokořán, 2010
- Žáček, Pavel, "Administrativa písemností kontrarozvědne povahy II. Jednotný evidenční, statistický a archivní systém StB v letech 1978–1989", in *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek*, 2013, 11, 175–250
- Žáček, Pavel, ed., "Armáda pod drobnohledem. Vojenská kontrarozvědka v dokumentech, 1974–1989", in *Historie a vojenství*, 2003, (3–4), 797–836
- Žáček, Pavel: *Boje o minulost. Deset let vyrovnávání se s komunistickou minulostí – pokus o předběžnou bilanci*, Brno: Barrister & Principal, 2000
- Žáček, Pavel, "Demontáž a očista bezpečnostních struktur. Počátek roku 1990 z pohledu federálního ministerstva vnitra", in *Paměť a dějiny*, 2010, (1), 59–78
- Žáček, Pavel, "Lustrační zákon po dvaceti letech", in *Paměť a dějiny*, 2011, (4), 127–128
- Žáček, Pavel: *Lustrační zákony v České republice. Aplikace zákonů č. 451/1991 Sb. and No. 279/1992 Sb.*, see <http://www.ustrcr.cz/data/pdf/konference/20let-pote/twenty-years-after-zacek.pdf>
- Žáček, Pavel, *Memory of Nations in Democratic Transition. The Czech Experience*, Praha: CEVRO–LKA, 2015
- Žáček, Pavel: "‘Můžou přijít, jsme hotovi...’ Tzv. Lorencova ‘skartace’ v dokumentech", in *Paměť národa*, 2004, (0), 28–41
- Žáček, Pavel, ed., *Nástroj triedneho štátu. Organizácia ministerstiev vnútra a bezpečnostných zborov 1953–1990*, Bratislava: ÚPN, 2005
- Žáček, Pavel, "Ostrá zbraň" Státní bezpečnosti. Spolupracovníci StB ve směrnicích pro agenturné operativní práci 1947–1989, in Blažek, Petr, ed., *Opozice a odpor proti komunistickému režimu v Československu 1968–1989* Praha: ÚČD FFUK, Dokořán, 2005
- Žáček, Pavel, Proces demokratizace a vyrovnávání se s totalitou v oblasti práva, in *Auseinandersetzung mit der Totalitären Vergangenheit. Deutsche und Tschechische Wege nad 1989 – ein Vergleich*, Berlin: BWV 2008, 175–187
- Žáček, Pavel, Překonávání totalitní minulosti na český způsob, in Fiala, Petr, Mikš, František, eds., *Česká konzervativní a liberální politika. Sborník k desátému výročí založení revue Proglas*, Brno: CDK 2000, 388–398
- Žáček, Pavel, *Přísně tajné. Státní bezpečnost za normalizace*. Praha: Votobia, 2001
- Žáček, Pavel: "Registrace, vedení a archivace svazků ve směrnicích čs. komunistické rozvědky", in *Paměť národa*, 2006, (2), 57–68
- Žáček, Pavel, "‘Sachergate’ První lustrační aféra. Nesnáze postkomunistické elity (nejen) se svazky Státní bezpečnosti", in *Paměť a dějiny*, 2007, (1), 50–81
- Žáček, Pavel, "Třídní boj po 17. listopadu 1989 v dokumentech politického aparátu ČSLA", in *Historie a vojenství*, 2005, (1), 105–119
- Žáček, Pavel, "Úřad dokumentace a vyšetřování zločinů komunismu", in *Paměť národa*, 2005, (2), 81–84
- Žáček, Pavel, *V čele ŠtB. Pád režimu v záznamech důstojníka tajnej policie*, Bratislava: ÚPN, 2006
- Žáček, Pavel, "Zametání stop v prosinci 1989. Vyřídování svazkové agendy na centrále Státní bezpečnosti", in *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek*, 2015, (13), 213–289

WEBSITES

- csds.cz/en/csds.html
- portal.gov.cz/app/zakony/zakonPar.jsp?idBiblio=64947&nr=181~2F2007&rpp=15#local-content
- w3.osaarchivum.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=70&Itemid=61&lang=en
- www.abscr.cz/en
- www.enemysdaughters.com/
- www.jsns.cz/en/home
- www.jsns.cz/projekty/pribehy-bezpravi
- www.libpro.cz/en/index/contact
- www.memoryofnations.eu
- www.mistapametinaroda.cz/?lc=en
- www.modern-history.eu/
- www.muzeum-pribram.cz/en/vojna-memorial-lesetice/from-history/
- www.mvcr.cz/clanek/lustrace-29644.aspx?q=Y2hudW09MTM%3d
- www.nm.cz/index.php?xSET=lang&xLANG=2
- www.pametnaroda.cz/data/page/File/PN_promo9.3.CZn.pdf
- www.pant.cz/english.html
- www.politicalprisoners.eu/
- www.postbellum.cz/english/
- www.pribehy20stoleti.cz/
- www.pribehynasichsousedu.cz/
- www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-5/libri-prohibiti-collection-of-periodicals-of-czech-and-slovak-samizdat-in-the-years-1948-1989/
- www.usd.cas.cz/en/
- www.ustrcr.cz/, old.ustrcr.cz/en
- www.veznicehradiste.cz/



www.cevro.cz/guide

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The Estonian Experience]

SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Бакатин, Вадим Викторович, *Избавление от КГБ*, Москва: Новости, 1992
- Estonian Internal Security Service, “20 years of investigating universal crimes” – *Estonian Internal Security Service Annual Review 2015*, Tallinn: Estonian Internal Security Service, 2016, 39–42
- Estonian State Commission on Examination of the Policies of Repression, *The White Book. Losses Inflicted on the Estonian Nation by Occupation Regimes 1940–1991*, Tallin: Ministry of Justice, Estonian Encyclopaedia Publishers, 2005; <https://www.riigikogu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/TheWhiteBook.pdf>
- Эстонско-латышско-литовский совместный семинар “Документы КГБ в Балтийских странах”: доклады, Таллинн: филиал Государственного архива Эстонии, 1996
- Final report on the termination of the activity of the former ESSR Committee for State Security (part I: *Eesti Päevaleht*, 10 April 2002, <http://epl.delfi.ee/news/eesti/endise-ensv-riikliku-julgeoleku-komitee-tegevuse-lopetamise-lopparuanne-i-osa?id=50920257>; part II: <http://epl.delfi.ee/news/eesti/endise-ensv-riikliku-julgeoleku-komitee-tegevuse-lopetamise-lopparuanne-ii-osa?id=50920258> ; part III: <http://epl.delfi.ee/news/eesti/endise-ensv-riikliku-julgeoleku-komitee-tegevuse-lopetamise-lopparuanne-iii-osa?id=50920259>
- Hiio, Toomas, Maripuu, Meelis, Paavle, Indrek, eds., *Estonia 1940–1945. Reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity*, Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity, Tallinn: Inimsusvastaste Kuritegude Uurimise Eesti Sihtasutus, 2006
- Hiio, Toomas, Maripuu, Meelis, Paavle, Indrek, eds., *Estonia since 1944: reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity*, Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity, Tallinn: Inimsusvastaste Kuritegude Uurimise Eesti Sihtasutus, 2009
- Jürjo, Indrek. *Pagulus ja Nõukogude Eesti. Vaateid KGB, EKP ja VEKSA arhiivimaterjalide põhjal*, Tallinn, 1996
- Kasekamp, Andres, *A history of the Baltic states*, Basingstoke – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010
- Kuusk, Pearu “Arhiveeritud agentide tagasitulek”, in *Sirp*, 12 December 2015
- Laar, Mart, *The power of freedom: Central and Eastern Europe after 1945*, Tallinn: Sihtasutus Unitas, 2010
- Mägi, Harri, *ENSV KGB tegevuse lõpetamine*, Tallinn: Varrak, 2012
- Mare, Oja, *Muutused üldhariduskooli ajalooõpetuses alates 1987. Aastast – nõukogulikust tänapäevaseks*, Tallinn University, Dissertations on Humanities, 2016
- Niglas, Aivar, Release ahead of time of Estonian citizens and residents repressed for political reasons by the Soviet authorities and their rehabilitation from 1953 to the 1960s, in Hiio, Toomas, Maripuu, Meelis, Paavle, Indrek, eds., *Estonia since 1944: Reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity*, Tallinn: Estonian Foundation for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity, 2009, 461–489
- Ohmann, Valdur, “Nõukogude perioodi ajaloo uurimise allikalise baasi avardamine 1990.-ndail aastail”, in *Ajaloolise töö otsinguil*, Tallinn, 1999
- Pettai, Eva-Clarita, Pettai, Vello, *Transitional and retrospective justice in the Baltic States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015
- Salo, Vello et al. (eds.), Estonian State Commission on Examination of the Policies of Repression, *The white book: losses inflicted on the Estonian nation by occupation regimes 1940–1991*, Tallinn: Estonian Encyclopaedia Publishers, 2005
- Sarv, Enn, *Õiguse vastu ei saa ükski: Eesti taotlused ja rahvusvaheline õigus*, Tartu: Okupatsioonide Repressiivpoliitika Uurimise Riiklik Komisjon, 1997
- Sildam, Toomas, Mattson, Toomas, “Eesti NSV KGB taganemine”, in *Luup*, 1997, (16), 4, 12–19
- Tamm, Marek, In search of lost time: memory politics in Estonia, 1991–2011, in Diener, Alexander C., Hagen, Joshua, eds., *From Socialist to Post-Socialist Cities: Cultural Politics of Architecture, Urban Planning, and Identity in Eurasia*, London – New York: Routledge, 2015

WEBSITES

- ais.ra.ee/static/misonais_en.html
- ajaveeb.just.ee/kommunismiohvitrememoriaal/
- Archives Act, passed on 17 February 2011, in *Riigi Teataja*; <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/504032016002/consolide>
- Directory of collections – *National Archives*; <http://www.ra.ee/erafondiloend/index.php/structure/index?id=181>
- epl.delfi.ee/news/eesti/endise-ensv-riikliku-julgeoleku-komitee-tegevuse-lopetamise-lopparuanne-i-osa?id=50920257
- epl.delfi.ee/news/eesti/endise-ensv-riikliku-julgeoleku-komitee-tegevuse-lopetamise-lopparuanne-ii-osa?id=50920258
- epl.delfi.ee/news/eesti/endise-ensv-riikliku-julgeoleku-komitee-tegevuse-lopetamise-lopparuanne-iii-osa?id=50920259
- hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng
- kogumelugu.ee/en
- m.riigikogu.ee/en/press-releases/statement-of-the-riigikogu-paying-tribute-to-the-estonian-citizens

Personal Data Protection Act, passed on 15 February 2007, in *Riigi Teataja*; <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/507032016001/consolide>

Procedure for Collection, Registration, Preservation and Use of Materials of Security and Intelligence Organisations of Other Countries Which Have Operated in Estonia Act, passed on 10 March 1994, in *Riigi Teataja*; <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/522042014002/consolide>

“Toomas Savi seostamine KGB-ga on alusetu”, in *Õhtuleht*, 21 May 1997; <http://www.ohhtuleht.ee/3582/toomas-savi-seostamine-kgb-ga-on-alusetu>

treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/MTDSG/Volume%20I/Chapter%20IV/IV-6.en.pdf

vm.ee/et/node/35688

mnemosyne.ee/en/about-us/

vp1992-2001.president.ee/eng/ateated/AmetlikTeade.asp?ID=4870

vvk.ee/varasemad/?v=r99

www.eesti.ee/eng/toetused_ja_sotsiaalabi/toetused_ja_huvitised/toetused_represeeeritutele

www.cyberussr.com/rus/uk-rsfsr.html

www.economist.com/node/13184989

www.estonica.org/en/

www.etera.ee/zoom/22811/view?page=466&p=separate&view=0,0,1932,2834

www.juridica.ee/juridica_en.php?document=en/articles/1995/10/23934.SUM.php

www.kapo.ee/en/content/areas-activity.html

www.kapo.ee/en/content/judicial-decisions.html

www.kapo.ee/en/content/re-establishment-security-police.html

www.memento.ee/

www.mnemosyne.ee/

www.nc.ee

www.riigikogu.ee/en/press-releases/plenary-assembly/riigikogu-adopted-statement-june-deportation/

www.riigikogu.ee/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/TheWhiteBook.pdf

www.ut.ee/et/oppimine/doktoriope/doktoritood

www.riigiteataja.ee

www2.kirmus.ee/elulood/index.html

www.cevro.cz/guide

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The Georgian Experience]



National Endowment
for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world



SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Adgilobrivi twitmartveloba sakartveloshi 1991–2014* (in Georgian; “Local Self-Government in Georgia 1991–2014”), Tbilisi: International Center for Civic Culture, 2015
- Aleksidze, Sandro, “Those, what happened secretly”, in *Sakartvelos Respublika* N163 (7808), 2. 9. 2015
- “Amandments Approved at Freedom Charter”, in *RFE/RL*, 25 December, 2013, <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/25212436.html>
- Appeal to state prosecutor of Georgian SSR Vakhtang Razmadze, by the civil organization under “Rustaveli society” “Democratic Elections in Georgia” (DAS), in *Sakartvelo* #4 (9), 27. 2. 1990, 3
- Aprasidze, David, 25 Years of Georgia’s Democratization: Still Work in Progress, in Nodia, Ghia (ed.), *25 Years of Independent Georgia: Achievements and Unfinished Projects*, Ilia State University Press: Tbilisi, 2016, 91–129
- Avaliani, Givi, “SSS addresses MIA not to allow use of Soviet Symbols in Kakheti”, in *NetGazeti*, 3 August, 2016, <http://netgazeti.ge/news/132500/>
- Avalishvili, Levan, The March 1956 Events in Georgia: based on oral history interviews and archival documents and Jesse Paul Lehrke, The Transition to National Armies in the Former Soviet Republics, 1988–2005, in *Georgia After Stalin: Nationalism and Soviet power*, Edited by Timothy K. Blauvelt and Jeremy Smith, Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2013
- Aves, Jonathan, *Georgia: From Chaos to Stability?*, London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1996
- Carothers, Thomas, “The End of Transition Paradigm”, in *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1), 2002, 5–21
- “Ethnic Groups of Georgia: Census 1989”, European Centre for Minority Issues, <http://www.ecmcaucasus.org/upload/stats/Census%201989.pdf>
- Commission of Investigation of 9 of April in Supreme Council of Georgian SSR, *Saqinform* (Georgian informative bureau), “In commission of Georgian supreme council”, in *Komunisti* #95 (20364), 22. 4. 1989, 2
- Conclusions of the Commission of Assembly of People’s Deputies of the USSR on Investigation of the Events Taking Place in Tbilisi on 9th of April, 1989 <http://sobchak.org/rus/docs/zakluchenie.htm>
- Daniel, Alexander, Eremova, Larisa and others, *Rehabilitation and Memory: Treatment of the Victims of Soviet Political Repression in Former Soviet Union Countries*, Moscow: Memorial, 2016, <https://www.memo.ru/media/uploads/2017/03/02/reabilitacia.pdf>
- “Declaration of One Group of Employees of the KGB of the Georgian SSR”, in *Tbilisi* #217 (11336), 22. 9. 1990, 4
- Documentary film “Lost History” [*Dakarguli Istoria*], 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5vYIBOxBj4>
- European Court of Human Rights, Second Section, CASE OF KLAUS AND YURI KILADZE V. GEORGIA, (Application no. 7975/06), Judgment, 2 February 2010, http://ehrac.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Kiladze-v-Georgia_ENG.pdf
- “Failed Lustration Process in Georgia”, Institute for Development of Freedom of Information, 25. 1. 2016, <https://idfi.ge/en/failed-lustration-in-georgia>
- Fighting Corruption in Public Services: Chronicling Georgia’s Reforms*, Washington: The World Bank, 2012
- “Georgia: ‘Architect Of German Lustration’ Discusses Georgian Archive”, in *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, 27. 3. 2007, <https://www.rferl.org/a/1075535.html>
- “Georgia – History of Elections 1990–2010s”, http://infocenter.gov.ge/elections2017/history_en.pdf
- Goshovskiy, Volodymyr, “The genesis of lustration in the world and its significance for the development of law-based society”, in *Legea Si Viata*, January 2017
- Gotsiridze, Irakli, *Following the truth: Tragedy of 9 of April*, Tbilisi, 1990
- Gularidze, Tea, “Deficienes of ruling Party were visable from day one”, in *Civil.ge*, 28 February, 2004, http://www.civil.ge/geo/_print.php?id=6139
- Gurgenidze, Kote, “Georgian KGB is changing its agenda; is KGB anyway – KGB?!” Interview with Tamaz Adamia, in *Republic* #31, 11. 12. 1990, 4
- “In Georgian KGB”, in *Communist* #20 (20657), 13. 1. 1990, 2
- Interview with the Deputy Director of the Central Historical Archive, Ketevan Kobiashvili, “Where was it published?”, 2015
- Jones, Stephen F., *Georgia: A Political History Since Independence*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2012, 3–106
- Jones, Stephen F., “The Establishment of Soviet Power in Transcaucasia: The Case of Georgia 1921–1928”, in *Soviet Studies*, October 1988, 40, No. 4 (4), 616–639
- Junge, Mark, *Ethnosi da Terori Saqartveloshi* [Ethnos and Terror in Georgia], Tbilisi: Intellect Publishing House, 2015
- Junge, Mark, Tushurashvili, Omar, Bonvec, Bernd, *Bolshevikuri Tsesrigi Saqartveloshi* [Bolshevik Order in Georgia], Tbilisi: Intellect Publishing House, 2015
- Khutsidze, Nino, “Opposition Pushes Law on Lustration”, in *Civil.ge*, 1. 10. 2005, <https://old.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=11248>
- Khvadagiani, Irakli, “Guide-book - Open Access to the KGB Archives in the Eastern Partnership (‘Georgia’)”, Kyiv, 2017
- Kosař, David, “Lustration and Lapse of Time: ‘Dealing with the Past’ in Czech Republic”, Eric Stein Working paper No. 3/2008
- Kvachantiradze, Tamaz, “Let’s Build a Memorial”, in *Sakartvelo* #25 (2649), 17. 6. 1988
- Law of Georgia No. 1867, 25. 12. 2013, <https://matsne.gov.ge/ru/document/download/1381526/8/en/pdf>
- Law of Georgia No. 4717, 31. 5. 2017, <https://matsne.gov.ge/en/document/view/1381526>
- Law of Georgia on Personal Data Protection, Date of issue: 28. 12. 2011, <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/1561437>
- Law of the Republic of Georgia on Abolition of the Autonomous Oblast of the South Ossetia, http://www.parliament.ge/files/426_5649_580559_10.pdf

- Law of Georgia “On the Acknowledgment of Citizens of Georgia as Victims of Political Repression and Social Protection of Repressed Persons”, (N1160; 11. 12. 1997/ Consolidated Publications, 31. 10. 2014), <https://matsne.gov.ge/en/document/download/31408/11/en/pdf>
- Law “On Social Security of Persons Transferred to the Reserve from Military Bodies, Internal Affairs Bodies and the Special State Protection Service, and Their Family Members”, Date of issue: 16. 20. 1996
- Law “On the National Archival Fund and the National Archives”, Date of issue: 29. 12. 2006, <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/22420>
- Let’s Create a Museum of National Tragedy, in *Tbilisi* #159 (10970), 4. 7. 1989
- Levitsky Stephen S., Way, Lucan A., “Linkage versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change”, in *Comparative Politics*, 2006, 38 (4), 379–400
- Maisuradze, Davit, “The Effects of the Constitutional Court Ruling of October 28, 2015 on the Freedom Charter of Georgia”, Institute for Development of Freedom of Information, December 2015, <https://idfi.ge/public/upload/Davit/court-ruling%20ENG.pdf>
- Menabde, Vakhtang, Papashvili, Tamar, Kashakashvili, Nino, Kekenadze, Giorgi, Beridze, Ana, *Twenty years without parliamentary control, supervision from side of supreme representative power to services of state security, internal affairs and foreign intelligence of Georgia*, Tbilisi: OSGF, 2017
- Meparishvili, Misha, “SSS warned ‘National Unity’ not to use Fascist Symbols”, in *NetGazeti*, 18 May, 2018, <http://netgazeti.ge/news/278145/>
- Meparishvili, Misha, “SSS warned ‘Socialist Georgia’ not to use Soviet Symbols on 9th of May”, in *NetGazeti*, 8 May, 2018, <http://netgazeti.ge/news/274696/>
- Moltz, Ryan, “Dealing with communist legacies: the politics of lustration in Eastern Europe”, University of Minnesota Ph.D. dissertation, 2014, <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/162684>
- Morrison, Thea, “Interior Minister: We Will Act against Fascist Groups”, in *Georgia Today*, 21. 5. 2018, <http://georgiatoday.ge/news/10348/Interior-Minister%3A-We-Will-Act-against-Fascist-Groups>
- Morrison, Thea, “The Banning of Soviet Symbols in Georgia”, in *Georgia Today*, 10. 5. 2018, <http://georgiatoday.ge/news/10215/The-Banning-of-Soviet-Symbols-in-Georgia>
- Narimanishvili, Nino, Atskureli, Otar, “Return from exile: Muslim Meskhetians from Georgia”, in *JamNews*, 21 June 2017, <https://jam-news.net/?p=45365>
- Nodia, Ghia, “Georgia’s Identity Crisis”, in *Journal of Democracy*, 1995/1, 104–116
- Nodia, Ghia, Putting the State Back Together in the Post-Soviet Georgia, in Beissinger, Mark R. and Young, Crawford (Eds.), *Beyond State Crisis: Postcolonial Africa and Post-Soviet Eurasia in Comparative Perspective*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press: Washington, D.C., 2002, 413–443
- Nodia, Ghia, Trying to Build (Democratic) State Institutions in Independent Georgia, in Mangott, Gerhard (Hrsg.), *Brennpunkt Südkaukasus: Aufbruch trotz Krieg, Vertreibung und Willkürherrschaft*, Wien: Braumüller, 1999
- “Ombudsman Demands Concrete Steps for the Social Protection of Political Repression Victims”, 5 April 2010, <http://www.interpressnews.ge/ge/politika/130412-ombudsmeni-politikuri-represiebis-mshkverpltha-socialuri-dacvisthvis-konkretuli-nabijebis-gadadgmas-ithkhovs.html?ar=A>
- Order of Supreme Council of Georgian SSR about creation of “Commission of supreme council of Georgian SSR for re-establishing justice for victims of repressions which took place in 1930–40 and 1950’s”, in *Komunisti* #78 (20419), 4. 4. 1989
- Order of the President of the USSR, about reforming of the political organs of the armed forces of the USSR, armed forces of the KGB of the USSR, armed forces of the MVD of the USSR and the armed forces of the railway. Moscow, Kremlin, 3. 9. 1990. M. Gorbachev, in *Communist* #205 (20951), 6. 9. 1990
- Osipov, Alexander “Fergana Events: 20 years later. History without a lesson?”, in *FerganaNews*, 10 June 2009, <http://enews.fergananews.com/articles/2545>
- Paichadze, David, “Possibility of Lustration in Georgia”, in *RFE/RL*, 27. 9. 2012, <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/1523602.html>
- Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe, Resolution N 1096 (1996), “On Measures to dismantle the heritage of former communist totalitarian systems”
- Pentikäinen, Oskari, Trier, Tom, *Between Integration and Resettlement: the Meskhetian Turks*, ECMI Working Paper # 21, September 2004, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/19696/working_paper_21b.pdf
- Saqartvelos Damphudznebeli Kreba - 1919 [Constituent Assembly of Georgia - 1919], SovLab, Tbilisi, 2016
- Saqinform*, Let’s re-establish justice, in *Komunisti* #45 (20691), 21. 2. 1990, 3
- Saqinform*, We will re-establish justice, in *Komunisti* #222 (20563), 24. 9. 1989, 3
- “Secession Decreed by Soviet Georgia”, in *New York Times*, 10 April, 1991
- “Stalin’s Lists from Georgia”, e-data base, 26 March 2018, <http://www.nplg.gov.ge/gwdict/index.php?a=index&d=26>
- The Archival Bulletin, N1, 2008
- The Archival Bulletin, N5, 2009
- The interview with the Georgian society “Memorial” member - Guram Soselia, 2018
- Topouria, George, “Georgia’s not so Freedom Charter”, Transparency International Georgia, 12. 7. 2011, <http://www.transparency.ge/en/blog/georgias-not-so-freedom-charter>
- Tsuladze, Zaza, “50 Statuts of Stalin one needs to pay while alive”, in *VOA*, 11 February, 2013, <https://www.amerikiskhma.com/a/georgia-stalin-vandalism/1600958.html>

- Vademecum Georgia*, Berlin: Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, 2018
- Vacharadze, Anton, "Problems of Archival Descriptions in Post-Soviet Countries," Case study according to the Central Historical Archive of Georgia, International Conference Proceedings, Radenci, 2016
- Wheatley, Jonathan, *Georgia from National Awakening to Rose Revolution: Delayed Transition in the Former Soviet Union*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005
- Williams, Kieran, Fowler, Brigid, Szczerbiak, Aleks, "Explaining Lustration in Central Europe: a 'post-communist politic' approach", in *Democratization*, 2005, 12 (1), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248950483_Explaining_lustration_in_Central_Europe_A_'post-communist_politics'_approach

WEBSITES

- <http://www.ecmcaucasus.org/upload/stats/Census%201989.pdf>
- <https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world>
- <https://gyla.ge/en>
- <https://idfi.ge/en>
- http://infocenter.gov.ge/elections2017/history_en.pdf
- www.matsne.gov.ge
- http://www.parliament.ge/files/426_5649_580559_10.pdf
- www.shieldandsword.mozohin.ru/kgb5491/terr_org/respublik/georgia.htm
- <http://sovlab.ge/en>

www.cevro.cz/guide

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The German Experience]



National Endowment
for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world



SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Abschlussbericht der Expertenkommission zur Zukunft der Behörde des BStU*, 2016, www.bundestag.de/ausschuesse18/gremien18/bstu
- Arnswald, Ulrich, *Zum Stellenwert des Themas DDR-Geschichte in den Lehrplänen der deutschen Bundesländer. Expertise im Auftrag der Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur*, Berlin: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2004
- Ausstellungskatalog "Im namen des Volkes"*, Leipzig: BMJ, 1994
- Beer, Kornelia, Weißflög, Gregor J., "Ich könnte ein dickes Buch schreiben..." Zur gesundheitlichen und sozialen Situation von in der SBZ/DDR politisch Inhaftierten, in *Horch & Guck*, 2009, (3), 56–59
- Bericht der Enquete-Kommission 5/1 des Landtags Brandenburg*, Drucksache 5/8500. Themenbereich III Personalpolitik, Potsdam: Landtag Brandenburg, 2012
- Borbe, Ansgar, *Die Zahl der Opfer des SED-Regimes*, Erfurt: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2010
- Böckenförde, Ernst-Wolfgang, *Die Rechtsauffassung im kommunistischen Staat*, München: Kösel-Verlag, 1967
- Breidecker, Volker, "Alle Grenze offen", in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 14. 10. 2015
- Der Stacheldraht*, 2017, No. 3
- Der/die Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatsicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, ed., *Stasi. Die Ausstellung zur DDR-Staatssicherheit. Katalog und Aufsätze*, Berlin: Selbstverlag, 2011
- Der/die Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatsicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, *Tätigkeitsberichte des BStU 1–13*, Berlin: BStU, 1993–2016
- Drauschke, Frank, Kaminsky Anna, eds., *Erschossen in Moskau*, Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2008
- Faulenbach, Bernd, Probleme des Umgangs mit der Vergangenheit im vereinten Deutschland. Zur Gegenwartsbedeutung der jüngsten Geschichte, in: Werner Weidenfeld, ed., *Deutschland. Eine Nation – doppelte Geschichte. Materialien zum deutschen Selbstverständnis*, Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1993
- Fricke, Karl Wilhelm, *Politik und Justiz in der DDR. Zur Geschichte der politischen Verfolgung 1945–1968*, Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1990
- Fricke, Karl Wilhelm, Politische Straf-Justiz im SED-Staat, in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Supplement to the weekly Das Parlament*, B 4/93, 22. 1. 1993
- Gauck, Joachim: Akten und Gerechtigkeit. Gedanken zum Umgang mit der Vergangenheit, in *Rostocker Philosophische Manuskripte N. F. Booklet 1*, 1994, 7–26
- Gieseke, Jens, *Mielke-Konzern. Die Geschichte der Stasi 1945–1990*, 2. Aufl., München: DVA, 2006
- Guckes, Ulrike, *Opferentschädigung nach zweierlei Maß? Eine vergleichende Untersuchung der gesetzlichen Grundlagen der Entschädigung für das Unrecht der NS-Diktatur und der SED-Diktatur*, Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2008.
- Henke, Klaus-Dietmar, ed., *Wann bricht schon mal ein Staat zusammen! Die Debatte über die Stasi-Akten und die DDR-Geschichte auf dem 39. Historikertag 1992*, München: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verl., 1993
- Herbert, Ulrich, *Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert*, München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2014
- Heyde, Wolfgang, Verfassungsrechtliche Fragen der deutschen Einigung, in Klaus Bästlein, ed., *Die Einheit*, Berlin: Schriftenreihe des Berliner Landesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatsicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR (vol. 31), 2011
- Holstein, Karl-Heinz, Die Schulbuchuntersuchung aus der Binnenperspektive der Schulbuchverlage, in *Buchstab*, 1999, 13–21
- Jedlitschka, Karsten, Springer, Philipp, ed., *Das Gedächtnis der Staatssicherheit. Die Kartei- und Archivabteilung des MfS*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015
- Jessen, Ralph, Den Zusammenbruch der SED-Diktatur erklären, in Sabrow, Martin, ed., *Bewältigte Diktaturvergangenheit? 20 Jahre DDR-Aufarbeitung*, Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsanstalt 2010, 21–35
- Kaminsky, Anna, ed., *Orte des Erinnerns. Gedenkzeichen, Gedenkstätten und Museen zur Diktatur in SBZ und DDR*, Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2016
- Keller, Iris, *Die strafrechtliche Aufarbeitung von DDR – Justizunrecht*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH, 2013
- Klessman, Christoph, Überforscht? Verklärt? Vergessen? Zwanzig Jahre nach dem Mauerfall ist die DDR-Geschichte noch immer ein Streitthema, in *Die ZEIT Geschichte. 1989. Die geglückte Revolution*, 2009, (2), 86–89
- Kowalczyk, Ilko-Sascha, *Endspiel. Die Revolution von 1989 in der DDR*, München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2009
- Lautzas, Peter, Vorwort, in Arnswald, Ulrich, Bongertmann, Ulrich, Mählert, Ulrich, eds., *DDR-Geschichte im Unterricht. Schulbuchanalyse – Schülerbefragung – Modellcurriculum*, Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2006
- Lembcke, Oliver W., Rehabilitierung politisch Verfolgter in der DDR. Politisches Programm und Praxis des Rechts, in *Jahrbuch Politisches Denken 2008/09*, Berlin 2009
- Limbach, Jutta, *Gerechtigkeit oder Versöhnung*, Speech at the occasion of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce New Year Convention in Berlin on 9. 1. 1988
- Lucht, Roland, ed., *Das Archiv der Stasi. Begriffe*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015
- Marxen, Klaus, Werle, Gerhard, *Die strafrechtliche Aufarbeitung von DDR-Unrecht. Eine Bilanz*, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999
- Marxen, Klaus, Werle, Gerhard, Schäfter, Petra, *Die Strafverfolgung von DDR-Unrecht. Fakten und Zahlen*, Berlin: Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, 2007

- Mählert, Ulrich, *Kleine Geschichte der DDR*, 7. Auflage, München: C. H. Beck Verlag Paperback, 2010
- Märker, Andreas, Psychische Folgen politischer Inhaftierung in der DDR aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Supplement to the weekly *Das Parlament*, B 38/95
- Mothes, Jörn, Schmidt, Jochen, Die Aufarbeitung der DDR-Vergangenheit. Eine Zwischenbilanz, in Hans-Georg Wehling, ed., *Deutschland Ost – Deutschland West. Eine Bilanz*, Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2002
- Neubert, Ehrhart, *Unsere Revolution. Die Geschichte der Jahre 1989/90*, München: Piper Verlag, 2008
- Pasternack, Peer (with Glück, Anne, Hüttmann, Jens, Lewin, Dirk, Schmid, Simone und Schulze, Katja), *Gelehrte DDR. Die DDR als Gegenstand der Lehre an deutschen Universitäten 1990–2000* (HoF-Arbeitsberichte 5'01), Wittenberg: HoF Wittenberg – Institut für Hochschulforschung an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 2001
- Petersen, Thomas, "Auch die 'Mauer in den Köpfen' fällt", in *FAZ.net* on 25. 11. 2009
- Prantl, Heribert, "Honecker, Mielke et al.", in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1. 9. 1999
- Rödder, Andreas, *Deutschland einig Vaterland. Die Geschichte der Wiedervereinigung*, München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2009
- Sabrow, Martin, Erinnerungsorte der DDR, München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2009
- Sabrow, Martin, Eckert, Reiner, Flacke, Monika u.a., eds., *Wohin treibt die DDR-Erinnerung? Dokumentation einer Debatte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007
- Siegmund, Jörg, *Opfer ohne Lobby. Ziele, Strukturen und Arbeitsweise der Verbände der Opfer des DDR-Unrechts*, Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2002
- Schröder, Richard, *Irrtümer über die deutsche Einheit*, 2. Auflage, Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 2014
- Schumann, Silke, *Vernichten oder Offenlegen? Zur Entstehung des Stasi-Unterlagen-Gesetzes*, Schriftenreihe BF des BStU, Berlin: BStU, 1995
- Sontheimer, Kurt, Bleek, Wilhelm, *Die DDR: Politik, Gessellschaft, Wirtschaft*, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1979
- Stasi-Unterlagen-Gesetz as amended on 20. 12. 1991, 21. 12. 2006 and 22. 12. 2011*, in currently also available; www.bstu.bund.de
- Stoltenberg, Klaus, *Stasi-Unterlagengesetz, Kommentar*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992
- Suckut, Siegfried, Weber, Jürgen, eds., *Stasi-Akten zwischen Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, München: Olzog, 2003
- Süß, Walter: *Staatssicherheit am Ende*, Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 1999
- Tätigkeitsbericht 2011 der Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur*, Berlin: Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, 2012
- Weil, Francesca, *Die Runden Tische in der DDR 1989/1990*, Erfurt: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2014
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte 1949–1990. Bundesrepublik und DDR*, München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2008
- Werkentin, Falco, *Politische Strafjustiz in der Ära Ulbricht. Vom bekennenden Terror zur verdeckten Repression*, Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 1995
- Werkentin, Falco, "Souverän ist, wer über den Tod entscheidet". Die SED-Führung als Richter und Gnadeninstanz bei Todesurteilen, in Engelmann, Roger, Vollnhals, Clemens, eds., *Justiz im Dienste der Parteiherrschaft*, Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 1999
- Werle, Gerhard, "Rückwirkungsverbot und Staatskriminalität", in *Neue Juristische Wochenschrift*, 2001, 3001–3008
- Winkler, Heinrich August, *Der lange Weg nach Westen, 2. Deutsche Geschichte 1933–1990*, Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2000

WEBSITES

- www.bpb.de/geschichte/zeitgeschichte/deutschlandarchiv
- www.bstu.bund.de
- www.buergerimstaat.de/4_00/ostwest03.htm
- www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de
- www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/serien/23690862_enquete_serie/22090534_kw34_enquete3/
- www.deutsche-einheit-1990.de
- www.gorki.de/spielplan/und-das-beste-zum-schluss-ein-abschluss-spektakel
- www.landtag.brandenburg.de
- www.uokg.de





www.cevro.cz/guide

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The Polish Experience]



SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Act of 23 February 1991 on invalidating the judgements against persons subject to repression for their activities aimed at the independence of the Polish State, in *Journal of Laws* of 1991, No. 34, Item 149
- Act of 11 April 1997 on disclosure of work or service in state security authorities or cooperation with them between 1944–1990 by persons performing public functions, in *Journal of Laws* of 1997, No. 70, Item 443
- Act of 18 December 1998 on the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, in *Journal of Laws* of 1998, No. 155, Item 1016
- Act of 18 October 2006 on the disclosure of information on the documents of the state security authorities from 1944–1990 and the content of these documents, in *Journal of Laws* of 2006, No. 218, Item 1592
- Adamczyk, Arkadiusz, Rogut, Dariusz, ed., *Represje sowieckie wobec narodów Europy 1944–1956*, Zielów: Atena, 2005
- Banaszek, Kazimierz, ed., *Informator o Archiwum Instytucji Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej I archiwach rodzajów sił zbrojnych*, Warszawa: Archiwum Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 2000
- Bečka, Arnošt, Molesta, Jacek, *Sprawozdanie z likwidacji majątku byłej Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej*, Sopot-Warszawa: Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, 2001, <https://www.mswia.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/2791,Sprawozdanie-z-likwidacji-majatku-bylej-Polskiej-Zjednoczonej-Partii-Robotniczej.html>
- Bednarek, Jerzy, Leśkiewicz, Rafał, eds., *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (stan na dzień 31 grudnia 2008 roku)*, Warszawa: IPN, 2009; <http://inwentarz.ipn.gov.pl/doc/informator.pdf>
- Bingen, Dieter, *Die Aufarbeitung der kommunistischen Vergangenheit in Polen*, in Unverhau, Dagmar, Lucht, Roland, eds., *Lustration, Aktenöffnung, demokratischer Umbruch in Polen, Tschechien, der Slowakei und Ungarn*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005
- Bingen, Dieter: *Drei Phasen des politischen Umbruchs in Polen*, in: Unverhau, Dagmar, Lucht, Roland, eds., *Lustration, Aktenöffnung, demokratischer Umbruch in Polen, Tschechien, der Slowakei und Ungarn*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005
- Borodziej, Włodzimierz, Garlicki, Aleksander, eds., *Okrągły Stół: dokumenty i materiały*, vol. 1–4, ed. Warszawa: 2004
- Bujniewicz, Natalia, ed., *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym Centralnego Archiwum Wojskowego*, Warszawa: 2008
- Cenckiewicz, Sławomir, *Długie ramię Moskwy. Wywiad wojskowy Polski Ludowej 1943–1991 (wprowadzenie do syntezy)*, Poznań: Zys i S-ka Wydawnictwo, 2011
- Cenckiewicz, Sławomir, Gontarczyk, Piotr, *SB a Lech Wałęsa. Przyczynek do biografii*, Gdańsk-Warszawa-Kraków: IPN, 2008
- Ciesielski, Stanisław, Materski, Wojciech, Paczkowski Andrzej, *Represje sowieckie wobec Polaków i obywateli polskich*, Warszawa: Ośrodek Karta, 2002
- Dudek, Antoni, *Historia polityczna Polski 1989–2015*, Kraków: Znak, 2016
- Dudek, Antoni, *Instytut: osobista historia IPN*, Warszawa: Czerwone i Czarne, 2011
- Dudek, Antoni, *Pierwsze lata III Rzeczypospolitej: 1989–2001*, Kraków: Arcana, 2002
- Dudek, Antoni, *Reglamentowana rewolucja. Rozkład dyktatury politycznej w Polsce 1988–1990*, 2nd edition, Kraków: Arcana, 2014
- Dudek, Antoni, ed., *Zmierzch dyktatury. Polska lat 1986–1989 w świetle dokumentów*, (vol. 1) (lipiec 1986 – maj 1989), Warszawa: IPN, 2009; <http://pamiec.pl/pa/biblioteka-cyfrowa/publikacje/13287,Zmierzch-dyktatury-Polska-lat-19861989-w-swietle-dokumentow-t-1-lipiec-1986-maj-.html>
- Dudek, Antoni, ed., *Zmierzch dyktatury. Polska lat 1986–1989 w świetle dokumentów*, (vol. 2) (czerwiec–grudzień 1989), Warszawa, IPN, 2010; <http://pamiec.pl/pa/biblioteka-cyfrowa/publikacje/13288,Zmierzch-dyktatury-Polska-lat-19861989-w-swietle-dokumentow-t-2-czerwiecgrudzien.html>
- Filipczak, Teresa, *Kancelaria Sejmu i Rady Państwa oraz archiwum w latach (1944) 1952–1989*, Warszawa: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych w Warszawie, 2015
- Gonzales-Quintana, Antonio, ed., *Archival policies in the protection of human rights*, Paris: International Council on Archives, 2009; http://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/Report_Gonzalez-Quintana_EN.pdf
- Gonzales-Quintana, Antonio, ed., *Archives of the security services of former repressive regimes. Report prepared for UNESCO on behalf of the International Council of Archives*, Paris: UNESCO, 1997
- Grzelak Piotr, *Wojna o lustrację*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio, 2005
- Horst, Władysław, *Kancelarie i archiwa Centralnego Komitetu Wykonawczego Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej, Komitetu Centralnego Polskiej Partii Robotniczej i Komitetu Centralnego Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej (1944–1990)*, Warszawa: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych – Wydział Wydawnictw, 2006
- Judgment of 19 June 1992, case file no. (U. 6/92), rulings of the Constitutional Tribunal
- Judgment of the Constitutional Tribunal of 10 November 1998, case file no. K. 39/97
- Judgment of the Constitutional Tribunal of 11 May 2007, case file no. K 2/07, in *Journal of Laws* of 2007, No. 85, Item 571
- Judgment of the Supreme Court of 5 October 2000, case file no. II KKN 271/2000
- Kapuściak, Bartosz, ed., *Instrukcje pracy kontrwywiadowczej Wojskowej Służby Wewnętrznej wraz z instrukcjami prowadzenia dokumentacji i ewidencji (1957–1990)*, Kraków: IPN, 2010
- Kienzler Iwona, *Krwawa Luna i inni: prokuratorzy i śledczy systemu stalinowskiego w Polsce*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Bellona, 2016
- Kochanowski, Janusz, *Rozliczenie z przeszłością w Polsce*, in *Ius et Lex*, 2003, nr. 1, vol. 2

- Koller, Stanisław, Brakowanie i niszczenie dokumentacji operacyjnej Służby Bezpieczeństwa w Ministerstwie Spraw Wewnętrznych (1956–1990), in *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2011, t. 4 <http://ipn.gov.pl/download/94/30/PrzeglądArchiwalnyIPNtom4.pdf>
- Kołodziej, Edward, ed., *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym* [Archiwum Akt Nowych] [v. 1, 2], Warszawa: 2009
- Kościański, Rafał; Leśkiewicz, Rafał, *Brakowanie i niszczenie dokumentów Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Spraw Wewnętrznych w Poznaniu w latach 1989–1990. Wybrane zagadnienia*, in *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2011, t. 4; <http://ipn.gov.pl/download/94/30/PrzeglądArchiwalnyIPNtom4.pdf>
- Kowalski, Lech, *Korpus Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego a żołnierze wyklęci: walka z podziemiem antykomunistycznym w latach 1944–1956*, Poznań: Zys i S-ka Wydawnictwo, 2016
- Kruk, Marzena, Niszczenia materiałów archiwalnych w Wojewódzkim Urzędzie Spraw Wewnętrznych w Gdańsku w latach 1989–1990, in *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2011, t. 4; <http://ipn.gov.pl/download/94/30/PrzeglądArchiwalnyIPNtom4.pdf>
- Kruszyński, Marcin, eds., *Klio na wolności: historiografia dziejów najnowszych po 1989 roku*, Lublin: IPN, 2016
- Kwiatkowski, Piotr Tadeusz, *Pamięć zbiorowa społeczeństwa polskiego w okresie transformacji*, t. II, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2008
- Lipiński Piotr, *Bicia nie trzeba było ich uczyć: proces Humera i oficerów śledczych Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa*, Wołowiec: Czarne, 2016
- Majchrzak, Grzegorz, *Inteligentna forma internowania: ćwiczenia i powołania do Ludowego Wojska Polskiego jako forma represji po 13 grudnia 1981 r.*, Warszawa: IPN, 2016
- Moczulski Leszek, *Lustracja. Rzecz o teraźniejszości i przeszłości*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM, 2001
- Musiał, Filip, ed., *Wokół teczek bezpieki. Zagadnienia metodologiczno-źródłoznawcze*, 2nd edition, Kraków: IPN, 2015
- Opalińska, Agnieszka, *Lustracja w Polsce i w Niemczech: próba porównania*, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Atut" – Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe, 2005
- Ostrowska, Katarzyna, Żuławnik, Mariusz, Niszczenie kartotek Biura "C" MSW w latach 1989–1990, in *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2011, t. 4; <http://ipn.gov.pl/download/94/30/PrzeglądArchiwalnyIPNtom4.pdf>
- Paczkowski, Andrzej, Polen 1989–1998: die Politik in den Archiven – die Archive in der Politik, in Unverhau, Dagmar, Lucht, Roland, eds., *Lustration, Aktenöffnung, demokratischer Umbruch in Polen, Tschechien, der Slowakei und Ungarn*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005
- Persak, Krzysztof, Kamiński, Łukasz, ed., *Czekiści: organy bezpieczeństwa w europejskich krajach bloku sowieckiego 1944–1989*, Warszawa: IPN, 2010
- Piotrowski, Paweł, *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce. Kadra kierownicza, vol. 2, 1956–1975*, Warszawa: IPN, 2006; <http://pamiec.pl/pa/biblioteka-cyfrowa/publikacje/9865,Aparat-bezpieczenstwa-w-Polsce-Kadra-kierownicza-tom-II-1956-1975.html>
- Piotrowski, Paweł, ed., *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce. Kadra kierownicza, vol. 3, 1975–1990*, Warszawa: IPN, 2008; <http://pamiec.pl/pa/biblioteka-cyfrowa/publikacje/9878,Aparat-bezpieczenstwa-w-Polsce-Kadra-kierownicza-tom-III-19751990.html>
- Poraziński, Jarosław, Akten über den kommunistischen Polizei- und Justizapparat der Volksrepublik Polen in den Beständen der polnischen staatlichen Archive, in Unverhau, Dagmar Lucht, Roland, eds. *Lustration, Aktenöffnung, demokratischer Umbruch in Polen, Tschechien, der Slowakei und Ungarn*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005
- Postanowienie Prezydenta RP z dnia 16 lutego 2007 r. w sprawie podania do publicznej wiadomości Raportu o działaniach żołnierzy i pracowników WSI oraz wojskowych jednostek organizacyjnych realizujących zadania w zakresie wywiadu i kontrwywiadu wojskowego przed wejściem w życie ustawy z dnia 9 lipca 2003 r. o Wojskowych Służbach Informacyjnych wykraczających poza sprawy obronności państwa i bezpieczeństwa Sił Zbrojnych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, *Monitor Polski* 2007, nr 11, poz. 110; <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id=WMP20070110110>
- Raina, Peter, *Droga do Okrągłego Stołu. Zakulisowe rozmowy przygotowawcze*, Warszawa: Wydawn. von borowiecky, 1999
- Resolution of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 28 May 1992, in *M.P.*, 1992, No. 16, Item 116.
- Rokicki, Konrad, Spalek, Robert, eds., *Władza w PRL. Ludzie i mechanizmy*, Warszawa: IPN, 2011
- Rokita, Jan, Dudek, Antoni, eds., *Raport Rokity. Sprawozdanie Sejmowej Komisji Nadzwyczajnej do Zbadania Działalności MSW*, Kraków: Arcana, 2005
- Roszkowski, Wojciech, *Najnowsza historia Polski 1980–1989*, Warszawa: Świat Książki, 2011
- Ruzikowski, Tadeusz, ed., *Instrukcje pracy operacyjnej aparatu bezpieczeństwa 1945–1989*, Warszawa: IPN, 2004; <http://ipn.gov.pl/pl/publikacje/ksiazki/12275,Instrukcje-pracy-operacyjnej-aparatu-bezpieczenstwa-19451989.html>
- Szpociński, Andrzej, *Pamięć zbiorowa jako czynnik integracji i źródło konfliktów*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2009
- Szwagrzyk, Krzysztof, ed., *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce. Kadra kierownicza, vol. 1, 1944–1956*, Warszawa: IPN, 2005; <http://pamiec.pl/pa/biblioteka-cyfrowa/publikacje/9864,Aparat-bezpieczenstwa-w-Polsce-Kadra-kierownicza-tom-I-1944-1956.html>
- Zemła, Dominik, ed., *Archiwum Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*, Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki: Archiwum Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 2012

WEBSITES

Annual reports on IPN's activities: <http://ipn.gov.pl/pl/o-ipn/informacje-o-dzialalnosc>
<http://ipn.gov.pl/wydzial-prasowy/komunikaty/akcja-ostatni-swiadek-warszawa>
<http://ipn.gov.pl/kwis>
<http://ipn.gov.pl/kwis/geneza>
<http://pamiec.pl/pa/portale-tematyczne>
<http://poszukiwania.ipn.gov.pl/sz1/projekt/14506,O-projekcie.html>
<http://www.truthaboutcamps.eu>
www.zbrodniawolynska.pl



www.cevro.cz/guide

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The Romanian Experience]



National Endowment
for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world



SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Abraham, Florin, *Romania Since the Second World War. A Political, Social and Economic History*, London: Bloomsbury, 2016
- Anisescu, Cristina, "Dinamica de structură și rol a rețelei informative în perioada 1948–1989", in AAVV, *Arhivele Securității*, București: Editura, 2002, vol. 1, 10–40
- Banu, Florian, *From the SSI to the SIE. The History of Romanian Espionage in the Communist Era (1948–1989)*, București: CNSAS, 2016
- Banu, Florian, Țăranu, Liviu, *Securitatea 1948–1989, Monografie*, Vol I., București: CNSAS – Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2016
- Bădică, Simina, *Curating Communism. A Comparative History of Museological Practices in Post-War (1946–1958) and Post-Communist Romania*, Doctoral Dissertation, Budapest: CEU, 2014
- Buga, Vasile, *Sub lupa Moscovei: politica externă a României 1965–1989*, București: INST, 2015
- Burakowski, Adam, *Dictatura lui Nicolae Ceaușescu 1965–1989. Geniul Carpatilor*, București: Polirom, 2016
- Caietele Revoluției*, 2010, No. 4–5
- Carey, F. Henry, ed., *Romania Since 1989. Politics, Economics, and Society*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004
- Deletant, Dennis, *Teroarea comunistă în România* [or. *Communist Terror in Romania*, 1999], Iași: Polirom, 2001
- Dinu, Ștefan, *Condamnat la discreție*, București: Editura Neverland, 2009
- Dobre, Florica, Banu, Florian, Duica, Cornelia, Moldovan, Silviu B., Țăranu, Liviu eds., *Trupele de Securitate (1949–1989)*, București: Editura Nemira, 2004
- Dobre, Florica et al., ed., *Trupele de Securitate*, București: CNSAS – Nemira, 2004
- Dragomir, Gheorghe, *Recviem pentru spioni*, Vol. 1, București: Editura România în lume, 2006
- Duțu, Alesandru, *Revoluția din Decembrie 1989. Cronologie*, Editura Sitech: Craiova, 2010
- Gal, Ionel, *Rațiune și represiune în Ministerul de Interne 1965–1989*, vol. I., Iași: Editura Domino, 2001
- Gallagher, Tom, *Theft of a Nation: Romania Since Communism*, London: Hurst, 2005
- Gallagher, Tom, *Romania and the European Union – How the Weak Vanquished the Strong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009
- Grosescu, Raluca, Ursachi, Raluca, *Justiția penală de tranziție: De la Nurenberg la postcomunismul românesc*, Iași: Editura Polirom, 2009
- Grosescu, Raluca, *Les communistes dans l'après-communisme. Trajec-toires de conversion politique de la nomenklatura roumaine après 1989*, Paris: Michel Houdiard Éditeur, 2012
- Grosescu, Raluca, "The role of the civil society and anticommunist political actors in the Romanian transitional justice partial failure", in Dvorakova, Vladimira, Milardovic, Anđelko, ed., *Lustration and consolidation of democracy and the rule of law in Central and Eastern Europe*, Zagreb: Political Science Research Center, 2007
- Horne, Cynthia M., *Building Trust and Democracy: Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Countries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017
- Chiritoiu, Mircea, "Rolul Biroului Politic al PMR în instrumentarea proceselor politice din România anilor 1949–1953", in *Analele Sighet 7*, București: Fundația Academia Civică, 1999
- Măgureanu, Virgil, Stoenescu, Alex Mihai, *De la regimul comunist la regimul Iliescu*, București: Editura RAO, 2008
- Maior, George Cristian, "Managing change: The Romanian Intelligence Service in the 21st Century", in *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 2012, vol. 25, 217–239
- Malureanu, Vasile, *Apararea ordinii constituționale, Perspectiva unui ofițer de informații*. București: Editura Paco, 2016
- Marin, Gabriel, *Apprendre l'histoire à l'école communiste – Mémoire et crise identitaire à travers les manuels scolaire roumains*, Paris: Harmattan, 2013
- Matei, Florina Cristina, "Romania's Anti-terrorism Capabilities: Transformation, Cooperation, Effectiveness", in *Journal of Defense Resources Management*, 2012, vol. 3 (1), 37–54
- Mioc, Marius: *Procesele revoluției de la Timișoara: documente istorice*, Artires, Timișoara, 2004
- New Europe College Yearbook*, 2003–2004, No. 11
- Nicolescu-Waggonner, Cristina, *No Rule of Law, No Democracy. Conflict of Interests, Corruption, and Elections as Democratic Deficit*, Albany (NY): State University of New York Press, 2016
- Ohanesian, Eduard Ovidiu, *Raport din spatele ușilor închise*, Iași: Editura Junimea, 2011
- Olaru, Stejărel, Herbstritt, Georg, *Stasi și Securitatea*, București: Editura Humanitas, 2005
- Oprea, Marius, *Banalitatea răului. O istorie Securității în documente 1949–1989*, Iași: Polirom, 2002
- Oprea, Marius, *Moștenitorii Seicurității*, București: Humanitas, 2004
- Oțoiu, Damiana, "Negocier la (re)constitution de la propriete privée en Roumanie postsocialiste. (Nouveaux) acteurs, (anciennes) strategies", in *Options Méditerranéennes: Série A. Séminaires Méditerranéens*, 2010, no. 92, 65–75
- Oțoiu, Damiana, *La (re)construction de la propriete privée en Roumanie post-communiste. "Anciens" vs. "nouveaux" propriétaires?*, paper presented at the At the Frontier of Land Issues: Social Embeddedness of Rights and Public Policy international workshop, 17–19 May 2006, Montpellier, France
- Pelin, Mihai, *Trecutul nu se prescrie. SIE&SRI*, București: Editura Kullusys, 2004

- Petrescu, Dragoș, "Public Exposure Without Lustration", in Stan, Lavinia, Turcescu, Lucian, eds., *Justice, Memory and Redress in Romania*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017
- Rekosh, Edwin Romania: A Persistent Culture of Impunity, in Naomi Roht-Arriaza, ed., *Impunity and Human Rights in International Law and Practice*, New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995
- Roske, Octavian, ed., *Romania 1945–1989. Enciclopedia regimului communist. Represiunea P-R*, București: Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2016
- Sandulescu, Șerban, *Decembrie '89. Lovitura de stat a confiscat Revoluția Română*, București: Editura Omega Ziua Press, 1996
- SRI – Cartea Albă a Securității*, vol. II. *Categorii de persoane supravegheate*, București: Editura Presa Românească, 1994
- SRI – Cartea Alba a Securitatii*, vol. III. *Schimbări în structura de personal, direcțiile și continutul activității organelor de securitate*, București: Editura Presa Românească, 1994
- Stan, Lavinia, "Cleansing. Access to Securitate Files: The Trials and Tribulations of a Romanian Law", in *East European Politics and Societies*, 2002, 16 (1), 55–90
- Stan, Lavinia, "Moral Romanian Style", *Problems of Post-Communism*, 2002, 49 (4), 52–62
- Stan, Lavinia, "Lustration in Romania: The Story of a Failure", in *Studia Politica*, 2006, 6 (1), 135–156
- Stan, Lavinia, "The Roof over Our Head: Property Restitution in Romania", in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 2006, 22 (2), 180–205
- Stan, Lavinia, *Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Romania. The Politics of Memory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013
- Stan, Lavinia, *Transitional Justice in Eastern Europe and The Former Soviet Union: Reckoning with the Communist Past*, London: Routledge, 2009
- Stan, Lavinia, Nedelsky, Nadya, eds., *Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013
- Stan, Lavinia, Turcescu, Lucian, eds., *Justice, Memory and Redress in Romania*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017
- Stoenescu, Alex Mihai, *Din culisele luptei pentru putere (1989–1990). Prima guvernare Petre Roman*, București: Editura RAO 2006
- The English language transcript of the Ceaușescu trial of December 25, 1989 in <https://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/items/show/690>
- Tismăneanu, Vladimir, "Democracy and memory: Romania confronts its communist past", in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, vol. 617 (1), 166–180
- Tismăneanu, Vladimir, *Stalinism for all seasons: A political history of Romanian communism*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003
- Tofan, Liviu, *A patra ipoteză. Ancheta despre o uluitoare afacere de spionaj*. Iași: Polirom, 2013
- Tofan, Liviu, *Șacalul Securității: Teroristul Carlos în solda spionajului românesc*, Iași: Polirom, 2013
- Troncotă, Cristian, *Duplicității. O istorie a Serviciilor de Informații și Securitate ale regimului comunist din România*, București: Editura Elion, 2003
- Tsang, Steve, *Intelligence and Human Rights in the Era of Global Terrorism*, Westport: CT: Praeger, 2008
- Un risc asumat*, București: Editura Viitorul Românesc, 1992
- Watts, Larry, "Control and Oversight of Security Intelligence in Romania", in *Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) Working Papers*, 2003

WEBSITES

- adevarul.ro/news/eveniment/cele-mai-maridosare-coruptie-anii-90-1_55c35a24f5eaafab2c4ec4f6/index.html
- afdpr.ro/
- cnsas.ro/
- nsaarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB298/Document10.pdf
- revista22online.ro/10065/.html
- www.balkananalysis.com/romania/2011/04/20/the-romanian-secret-services-politics-and-the-media-a-structural-overview/
- www.cdep.ro/pls/steno/steno.stenograma?ids=7470&idm=9
- www.cdep.ro/pls/caseta/eCaseta.OrdineZi
- www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp83b00228r000100070004-7
- www.contributors.ro
- www.contributors.ro/societatelife/rastalmacirile-lui-larry-watts-si-rastalmacirile-altora-despre-larry-watts/
- www.contributors.ro/editorial/cum-pot-serviciile-secrete-%C8%99i-transparen%C8%9Ba-sa-incapa-in-aceea%C8%99i-fraza-miza-controlului-civil-al-serviciilor-pentru-consolidarea-democra%C8%9Biei/
- www.evz.ro/detalii/stiri/doi-si-un-sfert-din-adevar-totii-oamenii-presedintelui-898231.html
- www.gandul.info/politica/legea-lustratiei-pe-intelesul-tuturor-alegatorilor-cu-acelasi-trecut-poti-ajunge-presedinte-dar-nu-si-prim-ministru-9351943
- www.gandul.info/stiri/pana-unde-au-mers-protocoalele-sri-reglementari-sau-implicari-in-activitatea-altor-institutii-16183971
- www.henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Romania-paper.pdf
- www.icarfoundation.ro/en/
- www.iicmer.ro/

www.luju.ro/institutii/servicii-secrete/sri-proteste-romania-noua-securitate-condusa-de-coldea-si-hellvig-este-preocupata-de-gainarii-si-dosare-politice-nu-si-de-atentatele-la-viata-romanilor-soldate-de-a-lungul-anilor-cu-sute-de-decese-din-cauza-infectiilor-nosocomiale-hexi-pharma-sau-repreze?pdf

www.luju.ro/institutii/servicii-secrete/statistica-uluitoare-romania-ocupa-locul-ii-in-clasamentul-tarilor-membre-nato-privind-numarul-de-agenti-din-serviciul-national-de-informatii-pe-primul-loc-se-claseaza-sua-unde-fbi-la-un-numar-de-314-milioane-locuitori-are-35-344-agenti-sri-pentru-20-mili?pdf

www.mediafax.ro/social/curtea-constitutionala-legea-lustratiei-este-neconstitutionala-9447568

www.militiaspirituala.ro

www.riseproject.ro

www.romaniacurata.ro

www.sspr.gov.ro/index.php?contact

<https://www.stiri-extreme.ro/dupa-pacepa-larry-watts-dezvaluie-noi-agenti-kgb-din-romania-aflati-langa-ceaurescu-si-apoi-alaturi-de-iliescu-interviu-irir/#>

www.transparency.org.ro/stiri/comunicate_de_presa/2015/16iunie/Policy%20Paper_Serviciile%20de%20Informatii%20in%20Echilibrul%20Interinstitutional.pdf

www.ziare.com/dan-voiculescu/cnsas/procuror-despre-dan-voiculescu-nu-era-obligat-sa-faca-o-declaratie-conforma-cu-realitatea-1237580

ziuadecj.realitatea.net/mobile/articol.aspx?t=Articole@eID=16656





www.cevro.cz/guide

MEMORY OF NATIONS

Democratic Transition Guide

[The Russian Experience]



National Endowment
for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world



SOURCES USED AND FURTHER READING

- Adler, Nanci, *The Gulag survivor: Beyond the Soviet system*, London: Transaction Publishers, 2004
- Albats, Yevgenia, Fitzpatrick, Catherine A., *The State within a State: The KGB and Its Hold on Russia – Past, Present, and Future*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1994
- Andrew, Christopher, Gordievsky, Oleg, *KGB: The Inside Story of Its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev*, New York: Harper Collins, 1990
- Amsterdam, Robert, *Lustration and the Politics of Memory in Russia*; https://robertamsterdam.com/lustration_and_the_politics_of_memory_in_russia/
- Бакатин, В. В., *Избавление от КГБ*, Москва: Новости, 1992
- Barron, John, *KGB Today: The Hidden Hand*, New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1983
- Bennett, Gordon, *The Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation*, Watchfield: Conflict Studies Research Centre, March 2000
- Богуш, Г. И., Есаков, Г. А., Русинова, В. Н., *Международные преступления: модель имплементации в российское уголовное законодательство*, Москва: Проспект, 2017
- Cassese, Antonio, "Balancing the Prosecution of Crimes against Humanity and Non-Retroactivity of Criminal Law: The Kolk and Kislyiy v. Estonia Case before the ECHR", in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 2006, 4 (2), 410–418
- Cohen, Stephen F., *The Victim Returns: Survivors of the Gulag After Stalin*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2012
- Черкасов, А., Крот истории, in *Polit.ru*, 3. 9. 2004; <http://polit.ru/article/2004/09/03/khaibakh/>
- Дубин, Б., *Жить в России на рубеже столетий. Социологические очерки и разработки*, Москва: Прогресс – Традиция, 2007
- Etkind, Alexander, *Warped Mourning: Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied (Cultural Memory in the Present)*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013
- Fedor, Julie, *Russia and the Cult of State Security: The Chekist Tradition, From Lenin to Putin*, London: Routledge, 2011
- Филичкин, В., Репрессии на Южном Урале: правда или вымысел?, in *Полит74*, 20. 1. 2014; <https://www.polit74.ru/comments/detail.php?ID=39787>
- Filippov, A. V., *Contemporary History of Russia. 1946–2006. Teacher's Book*, Moscow: Prosveshcheniye, 2007
- Filippov, A., Danilov, A., eds., *The History of Russia. 1900–1945*, Moscow: Prosveshcheniye, 2009
- Горбачев, М. С., Политический доклад Центрального Комитета КПСС XXVII Съезду Коммунистической партии Советского Союза, in *Материалы XXVII съезда Коммунистической партии Советского Союза*, Москва: Политиздат, 1986
- Гудков, Л. Д., Массовая идентичность и институциональное насилие. Статья вторая: Армия в постсоветской России, in *Bulletin of Public opinion: Data. Analysis. Discussions*, 2004, (68), 2, 35–51
- Henderson, Jane, "Making a Drama out of a Crisis: The Russian Constitutional Court and the Case of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", in *King's Law Journal*, 2008, 19 (3), 489–506
- Hilger, Andreas, Sowjetunion (1945–1991), in Gieseke, Jens; Kamiński, Łukasz; Persak, Krzysztof, eds., *Handbuch der kommunistischen Geheimdienste in Osteuropa 1944–1991*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009, 43–141
- Имеем Право. Интервью с Валерием Зорькиным, in *Российская газета*, No. 4210, 31. 10. 2006; <https://rg.ru/2006/10/31/zorkin-ks.html>
- Как они работали с нами. Блог Андрея Мальгина, 20. 6. 2007; <http://avmalgin.livejournal.com/566420.html>
- Какое прошлое нужно будущему России? Доклад Вольного исторического общества, 2016; <https://komitetgi.ru/analytics/3076/>
- Калугин, О. Д., "Дело" бывшего генерала КГБ. Месяц первый, Москва: ПИК, 1990
- Кичихин, А., Привело ли расследование августовского путча к трансформациям в работе КГБ?, in *КГБ: вчера, сегодня, завтра. Сборник докладов*, Москва: Общественный фонд "Гласность", 1993
- Knight, Amy, *Russia's New Security Services: An Assessment*, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1994; <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=457727>
- Knight, Amy, "Russian Security Services Under Yel'tsin", in *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 1993, (9), 1, 40–65
- Knight, Amy, *Spies without Cloaks. KGB's Successors*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996
- Knight, Amy, *The KGB: Police and Politics in the Soviet Union*, New York: Unwin Hyman, 1990
- Knight, Amy, *The Security Services and the Decline of Democracy in Russia: 1996–1999*, The Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies, No. 23, October 1999, The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, The University of Washington, Seattle. <https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/handle/1773/35343>
- Кокурин, А. И., Петров, Н. В., *Лубянка: ВЧК-ОГПУ-НКВД-НКГБ-МГБ-МВД-КГБ. 1917–1991. Справочник*, Москва: Международный фонд "Демократия", 2003
- Колпакиди, А. И., ed., *Энциклопедия секретных служб России*, Москва: АСТ, Астрель, Транзиткнига, 2003
- Кононов, А.Л., К истории принятия Закона "О реабилитации жертв политических репрессий", in *Реабилитация и память. Отношение к жертвам советских политических репрессий в странах бывшего СССР*, Москва: "Мемориал" – "Звенья", 2016
- Копосов, Н., Как реформировать историческое образование в России, in *Неприкосновенный запас*, 2012, No. 5; <http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2012/5/k14.html>

- Копосов, Н., *Память строгого режима: История и политика в России*, Москва: Новое литературное обозрение, 2011
- Копосов, Н., Хапаева, Д., Сталинизм глазами избирателей, in *polit.ru*, 21. 9. 2007; <http://polit.ru/article/2007/09/21/stalinizm/>
- Kora, Andrieu, "An Unfinished Business: Transitional Justice and Democratization in Post-Soviet Russia", in *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, (2011) 5 (2): 198–220
- Козлов, В. П., *Бог сохранял архивы России*, Челябинск: Книга, 2009
- Кривова, Н. А., О деятельности специальной комиссии по архивам при Президенте Российской Федерации, in *Вестник Архивиста*, 1994, 1–2, (19–20), 60–65
- Крыштановская, О. В., *Анатомия российской элиты*, Москва: Захаров, 2005
- Kryshstanovskaya, Olga, White, Stephen, "Public Attitudes to the KGB: A Research Note", in *Europe-Asia Studies*, 1993, (45), 1, 169–175
- Леушин, М. А., Проблемы доступности архивов в начале 50-х годов, in *Вестник архивиста*, 1996, (34) 4, 41–45
- Малинова, О., *Актуальное прошлое: Символическая политика властвующей элиты и дилеммы российской идентичности*, Москва: Политическая энциклопедия, 2015
- Млечин, Л. М., *КГБ. Председатели органов госбезопасности. Рассекреченные судьбы*, Москва: Центрполиграф, 2011
- Nuzov, Ilya, "The Role of Political Elite in Transitional Justice in Russia: From False 'Nurembergs' to Failed Desovietization", in *U. C. Davis Journal of International Law & Policy*, 2014, 20 (2), 273–321
- Павлова, Т. Ф., Рассекречивание документов в государственных архивах России: некоторые итоги, законодательная база, проблемы, in *Вестник Архивиста*, 1994, 1–2 (19–20), 50–59
- Pettai, Eva-Clarita, Pettai, Vello, *Transitional and Retrospective Justice in the Baltic States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015
- Петров, А. Г., "О некоторых проблемах органов прокуратуры по исполнению Закона Российской Федерации 'О реабилитации жертв политических репрессий'", in *История государства и права*, 2007, (3), 10–15
- Петров, Н. В., Десятилетие архивных реформ в России, in *Индекс*, 2001, (14); <http://index.org.ru/journal/14/petrov1401.html>
- Петров, Н. В., Подразделения КГБ СССР по борьбе с инакомыслием 1967–1991 годов in Берендс, Я. и др., eds., *Повседневная жизнь при социализме. Немецкие и российские подходы*, Москва: Политическая энциклопедия, 2015
- Petrov, Nikita V., Crimes of the Soviet regime: Legal assessment and punishment of the guilty ones, in *Crimes of the Communist Regimes. An assessment by historians and legal experts. Proceedings of international conference*, Prague: Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, 2011, 87–92
- Пронин, А. А., Швидко, М. Н., О международном этическом кодексе архивистов, in *Документ. Архив. История. Современность*, Екатеринбург: Изд-во Урал. ун-та, 2015, 348–354
- Проблемы публичности архивов и рассекречивания архивных документов: Информационное сообщение. ["12–14 января 1994 г. в Москве состоялся международный семинар по проблемам публичности архивов и рассекречивания архивных документов..."], in *Вестник Архивиста*, 1994, No. 1–2 (19–20)
- Предложения об учреждении общенациональной государственно-общественной программы "Об увековечении памяти жертв тоталитарного режима и о национальном примирении", in *Российская газета*, 7. 4. 2001; <https://rg.ru/2011/04/07/totalitarizm-site.html>
- Путилова, Е. Г., *История государственной реабилитационной политики и общественного движения за увековечение памяти жертв политических репрессий (1953 – начало 2000-х гг.)*, Автореф. дисс. на соиск. уч. ст. к.и.н., Yekaterinburg, 2011
- Рамазашвили, Г., Войны за просвещение – доступ к истории в наших руках, in *Индекс: Досье на цензуру*, 2007, 26, 247–270
- Renz, Bettina, "Russia's 'Force Structures' and the Study of Civil-Military Relations", in *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 2005, (18), 4, 570–572
- Renz, Bettina, "The *Siloviki* in Russian Politics: Political Strategy or a Product of the System?", in *Russian Analytical Digest*, 2007, (17), 20, 2–4
- Резунков, В., ФСБ против ученых. Чем и кому не угодил историк Михаил Супрун? in *Радио свобода*, 2011; <http://www.svoboda.org/a/24373137.html>
- Рогинский, А., Охотин, Н., Архивы КГБ: год после путча, in *Современная Россия: взгляд изнутри. Политика. Право. Культура. Сборник статей российских исследователей к 10-летию Института Восточной Европы при Бременском университете*, 1992
- Russia under Putin The making of a Neo-KGB State. Political Power in Russia Now Lies with the FSB, the KGB's Successor, in *Economist*, 23 August 2007; <http://www.economist.com/node/9682621>
- Рыбаков, Ю., Законопроект Галины Старовойтовой о лustrации. Блог Андрея Илларионова, 18. 5. 1985; <http://echo.msk.ru/blog/aillar/1767702-echo/>
- Sakwa, Richard, *Russian Politics and Society*. Fourth ed., London: Routledge, 2008
- Satter, David, *Age of Delirium: The Decline and Fall of the Soviet Union*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001
- "Советское наследие". Отражение прошлого в социальных и экономических практиках современной России, Москва: РОССПЭН, 2010
- Shcherbakova, Irina, GULAG Memory Map: Problems and Gaps, in *Laboratorium*, 2015, (1), 114–121
- Shcherbakova, Irina, *An Experience of Researching Memoirs and Oral Testimonies of Former Prisoners*; <http://urokiistorii.ru/memory/oral/2009/05/pamyat-gulaga>
- Schneider, Eberhard, The Russian Federal Security Service under President Putin, in White, Stephen, *Politics and the Ruling Group in Putin's Russia*, Basingstoke – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 42–62

- Смирнова, И., Расстрел Великих князей: дело положено под сукно, in *Свободная Пресса*, 16. 2. 2010; <http://svpressa.ru/society/article/21258/>; <http://tayga.info/120423>
- Soldatov, Andrei, Borogan, Irina, The Mutation of the Russian Secret Services, in *Agentura.ru*, August 25, 2016; www.agentura.ru/english/dosie/mutation/
- Soldatov, Andrei, Borogan, Irina, *The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB*, New York: PublicAffairs, 2011
- Stan, Lavinia, *Transitional Justice in Eastern Europe and The Former Soviet Union: Reckoning with the Communist past*, London: Routledge, 2009
- Stan, Lavinia, Nedelsky, Nadya, eds., *Post-Communist Transitional Justice: Lessons from Twenty-Five Years of Experience*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015
- Steel and Shadows. Obituary: Yevgeny Primakov, in *Economist*, 18 July 2015. <http://www.economist.com/node/21657755>
- Свобода в обществе Мемориал. Декоммунизация и люстрация in *Радио Свобода*, 22. 4. 2012; <http://www.svoboda.org/a/24557575.html>
- Шаблинский, И. Г., *Эволюция политического режима в России. Конституционные основы и неформальные практики*, Москва: ТЕИС, 2014
- Штрихи к портрету*. Блог Андрея Мальгина, 26. 11. 2006; <http://avmalgin.livejournal.com/695124.html>
- Toymentsev, Sergey, "Legal but Criminal: The Failure of the 'Russian Nuremberg' and the Paradoxes of Post-Soviet Memory", in *Comparative Literature Studies*, 2011, 48 (3), 296-319
- Учителя пошли по спискам, in *Радио свобода*, 3. 4. 2012; <http://www.svoboda.org/a/24535300.html>
- Вечно сомневающийся Ковалев. Интервью с правозащитником Сергеем Адамовичем Ковалевым, in *Gazeta.ru*, 1. 9. 1999; http://gazeta.lenta.ru/interview/01-09-1999_kovalev.htm
- Вырывдин, Максим, Контрразведка переаттестована, in *Kommersant*, No. 54, March 26, 1994. <<http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/74594>>
- Waller, Michael J., "Russia's Security Services: A Checklist for Reforms", in *Perspective*, 10 September 1997
- Waller, Michael J., *Secret Empire: The KGB in Russia Today*, Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994
- Waller, J. Michael, "The KGB and Its 'Successors'", in *Perspective*, 1994, (4), 4; http://intellit.muskingum.edu/alpha_folder/W_folder/waller_j_m.html
- Wise, David, Closing Down the K.G.B., in *New York Times*, 24 November, 1991. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1991/11/24/magazine/closing-down-the-kgb.html>>
- Yeltsin, Boris, "The secret services will never be 'watchdogs' any more". Radio Address, in *Kommersant*, No. 220, December 20, 1997
- "Защита личности, общества, государства". Так определяет приоритеты своего подразделения начальник Управления конституционной безопасности ФСБ России Геннадий Зоотов, in *Независимое военное обозрение*, No. 044 (118), November 20, 1998
- Земсков, В. Н., *Сталин и народ. Почему не было восстания*, Москва: Алгоритм, 2014
- "Знаю их всех". Говорит Александр Коржаков, in *Медиазона*, September 5, 2016; <https://zona.media/article/2016/05/09/korzhaikov>
- Зубов, А. Б., ed., *История России. XX век. 1953–2007*, том III, Москва: Эксмо, 2017
- Чубарьян, А. О., Источниковедческие аспекты в изучении истории XX века, in *Вестник архивиста*, 1997, 6 (42), 11–26

WEBSITES

- arudnitsky.livejournal.com/50732.html
- government.ru/media/files/AR59E5d7yB9LddoPH2RSlhQpSCQDERdP.pdf
- kommersant.ru/doc/2678868
- komitetgi.ru/analytics/3076/
- kremlin.ru/events/president/news/31103
- lists.memo.ru/
- memohrc.org/news/evropeyskiy-sud-otklonyaet-zhaloby-rodstvennikov-politicheskikh-repressirovannyh-iz-rossii
- memoryfund.ru/
- parnasnn.ru/proekt-zakona-o-lyustracii-galiny-starovojtovoij/2014/08/
- rg.ru/2011/04/07/totalitarizm-site.html
- rosagr.natm.ru/dynamic/docs/konsol.doc
- rospravosudie.com/court-novolakskij-rajonnyj-sud-respublika-dagestan-s/act-105197490/
- topos.memo.ru/
- urokiistorii.ru/1766
- www.bbc.com/russian/russia/2016/04/160420_gosduma_ngo_law
- www.colta.ru/articles/art/12980
- www.gulagmuseum.org/search.do?objectTypeName=monuments&language=1&objectTypeName=monuments&language=1&page=1&objectTypeName=monuments&language=1
- www.kremlin.ru/structure/commissions#institution-25

www.levada.ru/2017/02/15/lyubov-rossiyan-k-stalinu-dostigla-maksimuma/
www.levada.ru/2000/09/14/15-sentyabrya-2000-goda/
www.levada.ru/2001/07/02/3-iyulya-2001-goda/
www.memo.ru/ru-ru/history-of-repressions-and-protest/rehabilitation/
www.newsru.com/russia/14jun2006/whiteguard.html
www.novayagazeta.ru/articles/2017/04/10/72095-dnevnik-oppozitsii-vash-syn-byl-na-mitinge-za-povedenie-neud
www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/243827.html
www.poslednyadres.ru/about/
www.youtube.com/watch?v=xfqn1lrl7WI&t=25s



www.cevro.cz/guide