

OPEN SOCIETY ARCHIVES

Open Society Archives

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CHAPTER I

The coordinates of the Archives

The enemy-archives*

The topsoil of the earth, the matter we live on, is but decomposing residue, decaying matter, a fossil record. The present is thus a parasite on (almost) dead traces of the past under our feet. This is how Darwin, in *The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms* (written in 1881), perceived and described the basis of our present world. There is an archive beneath us; and in order to understand ourselves, our lineage and the directions we are coming from and heading to, we should simply look for the remains of the dead, for the decomposing archive. The key is beneath us. (Decoding and understanding is as simple as this. Or at least, this is how Darwin imagined the consequence of the work of the diligent worms.)

The Open Society Archives (OSA) is beneath my feet, two levels under the ground, on floors minus-1 and minus-2 in one of the buildings of the Central European University. It is a subterranean institution. The core collection of the Archives, the documents and records accumulated by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are the residue of the Cold War, remnants of the longest propaganda war in modern history. The documents in part were produced and collected in order to aid and cover a large covert operation of the agencies that stood behind, and at the same time helped, the work of the Radios.

The holdings of the Open Society Archives are both smaller and more extensive than the Radios' original archive. Not everything came to Budapest from Munich and New York when, after the end of the Cold War – when the Radios had fulfilled their original mandate and made themselves obsolete – the US Congress decided to downsize the operation and cut the budget. The final destination of the “Corporate Archive” – the administrative documents, the correspondence between the Radios and the different offices of the American government, as well as the directives sent to the Radios – was the Hoover Archive at Stanford. OSA does not have – in fact does not even know much about – the still-classified, partly CIA documents, which could testify about “one of the [CIA's] most successful covert operations” as a well-informed insider addressed the Radios retrospectively. (Marchetti and Marks, 1974 pp. 134–135)

The core of the collection under the ground in Budapest is a typical product of the Cold War period: it does not directly reveal much about the organization that produced the documents, but one can learn much inferentially by studying the materials the Radios and the agencies behind them had collected and stored.

The programs, or “production tapes” the different desks of the Radios had produced did not come to OSA, but instead remained for the time being at the Radios, which moved to Prague in 1995. A large number of the copies of the Polish and Hungarian radio programs were later donated to Polish and Hungarian national archives, and a plan to copy the Russian language programs and donate the copies to an institution in Russia has not yet been abandoned. The destination of the transcripts of the so-called “monitoring tapes”, however, was Budapest.

Besides collecting clippings from Central and Eastern European official newspapers, diplomatic post reports, interviews with refugees from the region, descriptions by tourists and sensitive and clandestine information with the help of different intelligence agencies, the Radios closely followed the events in the so-called “target countries” by listening to and recording the official radio broadcasts coming through the air from the communist world. The broadcasts were then transcribed during the night, and by the time the programs resumed in the early morning, the transcripts were already on the tables of the people in charge of the political and ideological direction of the programs. The Radios immediately reacted to the news coming from behind the iron curtain, where, at the same time, agents working for the other side, for the communist jamming/monitoring stations, listened attentively to the broadcasts of the “enemy stations” like Radio Vatican, Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and, later, Radio Tel-Aviv, Radio Tirana, Radio Peking and others as well.

Monitoring the “enemy broadcasts” was made difficult by the political need to jam the very same programs at the same time. Jamming took either the form of transmitting a continuous noise on the same frequency as the “enemy station”, or broadcasting a mixture of speech, music, and atmospheric noise designed to overwhelm the incoming broadcast. According to the one-time director of the Hungarian secret jamming agency, right before 1956, each day 218 hours of enemy broadcasting trespassed the Hungarian airwaves on 214 frequencies. The jamming agency, with the modest code-name “Post Office No. 118”, did not have the capacity to jam all incoming programs, and even if it had possessed the necessary technical means, it would not have been allowed to do so, as a consequence of the need to monitor the enemy broadcasts. (Cf. Révész, 1996) During the night, while the transcribers worked at RFE/RL, scribes were busy transcribing the recorded programs of the enemy stations inside secret offices in the communist

countries. The transcripts were delivered in due time to desks in the ministries of interior, the offices of the secret police and the propaganda and agitation department of the party headquarters. Orders and directives were sent in turn to the official media including the radio stations: how to respond to the propaganda of the enemy.

Visiting the archives of the national news agencies of the former communist countries or the (mostly still closed) archives of the former secret police, one would find the recorded or transcribed versions of those program tapes that did not come to Budapest with the core collection. OSA and these secret archives together form a full and peculiar picture of the way the Cold War, communism, the West, and the East were jointly fashioned and produced by the enemy Radios and the national radios of the "target countries". There was a constant, ongoing dialogue in the air with both sides reflecting on the recorded, transcribed and analyzed propaganda of the other. What the secret listeners, who tried to comprehend the broadcasts behind the constant curtain of noise perceived about their world, about communism, was in large part supplied by the descriptions they gathered from the "enemy radios", RFE/RL being most prominent among them. RFE/RL conceived its programs largely as a response to the programs produced behind the iron curtain.

OSA acquired a few amateur tapes with records of RFE programs recorded inside the "target countries", that preserved the noise of the jamming. Superimposed on the voices in the programs, covering the message, is the noise that was transmitted in order to neutralize, to eliminate and to erase all meaning. Instead of erasure, instead of an acoustic black hole, however, the result turned out to be noise as message, as meaningful information: "for despite the death it contains, noise carries the order in itself; it carries new information. This may seem strange. But noise does in fact create meaning: first because the interruption of a message signifies the interdiction of the transmitted meaning, and signifies censorship and rarity; second, because the very absence of meaning in pure noise or in the meaningless repetition of a message, by unchanneling auditory sensations, frees the listener's imagination... The presence of noise makes sense and makes meaning. It makes possible the creation of a new order on another level of organization, or a new code in another network." (Attali, 1985 p. 33)

The Open Society Archives houses millions pieces of carefully assembled information, obtained, collected and smuggled out in clandestine ways from countries with rulers who tried to hermetically seal them and isolate them from the other side, from the outside world. Most of the information stored underground, on levels minus-1 and minus-2 in Budapest, is blatant and obvious lies: forged election results, forged production statistics, forged birth and death rates, doctored maps and photographs and censored descriptions of events that never happened. Analysts at the Radios frantically searched for meaning behind the stereotypical topoi, trying to decode the allegedly coded messages, since it was difficult to imagine that anyone of sound mind – even in a completely boring totalitarian regime – would produce such unbelievable stories, news and information. But the cryptanalysis was in most cases done in vain: there was nothing behind the message; the message, as in the case of the noise, was the information itself.

Why would anybody come to an archives that has as its holdings mostly lies so detached from reality? What research, what solid knowledge can be based on such documents, on such a foundation? On May Day in the early 1950s, it is raining heavily outside: a worker, however, hears an announcement on the radio that the fine weather and bright sunshine will drive hundreds of thousands of workers to take part in the May Day Rally. He is not surprised. He does not think that his eyes are deceiving him but knows that he is an eyewitness and an "ear-witness" to the superhuman confidence of the regime. He knows that what he sees from his window is true, and he is sure that he has grasped the words on the radio correctly. He is certain that there is a discrepancy between what his eyes and what his ears sense, but he understands that behind the truth and the lie there is something else: the message is not that the weather is fine and the sun is shining in spite of the hard rain, but that the Party feels confident enough to announce that rain is sunshine. The Party is stronger than the tangible world. Behind the lie there is the metatruth: the Party is able to announce whatever it wants to say, thinking that no-one will question the statement openly. In mendacio veritas, in lies there lies the truth.

Communism was built on, and eventually ruined by, such metatruths: on noises that warned the listeners that the jamming agency, the Party was there – even in the air, controlling not only the propaganda of the enemy but the eager listeners as well. Yes, the Party was there but paralyzed; capable only of making a cacophony in the air, merely creating the appearance of being there. If one wants to learn the truth about communism, the truth about the Cold War, the world of propaganda and appearances, and the most important reason for the Fall, an informed choice is to study this fake world, and the files and documents of which OSA is the guardian.

Not all the documents in the holdings of the Open Society Archives testify about paralysis and impotence: the Russian, Polish and Hungarian samizdat collections prove that there were some who questioned the lies, who chose not to remain silent, who under the dark sky had hopes even against hope. The Archives however houses documentation not only of individual dissent but of open resistance, the sometimes naive, romantic, but nevertheless heroic attempts: the Polish and Hungarian uprisings in 1956, Prague and Poland in 1968, the strikes along the Baltic coastline, Solidarity. The documents from the Fall, the peaceful revolutions, the transition, the End, which resulted in the Archives move from Munich and New York to Budapest, to the basement of the Central European University which is itself a product of the abrupt and unexpected changes.

OSA is not an archives frozen in time. It actively collects, solicits and acquires important collections and documents on the afterlife of communism and issues connected to human rights. This is why OSA houses the archives of Index on Censorship; this is why the records of the UN Expert Commission on war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia found a place in the Open Society Archives; this is why the decision was made to continue the monitoring activities of the Radios and systematically record the nightly news programs of Serb, Croat, and Bosnian television during the war in Yugoslavia. OSA has a growing collection of new materials, but like the core collection of RFE/RL, most of the newly acquired documents testify about despicable acts, cruelty, the breach of democratic rules of law and grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other international humanitarian law. Ours is the archives of the enemy.

It is difficult for cultures to grasp the unspoken order which is the basis of their knowledges, as Foucault remarked. But "an

enemy is an Archimedean point through which a culture articulates its unspoken structures of perception and thought. In this sense an enemy archive was and is an imaginary parallel universe through which a culture articulates its archive as a totality by producing representations of alien ideologies, nationalities and phenomena." (Richards, 1993 p. 151) The enemy-archives is an institution where we can, and should, learn about ourselves.

The decaying residue which preoccupied Darwin in *The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms* is not completely in the state of death. It is "in a median stage between life and death" like the Transylvanian noble Dracula in Bram Stoker's 1897 novel: "Stoker's Dracula forcibly undoes the assumptions of Darwinian morphology in the form of a creature capable of both sudden and lasting mutations of form. Stoker's vampire lurks in these two blind alleys of Darwinism. He is the origin of his own species, a human being suddenly transformed into the progenitor of a terrifying new species." (Richards, 1993 p. 60) We should be careful with decomposing residues, with the matter upon which we live, with fossil records. The traces are not completely dead – they can give life to mutants.

István Rév

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Old-fashioned cardboard transportable file containers from the RFE/RL Research Institute in Munich.
Central office of the Open Society Archives.
Photo by Ferenc Nemzetes. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Archival parasailing

As I write, parasailers are circling Mt. Saleve. Each of them has arrayed his kite, run to the edge of the cliff, and jumped off. The Open Society Archives was, at the beginning, archival parasailing.

Now, it is true that archives, at least in North America, are founded frequently. Colleges, businesses, religious bodies, and even municipalities all find themselves with an overburden of documents and a lack of management. Someone, somewhere says, "What we need is an archivist!" and another archives is created. Alternatively, of course, someone may say, "Let's give this mess to Archives X" and that archives will take care of it.

It is no surprise that a person with a truffle-dog's nose for history – as is true of both George Soros and Aryeh Neier, President of the Open Society Institute (OSI) – would begin to think about legacy. What is surprising, however, is that OSI apparently had not begun to think about the legacy of the Soros foundations network.

The Open Society Archives did not come into being in that way at all: instead of responding to piles of files and mounds of material in its offices in New York and Budapest, OSI began by contracting to take over the collection of the Research Institute of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, which had fallen on very hard times. In addition, copies of records of the preparatory commission leading up to the International War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia were available. The leaders of OSI were intent on acquiring research resources for the new Central European University (CEU). What they also got in the deal was an archives and records management service for the Soros foundations network.

I remember a meeting at OSI in New York in the summer of 1995. Looking at a bookshelf, I asked whether OSI had a copy of every book published through an OSI grant. Amused, one of the staff members replied, "A copy? We don't even know how many there are!" It was immediately apparent to me, as it would have been to any professional archivist, that the records being created by the Soros foundations were important: here was an agent of change in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and the history of its activity would document the history of those countries, the history of the developing civil societies in the region, the history of the various disciplines funded by Soros, and the history of a unique experiment in philanthropy. Its records needed to be managed, and, most importantly, needed to be selected for permanent preservation in an archives. This meant that the Open Society Archives needed to become a records manager and archivist for the Soros foundations network while continuing to acquire materials from outside the network.

Any archives that both acquires records from inside this network and solicits material from outside must have a solicitation policy. I wrote one, and it was, with only minor changes, accepted by the OSI Board. This allowed us to say "Thanks, but no" to potential donors or sellers while ensuring that we would be the archives of first choice for Soros organizations worldwide. We began to give records advice to Soros foundations in various countries, with the hope that they would eventually send their older records to the Archives in Budapest. As independent organizations, these foundations could not be required to send records, but we tried to be friendly and encourage them to do so.

And so the venture was launched. We hired and trained staff, created a schematic description of the holdings in accordance with international archival standards, and launched a website. We had the luxury of building a temperature- and humidity-controlled storage facility and Research Room, with the unfailing assistance of Bernie Stollman of the Soros organization, and the architect, Michael Cojocar. We moved into the new facilities at CEU during the early summer of 1997, abandoning our historic mansion and the not-so-historic warehouse on the outskirts of the city. We started to hold exhibitions and to develop training courses, first for our staff, next for the CEU Summer University, and then at the request of national Soros foundations.

We acquired additional material, and several acquisitions were especially important. Warned by people within the Soros foundations that the tapes of broadcasts of state television stations were in jeopardy or were actually being destroyed in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia, we contracted for off-air taping of all newscasts and other public affairs programs. Monthly shipments of videotape arrived from the three capitals, and we copied each tape and described them for research use. Eventually taping stopped in Zagreb, as word came that Croatia was now able to preserve its own television archives, and later taping stopped in Sarajevo. But it continued in Serbia to document for history the state's pronouncements leading up to the war in Kosovo.

A second important addition was the donation of the records of the International Helsinki Federation (IHF). Contacts within the Open Society Institute put us in touch with IHF's Executive Director, Aaron Rhodes, and one late afternoon he signed a deed of gift on behalf of the Federation. Staff members from the Archives went to Vienna and extracted documents from offices and, yes, bathrooms. The opening of the IHF records was marked by an exhibit, a symposium and a press conference, with the hope that other Helsinki organizations would also deposit their records.

The videotaping of the trials at the International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague had been underwritten, in part, by the Soros organization. As a result, the Archives purchased a copy of the tapes of the first trial the Tribunal had held: an historical trial setting legal precedents for generations. These were used by professors and law students at Central European University almost

as quickly as they came in the door.

Finally, we made an agreement with an extraordinary photographer, Edward Serrate, to obtain a copy of his photographs from the war in Bosnia. These are splendid images which will be a marvelous compliment to the videotapes of television broadcasts, the Helsinki records, and the materials from The Hague.

I was asked once, "Was the idea harder, or the implementation?" Neither, in truth. Once the decision to acquire the RFE/RL materials was made, what had to be done was obvious. What is difficult is maintenance: maintaining standards of service, continuing to give records management advice to the Soros foundations, and extending the networks of relationships with donors and potential donors, researchers and friends. It is that continuity, that maintenance of quality which is the key to the continued success of the Open Society Archives. It is a job worth doing – just like keeping a parasailer up in the air.

Trudy Huskamp Peterson



Passageway between the two wings of the former building of the Open Society Archives in Eötvös utca connecting the offices with guest rooms.

Photo by József Attila Balázs. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Access to archives a political issue

The consequences of 1989

1989 closed a chapter in world history: the post-war period was over. In fact, this post-war period differed from all previous post-war periods of modern times. It was neither a peace like those which followed wars in the 19th century, nor a short, belligerent truce like

the period of less than two decades which followed the conclusion of the peace treaty in Versailles. During the 44 years between the surrender of the Axis powers and the implosion of the Soviet imperial system, the world lived in a Manichean era, with tension and detente alternating. The Cold War, however, has not degenerated into a general armed confrontation – perhaps because the Second World War, the most horrible debauch of cruelty that has ever happened, served as a deterrent. The hostilities stopped in 1945, but a more or less dim souvenir of these years continued to haunt Europe.

By an innovation against diplomatic tradition, no peace treaty was concluded with Germany. Many questions generated by the war or the emergency decisions and measures following it remained unsettled. In fact, they are still open, although the main obstacle, the Manichean bloc system, was deconstructed between 1985 and 1991.

The 700 days between the opening of the Berlin wall and the coup in Moscow closed also the communist parenthesis and the age of the totalitarian state in the history of Europe. More than 20 countries found themselves faced with the gigantic challenge of inventing, engineering and managing the transition from monolithism to pluralism, from all-powerful party-state to democracy, from bureaucratic dirigism to market economies.

Relieved from the pressure of containment and the danger of confrontation in the West, released from a generalized deadlock in the East, European nations became aware that they had no free access to the knowledge of their pasts. Of course, the organized oblivion of painful or shameful past events in a democratic country like France or Switzerland differs radically from the organized lying and omnipresent secrecy practiced in the Soviet imperium. But it happened that the comfort of selective amnesia lost its attractiveness in the West at the very moment when 20 nations achieved the right to uncover their histories, long kept secret and distorted by compulsory lies. It is understandable that access to archives has become a hot issue attracting media attention in much of Europe.

The archival community reacted to this new situation by developing new working methods to address the problem of access. Historians, lawyers and administrators were associated with the necessary studies and, in order to highlight specific national schemes both those favorable to the freedom of research and those which work to its detriment and to define realistic objectives, brainstorming round-tables involving two or more countries were organized. This effort, conducted by International Council on Archives (ICA), under the aegis of the Council of Europe, led to the development of a Draft Recommendation on a European Policy on Access to Archives. Agreement to various provisions by the Council of Europe is still outstanding, but hopefully the Recommendation will be formally approved next year. It is needed as a reference instrument in all countries, particularly in those where the democratization of access policies and the lifting of obsolete restrictions are under debate. (An almost final version of the text, dated February 1998, is available on the Open Society Archives' website.) The Recommendation outlines and explains the principles which should inspire legislation on access. It insists on the importance of coordinating such legislation with the laws concerning related areas, in particular with laws on access to information held by public authorities and laws on protected personal data. It also emphasizes that access to public archives is not merely a question of rules on disclosure and confidentiality, time limits, declassification, special permission to inspect restricted files and the availability of finding aids. It states that "However liberal the access rules prescribed in legislation may be, the actual communication of archives depends primarily on the facilities and on the human and financial resources which an archives service possesses for the preservation and the processing of its holdings."

The preliminary outline for a state-of-the-art review

Throughout the party-state parenthesis, in spite of a unified central command based in Moscow and a uniform phraseology, history did not stop. Each nation responded to commands in its own way, determined by its history, and the words imposed by the common speech-standard may have had different meanings in different countries. Access to archives was one of the non-uniformly handled areas, except for two rules: (i) records on political decision-making and on all operations connected with the control of the population by the party-state remained closed without time limit; and (ii) specific restrictions were imposed on foreign users.

When the parenthesis ended, the thirst for historical truth was equally strong everywhere in the region, but government authorities and archival institutions were not prepared to address the issue in a uniform way. Managing the transition was easier in those countries where archives had remained attached to a ministry of education or a ministry of culture, and thus could maintain a professional profile. Lifting restrictions which had become irrelevant required legal reform; there was no need to reshape the role of the archivist.

In countries where the archival field had been placed under or closely linked with the internal security authority, a much stronger tradition of secrecy had developed. Users had no access to detailed finding aids but instead received files selected for them by the archives staff, and no bundle or box was produced in a research room without being checked, page by page, by the staff. Through this double censorship, historians could be denied the right to inspect any record from any period of the past that did not corroborate the Vulgate, whether ideological or nationalist. In such situations, legal reform has to be accompanied by a reshaping of the professional practice.

In the new democracies, the starting positions on justified or unavoidable restrictions also differed from country to country for a wide range of reasons not necessarily tied with the distance between the archives and the STASI/Securitate-type police. Without attempting to be exhaustive, one can mention issues such as the country's relations with the Third Reich after 1938, the question of nationalities, conquest and repression during the party-state regime, and, in the former Soviet Republics, the degree to which the population identified with the USSR.

Following the years of change, practically everywhere the state archives system took over the archives of the communist parties, and these became accessible according to the same conditions which pertained to other public records. In Russia, however, after a

brief general opening, the confidentiality of a number of government, Party, and Comintern holdings was reinstated under a new regulation on state secrets, without a specified time limit. Reopening is subject to formal declassification, even for records dating back to the 1920s and 30s.

Civil society and the media followed with particular intentness the fate of the internal security police files. For political reasons, and also due to financial considerations (processing these requires incomparably more manpower than is needed for normal government records), they were usually placed, following the German example, under the control of a special authority (e.g., in Hungary and in Romania). In other countries, they remained in the custody of the new police authority, a solution which UNESCO experts had warned against.^[1]

The European book market indicates clearly that the public wants to know what really happened since the appearance of the totalitarian state. People are passionately interested in their own histories and in those of their parents and grandparents. This demand may be satisfied if historians are given access to the sources according to sensible rules. The primary condition, however, as stated by the Council of Europe text, is seemingly more trivial: the records must be in archival custody. Partial information indicates that, while in some countries (Latvia and Slovakia, for instance) the archives possess adequate storage capacity, in others a significant percentage of the records from after 1945 remains in the originating agencies due to a shortage of facilities (e.g. in Albania, Poland and Romania). A survey of the situation would probably be welcomed by the users, and it may also help the archives to obtain construction programs or resources for renting additional premises.

The transition continues

Throughout Central and Eastern Europe, the revision of archival legislation and, more particularly, of access rules, is part of the democracy-building process. The rhythm and scope of reform have been contingent on political developments and economic circumstances. New archival legislation has been introduced in the majority of countries (including, among others, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Russia and Slovenia), but concepts and rules which lost their relevance with the change of regime were not systematically abandoned everywhere. Harmonization of the new legislation on archives with legislation in related areas has also started, but new problems constantly arise. Aggiornamento of legislation in the archival field is a permanent exercise; all new democracies are bound to care about improving their legal and regulatory texts in order to adapt them to the changing needs of the emerging information society.

According to a firmly established tradition, no archival legislation is drafted without extensive study of foreign laws and regulations, especially recent texts. Between 1971 and 1996, Archivum devoted seven volumes to publishing archival laws from all over the world (all in all 141 countries) to facilitate broad research by those developing legislative projects. The Internet now offers the possibility to respond to this need in a more dynamic way than conventional printing. OSA has already started to make archival laws and regulations available in the Regional Archives Support Project (RASP) section of its website. I am convinced that OSA would render an invaluable service to all partner countries and the archival community at large by continuing this activity and building up a database visitors could search on any issue covered by the texts: protection of personal data, declassification of restricted files, the status of municipal archives, agencies exempted from the transfer obligation, parent authority of the archives etc. For the first time, governments and archival authorities would have at their disposal a body of up-to-date information on possible options for orienting archival policies, and on the possible consequences of the options they may choose.^[2]

The principle of assigning to the state the responsibility for preserving the national memory remains an unquestioned and unchallenged acquisition of modern times. This relatively new state function – previously records were to remain in the custody of the originating bodies forever – is not exercised uniformly, even in countries which are otherwise comparable. According to the pattern followed by the UK and the US, all government agencies transfer their records to a national archives fully responsible for their safekeeping and for making available to users an undivided national memory. Under this pattern, the national archives have no control whatsoever over public records created at lower than central level of the administration and are not entitled to take into custody private papers and non-governmental archives.

The pattern developed by France 200 years ago gives diplomatic, military and police archives independence from the national archival authority, although the archival legislation is applicable to them. Under this pattern, a centrally controlled archival network serves the provincial/regional level of public administration, and state archives are entitled to acquire all kinds of private fonds and collections.

In fact, national situations are extremely varied, and features of the two patterns are mixed. In the age of electronic technologies and increased interest in recent history, the pattern which keeps the national memory undivided seems preferable. It permits a coherent, nationwide access policy covering paper and electronic records, strongly influenced by an authority which is the natural ally of scholars: the national archives.

A well-built, sufficiently rich and permanently updated database on archival legal and policy matters would also act as a powerful incentive to overcome the "Internet gap" still characterizing the profession. A well-developed internet infrastructure could also provide countless services to the archives of the region from distance training to the dissemination of statistical data, from individual or group consultations to on-line research.

The challenges described here deserve an ambitious response – a response which will serve the progress of archives in the new democracies.

Charles Kecskeméti



Wall clock from the 1910s that shows the "Certified Central European Time". Central office of the Open Society Archives.
Photo by Ferenc Nemzetes. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

The Open Society Archives: a brief history

While the roots of the Open Society Archives (OSA) go back to the early Cold War, in its recent form the Archives is a creation of the post-Cold War, the post-communist period. It was established in 1995, in close relation to another new establishment, the Central European University (CEU). Both institutions represent a new era in the history of the region where the former activities of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) were focused. The new Archives acquires, preserves and makes available research resources in the areas of communism and the Cold War, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe in the postwar period; human rights issues and movements; and the activities of the Soros foundations network, including the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI, successor of the RFE/RL Research Institute) and CEU. The major part of the OSA holdings is the former archives of the RFE/RL Research Institute.

The collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe indicated that RFE/RL and its institutions in Munich had fulfilled their task, and the US Congress cut the Radios' funding. The question emerged: what would happen to the archives? Several options were discussed. The simplest suggested that the archives had lost its function, therefore its preservation was futile. This would have meant the total elimination of the files. Another option was that the various national records would be donated to the new democratic states, a move which would have led to the division of the materials and possibly to their partial destruction. It would have also required that the governments be willing to accept and preserve the donated materials. Moreover, the division of the archives would have damaged its historical value. Although for many decades the archives had not functioned as a united division, eventually it became the unified product of an institution determined to carry out its very special mission. The archives could be deemed a unique product of a historical age; therefore, serious arguments supported the view that it had to be kept together and preserved as a whole. Finally,

George Soros assumed the costs of maintaining, preserving and processing the former archives of the RFE/RL Research Institute for the next 50 years, and made it available to researchers.

The negotiations started in 1994. Under the custody agreement between the Open Society Institute (OSI), part of the Soros foundations network, and the US Congress in November 1994, the collection was to be shipped to Budapest.

The conditions of the transaction were clear: the RFE/RL archives had not been purchased by Soros, and it was to remain the property of the United States. The Open Society Institute had only assumed the financial and professional duty to preserve the documents and make them public for scholars, and literally anyone else who might be interested in them. At the same time OSI agreed to set up a new research unit in Prague – OMRI. The role of OMRI was similar to its predecessor in Munich: supporting the modified broadcasting and programming activities of RFE/RL at its new location in the Parliament building of the former Czechoslovak Republic. RFE/RL continued its broadcasts, on a reduced level, to those sub-regions of the former Soviet sphere that were being destabilized by ethnic conflicts or falling under the control of new or transformed dictatorial regimes, usually of some religious or ethnic mutation: i.e. Russia, the Caucasus, the republics of the former Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria. In addition to supporting the Radios, OMRI also published a monthly periodical *Transition* that soon became one of the major English language sources for politicians, journalists and investors who were interested in the post-communist political development of Central and Eastern Europe. (OMRI supported the Radios until 1997, but remained the publisher of the periodical – later renamed *Transitions* – until May 1999.)

Thus, as a consequence of the custody agreement, two new institutions were born in 1995 – OSA in Budapest and OMRI in Prague – and the documents of the RFE/RL Research Institute had been divided between the two. However, this division was only functional and temporal. The so-called “historical files” of the original archives (the documents older than five years) were sent to OSA, while the “current files” went to OMRI. Each year the documents that had supposedly lost their current value were collected and shipped from Prague to Budapest. (After OMRI closed its operation, the remainder of the former RFE/RL files, as well as the files accumulated by OMRI from 1995 to 1997, ended up in Budapest by 1997.)

The historical part of the RFE/RL archives started to move to Budapest from Munich in the spring of 1995. The amount of material carried in dozens of enormous trucks was amazing. The archives in Munich had collected, processed and preserved one of the largest collections of Polish and Russian samizdat materials in the world, and contained books and almost all possible types of printed, self-copied and handwritten materials. The archives had accumulated a huge collection of complete runs of periodicals from throughout the region including regional dailies. The archives was the only place in the region where, for example, the confidential files of the US State Department on the Soviet Union were available to researchers. The library of the RFE/RL Research Institute consisted of more than 130,000 volumes, monographs, essay collections on and from the region, samizdat publications, emigrant literature and political pulp-fiction from the Cold War era.

The archives had to be transported from the RFE/RL headquarters and several warehouses in the suburbs of Munich. Within two months, this huge amount of records, books and other printed materials – more than 2,500 linear meters – arrived in Budapest. The most important parts of it were deposited in OSA's first main building in Eötvös Street. However, it soon became clear that the preliminary estimate of the quantity of records arriving in Budapest was not even roughly accurate. Moreover, the trucks stuffed with hundreds of cardboard boxes and filing cabinets arrived without catalogs or any approximate descriptions of their actual content. Because the archival procedures at RFE/RL had not been systematic for many years, and fundamental changes had taken place during its 45 years of operation, from the “input perspective” in Budapest it often seemed that even the archivists in Munich did not have a clear picture of the quantity, types and locations of the materials the RFE/RL archives had amassed.

Yet the destination in Budapest, due to the unexpected haste and urgency, was not in a much better condition either. The first site of the Open Society Archives in Budapest was an old palace on the edge of downtown Budapest. The building, once the residence of a grand merchant family, then owned by the famous aristocratic family, the Podmaniczky, was confiscated in 1945 and donated to the National Trade Union of Iron Workers (Vasas Szakszervezet – the union's sports club, Vasas SC, was the favorite of János Kádár, chief secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party from 1956 to 1988) and served as headquarters, café and club for privileged trade union functionaries. Thus the spirit of the space was not far from the historical aura of the records soon to be deposited and stored there after the collapse of the regime. However, the building was completely vacant when OSA's first small team – a historian, a technician, and a secretary – took control of it. There were no furnishings, no shelves, no computers – just two chairs and some old telephones. When early on it became obvious that there was not enough space in this building for all the records that were underway from Munich, it became an urgent necessity to rent a remote warehouse in the suburbs. The book warehouse of a retailer in Kén Street served as a perfect temporary solution.

The processing and arrangement of the records started immediately upon their arrival, and this work went on parallel with the technical furnishing of the Archives itself. The schedule was pressing, since the archives wanted to open its doors to researchers by the beginning of the academic year.

Early on, the number of staff was very limited. The first circle of staff was primarily recruited from among young CEU historians. They were native speakers of the languages of the various national records included in the RFE/RL holdings, and their main fields were contemporary, post-war European history, and the history of communism and the Cold War. Each curator began to process the records relating to a particular country. Their first step was to identify and separate the various types of series, and to recover or re-establish a preliminary order for those records that were damaged or lost during shipment; at the same time, the initial versions of inventories were to be prepared. The technical staff still consisted of only one member who carried out most of the technical and installation work within the Archives. The academic and scholarly activities of OSA were elaborated and shaped by Professor István Rév of the CEU History Department, who was elected as Academic Director by the joint Executive Board of CEU and OMRI in May 1995.

The Archives started receiving researchers on an experimental basis on 11 October 1995, yet the success of the initial period was only partial. Although many parts of the records (perhaps the most important parts) could be made public in time for the opening, 75 percent of the materials still had not been even touched. It became clear that the palace on Eötvös Street, though a quiet and attractive place, was not suitable for managing and controlling the huge OSA collection, which had already grown with the acquisition of records from other sources. By the summer of 1995, OSA holdings had been enriched by donations from the International Human Rights Law Institute in Chicago and the London-based periodical Index on Censorship. And further acquisitions were expected. Both the final location and the matters of human resources urgently called for a satisfactory long-term solution.

The establishment of the new archives entered a new phase in the fall of 1995. At the end of August, Trudy Huskamp Peterson, former Acting Archivist of the United States, had joined OSA as Executive Director. Between October 1995 and January 1996, the size of the staff doubled. Professional archivists were invited from all over the world from South Africa to the US and Europe. Systematic processing had started, including the design and preparation of a new electronic database and archival location register. The project included the records deposited temporarily in the Kén Street warehouse – enormous amounts of printed materials and documents from the early period of the Munich archives that were, for the most part, still in a quite disorganized and unexplored state. After several months of exhaustive work OSA celebrated its official opening on 15 March 1996, the anniversary of the 1848 Hungarian Revolution and, incidentally, Free Press Day. The ceremony was thus a symbolic reference to the history and original mission of RFE/RL and its archives. Gábor Demszky, the Mayor of Budapest delivered the opening speech. On this occasion Demszky, who in the early 80s was the founder of the largest samizdat publishing house in Hungary, also donated to OSA his private samizdat collection – the records, reminiscences, and relics of his clandestine activities.

By this time OSA had begun preparations for the move to its new permanent site. The first drafts of the new storage area were sketched in January 1996. The site was to be constructed among the buildings of CEU's downtown complex. The construction started in 1996, utilizing a huge three-level storage area, which had been partially built under CEU. The new premises were equipped with the best available shelving and storage technology. The archives moved to the new space in the spring of 1997, while its Research Room only had to be closed for three weeks due to the move. Now the Archives' Research Room, which opened on 3 May 1997, is located adjacent to the CEU Library. The new location turned out to be much better not only in the practical and archival but also in an intellectual sense. Now that the Archives is within CEU, it serves mainly, but certainly not exclusively, CEU's faculty and students, who come from the very same region and have the most in common with the holdings and history of this archives.

As already indicated, the holdings of the Open Society Archives are not limited to the history of communism and the Cold War. In July 1995, one of the most important proponents of human rights and free press, the world-famous London periodical Index on Censorship, donated to OSA its archive of documents and manuscripts from the 60s through the 80s. The first shipment arrived in August 1995, and the fonds is supplemented and updated on a yearly basis.

Similarly, the documents of the International Human Rights Law Institution on the war crimes and human rights violations committed in the former Yugoslavia arrived to OSA in August 1995. The Institution, commissioned by the United Nations and based in Chicago, formed a research team led by Professor Cherif Bassiouni which systematically collected and processed information about the crimes, mass destruction and other violations committed during the civil war in Yugoslavia. This work was sponsored by George Soros. The fonds contains news clippings, headlines, reports and confessions as well as a large audio-visual collection from the period 1992–1995.

The records of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) also belong to the holdings of OSA. The the first national Helsinki Committee founded in 1976 in Moscow to monitor the fulfillment and execution of those resolutions of the Helsinki Treaty that prescribed general human rights principles with which the signatories must comply. The IHF, the federation of the national committees, became one of the most influential organizations in the 80s. It firmly criticized the human rights violations and intolerable practices of the socialist states, and actively supported human rights and opposition movements within the Soviet bloc. The records of the IHF arrived at OSA in April 1998. In addition to the files of the central office in Vienna, the Archives also receives the records of its local member organizations, the Helsinki Committees from within the region.

As previously mentioned, OSA received the collection of Gábor Demszky, Mayor of Budapest in addition to the samizdat files arriving from Munich. Demszky was the founder and director of the AB Independent Publishing House, which issued and distributed periodicals (*Hírmondó* and *Beszélő*) and clandestine literature from the region and from the West. The Demszky files contain periodicals, books, manuscripts, printing sheets and galley proofs. Researchers can follow all the phases of production; moreover, with the tools and machines Demszky donated it would be possible to produce samizdat even now.

The Archives actively takes part in organizing and supporting historical research on the communist period. OSA sponsored videotaped interviews with the founders and leaders of RFE/RL. The research and the interviews were prepared by Black Box Videoperiodical Foundation, the first independent media company established in Hungary in the late 80s. OSA also sponsored Miklós Kun, Hungarian historian who conducted interviews with former Soviet party-leaders and members of the apparatus. The resulting series, consisting of more than 100 hours of videotape, was deposited in the Archives. Also the private film and photograph collection of Péter Forgách, the world-famous Hungarian director of documentary films, is available at OSA.

Finally, OSA continuously receives files from organizations in the Soros foundations network.

András Mink



Typewriter, used for producing samizdat materials, operated by Anna Wagner, the first “employee” of AB Independent Publishing House, Hungary.

Photo by András Révész. Fonds 302 Samizdat Publications of Gábor Demszky, OSA.

CHAPTER II

The holdings

Introduction

The main mission of the Open Society Archives (OSA) is to obtain, preserve and make available research resources for the study of communism and the Cold War, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, and for the study of twentieth and twenty-first century issues of human rights, as well as to provide information, records and archival services for all parts of the Soros foundations network.

The holdings of OSA reflect this mission: the Archives actively acquires, protects and makes available research resources in three main areas: communism and the Cold War, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, in the period after the Second World War; human rights issues and movements, with particular emphasis on the second half of the twentieth century; as well as records

that document the philanthropic activities of the Soros foundations network, including the Open Media Research Institute and Central European University.

In the following pages we provide an overview of the main parts of our holdings. We do not aspire to describe all of the details: this will be the task of our planned Guide, after all the materials have been processed. Instead, we briefly describe the historical background, the administrative history and, in some cases, the history of the documents themselves, in addition to the general description of the archival material. We also introduce some of the important or interesting documents of our holdings as examples.

Since the audiovisual materials of OSA represent a special value for the researchers, and the audiovisual documents might refer to more than one main area of the holdings, we devote a separate subchapter to introduce this material. Similarly, the OSA Library has a unique characteristic, collection and administrative history, therefore its collection deserves a separate description.

Communism and the Cold War

RECORDS OF RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

The Archives in Munich

The prehistory of the Open Society Archives (OSA) started in 1949 with the post-war division of Europe; the local communist parties seized power in all of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe which were controlled and/or occupied by Soviet troops in 1944–45. Central and Eastern European emigrants – former politicians and influential public figures, once members of the domestic political, social, and cultural elite who had to leave their own countries due to these post-war political developments – decided to form a common organization, the Free Europe Committee (originally founded as the National Committee for a Free Europe). The initiative was approved and subtly encouraged by the US government. Thus, at the beginning the Free Europe Committee presented itself as a private organization. The activists tried to raise funds among people within the American upper and middle classes, and also among well-to-do emigrants who believed that the struggle against communism was of crucial importance. The declared aim of the Committee was to promote the “containment” doctrine of US foreign policy as well as to advance the liberation of the people under Soviet rule in Central and Eastern Europe by peaceful means. The Committee had a double task: it aimed to keep alive the public interest in the West towards the problems of their homelands, and at the same time they strived to maintain and reinforce the spirit of hope and resistance within the oppressed countries. Therefore, the Committee specialized in organizing research projects and conferences, accumulating information from behind the iron curtain from all available resources, and editing and publishing books, essay collections and information bulletins for the academic audience and for the broader public. The Committee set up an information center in New York which consisted of a small library and an archives that was continuously updated and enlarged. The archival center aimed to serve both the emigrant organizations and Western scholars, experts and decision-makers.

However, the mere collection of information did not seem efficient, and was unsatisfactory for the founders. It became clear very early that the Committee had to find and take advantage of other means that might produce the desired effects upon the communist world. The real task was to break the information monopoly of the communist propaganda machinery within the Eastern bloc. Under the aegis of the Free Europe Committee several actions and projects were started that tried to spread information and propaganda among the people who lived “beyond” and were completely cut off from sources of real news and information – even about themselves and about their own lives. Two ways seemed feasible. The traditional type, widely used during the Second World War, involved dropping leaflets and other propaganda materials from jets or balloons. But the real attraction was radio broadcasting.

Radio Free Europe (RFE) was established in December 1949, and its first broadcast, targeted at Czechoslovakia, was aired in July 1950. Radio Liberty (RL) – previously called Radio Liberation – targeted the republics of the Soviet Union with broadcasts starting on 1 March 1953. (The two separate Radios were merged into a single company as RFE/RL in 1976.) After prudent consideration the founders decided to locate the Radios in Munich, West Germany. Certainly in the case of such a huge venture, the image of a private club formed by enthusiastic and committed individuals could not be maintained any more. The US government provided financial as well as technical and logistical background for RFE/RL, and the yearly budget of the Radios was incorporated into state spending (although nobody was fully prepared for the Fullbright Committee of the US Congress, in 1971, to expose that RFE and RL received funding from the budget of the CIA).



Jamming equipment from the late 1960s. In Hungary these types of machines were used by the authorities for jamming “alien” radio broadcasts. The machine was displayed at the exhibition Representation of the Counter-Revolution by OSA in November, 1996. Property of the Hungarian Postal Museum.

Photo by Ferenc Nemzetes. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

The experts and staff – editors, speakers, political analysts, archivists and librarians – were primarily recruited from among natives, many of whom were newcomers to the West. Former politicians, famous journalists and scholars who had left, or rather were forced to leave their own countries gravitated toward the Radios. The newly established national editorial desks of the Radios enjoyed a wide range of sovereignty in determining the structure and the content of their programs. Yet, the ultimate professional and political control still remained in the hands of the American supervisors, who were politically responsible and accountable for what was put on the air. The Directory Board regularly issued strategic and tactical guidelines that basically followed the actual directives of the US State Department.

Radio Free Europe targeted the Soviet satellite states in Central and Eastern Europe – Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and (shortly) Albania – while Radio Liberty broadcast toward the Soviet Union. RL had services in most of the languages of the Soviet republics – in Baltic, Moldavian, Belarusian, Ukrainian and also in Caucasian languages and Turkic languages of Central Asia. In addition, they had services in Tartarian and Baskhirian as well.

The embryonic forms of the various national research sections that were merged into the RFE/RL Research Institute in 1990 were established parallel with the Radios’ editorial desks in the early 50s. In 1959, the “research” function of the RFE news department was separated and the management established independent units reporting to each of the broadcast desks. As for Radio Liberation, the research section, which became the Soviet “Red” Archives, started working in 1953 and later remained administratively under the jurisdiction of the Radio Liberty.

The idea was that the research sections would serve the programming and editorial work of the national desks. Thus, some of the research units, for instance the Hungarian Unit, started functioning even a few months before the first programs were put on the air. The research activities were divided into national sections, which roughly meant that each national editorial desk was supported by native analysts and archivists who collected, arranged, interpreted and transmitted the necessary up-to-date information for the editors. However, these units were not intended to operate indefinitely. Like the Radios themselves, they were supposed to be temporary establishments, which would operate until the collapse of communism within the Soviet satellite states. The prevalent opinion was that the collapse would come soon. This was why the founders of the research sections had not considered the establishment of a uniformly regulated archival machinery. At the beginning, the research staff worked on a day-by-day basis. Even rules for mandatory preservation had not been laid out. Without having a unified system and processing rules the national sections existed and functioned separately, but still parallel to each other. The lack of unified organization meant that the processing and organizational principles, the archival methodology, the code systems, the finding aids and the accessories of the national departments were almost accidental and differentiated slightly from each other, although some general features and characteristics could be detected.

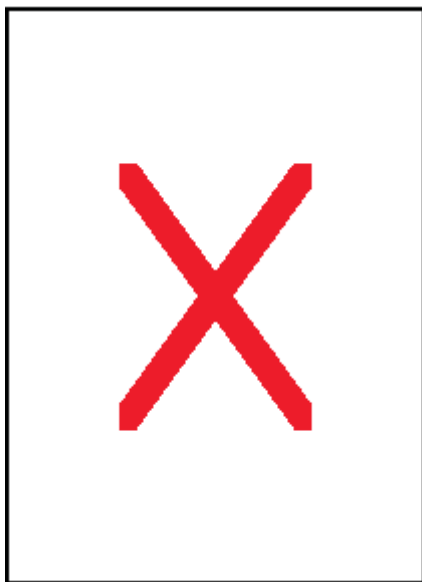
In most cases the research units were separated into two independent parts: the research and analysis sections and the evaluation sections. The first worked directly for the Programming Section and for the national desks, and elaborated actual press analyses of domestic and Western publications on the political, economic and cultural issues of the target country. From 1952 (in some cases from 1956), the Evaluation and Research sections started to regularly publish Background Reports, which consisted of longer essays about actual events and about the political and social situations in several countries. Soon each country had its own Background Report bulletin written in English, making the information available for everybody at the Radios.

In the beginning, the Background Reports were written on an ad hoc, irregular basis and concerned not only the five countries to which RFE broadcast but also Albania, the GDR, Yugoslavia, the non-ruling communist parties of the West, and East-West political relations. Later, the periodicals were prepared with an increasing frequency, until they became monthly, then bi-weekly periodicals, Situation Reports that were written separately for each of the eight countries.

During the early period, the work of the Evaluation Sections seemed to be more important than research on printed and electronic sources. Their task was to analyze and evaluate reports and interviews sent to Munich by the local Field Offices. The series of these reports became known as Items. The Items were recorded in Western refugee camps and immigration offices by the agents of the field offices located in several European capitals and major cities. On the letterhead of the Items Roman numbers identified the office from which the report was sent to the center in Munich: I. was Munich, II. was Stockholm, III. was West Berlin, IV. was Paris, V. was Athens, VI. was Rome, VII. was Linz, VIII. was Salzburg, IX. was Vienna, X. or XI. was Istanbul and XII. was London. The best and most reliable reports not surprisingly arrived from the field offices located in Linz, Salzburg and Munich, where the biggest refugee camps functioned and the most effective information control could be exercised. Unlike pre-elaborated questionnaires, the Items contained complete stories as told by the "source". The structure of each information Item was as follows: source, date, evaluation summary, evaluation comment and text.

The idea was quite interesting: the field offices surrounded the communist bloc like "military bases" and conducted information warfare. On the other hand, it was even more characteristic that the Radios tried to base the information acquisition on "independent" sources. But the within communist countries which all operated a centralized propaganda machine, only the information received from average people, i.e. the refugees, seemed to be independent and reliable. That practice could also be interpreted as a demonstrative gesture of the democratic commitment of the Radios: while the communist regimes used politics and propaganda against their own people, RFE/RL based its work upon and in favor of the very same people.

Yet, Item stories were not taken completely at face value. The primary task of the evaluation sections was to control them: the experts tried to compare details of these stories to the information received from other sources (domestic radio, official press or other Items). They also tried to filter out the elements of exaggeration, personal revenge etc. At the national research units, the reports were carefully checked for accuracy and plausibility. Only those reports which passed the various filtering systems were recommended as subjects to be used in producing radio programs. Collection of the Items went on until 1972, when the scandal over RFE/RL broke out in the US Congress. Then the Radio leadership, urged by the higher authorities in the US, decided to destroy them. However, fragments of them have survived. Moreover, the Items from 1951 to 1956 from all of the Radios' target and non-target countries are microfilmed as one large Evaluation Items series in chronological order.



An Item, anonymized interview about the broadcasting services of BBC and RFE conducted with a Hungarian listener, recorded on 12 May 1965. Presumably the views expressed in this interview echo the opinions of the average Hungarian public.
Hungarian Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

In the early period the Items were among the most important sources of information (e.g. most of the Czechoslovak Subject Files from the 50s and 60s are Items.) The other main source was the Monitoring Department, also established at the beginning. Every day the Radios' staff monitored and recorded the programs of the official state radios of the target countries. The recorded broadcasts were transcribed, and the editors found a copied selection on their desks each morning.

It was quite natural that the Radios acquired information from other radios, and the daily reports compiled from the Radios' monitoring served as a source of information, though not exclusively or primarily, since those were produced from totalitarian propaganda. They rather served as references: they contained the "facts" that RFE and RL had to know in order to battle communism effectively. The monitoring provided a clear picture of the elements and phenomena that the official propaganda in the Eastern bloc wanted to emphasize on the one hand, and what it wanted to hide on the other. RFE/RL particularly concentrated upon just these elements. In this little game of propaganda and counter-propaganda, RFE/RL and the communist radio stations always responded, reflected, and even indirectly edited each other's programs.

During this period the traditional archival work of collecting and arranging information from the printed and electronic media perhaps was not a focus of the Research and Evaluation Sections of the Radios (although the situation was probably different in the various national sections). However, these kinds of archival activities had started from the beginning, and became increasingly systematic and important. The processing of written sources, Western and Eastern newspapers, and news agency reports was initially based on a Card File system covering various subjects, including institutions and persons. The basic references were recorded cards that indicated the original sources, which could be traced back with the help of the cards.

In the 50s the collection of news clippings was rather accidental. (It was more systematic in the case of the archives of RL, the "Red" Archives.) The archivists and researchers mostly relied upon the cards, together with the material in the newspaper and periodical collection cited by the cards. But soon a more sophisticated subject clipping system was requested, and this enabled the archives to fulfill demands of the national desks much more rapidly.

After the first few years the management of the archives became more and more professional. The experiences of the Hungarian and Polish uprisings in 1956 brought about the major changes in this respect. These historic events made clear both the importance and the responsibility of the Radios in the region, and also proved that this venture would not be merely a temporary one. It became clear that communism would stay in these countries, and the division of Europe was a long-term historical phenomenon. This new recognition invoked the reorganization of the Radios and the research units as well.

From 1958 on, the structures of the latter were reorganized step by step, as the traditional archival work became more and more important in information acquisition. This shift of emphasis from accidental sources to regular ones required a much more organized system for processing information. The various national sections elaborated their own filing system (the Subject Code system), according to which they clipped, arranged and processed the documents and data coming from printed and electronic media. Additionally, at this time the operational structure of research and evaluation was unified, and the systematic collection and processing of the Subject Files and biographical clippings really started. The general policy was to file the same article under all of the relevant subject titles as well as in the Biographical Files if the article concerned a relevant person. The result was an extremely effective and sophisticated network of information in which data and problems could be identified and approached via divergent routes. This was also the time when the separate national archives gained a predominantly similar structure. The same elements could be found in all of the national subfonds: Subject Files, the series of Background Reports and Situation Reports, Biographical Files, Press Surveys and Monitoring Files.

The research units (from 1990 the unified Research Institute) operated until the mid-90s. During 45 years of continuous activity, they accumulated an archives of millions of documents both in paper and micro-format about the Soviet Union and the former Eastern bloc. The amount of archival materials exceeds 2,500 linear meters, despite the unfortunate fact that the research sections regularly sorted out parts of the collections that were supposed to be irrelevant in the future. After more than four decades the archives became the major source of information about the post-war history of the region. In the meantime, communism collapsed with an unexpected rapidity, and this changed the role of the RFE/RL Archives and redefined its function and mission. From an information database that served the programming needs of an electronic medium with the ultimate purpose of undermining the communist regimes, the materials of the Research Institute became an archives, a historical collection of the bygone communist regimes, a product of and a memorial to communism.

Archival Arrangement and Structure of the Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute

The structure of the biggest fonds of the Open Society Archives (OSA), the Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute is very complex and peculiar; therefore, its archival arrangement requires a more detailed explanation.

According to the agreement with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) only one part of the Radios' archives is in the custody of OSA. The totality consists of three components: the Corporate Archives, containing the Radios' correspondence and administrative records; broadcasting archives, containing the tapes and transcripts of the Radios' programs; and the records of the RFE/RL Research Institute. OSA holds the latter.

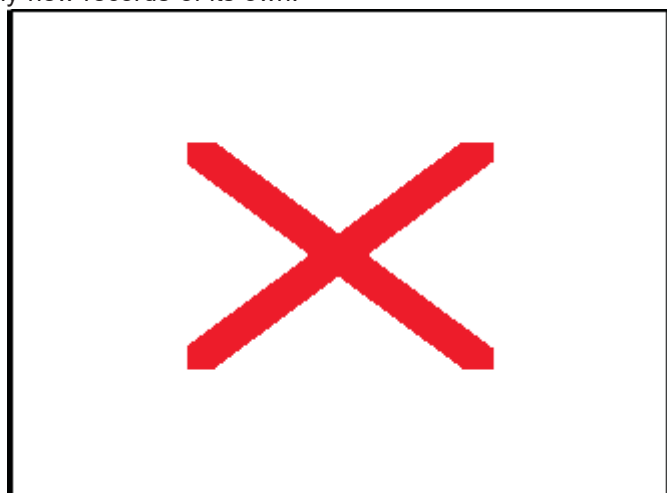
The RFE/RL Research Institute was established on 15 November 1990, with the merger of several RFE and RL research departments. During its entire existence, the Research Institute's director was Ross Johnson. The general mission of the Research Institute was to conduct and disseminate timely analyses of political, economic and social developments in the former Soviet bloc; to support RFE/RL broadcasting; to survey listener habits and public opinion; to serve as research center for scholars and other specialists; and to maintain and automate the archival collection.

Corresponding to this mission, the Research Institute was divided into four departments:

1. The Analytic Research Department produced comparative and single-country analyses of political, economic and social developments in the region. There were four clusters: East Central Europe, South Eastern Europe, the Russian Federation, and the cluster of other successor states to the USSR and the Baltic countries.
2. The Media and Opinion Research Department evaluated media use and public opinion in the region, in order to measure the impact of RFE/RL broadcasting and to generally survey public opinion.
3. The Publications Department was responsible for editing, producing and distributing Research Institute publications.
4. The Information Resources Department was responsible for current information, library and archival functions. The records of this department make up the biggest part of the Research Institute archives, which had three divisions: the East European Archives with five national units for target countries (Albanian and Yugoslav records were added later); Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives; and the Library (see subchapter "The Library").

Sometimes the US Office of the Research Institute was regarded as the fifth department (see Organization chart of the RFE/RL Research Institute).

The RFE/RL Research Institute, as the successor of the respective RFE and RL departments, inherited a huge amount of archival materials which dated from the 1950s. These materials were partly divided between the departments and partly, especially the oldest sections, kept separately in a remote depository. Of course, during its few years of intensive activity, the Research Institute produced many new records of its own.



Organisation chart of the RFE/RL Research Institute, June 1992.
Fonds 300 Records of RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA

The RFE/RL Research Institute was dissolved on 31 December 1994, and according to an agreement with the Open Society Institute-New York its archival holdings were moved to OSA in Budapest. The more current records, from approximately the last five years, were transferred to the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI) in Prague. OMRI continued the activity of the RFE/RL Research Institute, creating and adding many new materials to the existing files. These circumstances made the structure of the RFE/RL Research Institute holdings very complex.

At OSA, the arrangement of the records of the RFE/RL Research Institute is based on traditional archival rules: the principle of provenance (respect des fonds) and the principle of respect for archival structure.

The first rule states that the records or archives of the same provenance must not be intermingled with those of any other provenance. From this perspective, records from OMRI must be treated as separate fonds. OMRI obtained many records from the RFE/RL Research Institute, but they remained in use, and their structure was changed (in record management terms this is an "active succession"). This is why at OSA all materials coming from Prague are kept together, and only a small amount of materials which had clearly been transferred to OMRI by mistake were put back into the RFE/RL Research Institute fonds.^[3] This is very important information for all researchers who want to use the fonds of the RFE/RL Research Institute: it is always necessary also to check the

OMRI fonds (see below separate subchapter).^[4]

The second rule, the principle of respect for archival structure, states that the methodology used in archival operations should reflect the varying forms and structures of the records or archives, and their administrative and functional contents. It was very difficult to use this rule in practice, because the administrative organization and the functions of the Radios' departments were changed very often. After a careful analysis of the archival materials and the historical structure of the organization, the decision was made to keep the order of the last user. Archival materials were divided into subfonds corresponding to the Research Institute's departments. The oldest part of the records, which was kept separately in a remote depository in Munich, forms individual subfonds, which reflect a former RFE and RL structure.^[5] Records of the Institute for the Study of the USSR were inherited after its closure by the RFE/RL Research Institute (passive succession) and these constitute the last subfonds in this group of archival materials.

A general description of the better, as of date of publication of this book, known part of the archives is below, but it is necessary to remember that the RFE/RL Research Institute fonds is still being processed, and it is possible that there will be changes in the structure and description of the records. The most up-to-date version will be available on the OSA website <www.osa.ceu.hu>. When the work is completed, OSA will publish a separate Guide.

References:

Establishment of the RFE/RL Research Institute, Memorandum from the Radio's acting president, William W. Marsh, to RFE/RL staff from 9 November 1990, RFE/RL Administrative History, Central Files, OSA.

A Survey of the East Europe Research and Analysis Department (EERA). May 1966, RFE/RL Administrative History, Central Files, OSA.

The Information Resources Department

The East European Archives

Records of the Bulgarian Unit

The Bulgarian Unit initiated operations, simultaneous to the beginning of broadcasting to Bulgaria, in the summer of 1950. Called "Evaluation and Research" it was a subdivision of the News and Information Services Department. From the outset, except for the News Desk, all Bulgarian units operated within RFE's New York branch. In 1957 the whole Bulgarian section was moved to Munich. In order to support its broadcasts, the staff of the Bulgarian Unit had to collect comprehensive information about events in Bulgaria after the Second World War.^[6]

The primary work of the Bulgarian Unit consisted of covering all available information from Bulgaria in the sphere of political developments, economy, culture, etc., and supplying information on events and developments in Bulgaria. Information was selected from Bulgarian and Western media, and archived mostly on card files under different codes. The card files contain abstracts of media reports and also provide some cross-references to the Subject Files series. Useful and important information was extracted both from central and regional newspapers, and also from special articles in party, economic and literary periodicals.

The Subject Files contain news agency releases, excerpts of RFE Research Reports, transcripts from monitoring of the Bulgarian National Radio, newspaper clippings, and copies of articles from scientific publications. They include extensive information related to agriculture, armed forces, various parties and organizations, economy, culture, industry, and the state apparatus in Bulgaria. The files on the country's ethnic minorities, dissidents, persecution and purges of the opposition, resistance to and criticism of the regime, and anti-Western propaganda are of particular interest.

The news and commentary broadcasts of Radio Sofia were read every day, as well as the news "budget" of the Central News Room, from which all information and press articles concerning Bulgaria were used. The transcripts of radio monitoring were distributed as bulletins entitled Bulgarian Monitoring. By 1991 television monitoring was included in the bulletins, and in 1993 the title of the distributed copy was changed to Bulgaria Today: Media News and Features Digest: TV and Radio Monitoring.

Particular attention was paid to news – foreign and domestic – from Bulgarian radio and television, political programs, and surveys of various Bulgarian newspapers. Interviews with, and speeches by, prominent politicians were also monitored, as well as programs by leading Bulgarian journalists. These materials were an important source for the Bulgarian journalists at RFE who prepared Situation Reports and Background Reports, as well as evaluating Information Items.

At various stages of its existence the Unit employed between two and eight people; at the end five people worked there. From the beginning until 1960, Toshko Damianov was chief of the Unit. Later he was replaced by Kaloyan Kaloyanov, who was replaced by Vasil Serbesov, who in turn was succeeded by Rada Nikolaev.

The materials of the Bulgarian Unit are principally in Bulgarian, but materials in English, German and French can also be found here.

Records of the Czechoslovak Unit

The records of the Czechoslovak Unit (CZ Unit) originate from the materials of the CZ Evaluation Section (later Evaluation and

Research Section), a section which had the role of evaluating analyses and Items produced by Field Offices (see subchapter “The Archives in Munich”) and materials collected in Munich. In the 1950s particularly, access to Czech and Slovak dailies was rather difficult and therefore they were not systematically collected. If available, the periodicals were usually kept by the program editors of Radio Free Europe (RFE). [7]

The beginning of the formal archival filing of clippings, news releases, and reports of analysts, as well as the use of a subject code filing plan did not start until the early 1960s.

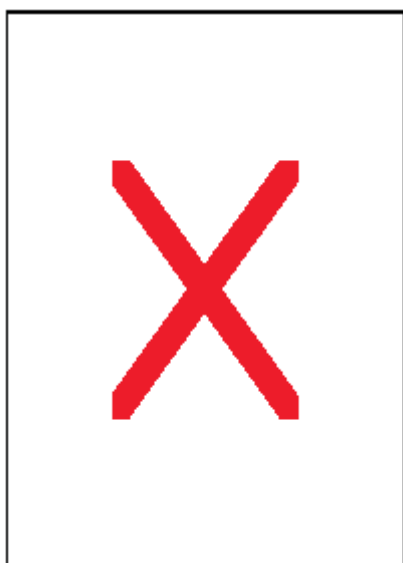
The individuals primarily involved in building the CZ archives were J. Ntík, V. Kusín, H. Hájek, S. Winter, A. Kratochvíl, L. Nižpanský, and the director of the CZ Unit of the RFE/RL Research Institute, P. Matuška. The staff members were each responsible for a set of periodicals which they continually followed.

The Unit did not have a separate collection of samizdat materials. However, the staff members did acquire such material through their individual personal contacts. There was extensive cooperation, including the exchange of photocopies with V. Prepan’s collection in Scheinfeld.

The systematic gathering, arranging, and filing of documents, and monitoring of the Czechoslovak Radio News from Czechoslovakia started in 1951 after the first broadcasts of Radio Free Europe on 4 July 1950.

Although there are a number of copies of newspapers from the period 1927 – 1938, including coverage of presidential elections, the bulk of the material consists of records dating from 1951 to 1994.

Unlike other target and non-target country subfonds the Subject Files and Biographical Files of the Czechoslovak Unit are available both on paper and on microfilm. Combined with the two Chronological Series, the Czechoslovak Press Survey and Monitoring of the Czech and Slovak Radios and Television, the records extensively cover a wide range of topics and provide information on a large variety of individuals from diverse social, cultural and political backgrounds.



News agency release from 26 September 1978 broadcasted by RFE/RL, reporting on the state of health of Vladimir Kostov, Bulgarian journalist in exile, who suffered injuries following an attack a month earlier in Paris. The action was allegedly carried out by the Bulgarian secret services, using a “mysterious object”.

Records of the Bulgarian Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

The Subject Files consist of an abundance of information on crucial subjects relating to Czechoslovakia. In particular, there is a substantial amount of information (26 archival boxes) relating to the armed forces. Within these boxes are many articles about the Warsaw Pact, NATO, the Soviet occupation in 1968 and disarmament. The armed forces material also includes an alphabetical list of the members of special military units, and information on the locations and methods of intelligence officer training.

One of the most interesting Subject Files is on the Czechoslovak Communist Party. It consists of 73 archival boxes and includes articles about the events of February 1948 and the 1968 “Prague Spring”. Articles about COMINFORM, congresses, party statutes, the Central Committee and purges, as well as regional, local and town committees are also included.

There are 38 archival boxes of cultural articles containing information about films, literature, music and theater. Some articles even reveal criticism of the cultural policy in Czechoslovakia. The culture file also contains a list of the Research Institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science Organizations.

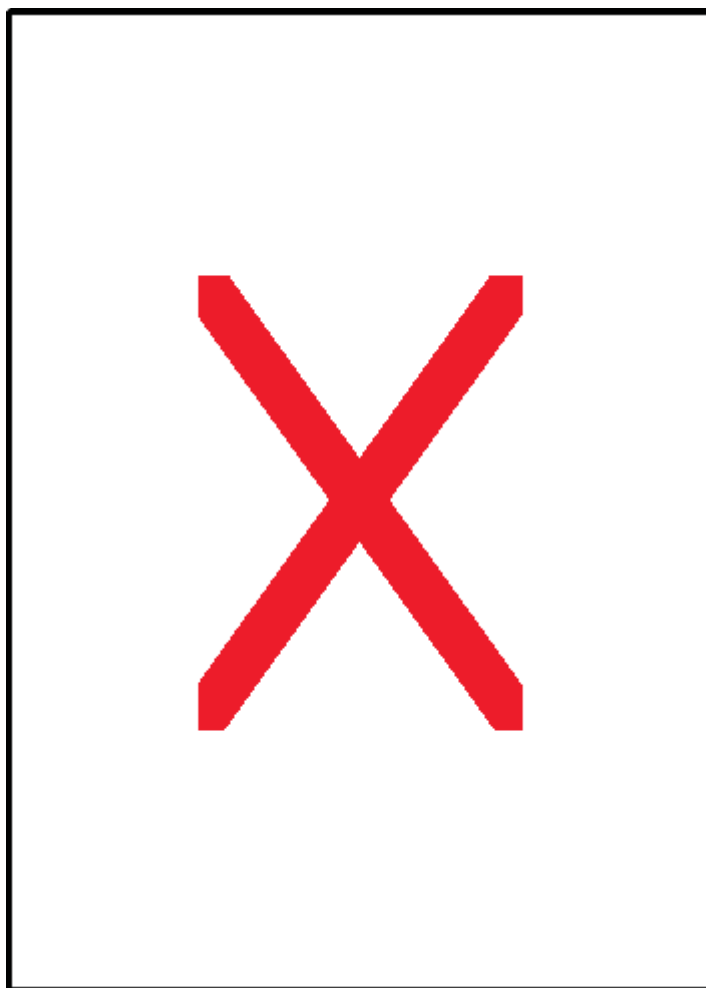
Records on COMECON and Czechoslovakia’s cooperation with socialist and non-socialist countries, crises, prognoses and reforms can be found in the 49 archival boxes entitled “Economy”.

Articles and Items on refugees and emigrants, exile literature and newspapers, possibilities for emigration, and communist espionage are filed under "Exile", along with nine other archival boxes of records about the news content and criticism of RFE and other Western stations, as well as the announcement of a Czechoslovak spy who worked at the Radio and later denounced its activity.

The largest Subject File is "Foreign Relations". This material, filling 146 archival boxes, includes an alphabetical list of socialist and non-socialist countries with which Czechoslovakia had foreign relations, along with a list of delegations which visited Czechoslovakia and another list of Czechoslovak delegations which worked abroad.

Information about Czechoslovakia's textile and mining industries, and about construction materials and dams is located under the "Industry". An alphabetical list of factories in Czechoslovakia is also included.

Thirteen archival boxes entitled "Justice" contain files on trials and sentences, including a transcript of the 1952 trial of Slánský, former Deputy Prime Minister and former Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Files on the Constitutional Court of Czechoslovakia, amnesty, and a list of judges and lawyers in Czechoslovakia are also included.



Transcript of a commentary broadcast of the RFE/RL Czechoslovak Desk relating to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact countries, 21 August 1968.

Czechoslovak Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

A list of police stations done alphabetically by towns, cards on informers, methods of investigation, censorship, spies, and the People's Militia are located in the subject file entitled "Police".

A small collection of three archival boxes contains information about refugee camps in Germany, a list of prisons in Czechoslovakia, information about prison premises and descriptions of interrogatories.

One of the major highlights of the records of the Czechoslovak Unit is the section dedicated to propaganda. Sixty-one archival boxes contain information about illegal mass media and dissident publications, and a list of newspapers and the names of the members of the editorial boards of newspapers in Czechoslovakia.

"Dissent" includes periodicals and underground cultural journals focusing on the younger, "alternative" generation of intellectuals, and typewritten essays produced by dissident activists and writers such as Václav Havel and Ludvík Vaculík. A substantial part of these files consists of samples of Charter 77 documents and reports on the activities of the political opposition in Czechoslovakia.

The Biographical Files consist of 130 archival boxes and 15 rolls of microfilm. Individuals included in these files include politicians, human rights activists and dissidents, artists, intellectuals, sportsmen, scientists, party leaders and functionaries, physicians, representatives of churches, military officers, historians, university professors, signatories of Charter 77, emigrants, Czechoslovak diplomats, musicians, spies, writers, and even "criminals". Particularly extensive files are related to Gustáv Husák, Alexander Dubcek, Václav Havel, Lubomír Štrougal, Stalin, Tito, Brezhnev, and Gorbachev.

The material contains articles about foreigners as well, including some politicians, diplomats and artists (Barbra Streisand, Arthur Miller etc.).

Monitoring (227 archival boxes) of Czechoslovak radio (and later television) includes daily transcripts of the main news programs of the Czech and Slovak radios from March 1951 to December 1994, including the texts of speeches by the country's leaders on different occasions.

The Collection of Documents on 1968 (30 archival boxes) documents this crucial year in the history of Czechoslovakia in newspapers, reviews of events, announcements, letters, leaflets, signed protests, occupational press reviews, the Report on Rehabilitation (on political trials from 1949 to 1968), and the daily monitoring during the occupation. There are also extensive files on the reactions of the Western countries from 21 August to 15 September 1968.

The materials of the Czechoslovak Unit are principally in Czech and Slovak, but documents in English, German and French can also be found.

Records of the Hungarian Unit

The predecessors of the Hungarian Unit (HU) were set up in June 1951 as two independently working entities: the Hungarian Evaluation Section (HES) and the Hungarian Research Section (HRS). This occurred just a few months before RFE started broadcasting to Hungary. The organizational changes during the long administrative history of the HU, made as the RFE underwent structural modifications, are not dealt with here in length. However, in order to understand some of the criteria which determined the filing and archiving system of the Unit, it is necessary to review the first years of its existence.

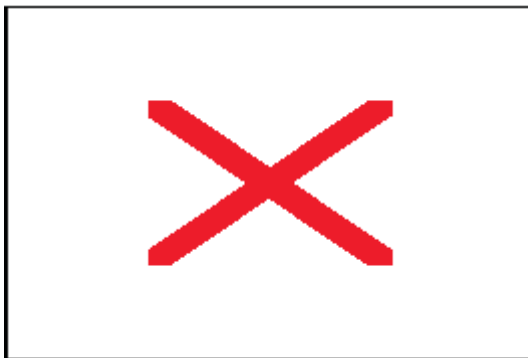
The main task of the HES was to analyze, evaluate and process reports sent to the Munich headquarters from the Field Offices. Since reports were generally based on "stories" (interviews) provided by emigrants and defectors, the evaluators had to filter out each and every element suspected of exaggeration, falsification or motivation by personal revenge. In order to compare data in the reports with reality, an extensive system of index cards and background Subject Files had been developed, based principally on Hungarian press and monitoring, and on Western press. The final results of this delicate activity, which occasionally required utmost vigilance, were the Items (described below), which later proved to be reliable historical data. In addition to evaluation, the HES also produced weekly reports (from January 1953 to October 1956), cooperated with the Central News Room in evaluating newspaper articles, and wrote occasional papers.

Initially, the HRS functioned as the service unit of the Hungarian Broadcasting Department (HBD). Its staff members were in charge of producing Press Surveys in Hungarian and English (selecting from more than 100 titles) and background analyses. They regularly briefed the HBD leadership and assisted its editors. They also maintained a separate set of subject matter files consisting exclusively of press clippings, as well as a collection of books and statistical material.

In order to increase the effectiveness of evaluation and research, to eliminate duplication of activities (including a double filing system), and to provide better services, the two sections were merged on 22 December 1958. The two units continued to carry out their original activities, but in a more organized and coordinated manner. By developing a common code system and ultimately merging the two separate sets of Subject Files which explains the huge number of topics included, the undesirable duplication within the files was eliminated. In 1962 the tasks of the former Hungarian area specialist were assigned to the HU. Situation Reports were also in production by then.

In line with the broader RFE guidelines for maintaining and updating a system of documentation, the analysts and evaluators of the HU gathered a holding with core elements which were typical to the archives of other national units: index cards on individuals, organizations, problems, trends, and situations; Subject Files on over 700 topics; Biographical Files.

The Subject Files, principally in Hungarian, contain general topics relating to Hungary – domestic and foreign political issues, economy and culture – and an extremely rich coverage of the 1956 Revolution. The latter deal with the chronology of the events, their "echo" in the Western press, revolutionary organizations, writers and the Writers' Union, the debates of the Petöfi Circle, political trials, sentences, amnesty, and the victims and martyrs of 1956. The complete transcript of RFE broadcasts covering those heroic days, and special interpretative papers are also included. However, the most extensive files are on the Communist Party and other political parties, foreign relations, religion, and the environment – the latter especially focuses on the Bős-Nagymaros (Gábpikovo) waterworks construction.



Subject Files in English is a series unique to this Unit. As part of the cross-reporting duties of the HU, these files were created mainly to keep Western researchers, editors from other units, and the Radios' policy-making bodies informed about developments and events in Hungary. The titles included here cover almost all aspects of Hungarian political, social and cultural life, and sometimes they overlap with subjects from the previous series. Occasionally, Western publications on Hungary and English translations of interesting Hungarian newspaper articles were also interfiled.

Postcard from 1974 sent to "Teenager Party", the famous and popular program of the Hungarian Desk of Radio Free Europe, requesting, among others, a Beatles song. The postcard was printed on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Battonya, a small border town in South-Eastern Hungary. The stamp features the liberator, Marshal M. J. Malinovskii. Records of the Hungarian Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

It is worth describing in more detail the series of Items mentioned above. The existence of these series within the materials of the HU can be considered a small miracle. The practice of producing, printing and filing the Items ceased in 1972, when the leadership of the Radios decided to dispose of them. Since the Items were circulated in several copies, the ones interfiled with the Subject Files were pulled out and, together with those kept in separate series, were destroyed. Nevertheless, for unknown reasons, about one-fifth of the original quantity remained intact and now forms a unique series. When appraising these documents, one should bear in mind the importance they had in the 1950s. Many of them were used as basis for the infamous "Black Voice", a program of the HBD which was addressed to the bad conscience of the petty nomenclature: local party leaders and policemen, directors of factories and of agricultural cooperatives. In this program the editors tried to feature the servants of the oppressive regime, their lives and responsibilities on a personified and locally recognizable level.

One of the most fascinating parts of this subfonds is the Collection of Documents on the 1956 Revolution. The core of this series is composed of special files collected by a group of analysts led by Dr. Aurél Bereznoi, a long-time analytical specialist of the HU. The materials accumulated were not divided and incorporated into other series, but were kept separately in a strongbox. According to Dr. Bereznoi, the strongbox was intact until 1986, when he personally displayed some of these materials at RFE's exhibition in Munich on the 30th anniversary of the 1956 Revolution. Then, during the various reorganizations within the Radios, the collection disappeared, and only a small portion of it, about four linear meters in length, was recovered and shipped to OSA.

The remaining materials – press clippings, news agency releases, book extracts, RFE Research Papers, open-reel audiotapes such as "Voices of the Revolution" and "Battle Sounds", as well as original documents such as pamphlets, pro-revolutionary Western posters, cartoons, radio transcripts, periodicals and professional and amateur photographs – originate from both Hungarian official and opposition sources, and also from foreign sources. They provide information on the preceding events in Budapest and the provinces, and the domestic and international echo of the Revolution. There are files dealing with the military situation in Hungary before the events, the Soviet intervention and human rights abuses, retaliation, UN reports on 1956 and discussions of the UN's role, and political trials and executions. Memoirs, interpretive essays, and works of revolutionary poets against tyranny and oppression can also be found here. Western and communist media reactions to the 1956 Revolution, and especially the press coverage from South American countries ruled by military dictators also deserve special attention.

Finally, there are the Biographical Files, a series which adds a special flavor to the records of the HU. These files give information – sometimes abundantly, sometimes superficially – about approximately 5,500 prominent and less prominent Hungarian (and also foreign)state, opposition and dissident politicians, writers, actors, journalists, and other public figures. Occasionally, their speeches and publications are included. The files on leading personalities and martyrs of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution (Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter), and opposition figures of the Kádár regime, and the highest level communist party leaders (György Aczél, Béla Biszku, Zoltán Komócsin) are of great interest. There are biographical data on Árpád Göncz, the current President of the Republic. A copy of this set of files, put in an archival box especially designed for this purpose, were handed to the president during his 1999 visit to OSA.

The materials in the HU are principally in Hungarian, but materials in English, German, and French can also be found.

Records of the Polish Unit

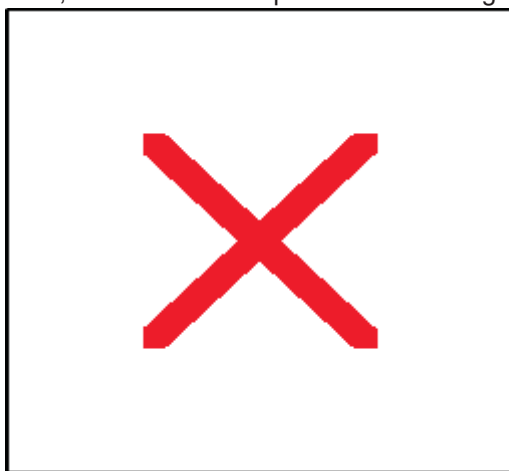
"This is Radio Free Europe speaking – the Voice of Free Poland. Attention! Attention! On our national holiday, the Constitution Day you are listening to the inaugural program of the radio station which will speak everyday to compatriots at Homeland [...] Poles speak to Poles." (Pątek, 1997 p. 291)

On 3 May 1952 – exactly on the 161st anniversary of the proclamation of the first Polish (and European) constitution – Radio Free Europe started broadcasting to Poland. Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, the Director of the Polish Desk presented the mission of the new broadcast. The main goal was to offer uncensored information, to speak about topics which were prohibited or kept secret by official propaganda of the Stalinist government. Nowak-Jeziorański finished with the following words of hope and encouragement: "Compatriots! Wherever you are – remember! Poland lives. Poland fights. Poland will win." (Pątek, 1997 p. 292) The staff of the Polish Unit worked under this motto, with the idea of fighting for a free and independent homeland, for more than 40 years. And they – together with other Poles – won.

The beginning of the Polish Unit dates back to May 1951, when the Polish Evaluation Section started operating. In the beginning the main, and almost exclusive, task of this division was to evaluate Items, anonymous interviews with travelers and defectors. There was also a group of researchers who recorded and arranged information, but only for evaluation purposes. Later, the Section also supported the work of the Polish Broadcasting Department. The staff digested press, and prepared Situation Reports and various analytical and biographical papers.

In 1952 the Polish Research Section was created with the purpose of giving reliable information about Poland to the Radio's units. This section also digested press and on the basis of this produced the original-language Polish Press Summary. To avoid duplication of work within the Polish staff, in the summer of 1959 a decision was made to move the Polish Research Section from the Library and Reference Unit to the Evaluation Section. This was the last of the several mergers of national units within RFE's East European Research and Analysis Department, which gave birth to the Polish Evaluation and Research Section. Later it was renamed as Polish Research and Analysis Unit, until the time it was incorporated into the RFE/RL Research Institute, as part of the East European Archives, to which the Polish Unit belonged until the closure of this organization in December 1994.

During this long period of activity, a staff of about 15 people worked intensively to help all Radio units get information about Poland.^[8] The work of the employees was divided between directly servicing the Polish Broadcasting Department and engaging in evaluation, research and analysis. The methods of gathering information were adapted according to the time and circumstances. Generally, there were four important sources: Items, press reports by Western journalists describing their visits in communist countries, information from press and news agencies, and the monitoring of Eastern European radios, and, later, television stations.



Equipment for monitoring of the official Polish radio broadcasts.

Photo from the monthly periodical published by the Polish Desk of Radio Free Europe, *Na Antenie*, 19 May 1963, Vol. 1, No. 2. OSA Library.

In the early period, when Stalinist censorship blocked any independent source of information, the most important data came from reports sent by the West European Field Offices in the form of Items and anonymous interviews. The Polish Unit specialized in this sort of work: the number of Items it collected between 1957–1969 represented over 40 percent of all correspondents' reports on East European countries.^[9] It was a great loss when Polish Items from the period 1951–1969 were destroyed in 1975, due to lack of space. (Zamorski, 1995 p. 104)

After the death of Stalin, important additional information about life in the Soviet bloc came from press reports by Western journalists visiting the region. These provided independent data and facts of great value which can be found dispersed in the Polish records.

An important and extensive source of information for the Evaluation and Research Unit was the communist (especially Polish) and Western press, and later the news agencies. RFE subscribed to a huge number of central and provincial newspapers and magazines. The Polish staff usually had to digest about 60 different periodicals.^[10]

From the beginning of the Unit, monitoring of the Polish radio (later also television) was an increasingly important source of information. This contributed to a fuller picture of life in the societies of communist countries than the one provided by the press.

The intensive collecting work of the evaluation and research staff created a huge amount of archival materials containing substantial information. At RFE/RL, a great deal of time was spent on the accumulation and classification of this information. There was one commonly accepted general filing system, but every unit created its own specific versions. In the Polish Unit there were even two systems: contrary to the practice of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Units which merged Subjects Files, the Polish Evaluation and Research Section preserved the records of each section separately. Even 10 years after their merger there remained two separate groups of records. The main reason for this division was that the Research archives consisted primarily of files of newspaper clippings and a sizable amount of bound periodicals, while the Evaluation archives was based on Items (many of them classified) and a smaller quantity of clippings on selected subjects. The Research section organized the Subject Files on the basis of the subject classification of books in the RFE Library.

After both small and major organizational changes in the Polish Unit, an original system of arranging archival materials was developed. The staff of OSA is trying to create series divisions within this subfonds which will reflect the original order of the last user.^[11]

The Subject Files are probably the most important. There are different materials from communist and Western periodicals, Polish Monitoring Bulletin, Items, Polish Press Summaries, the news file "budget" papers,^[12] letters, memos, and other sources, which are coded and composed according to an established filing system with numerical divisions and subdivisions. In the 1960s over 1,000 clippings from different sources were added to the files each week.^[13]

Equally important information can be found in the Subject Card Files, which are similar to Subject Files. Originally, they were used as index cards which served as finding aids to the records kept in the binders and folders, but later the cards themselves became important sources of comprehensive information.^[14]

There was also a large amount of Biographical Files in the records of the Polish Unit. The sources for this data were the same as for the Subject Files and Subject Cards. In the early 1990s, there were about 250,000 personal cards.^[15] This enormous amount of Polish card files created an excellent information base. However, a decision of the Information Resources Department in 1992 condemned the majority of the cards to destruction, due to a lack of space. From the 16 filing cabinets of cards, the Polish Unit was allowed to keep only three. (Morawski, 1993 pp. 12–13, 83) Today OSA holds tens of thousands of the cards. After the dissolution of the RFE/RL Research Institute, some of the cards were sent to Budapest together with other Radio materials, but the majority were sent to Prague and today constitute a part of the fonds of the Open Media Research Institute.

The Subject Files, Biographical Files and Subject Cards provide extensive information about many aspects of Polish life, especially about politics, the economy, the army and culture. The biggest groups of materials can be found on the Polish United Workers Party, foreign relations, the Polish opposition, Solidarity and churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church. In addition, the biographical cards provide a good deal of information on more or less prominent people in communist and post-communist Poland. Information can be found about the leaders and members of different parties (especially the Communist Party), opposition figures (especially Lech Wałęsa), the leaders of churches (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński and many other bishops and priests of different faiths), politicians, members of parliament, and artists. Researchers can find, for instance, the biographical cards of Władysław Gomułka and Mieczysław Moczar, which were secretly copied by the communist spy Andrzej Czechowicz. (Morawski, 1993, p. 196)

The results of monitoring were published in *Komunikat Naszuchu Radiowego/Polish Monitoring Bulletin*, in which extracts from Polish radio and (from 1982) television broadcasts were transcribed on a day-by-day and year-by-year basis. This bulletin had approximately 80 pages per issue and was distributed seven times per week. The most numerous transcripts were those of the programs of Radio Warsaw I, but sometimes those of Warsaw II and III, the regional stations, and the Polish language broadcasts of Radio Moscow and Radio Tirana also appeared. For example, the bulletin published the speech of General Wojciech Jaruzelski from 6:00 a.m. on 13 December 1981, announcing the martial law in Poland.

There is a separate group of records regarding Polish defectors and re-defectors. There are materials about prominent communist defectors who escaped from Poland and reported about the communist life in Poland on RFE programs. Such were the cases of Józef Światło, Lieutenant Colonel of the Ministry of Interior, who escaped in 1953 and Seweryn Bialer, a functionary in the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who defected in 1956.

There are also materials about the re-defectors; that is, people who escaped from Poland, worked at RFE, and later went back to Poland, such as Mieczysław Lach, Andrzej and Wanda Smoliski, and the most famous Captain Andrzej Czechowicz. The latter was a Polish spy who worked in the Polish Unit and returned to Poland in 1971 with documents from RFE. The communist mass media made use of his return in a big propaganda campaign against the Radios.

The materials in the Polish Unit are principally in Polish, but documents in English, German, and French can also be found.

Records of the Polish Underground Publications Unit

At Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) there was a big collection of publications distributed despite communist
^[16]

ensorship. After the workers' protests in 1976, and especially after the strikes in 1980 when Solidarity was created, a huge amount of different underground publications was printed in Poland. The Polish Unit of RFE/RL acquired these materials as a very good source of independent information. After the introduction of martial law in Poland, it was more difficult to obtain these uncensored publications. Thanks to the international network of Solidarity it was possible to organize the smuggling of independent news out of Poland. Miroslaw Chojecki played a key role in the transportation of typographic equipment to Poland via Sweden or Austria, and the delivery of the uncensored publications out of the country. In the beginning, the underground materials were collected by Weronika Krzeczunowicz. In 1984, Witold Pronobis^[17] was hired to organize and manage the Polish samizdat collection accumulated by RFE/RL, as well as to acquire other independent publications. This was the formal beginning of the Polish Underground Publications Unit.^[18] Thanks to the active work of the Unit's new chief, the collection quickly became one of the largest in the world.

It consisted of two major parts: periodicals and monographs, which were preserved as originals or photocopies. Periodicals contain unofficial press, human right monitoring, and other bulletins of underground organizations divided into two chronological groups before and after 13 December 1981, the day on which martial law was introduced in Poland. There are 110 titles in the first group, and 1200 in the second. The monographs are a large accumulation of independent Polish publications. There are many works about the country's political situation, but one can also find the classical sociological, philosophical and belles lettres books, written by both Polish and Western authors, which were banned under communist censorship. Access to the periodicals and monographs is provided by alphabetical card catalogs. There is also an interesting collection of ephemera which consists of patriotic and satirical stamps, postcards, posters, cartoons and leaflets published by underground Solidarity. A special group was created from the émigré periodicals published by Solidarity and non-Solidarity exiles.

The staff of the Polish Underground Publications Unit created a separate series of Subject Files containing clippings and copies from uncensored publications. There are about 160 thematic groups covering topics such as opposition activities, economy, ecology and the health care system. There are also groups of materials concerning the Polish political parties established before 1989, and the biographical files of dissidents. In a separate series there is a collection of documents of the democratic opposition (*Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce. Dokumenty*) from the period 1976–1982.

Even before the establishment of the Polish Underground Publications Unit, the staff of the Polish Unit of the RFE/RL Information Resources Department prepared a Review of Uncensored Polish Publication and Press (from 1977). Later the Underground Publications Unit published in English Polish Samizdat Extracts with translations of the underground press, and the Polish Independent Press Review with analytical articles based on the same source. Copies of selected articles from Polish samizdat sources were collected in Polish Independent Press Summary.

The materials in the Polish Underground Publications Unit collection are principally in Polish, but documents in English can also be found.



Demonstration in Gdansk, 1 May 1985
Records of the Polish Unit, Fonds 300 Records of RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

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Records of the Romanian Unit

In terms of broadcasting, Romania was, from the very beginning, considered an important target country for RFE. Ten days after the Radio had launched its heroic introductory news bloc in 1951, the first Romanian language program went on the air (accidentally or not, on the National Day of France). One month earlier, on 11 June the Romanian Unit (RU) – as part of the then News and Information Department – began operations in support of the Romanian Broadcasting Department (RBD) with background information and analysis.

The main tasks of the RU were to check, process, classify and index all available information on Romania in order to furnish the RBD with documentary material and interpretation, thus assisting in the preparation of its radio programs and commentaries. Additionally, the Unit provided information and analysis on Romania to the policy-making bodies of the Radios and to the other national broadcasting departments (cross-reporting). The Unit was also involved in providing direct assistance to the Central News Room and the dozen RFE Field Offices in Europe. In terms of public relations, the Unit responded to queries and briefed visitors from outside RFE.

During the more than four decades of its existence, the RU – in line with the numerous organizational and structural modifications within RFE – underwent basic administrative changes. Its first and long-time chief, Ion Gheorghe was then the only employee of the RU. In the early 1980s he retired, and the Unit was headed for a few years by George Ciorănescu. When he was, in turn, pensioned in 1984, Anneli Ute Gabanyi became the Unit chief. She resigned in 1988, and Michael Shafir came on board in that same year. He held this position until 1994, when the Research Institute, to which the RU then belonged, was closed down in Munich, and the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI) was established in Prague.

The staff of the RU consisted of analysts, archivists and translators. Because the Unit was a relatively small section (staff numbers varied over time, but it usually had five to ten members), it was difficult to introduce a permanent and clear-cut division of work among the various staff members. Until the establishment of the Research Institute in 1990, when analytical and archival functions were clearly separated, each staff member was engaged in all aspects of the Unit's work, although some were more devoted to analysis and others concentrated more on archival work. Staff members usually focused their attention on particular aspects of Romanian life, but at the same time they had to be up-to-date with the broader contexts of events and developments in Romania and worldwide.

The materials gathered, filed and completed by the staff came from various sources. The most relevant of these was the Romanian press, both printed and electronic, central and regional. The RU subscribed to a good number of communist dailies, professional journals, and other periodicals – over 50 titles in 1966. Another important source until the early 1970s was the information reports from the Field Offices, which were usually based on anonymous interviews with Romanian travelers or defectors. Press reports from Western journalists and "stories" of tourists visiting Romania were also useful resources.^[19]

The tireless activity of the staff resulted in the accumulation of approximately 250 linear meters of materials, which mainly included press clippings, news agency releases, research papers, transcripts of radio broadcasts, émigré publications, letters and items. These altogether give a broad picture of the various aspects of post-war Romanian life in terms of politics, economics, culture and arts, opposition and resistance to the regime, religions, social and military issues. The nature of the sources and of the specific activities within the RU determined the types of series established within these subfonds: Subject Files, Card Files, Monitoring Files, and Biographical Files. Apart from these, the RU also had its own publications: Situation Reports (summaries of current events and developments in Romania), Background Reports (special studies – including research papers and concise interpretations – providing perspectives on current events and trends) and Press Surveys.

Subject Files are the largest and most encompassing series of this subfonds. It would take much time and space to list all the topics (arranged alphabetically, and thereunder chronologically) covered here. Nevertheless, Communist Party, Propaganda, Police and Security, Resistance, Criticism of the Regime are among the most interesting subjects. There is an impressive quantity of documents on Romania's foreign and inter-party relations under Foreign Relations. They cover bilateral relations and agreements (with other countries and international organizations such as the Warsaw Pact and the United Nations), treaties, Romanian diplomats abroad, foreign diplomatic corps in Romania, and rifts. The filing system in this series was distinct from other units' filing procedures in at least one aspect: most of the files contain up to 10 internal subdivisions on the subject (e.g., laws, decrees, VIPs, policy statements, protests etc.). If it was kept up-to-date, this system proved to be very user friendly and had the great advantage of providing a more comprehensive and more detailed picture of a certain subject. This unique system was time-consuming and labor-intensive; it was by no means a standard archiving procedure.

Another body of materials worth mentioning is Records Relating to the Romanian Opposition and Protest Movement, which gives

a good overview on the history of anti-communist movements, opposition and dissent in Romania, with extensive biographical data on prominent Romanian dissidents. The files also include correspondence between listeners and the Radio. These letters and appeals from Romania are historically valuable because they reflect listeners' opinions not only on national or large-scale issues (e.g. open letters to the Chief Party Secretary on food and fuel shortages on house arrests, spies and agents, and on losing jobs), but also on local problems (e.g., the misdeeds of local party leaders, factory directors, police officers, and shop managers).

The news programs of Radio Bucharest, as well as the releases of the Romanian national news agency, Agerpres (after December 1989 Rompres) were monitored by RFE on a daily basis. The files gained by this activity, transcripts of radio broadcasts, were archived in a chronological series, Romanian Monitoring. Occasionally, transcripts of Romanian language programs of Radio Moscow and Radio Beijing were also included. After the fall of the communist regime, news programs of regional radio stations and of Romanian Television were also monitored and transcribed.

315 Biographical Cards (1949–1989) on Romanian Communist leader Nicolae Ceaușescu.

Photo by Andás Révész. Romanian Unit, Fonds 205 Records of the Open Media Research Institute, OSA.

Card Files^[20] are, from the researchers' point of view, essential resources of biographical information about Romanian (and also foreign) political and cultural personalities, army men, professional diplomats, and other public figures.^[21] To pick the most obvious example: the 315 biographical cards on Nicolae Ceaușescu cover over 40 years of his political activity, and list all his functions, public apparitions, summit meetings, state visits abroad, international titles and distinctions. These cards can be used, together with the numerous volumes of his speeches collected in the Subject Files under Propaganda, to produce a sketch – if not a complete image – of a typical communist's career.

Though small in quantity, the Radio Free Europe Confidential Reports Regarding Romania are a peculiar part of the records. This series consists of often strictly confidential reports (analyses, studies and interpretations) from anonymous sources, which usually landed on the RBD director's desk. (These reports are from the heritage of Noel Bernard, long-time director of the RBD; they had helped him in policy-making and giving guidelines to broadcasters.) The topics discussed in the reports are mainly economic five-year plans, fiscal policy, industrial branches, and foreign trade (especially Franco-Romanian) – but sometimes more sensitive issues are revealed – defection and re-defection, surveillance of foreign visitors, and the state of morale in Romania.

The language of the materials is predominantly Romanian and English, but materials in German, French and Russian can also be found.

Albanian Records

Radio Free Europe (RFE) broadcast to Albania only for a very brief period in 1950.^[22] Afterward the Radios employed persons to monitor developments in Albania, and from this activity the Albanian records evolved. The Albanian analyst became part of the Communist Area Analysis Department in the 1970s. The records were accumulated by RFE from 1950 until 1990; however, the records held by OSA only start from 1962.

The Subject Files are arranged alphabetically by title according to the Latin alphabet. The series contains press clippings from the Albanian, Western and Kosovar press, news agency releases, occasionally-printed materials, draft research papers, and transcripts of the broadcasts of Radio Tirana.

Politics, economics and cultural issues were the most frequently monitored topics.

The most extensive files cover the Albanian Communist Party, foreign policy and agriculture, as well as foreign relations of Albania with the neighboring countries and Italy.

The records contain information on NATO military manoeuvres, the resumption of diplomatic relations with West Germany, the denunciation of "reactionary" regimes, developments in Kosovo, Mother Theresa's visit to Albania, Albanian political turmoil, and the

standard of living in the country.

The Biographical Files contain significant information on Albanian politicians and the political parties in which they were involved.

Records of the Yugoslav Section

During the decades of the Cold War, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) did not broadcast to Yugoslavia, nor was there a Yugoslav desk within the Programming Department. In July 1956, however, some six years after RFE was established, "a small Yugoslav Section" started to operate within the News and Information Service in Munich. It became a part of the Evaluation and Research Unit and belonged to the group of "non-target" desks which collected and filed reports and other information on countries to which the Radios did not broadcast.

The Yugoslav Section became part of the Communist Area Analysis Department during the 1960s through the 1980s. Its basic task was to provide an objective and complete picture in facts and figures concerning the current and the anticipated situation in communist-ruled countries, according to its founder and chief Slobodan Stanković. It concentrated on two areas:

- a) reporting on what the Yugoslav Communists and the Yugoslav press were saying about other communist-ruled countries, and
- b) offering analytical papers dealing with the internal Yugoslav situation and Yugoslavia's attitude towards other Eastern European countries.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the work of the Yugoslav Section was supported by the Yugoslav Monitoring Section, which monitored radio broadcasts from Yugoslavia until the latter was abolished in December, 1973. Thereafter Yugoslav affairs analysts were forced to depend mostly upon Western news agencies and translations from the Foreign Broadcasting Information Service for news from Yugoslavia. Relying upon these materials, the Yugoslav Section of the Evaluation and Research Department produced many studies, Background Reports and monthly round-ups which were first published separately, and later, from December 1984, as the Yugoslav Situation Report. The research maintained a balance between RFE/RL broadcasting needs and the needs of its academic, government and media subscribers. The Subject Files and Biographical Files of the Yugoslav Section include both the analysts' articles and the materials upon which their work was based.

Subject Files (1956–1990) contain press clippings (both Yugoslav and foreign), RFE Research Reports, RFE Background Reports, Situation Reports, Yugoslav Press Survey materials, and occasionally-printed materials.

The issues most frequently monitored were those of politics, economics, culture and social matters, with few of these being elaborated systematically during the 35 years of the Yugoslav Section's activities. Particularly extensive are the files on the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Yugoslav economy, nationality problems in Kosovo, foreign relations and dissidents.

Biographical Files (1954–1990) contain news agency information, clippings, translations from the foreign press, and excerpts from Yugoslav radio broadcasting. Individuals included were prominent government and communist party officials, intellectuals and dissidents. Particularly extensive are the files relating to Josip Broz Tito, Stane Dolanc and Milovan Đilas. Although the Biographical Files cover the entire 1954–1990 period, the units from the 1970s and the early 1980s are the most numerous.

Both series are principally in Serbo-Croatian and English, but there are also Slovenian, Macedonian and German language materials.

The Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives

The Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives (SBE Archives) records deal primarily with topics and personalities related to the former Soviet Union, its successor states, and the Baltic countries.^[23] Since the early 1950s for almost 40 years, these records were collected primarily from the Soviet press (predominantly in Russian), but also from the Western press (predominantly in English and German). These were compiled together with other sources, such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) radio transcripts, research papers, news wires, and radio and TV monitoring materials.

Historically, SBE Archives records originated from activity of the Research Section of Radio Liberation (later Radio Liberty). The Research Section was created in 1953 as a part of its Information Department, along with Soviet Monitoring and the Library. Assigned to review Soviet and Western newspapers (approximately 40 at that time), members of the section created the first filing system, in which they used to store abstracts of the most significant articles they had prepared, press clippings and related documents.

With time, the number of sources was significantly increased. By 1962, staff of the Soviet Research Department (into which the Information Department was integrated) screened over 500 news sources, including all available Soviet newspapers, all major Soviet magazines, numerous Soviet professional journals as well as Western newspapers, journals, news wires etc.

In 1976, as result of the merger of RL and RFE, the Soviet Research Department became the Research on Soviet Affairs Department, part of the larger Information Resources Department, and the number of sources reviewed increased to over 600.

As a part of the OSA holdings, SBE Archives consists of three subfonds: Soviet "Red" Archives, Soviet Monitoring, and Samizdat Archives (including a collection of samizdat documents and collections of informal and regional press).

The Soviet "Red" Archives

The name "Red" Archives was chosen, presumably at the end of the 1950s, since the major goal of its creators was to

reconstruct the situation in the Soviet Union primarily using the Soviet press sources.

We do not know much about how the Soviet "Red" Archives was arranged at that time, but most likely the first filing system was not very complicated. A new filing system was developed in 1962. It was based on the so-called "old subject code" and included 600 subject categories, in Russian, arranged alphabetically. Some categories also had subcategories. Periodically modified, this system existed for 30 years.

In 1992, after the break-up of the Soviet Union, the staff of the Soviet "Red" Archives started working on a new classification system with English language subject codes. The idea was to adjust this system to the new political situation in the territory of the former Soviet Union. Thus, they planned to form separate files for each of the former Soviet Union's 15 republics, using for this purpose a special subject code (New Code Republics Files); files documenting events affecting the Baltic states as a group (Baltic Files); files for subjects pertaining only to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS Files); and files for materials related to the former Soviet Union (All-Union General Files). The project was never finished: only a few items were removed from the previously existing Subject Files (Old Code Subject Files) and filed under the new system.

Old Code Subject Files (1953–1994) are the original Subject Files compiled by the Radio staff from 1953. Although in 1992 the old filing system was replaced with a new one, materials continued to be added to the former until 1994.

The series comprises extensive information related to Soviet governmental institutions, military affairs, the Communist Party and its Central Committee, space projects, literary activities, religion, agriculture and industry in the USSR. Of particular interest are records reflecting such crucial events in Soviet history as the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Afghan war, the human rights movement in the former Soviet Union, discussions during the Perestroika period, and certain aspects of Soviet international politics. There are few items from the 50s and the bulk of materials are from the 70s and 80s. All the other Subject Files of the Soviet "Red" Archives were created in 1993.

New Code Subject Files (1954–1994) comprise information related to ecology, economics, mass media and culture, politics, science, security policy and social issues in the former USSR.

All-Union General Files (1956–1994) cover topics such as ethnic groups, international organizations and foreign broadcasting in the former Soviet Union.

CIS Files (1990–1994) are files on subjects pertaining to the CIS, such as military affairs, the external debt of the former USSR, and cooperation between CIS parliaments

Baltic Files (1969–1994) and New Code Republics Files (1958–1994) cover topics relating to each of the republics of the former Soviet Union.

Three series of the Soviet "Red" Archives are Biographical Files: Biographical Files (Cyrillic), Biographical Files (Latin) and Kraus Biographical Files.

Biographical Files (Cyrillic), 1953–1994, contain information on prominent Soviet officials, famous dissidents, intellectuals and public figures. Particularly extensive are files relating to Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, Mikhail Gorbachev, Eduard Shevardnadze, Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov. The files are arranged alphabetically by surname in the Cyrillic alphabet, and thereunder chronologically. Over 25,000 biographic records on key personalities from the Soviet Union were entered into an electronic database; in 1994 the content of this database was published on microfiche by Chadwick-Healey, Ltd. These are available at OSA.

Biographical Files (Latin), 1954–1994, relate to outstanding political figures outside of the former Soviet Union, from Europe, Asia, and America, including Communist leaders from Central and Eastern Europe and China, famous intellectuals, artists and singers from around the world. Of particular interest are files relating to Willy Brandt, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Milovan Đilas, Richard Nixon, Josip Broz Tito and Raoul Wallenberg.

Kraus Biographical Files (formerly known as the Kraus Archives) were named after Herwig Kraus, who worked on the project for thirty years, sometimes with the support of several people. He retired when the RFE/RL Research Institute was closed. Kraus Biographical Files (1958–1994) contain clippings, news agency releases, and excerpts of RFE/RL Research Reports. During the early period these were often just short pieces of typed information, usually regarding new appointments, with or without indications of their sources. The strong point of Kraus Biographical Files is the wide range of personalities included, and these files were considered a very important resource during the Cold War period. Records belonging to the earlier period are available on microfiche prepared by Chadwick-Healey, Ltd.

Soviet Monitoring

Soviet Monitoring was founded at the very beginning of Radio Liberty's (RL) activity. Monitoring at RL began with radio and later expanded to television. Conceptually, the monitoring of radio and TV was separate from monitoring of the print press, and it was handled by different staff. The monitoring materials were organized into bulletins, each of which was 30–40 pages long. In the late 70s, Ukrainian Service Monitoring was formed within the Unit, which compiled the bulletins News and Commentaries Broadcast by Ukrainian Radio.

At various stages of its existence the Unit employed between 10 and 20 people. Victor Werbitsky was originally head of the Unit, and he was replaced by Alexander Robinovic in the early 90s. In November 1990, the RL Monitoring Unit was integrated into the RFE/RL Research Institute as a part of its Information Resource Department; the Unit continued to support broadcasting as well as the other departments.

By 1991, two radio stations and two television channels from Moscow were being monitored. These activities included the

monitoring of regular news programs as well as on-demand monitoring. The Unit transcribed Soviet television and radio broadcasts, and issued bulletins composed of selected radio and TV items together with materials from Soviet news agencies. About four Soviet Press Surveys were produced daily: two or three in Russian and one or two in Ukrainian. Additionally, a Baltic Press Survey in Russian was issued twice a week.

The Unit was closed on 30 September 1992. The radio and television monitoring and press clippings service were transferred from Munich to a contractor based in Moscow. In accordance with this contract, the information agency What Papers Say (WPS) monitored four radio stations and four television channels. WPS faxed press clippings to Munich daily, and radio and TV monitoring transcripts were sent electronically and compiled into three print publications (CIS Today: Press Survey, ITAR-TASS Daily News and TV and Radio Monitoring).^[24] The contracts for monitoring Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Latvian press were also signed in the period 1992–1993. Belarusian monitoring materials began to arrive from Minsk on 20 January 1992. A new Latvian Press Survey, compiled in Riga and sent daily to Munich by fax was started on 7 September 1993.

In 1993 and 1994, on-demand monitoring was done by the Audiovisual Unit to supplement the scheduled monitoring done by WPS.

As newspapers and journals from Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Transcaucasia were extremely difficult to acquire after the break-up of the Soviet Union, a new system of delivery by courier service was developed.

The Soviet Monitoring subfonds (1975–1994) contains textual and audiovisual materials relating to economic, political, social, and cultural issues in the USSR, and following its collapse, in the countries of the former Soviet Union. The textual part consists of bulletins containing transcripts of major news programs and special programs of radio and television, news agency materials, and clippings from the central and regional press compiled daily by the Soviet Monitoring staff, and later by the WPS.

The audiovisual part of the Soviet Monitoring materials consists of videotapes containing Moscow television programs broadcast from 1985 to 1994 (see subchapter “Audiovisual materials”). Additionally, the Unit archived selected press and radio/TV monitoring materials on different subjects regarding the USSR, and later the Russian Federation and the countries of the former Soviet Union. That later became part of the Former Soviet Union Archives.

Composed according to a filing plan accepted in 1994, the files formed separate archives – Russian Monitoring and Ukrainian Monitoring. The work on these files was continued at OMRI.

The materials are principally in Russian, Ukrainian and other major languages of the region.

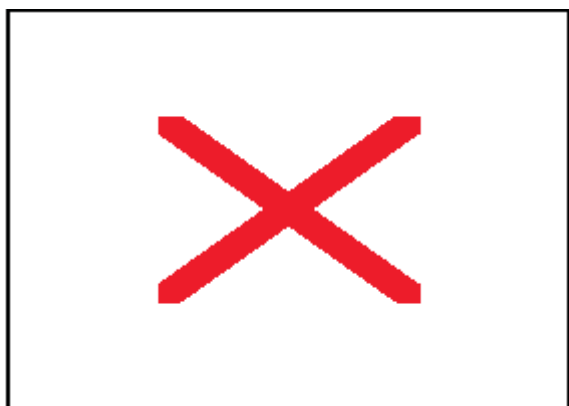
Samizdat Archives

Samizdat is a Russian word, which from the 1960s meant underground issues (belles lettres, political essays, public appeals, letters to the Soviet leadership) which could not be officially published because of censorship and were disseminated secretly, from person to person, very often at a great risk. Samizdat, with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) as the most active of its propagandists, played a very significant role in the historical development of Soviet society.^[25] This explains why the Samizdat Archives is considered a very important part of OSA holdings.

One of the first samizdat items to arrive at RFE/RL was Khrushchev's “secret speech”. In February 1956, Khrushchev delivered a speech to a closed session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in which, for the first time in Soviet history, he admitted some of Stalin's crimes against the Soviet people. Radio Liberation broadcast the text of the speech in Russian for listeners throughout the Soviet Union. During the period from 1957 to 1961, it also aired the texts of other samizdat publications: Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*, Milovan Đilas' *New Class*, and *Sud Idet* by Abram Terts (Andrei Siniavskii).

In 1966, the writers Iulii Daniel and Andrei Siniavskii were sentenced to terms in a labor camp for having published their satirical stories in the West under pseudonyms. Letters of protest against their trial signaled the beginning of the new era in the history of samizdat: samizdat became a voice of protest against the totalitarian practices of the Soviet authorities. In order to be heard by the people of the Soviet Union the voices of the underground writers needed to be amplified, and for 25 years RFE/RL successfully filled this need.

In the fall of 1968, RL started broadcasting straight readings of samizdat materials on political and social topics. The first show of the kind was *Pisma i dokumenty* (Letters and Documents). Other programs on samizdat or samizdat-related questions prepared by the Radio's Russian Service were *Obzor samizdata* (Samizdat Review), *Dokumenty nashego vremeni* (Documents of Our Time), *Dokumenty i liudi* (Documents and People) and *Prava cheloveka* (Human Rights). Other Radio services (Ukrainian, Belarusian, Georgian, Armenian etc.) also incorporated samizdat documents into their programs. “It was due to these programs that many Soviet citizens who had no connections with dissident circles became aware of samizdat.”^[26]



Black and white photo negatives with images of documents. Negatives were cut into as small pieces as possible, and were smuggled out to the West from the Soviet Union.

Photo by Andás Révész. Samizdat Archive, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

The Samizdat Archives was an important link in the chain that connected samizdat authors with their audience. It was founded by Peter Dornan and Albert Boiter at the end of the 60s, when in light of the increasing flow of samizdat documents from the Soviet Union, they started collecting these on a regular basis. In 1968 they began publishing the Samizdat bulletin circulated by Radio Liberty. This bulletin, which later became the more or less regular in-house bi-weekly *Materialy Samizdata* (Materials of Samizdat), contained original texts of samizdat documents.

In 1971, the Samizdat Unit was established (it operated until 30 September 1992). Its staff carefully studied each document received by the Radio and selected some for publication in *Materialy Samizdata*. They were very alert for falsified or fabricated documents. They also took certain precautions to be sure that publicity would not be harmful to samizdat authors still in the Soviet Union.

To make the materials more available to the public, in 1972 the Samizdat Unit began publishing *Sobranie dokumentov Samizdata* (Collection of Samizdat Documents), a multi-volume edition distributed to several national and university libraries in Europe and the United States. Altogether 30 volumes were published, 16 of them on particular topics, such as the Russian Orthodox Church, the Crimean Tartars, and *The Chronicle of Current Events*.

Between 1968 and 1991, 6,617 samizdat documents were published in *Materialy Samizdata*; 3,000 were also reproduced in *Sobranie dokumentov Samizdata* between 1972–1977. The documents were listed in several samizdat registers prepared by the Samizdat Unit (1973–1977), and they are the core of the existing samizdat collection documents in the OSA holdings (Published Samizdat). A portion of the collection is available on microfiche.

While preparing the samizdat documents for publication, the Samizdat Unit developed numerous reference materials in different formats including Subject Files, Biographical Files and card and electronic indexes.

Those samizdat documents which were not published in *Materialy Samizdata* for various reasons were filed separately as Unpublished Samizdat. The number of these files increased considerably during the Perestroika period, when RFE/RL was flooded with materials of different types sent from the former Soviet Union. This part of the samizdat collection has still not been processed.

During the Perestroika period the Samizdat Archives became famous for its Collections of Informal and Regional Press which were considered to be the best in the West. Though this collection includes a certain number of pre-Perestroika publications, it mostly consists of periodicals from the Perestroika period. Some of these were published by political groups, and some were printed for commercial purposes. Others were created by individuals. Many provincial newspapers were included in the collection as well, because previously their distribution abroad were prohibited. When all of these publications were put together, they created a perfect illustration of the new horizons opened as a result of glasnost and the liberation of the press in the former Soviet Union.

The collection is divided into two parts: Informal Press including 6,000 issues of over 1,000 titles; and Regional Press with 10,000 issues of 1,400 titles. The publications are mostly in Russian, but there are also some in Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Kazakh and other languages of the former Soviet Union. There are approximately three linear meters of audiovisual materials relating to the samizdat collection. These include open-reel tapes, black-and-white 35mm negatives, color slides, videotapes and audiocassettes. Of particular interest are interviews with Andrei Sakharov, Elena Bonner and Alexander Solzhenitsyn.



Cover page of a Soviet independent political periodical *Saratovskii Vestnik* (Saratov Courier) June-July 1990 issue with the title "The New Generation Will Choose..."

Informal Press, Samizdat Archives, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

The Publications Department

The Publications Department continued the publishing activities of both Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL): the editing, production and distribution of books, periodicals, research bulletins, background reports and other publications in both print and electronic formats. Some of these were published continuously throughout the various reorganizations within the Radios. External distribution of research documents and publications began in the early 1960s.

Publications produced by the Department included:

- newsletters and brochures drawing on the Research Institute's materials
- attitude research data from surveys in Eastern Europe including comparisons with Western Europe, and data on the rate of listening to RFE (Audience and Opinion Research)
- digests of key developments in East European countries and the former Soviet Republics (RFE/RL Research Report, Report on Eastern Europe, Report on USSR, Daily Report)
- public opinion polls, material illustrating Radio Free Europe's effectiveness and impact, as well as the effects of the communist regimes' press and radio attacks against RFE (East European Area and Opinion Research), and coverage of the listeners' reactions to RFE/RL and other Western radios (Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research)
- day-by-day coverage of political, social, economic, and cultural events in "target" and "non-target" countries (East Europe Weekly Diary)
- weeklies and monthlies intended for reference use by the Radios' staff (Ezhenedelnik, Airwaves)
- journals published by the Research and Publication Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe for the use of RFE (News from behind the Iron Curtain, in English, and Hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang in German)

The two most important types of publications created by the national units and also by the General Desk, the Office of the Political Advisor and the Analytical Department were Background Reports (BR) and Situation Reports (SR).

Background Reports, (1952) 1959–1989

Background Reports were either long studies covering a single subject or short papers of an analytical nature providing an immediate assessment of new information, a sudden development, or the latest development in a running story.

These reports were written on an ad hoc, irregular basis and concerned not only the five countries to which RFE broadcast but also Albania, the German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, the non-ruling communist parties of the West, East-West political relations, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, East-West trade and finance, the Warsaw Pact and general ideology.

Until 1974 Background Reports were also written on the USSR, China, Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia and the Sino-Soviet

dispute.

The OSA's collection of Background Reports is divided into a Country Series, a Foreign Relations Series, a series solely devoted to the World Communist Movement, and Miscellaneous reports on subjects that do not fit into the other categories.

Of the many publications issued between 1951 and 1955, only a few survived and were copied onto microfiche: these are the Hungarian Background Reports from 1952, 1954 and 1955.

Situation Reports, 1959-1989

Originally published daily, Situation Reports were issued on a twice-weekly schedule from 1962, a weekly schedule from 1970, and a bi-weekly schedule from 1979. With the exception of the Baltic Area covering Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from December 1984, Situation Reports were written separately for each of the countries to which RFE/RL broadcast. The reports covered the latest developments in almost all areas of life in these states. They are mostly descriptive but partly analytical, with the latter element becoming more pronounced over the years. Although RFE/RL did not broadcast to Albania, Situation Reports on this country were published irregularly during the 1960s. Beginning in late 1984, Yugoslav SR were also introduced.

The majority of the publications were in English, but some were also produced in Russian, Hungarian, German and French.

RECORDS OF THE OPEN MEDIA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

When in 1994 President Havel offered rental of the recently vacated building of the former Czechoslovak Parliament to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) for just one crown a year, the gesture predetermined the future of the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI): Prague became OMRI's home city.

The decision to close the RFE/RL Research Institute left many questions unresolved. The Institute was a nutrient medium providing the broadcasting services with information; without its support the Radios were cut off from their life breath, the incoming news. The Radio would not be able to survive without its archival resources and analytical support. However, these problems regarding the RFE/RL Research Institute's archives and research facilities were solved in one package: the Open Society Archives (OSA) pledged to maintain the historical part of the Research Institute archives, and OMRI became the daily information provider to the Radios, also housing the most recent records from the Research Institute's archives.

OMRI was created as a non-profit public service enterprise funded jointly by the Open Society Institute and by the United States Board for International Broadcasting. Its principal activities were monitoring events in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, analyzing and spreading information around the region and worldwide, and training journalists and analysts from the region. (Building Open Societies, 1995, pp. 175–176)

To pursue this mission OMRI published Transition magazine (started as a monthly, it evolved into a bi-weekly) and several electronic publications: OMRI Daily Digest, a six-page report of the latest news of the region in English and in Russian, Economic Digest (beginning in 1995), Pursuing Balkan Peace and Russian Regional Report (both beginning in 1996). OMRI also operated an internship program for students from the region; hosted several seminars and professional meetings, including conferences on Roma and the Media; and cooperated with RFE/RL providing it with press surveys, TV, and radio monitoring, program briefs, analytical reports, and other services. OSA holds electronic copies of the OMRI electronic publications.

OMRI's structure was more or less similar to that of the RFE/RL Research Institute. It included the Research and Analysis Department with several clusters of analysts; the Information Services Department including the East European Archives, the Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives and the Library; the Operations Department; the Publications Department; the Conferences and Residents Office; and the Audience and Opinion Research Department (which was located in Washington, DC).

Beginning on 1 April 1997, OMRI was significantly restructured and downsized. From then on, OMRI continued to publish its monthly magazine, now entitled Transitions, and ceased all other activities. At the end of 1997, OMRI was closed.

OMRI's records became a part of OSA holdings. Its important contribution was that part of the archives of the RFE/RL Research Institute which had been kept in OMRI's custody. The OMRI fonds also contains the administrative records of OMRI, the records of its Research and Analysis Department (including the files of several analysts) and Training Department, and an immense amount of materials collected by its archives.

The Information Services Department (ISD) of OMRI was a successor of the Information Resources Department of the RFE/RL Research Institute and had similar functions and a similar structure.

ISD's major mission was to provide information and support services to RFE/RL and OMRI analysts. Its activities included collecting key information on current events in the countries of the former communist bloc, selecting for acquisition the most crucial sources of information from the region in different formats, coordinating the activities of information vendors, building and managing a client-oriented information systems to provide easy access to available information, and developing technical standards sufficient to this task.

ISD responsibilities included operation of a specialized Library with over 125,000 volumes and two archives: the East European Archives and the Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives (SBE Archives).

East European Archives

The East European Archives collected information on the following countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic,

Hungary, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia.

The records of OMRI's East European Archives are the continuation of the files of the RFE/RL Research Institute. However, they cover broader subjects and reflect the changes that took place in the East European countries from 1993 to 1997.

The country subfunds consist of Subject Files, Biographical Files, and chronological series; monitoring of each country's radio and television; news chronologies and press surveys.

The records relate to a wide range of topics and provide information on a large variety of key figures in the social, cultural, and political spheres of the countries.

The Subject Files consist of files on culture, the economy, politics, security and social issues including information services, RFE/RL, environmental protection, economic development, monetary policy, foreign relations, justice, local government, political ethics, armed forces, crime, churches, education, minorities, nationalism, religion, trade unions and women's issues.

There is a substantial amount of information relating to the transition period in East European countries and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. There are also files on political parties, democracy, demonstrations, strikes, law and justice, VIPs, public opinion polls and elections, United Nation Protection Forces, non-governmental organizations, refugees, war crimes and human rights. Records on juvenile delinquency, drug abuse, religious schools, and international treaties and organizations (the Council of Europe, the European Community, NATO, UNESCO etc.) can also be found here.

The Biographical Files include biographical documents on politicians, human rights activists and dissidents, artists, intellectuals, sportsmen, scientists, party leaders, artists, physicians, representatives of churches, military officers, historians and university professors.

Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives

The primary goal of the SBE Archives was to monitor the countries of the former Soviet Union and to regularly provide the analysts dealing with this region at the Radios and at OMRI with required information.

SBE Archives staff consisted of five people working in OMRI's building and a team of four (the Monitoring Group) working in the building of RFE/RL.

The SBE Archives contracted several agencies, the same ones that RFE/RL in Munich had dealt with, to use them as information sources in the countries of the former Soviet Union (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Latvia). The Russian agency What Papers Say (WPS) in Moscow played the most important role, cooperating very closely with the SBE Archives.

WPS monitored Russian radio and television for OMRI. It also reviewed a wide range of periodicals, from many former Soviet countries as well as the Russian regional press, and clipped the most important materials. Twice a day WPS sent OMRI its daily clippings – the most urgent information from Russian central newspapers – by fax, and, after 1996, electronically. Once a week a courier from Moscow delivered WPS clippings from periodicals in the countries of the former Soviet Union (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) and from the republics of the Russian Federation. These clippings were mostly in national languages. Additionally, WPS compiled topical clippings for OMRI under the headings "Parties and Public Movements in Russian Regions", "National Policy and Ethnic Conflicts", "Ecology", "Russia in Statistics" etc. These were also delivered by courier.

To facilitate access to incoming information, staff members of SBE Archives created two data banks: Regional Files comprising information relating to the Russian regions and their political, economic, social and cultural developments; and Environmental Files on environmental conditions in the Russian Federation and, to a lesser extent, in the other countries of the former Soviet Union.

As previously mentioned, OMRI was the custodian of the part of the RFE/RL Research Institute archives covering the 1990s. This included the Former Soviet Union Archives. (See Russian Monitoring) and Ukrainian Archives. SBE Archives staff continued to file clippings into these archives. When OMRI was closed, the part of the Former Soviet Union Archives was sent to OSA in Budapest. Its part (12 file cabinets) which were filed in Prague, and all of the Ukrainian (4 file cabinets) and Belarusian (2 file cabinets) records were to remain at RFE/RL for a period of three years – they will come to OSA after 1 April 2000.

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Building Open Societies. Soros Foundations 1994, Open Society Institute: New York, 1995, pp.181–182.

OMRI Special Directory, Open Media Research Institute: Prague, 1995.

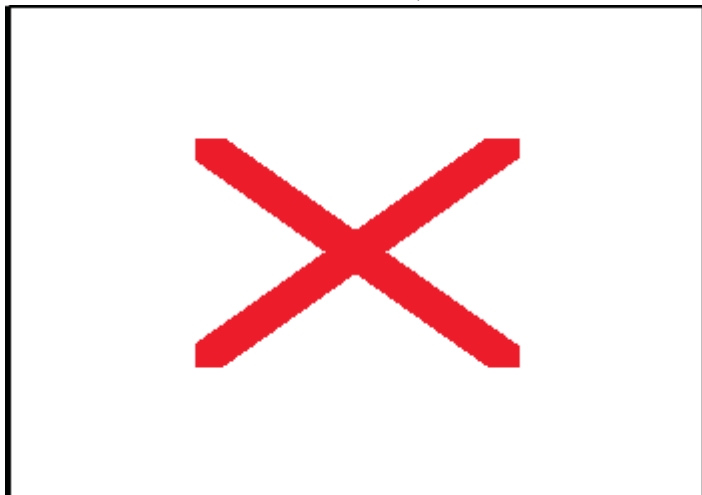
SAMIZDAT PUBLICATIONS OF GÁBOR DEMSZKY

The Open Society Archives (OSA) holds one of the largest Polish and Russian/Soviet samizdat collections in the world. Besides these, there are also materials in all of the national series of the former RFE/RL holdings which are related to dissident and clandestine activities within these countries. The original documents on the Hungarian opposition movements were greatly increased by a donation from Gábor Demszky, Mayor of Budapest, who deposited his private Hungarian samizdat archives with OSA at its opening ceremony.

Gábor Demszky was one of the leading figures of the so-called "democratic opposition" in Hungary. He was among the founding members of SZETA (the Fund for Supporting the Poor), and he established and ran AB Független Kiadó, the largest Hungarian samizdat publishing house. AB produced, published, and distributed periodicals, such as Hírmondó and Beszélő, and approximately

100 books, anthologies and essay collections by both Hungarian and foreign authors.

The history of resistance and of clandestine and opposition activities in Hungary began with the communist takeover, although the earliest period of its history is still almost absolutely hidden under a veil. The resistance apparently culminated during and after the 1956 Revolution, when the first widely known and widely distributed samizdat publications appeared. After the Soviet invasion the regime was able to suppress the weakened opposition by applying the most brutal means. During the consolidation period, from the late 50s until the second half of the 60s, dissident activities in Hungary were almost undetectable.



The repression of the "Prague Spring" by Warsaw Pact troops in 1968 gave a new impetus to the emergence of the dissident movements of a younger generation in Hungary. This event made it clear that the communist regime was not able to accept any reform towards a more democratic regime, and could not tolerate the extension of neither economic nor political liberties. The intervention provoked significant resistance among young intellectuals of both reform-Marxist and non-Marxist origins. Their protests took several forms but were not very well organized. In the following years, two famous books demonstrated that intellectuals had begun to contemplate the theoretical consequences of the intervention on the future perspectives of existing communist regimes: *Is Political Economy Possible?* by Bence-Kis-Márkus and: *The Road of the Intellectuals Towards Class-Rule* by Konrád-Szelényi. Both were prohibited and provoked repressions from the regime. At the beginning of the 1970s two major phenomena marked the gradual emergence of more organized resistance: the conservative "coup" of the party leadership against the 1968 economic reforms, and the launch of sociological research among the most impoverished groups in the country. These interrelated phenomena led to retorsions in the intellectual life and became the direct antecedents of the organized opposition and the appearance of regularly published samizdat periodicals.

Mimeograph from the mid-1980s, which was donated to Gábor Demszky (currently the Mayor of Budapest) by Hungarian emigrants in France.

Photo by András Révész. Fonds 302 Samizdat Publications of Gábor Demszky, OSA.

The Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia had a fertilizing effect in the region and in Hungary as well. Protests against the repressive measures of the Czechoslovak regime created a framework for dissident activities. The appearance of two famous samizdat publications indicated a sort of breakthrough: *Profil*, edited by János Kenedi, and *Napló*, (Breviary). In the next years there were several attempts to establish samizdat periodicals that were able to come out on a regular basis – *Kisúgó*, *Vox Humana*, *Magyar Figyelő*. In 1981, *Beszélő* was established, and for the first time in the history of Hungarian samizdat the editors stepped out of the shadows, making their names and addresses public instead of remaining incognito. In the early 80s, Hungarian samizdat proliferated. New titles appeared on the scene – *Hírmondó* (edited by Gábor Demszky), *Demokrata*, *Magyar Zsidó*, etc. These new periodicals found or created their own audiences, and were able to establish and maintain their own clandestine production mechanisms and distribution networks. A real market for samizdat was starting to emerge.

The end of the story is fairly well-known. The ateliers concentrated around samizdat periodicals became the first cells of political movements which played a crucial role in the political transition at the end of the decade. The private collection accumulated and preserved by Gábor Demszky provides a unique picture of Hungarian opposition activities throughout the 80s. It contains the publications themselves as well as their preparatory materials, manuscripts, designs and galley proofs. Moreover, a collection of equipment used in samizdat production (printing-machines, frames etc.) provides an insight not only into the intellectual history of samizdat, but also into its technical history.

PERSONAL PAPERS OF GENERAL BÉLA KIRÁLY

Béla Király, Colonel General (four-star), Professor Emeritus of history, former member of Parliament, publisher, conference organizer, and author and editor of numerous books and articles in English and Hungarian, joined the Hungarian Army in 1930. In

1945, he took part in the resistance movement and brought a brigade over to the Allied side. He was sentenced to death in 1951, but his sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. General Király was finally paroled in 1956, and became the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council for National Defense, Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard of Hungary and Commander of Budapest. He was permanent resident of the United States of America from December 1956, and in 1965 he became a US citizen. In June 1989, he returned to Hungary, and the Supreme Court rehabilitated him later that year. From 1990 to 1994 he was member of the Hungarian Parliament and Vice-Chairman of the Defense Committee.

The Personal Papers of General Béla Király are one of the most recent acquisitions of the Open Society Archives. The documents (about 15 linear meters in length, and now under processing) cover the various stages and aspects of General Király's manifold public activities and career. The fonds includes his personal papers, diaries, resumes and correspondence, as well as manuscripts, newspaper clippings (including the press campaign against his repatriation) and interviews. An important part of the materials including books, original newspapers and clippings, émigré publications, and propaganda materials, deals with the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and Imre Nagy's execution and reburial. Another significant body within the fonds is the material documenting Király's teaching activity at various universities: at the War Academy in Hungary; and in the US, at St. John's University, Columbia University and the Brooklyn College of CUNY. This includes teaching materials, such as slides for overhead projectors thematically focusing on the War of Independence and the two World Wars, articles for scholarly journals, and also records (memos and correspondence) created during the everyday life of a university department. General Király's four years as a member of Parliament are also covered in detail.

The materials are principally in English and Hungarian.

Human Rights

RECORDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW INSTITUTE

On 6 October 1992, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 780 (1992), by which it requested that the Secretary General establish a Commission of Experts to examine and analyze information submitted as evidence of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. In a further resolution on 16 November 1992, the Security Council requested the Commission to actively pursue its investigations on the matter of violations of international humanitarian law committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

On 26 October 1992, the Chairman and four members were appointed (Kalshoven/Bassiouni's Commission). Its first chairman was Frits Kalshoven (Netherlands). In October 1993, following the resignation of Kalshoven, Cherif Bassiouni (Egypt) was appointed as Chairman as well as Rapporteur for the Gathering and Analysis of Facts.

During its existence, from October 1992 through April 1994, the Commission received over 65,000 pages of documentation, as well as printed and audiovisual information. The Commission employed three methods of investigation:

- Collecting and analyzing information sent to or requested by the Commission;
- Undertaking investigative missions in the territory of the former Yugoslavia in order to obtain additional information, take testimony and, as far as possible, verify facts;
- Gathering information on behalf of the Commission by certain governments in different countries.

In December 1992, the Commission set up a database designed to provide a manageable record of all reported alleged war crimes. The database was developed at the International Human Rights Law Institute (IHRLI) of DePaul University in Chicago under the supervision of Cherif Bassiouni, who was simultaneously the Rapporteur for the Gathering and Analysis of Facts, the Chairman of the Commission and the President of the Institute. The information in the database was received from several governments, which made official submissions, as well as from intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies. The database also contained information from open sources and media reports. IHRLI also provided staff and space for the Commission of Experts; first, for evidence-gathering and analysis, and then, when Bassiouni became Chairman, for the general direction of the Commission.

Based on this documentation, the Commission had issued two Preliminary Reports of the Commission of Experts containing preliminary conclusions during the summer and fall of 1993. On 14 December 1993, the Commission was informed that, in light of the establishment of the International Tribunal and the appointment of its Prosecutor, the Commission should finalize its report and complete the transfer of its files, documents, and database to the International Tribunal by 30 April 1994. The Final Report of the Commission of Experts, including several volumes of Annexes, was released on 27 May 1994, and, with the original back-up documentation and the database, transferred to the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Tribunal.^[27]

Records of the International Human Rights Law Institute at the Open Society Archives comprise 15 linear meters of documents, 252 videotapes, 23 audiotapes (see subchapter "Audiovisual materials") and 68 books and journals. These were donated to the Archives by the International Human Rights Law Institute of DePaul University in 1994. The records are open for research with the exception of four boxes to which access is restricted at the donors' request.

Through their scope and content these records cover all important aspects of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, providing insight into contemporary political and military events, and offering a comprehensive understanding of the historical background of the crisis.

Though the IHRLI textual records are comprised of 13 series, the whole body of documents can be divided into five general groups, each of which witnesses the multitude of sources and aspects that were used by the UN Commission of Experts in the process of preparing their final report. In addition to the Final Report which includes both draft and final versions of the Annexes and Special Reports, the IHRLI records also contain documentation issued by various UN agencies, the International Red Cross Committee and the International Court of Justice, as well as official submissions of former Yugoslav governments.

Even though the records of IHRLI as a whole are dedicated to war crimes and atrocities issues, special attention should be drawn to the separate series of materials regarding the specific phenomenon of "ethnic cleansing", a term that was coined during the Commission's investigative work, as well as to those files that deal with the destruction of the cultural property on the territory of Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also worth mentioning is a uniquely complex group of records created by UN military experts in the field relating to the military structures, strategies and tactics of the warring factions.

Full insight into media coverage of the war is accessible through rich, systematically collected Western press reports, including Foreign Broadcasting Information Service reports on the Dubrovnik crisis, coverage of the Sarajevo siege and reports on the war in Bosnia. All of these are supported by a selected collection of related publications as well as audiovisual materials.

RECORDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) is a self-governing group of non-governmental, not-for-profit organizations that act to protect human rights throughout Europe, North America and the Central Asian republics. The Federation was formed after the break-up of the Soviet Union. Its primary goal is to promote and monitor compliance of the states participating in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and its Follow-up Documents. The international secretariat established in Vienna supports and provides liaison among 39 Helsinki Committees and represents them at the international political level. The IHF also has direct links with individuals and groups supporting human rights in formerly totalitarian countries by the means of organizing education projects, seminars and international projects.^[28]

The IHF has a glorious and heroic past. On 12 May 1976, Dr. Yuri F. Orlov announced the foundation of the Moscow Helsinki Group (MHG). The 11 founders of the MHG sought to monitor the USSR's implementation of the Helsinki commitments. Their watchdog organization was based on a provision of the Helsinki Final Act, Principle VII, which establishes the right of individuals to know and act upon their rights and duties. In the wake of the MHG's appeal, new citizens' groups emerged in other places inside the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries. In January 1977, Charter 77 was founded in Czechoslovakia, and in September 1979, the Helsinki Watch Group was set up in Poland. These groups continued their activities under the constant persecution of local authorities. Though forced to disband in 1982 (reorganized in 1989), the MHG's pioneering efforts had inspired others to call attention to human rights violations. Similar groups have been founded in Western Europe, Canada and the US.

In 1982, representatives of a number of Helsinki committees held an International Citizens Helsinki Watch Conference. The idea of such a meeting was inspired partly by Dr. Andrei Sakharov's appeal for the creation of a "unified international committee to defend all Helsinki Watch Group members" and to bring their work together. As an outgrowth of the conference, the IHF was founded the following year to provide a structure through which independent Helsinki Committees could support one another and strengthen the human rights movements by giving their efforts an international dimension.

The archives of the IHF's international secretariat were partially transferred from Vienna to OSA in 1998, and the materials have not yet been processed. Nevertheless, what can be said about them at first sight is that they generally consist of would-be series such as the alphabetic Country Files, including individual and group case reports, press clippings, publications on human rights and minorities, IHF publications and correspondence. The Administrative Files and the Files of the Executive Director contain materials of more or less the same nature: minutes of meetings (staff, general assembly, national committees, executive committees); financial reports and fundraising materials; memos; materials from workshops, summer schools, conferences, and seminars; correspondence with individuals, national committees^[29], and other human rights monitor groups; the statutes of the IHF; PR materials, press releases and newsletters.



Twenty-three Years of the International Helsinki Human Rights Movement – exhibition in Galeria Centralis (June – August 1998). Trudy Huskamp Peterson, then Executive Director of OSA, gives the opening speech at the Press Conference. Photo by Zsuzsanna Fekete. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

The CSCE/OSCE Documents (documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the OSCE) are arranged chronologically according to the dates of conferences. They include – among other conference materials – speeches of delegation leaders and participants, publications, annual activity reports, and correspondence concerning the preparations for conferences. (Part of this series is the documentation of the 1985 Cultural Forum in Budapest, an event that was not welcomed by the Hungarian authorities who forbade the organizers to use public facilities).

The documents are principally in English and German, but there are also materials in Russian, Spanish, Italian and other languages of the respective member countries.

Some of these materials together with others borrowed from the IHF in Vienna – posters, photographs, objects, and historical documents – were displayed by OSA at a 1998 exhibition entitled “Twenty-three Years of the International Helsinki Federation Human Rights Movements”.

RECORDS OF INDEX ON CENSORSHIP

The idea of launching Index on Censorship was conceived in 1970, when The Times published the desperate letter of the Russian writer, Pavel Litvinov, who sought support from colleagues abroad for his fellow writers sentenced to prison or labor camp for publicly expressing their political views. Sixteen prominent British intellectuals decided to answer this appeal in the form of a telegram, which was broadcast by the BBC. This event marked the establishment of an organization called Writers and Scholars International (WSI), set up to protect freedom of expression. WSI “...resolved to take the following steps: [...] It will publish a regular journal, INDEX ... it will record and analyze all inroads into freedom of expression and examine the censorship situation in individual countries and in relation to various constitutions and legal codes. Examples of censored material (poetry, prose, articles), as well as the results of its findings, will be published in the journal. It will assist the publication of books, pamphlets, articles, etc. that would not otherwise be available to the public because of censorship and other restrictions in their countries of origin. [...] It will keep the public informed about the plight of writers, artists, scholars and intellectuals subjected to censorship, and will keep their names before the public.”^[30]

The first issue of Index on Censorship was published in 1972, under the editorship of Michael Scammell. In the years that followed the journal underwent basic changes, and today it has become a bimonthly “magazine for free speech” aiming to broaden debates about freedom of expression by involving in discussion many world renowned writers such as Salman Rushdie, Umberto Eco, Vaclav Havel and others. Using interviews, reports, polemics and banned literature, the journal follows how free speech affects the political issues of the moment. In addition to analysis, each issue contains an “Index Index”, a “chronicle of events around the world illustrating the various ways in which freedom of expression is being limited or denied.”^[31]

The archives of Index on Censorship, which are now a valuable part of OSA holdings, were collected by a handful of enthusiastic employees, part-time assistants, volunteers and researchers. They sought to gather information and background materials for the articles, reports and chronicles to be published in the journal. Their main source was the press, but they also relied on news agency releases, private contacts and collaboration with other organizations sharing an interest in similar matters, such as Article 19, Amnesty

International, Asia Watch and RFE/RL.

The arrangement of the materials in this fonds, which is still being processed, correspond more or less with the structure of the journal. The biggest part consists of the Country Files or Geographic Files, which served as primary sources for the "Index Index". These files, arranged by continent and then alphabetically by country, provide a unique account of the struggle for freedom of expression in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union under communism, and in Western Europe (with a special focus on Great Britain), Africa and Asia as well. They are the result of the journal's meticulous and severe monitoring activity. The most frequently monitored issues were recurring ones: censorship, suppression of freedom of speech, imprisonment and apartheid.

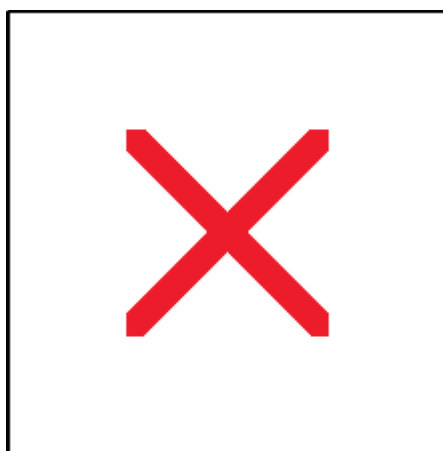
The files of topical interest, a type of Subject Files, are of great variety, and they generally relate to particular aspects of human rights violations and freedom of information.

Some of the most important topics are as follows: persecution of dissenters, dissidents, immigrants and refugees; discrimination of minorities (ethnic, religious, and others such as gays and lesbians); political correctness; international terrorism, the Middle East problem and the occupied territories; prison conditions; pornography and violence in the media; protection of privacy; telephone tapping; drug abuse issues; AIDS and animal rights. Included in these files are several rarities as follows: manuscripts (e.g. such as plays by Hungarian playwright Pál Salamon), books, and articles by banned writers and journalists from all regions of Europe.

There is one more portion of these files that should doubtlessly be touted here: the extremely rich and ongoing coverage of the Salman Rushdie affair. It contains press clippings dating immediately from the appearance of *The Satanic Verses*, the flabbergasted official statements of the Iranian government, Rushdie's articles on the issue, reactions from Great Britain and all over the world, letters criticizing, supporting and encouraging the author of the ominous book, and also several lists of signatories of the Rushdie Appeal.

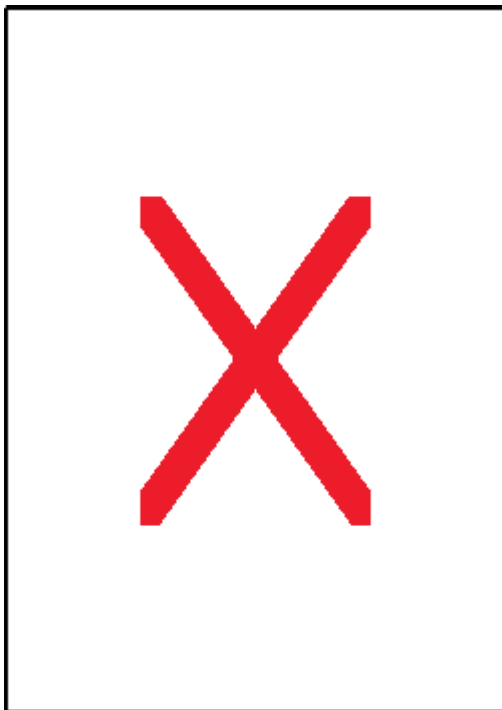
Beside the usual Administrative Files (memos and minutes of meetings), there are others which provide insight into how the documents were collected. The files also include the editors' extensive correspondence with human rights monitors and victims of human rights violations. In the collection of Publications there are several less well-known but interesting periodicals which are not found in many other libraries in Hungary: *Index on Censorship*, *Cross Currents* (a yearbook of Central European culture), *Free Press* (journal of the Campaign for Press & Freedom), *Middle East Times* and *KOSMAS* (journal of Czechoslovak and Central European studies).

The materials are principally in English, but there are also documents in the original languages of some of the countries.



Cover of the gramophone record titled *The Ballad of a Spycatcher* by Leon Rosselson, featuring Billy Bragg and the Oyster Band. The release was sponsored by the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom (5 October 1987).

Fonds 301 Records of the Index on Censorship, OSA.



Press announcement (24 September 1987) about the release of the record titled *The Ballad of a Spycatcher* by Leon Rosselson, which was inspired by the British Government's efforts to prevent the media from informing the public of the main allegations in Peter Wright's banned book "Spycatcher". The record tentatively shed a light on the absurdity of banning information in the U.K.

Fonds 301 Records of the Index on Censorship, OSA.

ON ESTABLISHING AN INTERNATIONAL REPOSITORY OF DOCUMENTS RELATED TO WAR CRIMES AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Preserving memory is a fundamental tool in preventing human rights violations and crimes against humanity from recurring. Documents created and collected by various national and international bodies – truth commissions, tribunals, even civil organizations – contain facts, data, evaluation and analyses of events and procedures, all of which are of vital importance to preserving memory and exposing the past. These textual and non-textual documents also constitute a valuable source for historical research. However, if these documents are dispersed, are in various states of processing, or are subject to differing access regulations, reliable comparative research becomes very difficult and sometimes nearly impossible.

Establishing an international repository for preserving both important and typical documents on this subject, and making them available for comparative analysis and historical research would significantly enhance the work of human rights organizations, as well as promote scholarly research and education. We believe that the Open Society Archives (OSA) in Budapest, a research and education base equipped with long-term and secure storage facilities and high-level expertise, would be an ideal site for such a repository.

The main sources of documents in such a repository would be truth commissions, tribunals, committees of experts at the national and international level; international organizations and their branches; and international, national or local human rights organizations.

If an important document collection is in danger of being destroyed, disarranged or dispersed, the repository should be able to take the collection over in its entirety. However, the repository does not intend to acquire any document which constitutes an integral part of a given country's history only if it has a long-term, secure storage place with adequate provisions for preservation, processing and research by outsiders. Therefore, this repository would mainly be composed of copies of individual documents and samples of distributed or printed material.

Documents in the repository could cover the following areas:

- laws, resolutions, agreements and other legal papers documenting the establishment of institutions set up to investigate war crimes and human rights violations;
- documents describing any debates and arguments preceding the adoption of such laws and resolutions;
- documents describing the actual founding processes of these institutions;
- internal documents about the work of such institutions;
- drafts and final reports, analyses and statistical data about their activities;

- documents sent by the institution to international organizations;
- publications about the work and findings of the institutions;
- typical cases and procedures.

The creators or owners of the original records would judge the importance of the documents, deciding which ones should be copied and sent to the repository.

While advocating and practicing easy access and openness, OSA has instituted a restriction policy aimed at honoring the wishes of donors and depositors, and maintaining personal privacy, among other considerations. For example, in the case of the materials of International Human Rights Law Institute received from Cherif Bassiouni, Chairman of the Commission of Experts and Rapporteur for the Gathering and Analysis of Facts, the donor decided which documents should be available for research and which documents should be temporarily closed. Naturally, OSA is ready to follow the express restriction requirements of any donor organization in the area of the proposed repository.

In January 1999, an official proposal (see Appendix) describing the above principles was sent to several organizations, officials, scholars and advocates in order to establish cooperation, including the Commission for Historical Clarification, Guatemala, the Committee on the Administration of Justice, Northern Ireland and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa.

OSA has received a number of enthusiastic responses to the proposal from around the globe. We are prepared to launch projects in cooperation with these organizations as soon as they select the relevant material and agree on the conditions of sending it to Budapest.

Soros Foundations Network

The corporate memory of the Soros foundations network

The Soros foundations network was founded by philanthropist George Soros, who was born in Budapest, Hungary in 1930.^[32] In 1947 he emigrated to England, where he graduated from the London School of Economics. He moved to the United States in 1956 and began to accumulate a large fortune through his investment activities there. He has written many articles on the political and economic changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and is also the author of *The Alchemy of Finance* (1987), *Opening the Soviet System* (1990), *Underwriting Democracy* (1991), *Soros on Soros: Staying Ahead of the Curve* (1995) and *The Crisis of Global Capitalism* (1998).

The Soros foundations network is a decentralized association of nonprofit organizations which share a common mission: their goal is to transform closed societies into open societies and to protect and expand the values of existing open societies. George Soros' philanthropic activity is deeply influenced by the concept of open society which is characterized by the rule of law; respect for human rights; minorities and minority opinion; the division of power; and a market economy. Its message can be summarized on the recognition that nobody has a monopoly on the truth, that different people have different views and interests, and that there is a need for institutions to protect the rights of all people to allow them to live together in peace. (The term "open society" was used by the philosopher Karl Popper in his 1945 book *Open Society and its Enemies*.)

Over the past two decades George Soros has established foundations in more than 30 countries, principally in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, but also in Guatemala, Haiti, Mongolia and Southern Africa. These organizations work to achieve their goals by funding and operating an array of activities concerned with arts and culture, children and youth, civil society development, economic reform, education at all levels, legal reform and public administration, media and communications, publishing and health care.

The Open Society Institute (OSI) established in 1993 is based in New York City. Together with its Hungary-based affiliate, the Open Society Institute Budapest, it assists the national Soros foundations by providing administrative, financial and technical support, as well as by establishing "network programs" to address certain issues on a regional or network-wide basis.

OSI programs fall into three main categories. Network programs are the Arts and Culture Program, the Economic and Business Development Program, Children and Youth Programs, the English Language Programs, the Internet Program, the Medical and Health Program, the Network Scholarship Programs and the Network Women's Program based in New York; and the Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute, the East East Program, the Institute for Educational Policy, the Higher Education Support Program, the International Fellowship Program, the Network Library Program, the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, the Network Media Program, the Publishing Center and the Roma Participation Program, based in Budapest.

International initiatives include the Burma Project, the Forced Migration Projects, the Soros Documentary Fund and the Landmines Project. They are all based in the US.

Programs that focus on the United States are the Center on Crime, Communities & Culture, the Emma Lazarus Fund, the Lindesmith Center, the Open Society Fellowship Program, the Program on Law and Society and the Project on Death in America.

OSA has a rapidly growing holding which relates to the activities of the Soros foundations network. This holding documents the corporate memory of the organizations which make up the network, and contains information about George Soros and the genesis of the Soros network.

Several interesting funds within the holding deserve separate mention, even though some Soros documents are not yet open to the public:

Belarusian Soros Foundation

In certain Central and Eastern European countries, where the authorities have not welcomed the concept of “open society”, the establishment and operation of institutions affiliated with the Soros foundations network have faced serious obstacles. Among other cases such as the Fund for an Open Society Yugoslavia, which has repeatedly had its offices closed, the case of the Belarusian Soros Foundation (BSF) is a preeminent example.

The BSF was established in Minsk in January 1993, and its activities concentrated primarily on education, youth, arts and culture, mass media and publishing, science and environment, civil society, public administration, medicine and health care. It also provided funding for national organizations and individuals supporting the creation of an open society in Belarus. The BSF carried out its activities – through national and regional programs as well as grants – until 3 September 1997, when the OSI – New York Board of Trustees decided to close it down, officially for financial reasons. The end of the BSF did not surprise those who were closely following its peculiar history. (Some of the events preceding the closure: in March 1997, returning from a board meeting, the Executive Director of the BSF was not allowed to enter Belarus, and he was finally expelled from the country; and the end of April brought a decision by the Belarusian tax authorities, who imposed a penalty of \$2.8 million for alleged violations of the Belarusian tax law.)

Following the closure, the documentation of the BSF was split into several parts, one of which has entered the holdings of OSA. (Strangely, another part was given to the National Archives of Belarus.) The materials which by far outnumber the files deposited by other Soros foundations, include a great variety of documents: administrative files relating to programs, projects and grants; foreign and domestic correspondence including letters of protest to and from various Belarusian authorities; the Statutes of the Foundation; minutes of its Executive Board meetings; annual activity reports; publications of the BSF's numerous programs; and conferences and workshops materials. The records also contain public relations materials, including press releases and press clippings covering the Foundation's activities.

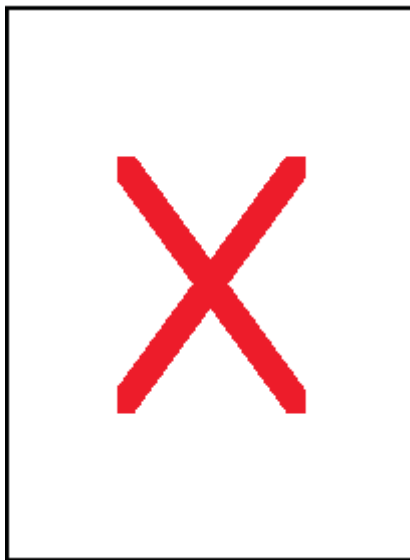
There is a significant number of videotapes (with approximately 70 hours of footage) from the Mass Media Center, an independent institution sponsored by the BSF. (For a detailed description of these, see subchapter “Archival materials”.)

Center for the Study of Constitutionalism in Eastern Europe

The Legal Studies Department of Central European University (CEU) has always cooperated closely with prestigious American and Hungarian law faculties. The establishment of educational cooperation with the University of Chicago Law School during the Department's early years was a major achievement. In 1994 the Chicago Law Program (CLP) was established at CEU, and the University of Chicago Law School's Center for the Study of Constitutionalism in Eastern Europe created a second depository of its archives at the Legal Studies Department. The deposited documents were mostly used by CEU students because the collection contained background information, reports and publications relevant to the studies in comparative constitutional law.

When the CLP was closed in January 1996 and the documents were transferred to OSI's Constitutional and Legislative Policy Institute (COLPI), which was later renamed Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute. COLPI staff members continued to develop the collection, especially after COLPI, CEU and the Center for the Study of Constitutionalism in Eastern Europe agreed in 1996 to begin jointly publishing the periodical East European Constitutional Review, which had correspondents in each country of the region who periodically submitted reports on constitutional changes to the editorial board.

The collection also contains copies of the recent constitutions of each East European country, as well as amendments, with special emphasis on human and minority rights issues. These records provide a unique overview of the constitutional changes which occurred in the region until 1998, and they offer researchers the opportunity to compare the publications of Western experts with the reports of East European correspondents. COLPI donated the collection to OSA in July 1999.



This record documents a historical moment in the life of Central European University when, on 20 September 1996, the Absolute Charter replaced the Provisional Charter, granted on 24 June 1992, by the Board of Regents of the State of New York. From the Office of the Executive Vice-President, Central European University.

Central European University

The Open Society Archives as an institution affiliated with Central European University, continuously acquires records from the university. CEU was established in 1991, but the concept of an independent international university was born in Dubrovnik, in April 1989, during a workshop held at the Inter-University Centre. The 10-year history of the “first regional university of its kind in the world” coincides with the exceptional years of intellectual, political, cultural and economic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

In 1998 CEU donated the files of Ann Lonsdale, its former Secretary General, to the Archives. Lonsdale, former Director of the External Relations office at Oxford University, took up her position at CEU in 1994 and contributed to the consolidation of the university. Her files document the dynamic academic development of CEU: inter-university agreements, pilot seminars, the CEU Summer University and the beginning of the university’s academic recognition as the first accreditation was achieved in the spring of 1994.

Before the Archives received the files of Ann Lonsdale, another important CEU-related accession occurred: in 1997 a remarkable amount of files was donated to OSA by William Newton-Smith, who was sitting on CEU’s Academic Planning Committee and also chaired its Executive Committee. The Office of Bill Newton-Smith at Oxford University played a key role in the establishment of CEU, and it accumulated valuable documentation of the discussions over the location, size and structure of the university.^[33] Newton-Smith’s correspondence files, including both official and personal letters, substantially contribute to the informal history of the university.

Audiovisual Materials

The Open Society Archives (OSA) has a relatively small but rapidly growing audiovisual collection. The audiovisual holdings were collected in accordance with OSA’s general acquisition policy: to collect materials relating to the history of communism and the Cold War, human rights issues and the history of the Soros foundations network.

Materials were gathered from several sources with the intent to establish an audiovisual research center which would serve the Central and Eastern European region. This provides an explanation why the majority of OSA’s audiovisual collection is not archival, meaning it does not solely contain „original“ or „master“ documents, exclusively held by the Archives. The Archives considers it inappropriate, unnecessary and in most cases impossible to collect and ship to Budapest original audiovisual documents from other countries. Instead, the goal is to build a research center, a non-circulating video library. The audiovisual holdings of OSA were intentionally designed as a regional film collection of propaganda films, historical films, and feature films produced after the Second World War in Central and Eastern Europe. (See Appendix: Acquisition Policy)

Audiovisual materials are an essential part of OSA’s exhibitions: the audiovisual staff prepares video installations of relevant newsreels, documentary films, historical and propaganda films, news programs and amateur footage for each exhibit which create an

overall exciting image and make the exhibits visually interesting and give full credit to the events.

Researchers can conveniently access the holdings by using the reference copies of audio and video recordings and photographs in the Research Room. In special cases, groups may also use the Archives' Meeting Room.

Oral history interviews relating to the activities of
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Fonds 305 Interviews by the Black Box Videoperiodical Foundation relating to Radio Free Europe, contains documentation of all major political and social events in Hungary during the past 10 years of transition.

The Black Box media organization was founded in 1988, before the change of the political system, by a group of independent and audacious journalists. Their goal was to document the socio-political changes taking place in Hungary, and to some extent in other countries of the region, during the transition years. Since March 1988 they have covered all significant actions taken by both the current government and the opposition, such as demonstrations, founding sessions of parties and civil organizations, round-table discussions, the exhumation and the reburial of Imre Nagy and his associates etc. Given its collection of important documentation and footage, Black Box is an invaluable source for video installations used in OSA's exhibitions in Galeria Centralis. One of the main attractions of the most recent exhibition, Ten Years After, was the Black Box material from 6 July 1989, documenting the Hungarian Supreme Court's public retrial of Imre Nagy and his associates.

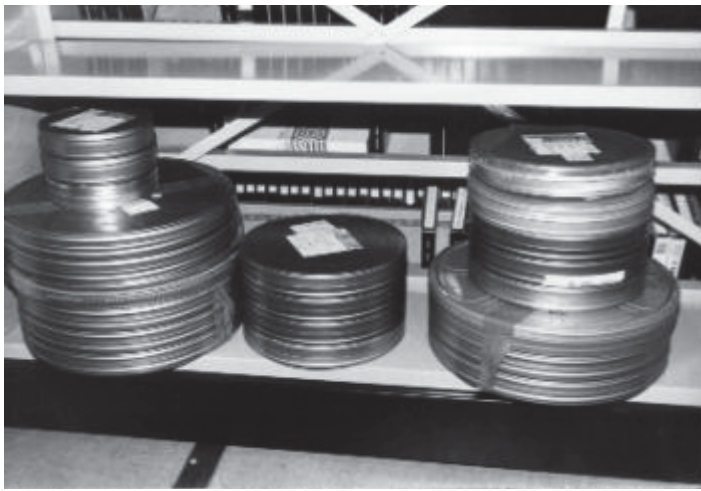
Black Box does not only contribute to make our exhibitions more colorful and exciting. It also enriches OSA's audiovisual collections through various joint projects. In 1996, OSA and Black Box signed an agreement whereby OSA was to sponsor a project that would complete the collection of oral history interviews about the history and activities of RFE, an effort started by Black Box in 1994. In return, Black Box would provide OSA with a copy of the new interviews, along with a copy of a feature film which is still in the making. In addition, in 1999 Black Box made a generous offer: the donation of its entire RFE-related collection of oral history interviews, totalling some 100 hours. This is the first time that the collection has been made accessible to historians and researchers, which provides them with a uniquely rich resource of interviews shedding light on in-house political power struggles, relations between the various desks, and the everyday operations of the Radio from the 1950s through the mid-1990s. The collection includes the testimony of Carlo Kováts (Head of the Hungarian Research Unit), Gyula Borbándy (Editor of the Hungarian Desk), Kevin Close (former President of RFE), Ralph Walter (former President of RFE), Jan Obermann (RFE's Spokesman in 1995), Jan Nowak-Jeziorański (Director of the Polish Desk) and the former defining personalities of the Hungarian opposition: Ferenc Kôszeg, Ottilia Solt, and Gábor Demszky, among many others.

The death of Yugoslavia

There is no doubt that Fonds 304 Records of the International Human Rights Law Institute relating to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia is the most frequently requested and studied collection in the Audiovisual Department. (see subchapter "Records of the international Human Rights Law Institute"). One of its most valuable aspects is its rich diversity of sources, including, but not limited to: ABC, CBS, CNN, Channel 4, the Croatian Information Center, ITN, ITV, Linden Productions, NBC, ORF, PBS, Saga, Sky News, RTV Belgrade and TV Bosnia-Herzegovina. This collection provides an overview and history of the representation of the Balkan wars in foreign and domestic media during 1992–1996.

Documentaries from this fonds have been used in OSA's public events, among which the Yugoslav Film Week (26–30 April 1999) was the most successful. The event was organized by OSA for the CEU academic community, and was prompted by the initiation of the NATO bombing campaign in Yugoslavia in 1999. The films presented attempted to objectively approach and analyze the animosities and armed conflicts between ethnic and religious groups in the former Yugoslavia.

Fonds 307, 308, 309, and 310 comprise a collection of materials dealing with the results of transitions taking place after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. While a primary part of the Archives' mission is to document communism and the Cold War, it is also dedicated to seeking out materials relating to the aftermath of communism. While OSA's role is not to document life in Central and Eastern Europe after communism, it is imperative to document the political, economic, social and intellectual transitions in this region, because these are marked by communism's legacy. The transitional period in Yugoslavia characterized by ethnic conflicts is also part of that legacy and as such, the documentation of this process is certainly necessary.



Fonds 307 contains over 70 hours of television programs produced by VIN (Weekly Independent News), an independent news service based in Belgrade. The producers of VIN have a reputation for taking a stand against one-sided media propaganda instigated by the current political regime, and for their active promotion of objective journalism. They have been "blacklisted", and their reporting efforts are often hindered. The reports of VIN heavily concentrate on Yugoslavia's domestic problems, namely the way political decisions and foreign policy (both of which resulted in a series of wars in the region) have affected the socio-economic situation of the people of Yugoslavia. Therefore, their weekly compilation of timely political events is significant. Historians and other researchers can find within it alternative viewpoints and approaches in contrast to the more well-known profile of the Yugoslav media.

In order to preserve the film *A Father, A Son, A Holy Ghost* from damage resulting from bombing, Želimir Gvardiol, a Yugoslav film director rescued the negatives from Yugoslavia and deposited them at OSA in April 1999.

Photo by Ferenc Nemzetes. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Fonds 308, 309 and 310, also referred to as the Yugoslav Monitoring Project, contain a very large set of Yugoslav materials and are one of OSA's most prized collections. The idea of the Yugoslav Monitoring Project was sparked by the political upheavals and conflicts which have taken place in the area of the former Yugoslavia for much of the past ten years. The primary goal of the project is to document on videotape everyday political events as portrayed by the official media. The project was initiated as a joint venture of OSA and Central European University's Southeast European Studies Program as it became obvious, through recent developments in both Yugoslavia and Croatia, that there was an amazing discrepancy between the official media's representation of events and the actual events taking place in all areas of life. Such blunt government-sponsored propaganda paints a lifelike picture of the political corruption currently tightening its grip on these countries. Therefore, the founders of the project deemed it necessary to build up a collection of tapes which would bear witness to this phenomenon. Also, the project underlines the ongoing cooperation between Central European University (CEU) and OSA, which considers part of its mission to serve the CEU community in its research endeavors.

The Yugoslav Monitoring Project consists of three integral parts: Fonds 308 Collective Fonds, Television News, Yugoslavia; Fonds 309 Collective Fonds, Television News, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Fonds 310 Collective Fonds, Television News, Croatia. The Archives signed contracts with individuals working for independent media houses in the three respective countries whereby all daily news broadcasts were to be taped along with any additional political or cultural programs of interest. Fonds 308, monitoring of Belgrade, is an ongoing project, given the continuing disturbances in Yugoslavia. The fonds holds many significant materials, such as footage of Slobodan Milošević's speeches throughout the years, the official media's slanted view of the student protests of 1996-97, and various political discussion programs attempting to explain and justify both the domestic and international political difficulties. The newest part of the Yugoslav monitoring collection, and one of its most interesting and valuable components, are the tapes of daily news and political propaganda programs aired during the 78-days of NATO bombing campaign. Some of the highlights of this acquisition include President Milošević's announcement of the beginning of the war on 24 March 1999; and his declaration of "victory", according to his interpretation (or "capitulation", as the West declared unanimously), on 7 June 1999.

Fonds 309 Bosnian monitoring, is important in its own right. The project was established in 1996, the year which marked the end of the bloody civil war that ripped Bosnia apart for more than four years just as the country was making the first attempt to return to normality and to establish democratic institutions and a working political system. OSA now houses more than 300 hours of significant footage recording the entire process of Bosnia's first attempts at independence and the construction of democracy. Researchers can view events of great historical significance: the first local and federal elections, the process during which three ethnic groups which had fought each other so fiercely during the past years tried to build a federal government together or a picture of ordinary Bosnian life under UN governance. It is important to note that OSA acquired the recordings of not only one television station, but the daily news programs and other programs broadcasted by Muslim, Serb and Croatian stations. This provides a view of the same events from three differing perspectives.

Fonds 310 Croatian monitoring is similar to the other two fonds of the Yugoslav Monitoring Project: it traces political, cultural and socio-economic developments in the newly independent Croatian state. Croatia, even though pro-Western and democratic, has had its

share of difficulties with the process of democratization in the past few years. OSA has collected over 300 hours of programs produced by state-owned media houses, thus providing researchers with significant records of often shameless media censorship and government propaganda. Programs to note are very detailed coverage of local and state elections, including interviews with the candidates as well as propaganda programs depicting President Tudjman at various state functions.

OSA's mission to acquire materials relating to human rights, and to preserve these materials for further research, is best exemplified by Fonds 319, the collection of videotapes from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The founding of ICTY was based on the need to bring those individuals to trial who were accused of crimes against humanity, given the number and nature of the atrocities committed during the wars in the former Yugoslavia. This act was significant in many ways: it proved, for example, that actions taken during wartime by legitimate armies or paramilitary units were subject to a code of conduct, and that they could be held legally accountable; and it held historical significance, as it led to the first trial of this nature since the Nuremberg trials of 1945.

In cooperation with Internews, a non-profit organization that provides assistance to electronic media in emerging democracies, and the International Monitoring Institute set up for the safekeeping of the original recordings, the trial proceedings of ICTY were recorded, copied, and sent to OSA both for archiving and for presentation to a broad research audience. The entire trial process the Duško Tadić hearing in its entirety, parts of testimonies incriminating General Mladić and Radovan Karadžić etc. – is now recorded on tape and available for research in Europe only at the Open Society Archives. The transcripts of the complete trial proceedings are also available in electronic format at OSA. Parts of this historically valuable collection serve as teaching aids for CEU's Program on Gender & Culture and are an element of the regular curriculum of its Legal Studies Department.

Soviet and post-Soviet History

The most important part of OSA's collection is based on 2,500 hours of recordings of Soviet and Russian television news (Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute). This acquisition came to the Archives in May 1995, after RFE/RL relocated from Munich to Prague. The bulk of the video collection is from 1992–94. There are transcripts of most of the recordings, and these are also available at OSA.

The RFE/RL Research Institute started to monitor various radio stations and television channels in order to create the most comprehensive and complete overview possible of the Soviet reality. Monitoring at Radio Liberty (RL) began with radio and later expanded to television. By 1991, RL was monitoring two radio stations and two television channels broadcasted from Moscow. This included monitoring of regular news

programs according to a set schedule as well as on-demand monitoring according to need and interest. Programs were recorded on tapes which usually held two weeks worth of recorded materials. After the programs were transcribed, most of the tapes were recycled.

There were several parts of the operation: Radio Liberty in-house monitoring; Research Institute contract monitoring; Research Institute in-house TV monitoring; and contract monitoring on demand.^[34] Although most of the tapes of the early period of monitoring were deleted, some very interesting programs survived: like a speech by Gorbachev on "perestroika", efficiency improvement, and economic development from 1985, and the burial ceremony of K. U. Chernenko.

From the beginning OSA has emphasized the need to conduct its own expansion of its holdings relating to the history of communism and the Cold War, as opposed to relying only on donations from other institutions or individuals. For this reason, in 1996 OSA initiated and sponsored an oral history project which resulted in its present collection of a series of interviews with former Soviet dissidents and Communist Party functionaries, as well with their relatives. Some notable individuals include: Stepan Chervonenko, Ambassador of the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia in 1968; Oleg Kalugin, former General of the KGB; Nikolai Baibakov, former Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Mikhail Liubimov, retired KGB Colonel and now a well-known writer; Vladimir Erofeev, former diplomat and secretary of Molotov; Oleg Troianovskii, former USSR representative at the United Nations and World Security Council. The interviews were conducted in Russia in 1996–1997 by a prominent Hungarian historian, Miklós Kun.

Cooperation between the historian and OSA has already resulted in the production of several films, including *The Daughter of the Marshall*, *Elizaveta Tikhachevskaya* and *The Blind Spots of 1968*.

In addition to this collection, OSA encourages research in this area by granting scholars research allowances and other financial support enabling them to expand OSA holdings through their work. OSA and CEU nurture a two-way cooperation. The Oral History Teaching Program (OHTP) under the auspices of the CEU History Department is planning to develop its own special collection of oral history interviews which it will share with the Archives. At the same time OSA provides materials to the CEU academic community, thus enabling the OHTP to conduct invaluable research by working with materials from OSA's existing collection.

As a result of the fruitful cooperation, Miklós Kun decided to donate his entire video collection to the Archives for safekeeping and professional use. Over thirty unique documentary films relating to the 20th century history of the Soviet Union and Communism, including propaganda films from the 1920s about the labor camps in Solovki and the construction of the White Sea Canal in the USSR during the 1930s, are now housed in the Archives.

Notable titles are: *Secret and Manifest* – an infamous Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda film; *Parade of Gymnasts of the Soviet Union, 1945*; *Politburo. The Newest Story (1917–1934)* and *Burial ceremony of Stalin* (propaganda film, 1953); political party film of the mass meeting of the Liberal Democrat Party of Russia (Zhirinovskii) in Moscow, 6 August 1994.

As mentioned, one of the main missions of OSA is to document the circumstances of post-communist life when the legacy of communism is still a defining factor. The aftermath of the Cold War is still very much visible in the example of the Chernobyl disaster.

OSA's holdings relating to this disaster, a collection of over 40 hours of oral history interviews, needed to be smuggled out of Belarus in 1998 due to the country's political circumstances (Fonds 331 Audiovisual Interviews Relating to Chernobyl).

The oral history project was initiated by an independent-minded and politically progressive group of Belarusians who refused to remain indifferent to the consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy and the government's refusal to face the social, ecological, and medical problems caused by the atomic explosion. In order to preserve and document for future generations the consequences of the disaster on ordinary lives, and to reveal the real picture of this tragedy, two Belarusian journalists, Svetlana Alexievich and Tatiana Loginova joined efforts to create an archives entitled *Zhivye golosa Chernobylia* (Live Voices of Chernobyl).

Work on the collection started in May 1995 and finished in 1996. The two journalists and their team conducted 97 interviews and recorded several hundred stories of witnesses. The interviews paint a disturbing image of the victims of the disaster: not only those who suffered from the immediate effects of the explosion, but also those whose lives have been completely altered in the last 10 years. One of the most evident problems has been a change in the make-up of the population, namely a large number of people were deported and forced to abandon their homes leaving behind all of their accumulated assets. At the same time, people from other areas were offered attractive living and working arrangements if they relocated to the Chernobyl area, without being provided with adequate information about the many risks looming in the radioactive area. Neither of these groups were able to find their proper places in their new environments: both faced discrimination and hostility from the "natives", and their longing for the homes they had left behind continues to overshadow their lives.

Those who were ordered to the dangerous Zone in 1986 as soldiers, physical laborers (to gather the harvest, exterminate animals, cut the hay, load brick and cement, etc.), chauffeurs, airplane pilots, and electricians, tell personal stories of their days and weeks in Chernobyl and the consequences of the time they spent there. They tell of their utter ignorance of the dangers, of the intentional misinformation by the government, and of their continuous personal struggles during the past ten years as they try to come to terms with often terminal illnesses.

The interviews also include the stories of other workers, doctors, teachers, journalists and priests who were residents of the most dangerous areas, and who face the horrible consequences of the catastrophe on a daily basis. The most harrowing descriptions are the accounts of the widows whose husbands were ordered to the Zone in 1986 for one to two weeks without receiving any prior information or instruction. In five years time, these men died amid horrible pain and suffering.

This collection of interviews is invaluable not only for historical research, but also as proof of the disaster's consequences after many years of secrecy and denial. These tapes are now available at OSA for viewing by both researchers and the public.

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution

Fonds 306 Audiovisual Materials Relating to the 1956 Hungarian Revolution pays homage to one of the most defining moments of Hungary's modern history. This is a topic which for decades had been glossed over and misinterpreted, and OSA took on the responsibility to collect as many original pictures and footage of the Revolution as possible, and to document how this event had been presented in the last 40 years.

With the development of OSA's first exhibition *The Representation of the Counter-revolution*, 1996, which was geared towards a large audience, OSA acquired its first audiovisual materials relating to the 1956 Revolution. This collection includes both audio and moving-image recordings and historical films which interpret the events of 1956 as a counter-revolution. Some interesting examples are *At Midnight and Dawn*. This holding also includes a propaganda film from 1958 (*How it Happened*, directed by Ilona Kolonits), which attempts to analyze the events of 1956 and interpret it as a counter-revolution, by utilizing original archival footage. These same archival moving images were used again in a German documentary (also available in OSA's holdings) which calls the events of October-November 1956 revolutionary, *Ungarn im Flammen* (Hungary in Flames).

Perhaps the most interesting and, for historians, most attractive part of this small, but unique collection is a compilation of more than two hours of Hungarian news broadcasts which include János Kádár's comments, speeches, and interviews regarding the events of 1956 (Newsreels 1957–1989). The Archives would like to express again its gratitude to the Hungarian 1956 Institute and the Hungarian Film Archives for providing copies of moving picture images which contributed to the success of the OSA exhibition dealing with the 1956 Revolution.

Fonds 306 also includes video recordings of the conference *Hungary and the World, 1956*. The New Archival Evidence, held in Budapest in 1996. This conference, organized as a joint venture of the Hungarian Academy of Science, the Hungarian 1956 Institute, and OSA to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the revolution, was a ground-breaking event in Hungarian historiography. The complete recordings of this event present fresh ideas on the problem of 1956 and the conference opened a new dialogue on the subject. The tapes are open to researchers.



Audiovisual materials on compact shelving, at the air-conditioned archival depository.
Photo by Ferenc Nemzetes. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Materials donated by institutions in the Soros foundations network

Following the March 1997 closure of the Belarusian Soros Foundation (BSF), its records were shipped to OSA in 1999. The most valuable parts of the collection are the video recordings by the Mass Media Center – a group of independent journalists in Belarus, sponsored by BSF – which document the main political events in Belarus in 1994–96, including parliamentary sessions, press conferences of political parties and independent civil groups, demonstrations, the 1996 referendum, etc. The collection also includes interviews with the most prominent personalities in the democratic forces of Belarus. This 70-hour video collection (raw, unedited material) documents the conflict and struggle between the political authorities and the opposition of the country under the leadership of Lukashenko.

The Soros Foundation Hungary has had good relations with the Archives from the outset: it was the first among the institutions in the Soros foundations network to donate audiovisual materials: approximately 15 hours of video recordings of news reports, documentary films, press conferences, etc.

The most interesting of these is a two-part documentary film produced by Black Box in 1995 which documents the establishment of the 10-year-old Foundation as well as its main activities (A nyitás alapítványa. A Soros Alapítvány története – The Soros Foundation).

OSA has audiovisual records from all the former and current campuses of Central European University: in Budapest, Prague, and Warsaw. In the near future a researcher will be able to follow the history of CEU by exploring the photography collection of OSA which was accumulated by the Public Relations Office at CEU Budapest.

The Open Society Archives was given the East European film collection of the Student Welfare Office of CEU Budapest in 1998. This collection contains English-subtitled versions of the region's "most remarkable" 45 feature films from the last 40 years. The collection was created by the Hungarian film historian György Báron and was used for CEU film events. Notable titles are: Roman Polanski's *Knife in the Water*; Miloš Forman's *Loves of a Blonde*; and Sergei Parajanov's *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*.

A valuable video collection from CEU Prague's Public Relations Office provides special insight into the public programs (conferences, lectures, seminars, opening and closing ceremonies of academic years) of CEU Prague, 1991 – 1994.

Since its foundation in 1995, the Open Society Archives has had an active public programs schedule. The Archives has made the documents it holds accessible and it uses them for cultural and educational purposes. For its exhibitions OSA collects copies of audiovisual documents from various sources, such as MTI – Hungarian News Agency, the Moving Image Section of the Military History Archive, the Hungarian Film Archive; the National Photo Archive, and the Österreichische Rundfunk (ORF). Materials displayed remain with the Archives and are incorporated into the holdings after the exhibitions are closed.

The most interesting group of audiovisual materials in this fonds is a collection of propaganda films made by Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Soviet military organizations and military academies, and by open or covert propaganda agencies. Notable titles are: *Rákosi elvtárs harcos fiai közt* (Comrade Rákosi Among the Young Warriors), Hungarian, 1952; *Megvédekem népünk otthonát* (I Shall Defend My Hungarian Homeland), Hungarian, 1953; *A politikai tiszt a csapat lelke* (The Political Officer is the Heart of the Troop), Hungarian, 1950; and *Baráti segítségnyújtás Csehszlovákiának* (Czechoslovakia Receives a Helping Hand).

Audio and video recordings of OSA's public events, such as conferences and public lectures in 1996–1999 are also accessible to researchers.

The video collection of the Archives has significantly grown through the accession of the records of the Open Society Institute Budapest in 1998 (Fonds 207). More than 50 documentary films from the Sarajevo Film Festival co-organized and sponsored by the

OSI, Budapest in 1995 were acquired. They include marvelously-made and shocking films (with English or German subtitles) from and about the Sarajevo war period, 1992–96, and produced by various Bosnian, English, French and American production companies.

Notable titles are: *Sarajevo. A Street Under Siege*, a series of more than 30 episodes; *Traveling Children*; *Bums and Dogs*; *Godot Sarajevo*; *Origins of a War*; *Amelas' School Holidays*; *Water and Blood*; *A Man Called "Boat"*; *Survival Brew*; *My Mother the Shehid*; *Waiting for Packages*; *War Art*.

The other group of films in Fonds 207 that might attract researchers is the portrayal of George Soros as both a successful financier and a philanthropist. Notable titles among these are: *Soros: The Prophet and the Loss*, a Channel 4 production; *An Immigrant's Tale*, a CNN production; and *The Philanthropist (Portrait of George Soros)*, a VPRO production.

The films of the Soros Documentary Fund were received in 1998. OSA was donated 26 films of various international programs. The Soros Documentary Fund (SDF) was initiated in 1996 to support documentary film and video projects addressing issues of contemporary human rights, freedom of expression, social justice and civil liberties by filmmakers in the United States and abroad. Since its inception, the SDF has supported more than a 100 film and video documentaries from over 16 countries in Europe, Africa, Southeast Asia and from the United States.

One of the most powerful documentaries to have benefited from SDF support is *Calling the Ghosts*. This film tells the story of two women raped during the war in Bosnia. It helped raise public awareness of the role rape played during the war and significantly contributed to the effort leading to the declaration of rape as a war crime under international law.

The Archives is planning to screen SDF at Central European University and at film festivals covering a wide range of subject matter, including human rights, gender issues and other contemporary issues of concern.

More notable titles are *Russian Sex Trade (Bought and Sold)*, US; *Life in a Ghetto*, Bulgaria; *Ethnically Clean*. *War Criminal: Dušan Boljević*, Yugoslavia; and *Licensed To Kill*, US.

The Library

What is usually referred to as the Open Society Archives (OSA) Library is the collection of books and periodicals accumulated by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI) and through OSA subscriptions and acquisitions.

What the Radios created can best be termed a documentation center: the acquisition and description of materials did not happen according to classic archival or library rules, but rather in a manner aimed at serving the information needs of broadcasting, programming and analysis. The types of literature which were obtained, and which unit processed the materials, varied not only by country but also by time period. Eastern European newspapers, for example, were handled by the Eastern European Archive. Russian newspapers representing the central press were handled by the Library, where they were stored and bound. The Russian regional press was handled by the Russian Samizdat Unit. The policy for dealing with journals and newspapers was totally revised by OMRI in May 1995. From then on, all journals were acquired and held by the Library. This was a more logical division of labor, as the Library was geared up for large-scale acquisitions – the role of the Archives in analyzing and abstracting the incoming material remained.

At the beginning, the Library at Radio Free Europe was part of an operating division, the News and Information Service. RFE had a general book collection (primarily Western language materials) and country collections categorized according to language. Each of the language collections had certain strong fields of concentration reflecting the requirements of a particular nation's broadcasting service. The Czechoslovak Collection's most important fields were political history, economic conditions and relations, communist theory, and literature. The Hungarian Collection was particularly strong in materials on social and economic conditions in Hungary, while the Bulgarian Collection concentrated on internal politics, the Party, and ideology. The Polish Collection was strong in the history of the Second World War and the immediate post-war period, as well as literature, culture, and church-state relations. The Romanian Collection was very good in international affairs, international law, and economics.

The RFE catalog cards were filed in one large sequence: authors, titles, and subjects in one alphabetical scheme. The best materials dated from the beginnings of the Radios through the 1970s.

The Library at Radio Liberty had a Soviet and Russian focus in its acquisitions. Over half of the material was in Russian; and 15 percent was in other languages of the USSR. The rest of the publications were in Western languages, with English being the strongest, followed by German and French. It also had a good collection of books published outside the Soviet Union, including most of the imprints of émigré publishing houses. The collection was organized according to the traditional Dewey cataloging system. The reference collection included dictionaries, encyclopedias, handbooks, directories, gazetteers, atlases and the like. Publications from other Western research institutions were acquired by exchange. The majority of them were given directly to analysts and were never catalogued.

The two former book collections of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were consolidated in 1975.

Some communist newspapers could be subscribed to, and these were sent directly to RFE – *Pravda*, for example, arrived in Munich the day after it was published in Moscow – but in many cases, particularly with specialized periodicals or provincial and local newspapers which the Soviet authorities were not anxious to circulate outside their country, RFE had to resort to a variety of dodges – false addresses, third parties, multiple subscriptions – in order to obtain copies. These limited-copy newspapers were better sources of information, because they were less rigorously censored than the central press.

According to the 1989 annual report of the Chief Librarian, Iwanna I. Rebet, the RFE/RL Library had about 120,000 volumes: the RFE Library holdings came to about 68,000 volumes, while the RL collection amounted to approximately 52,000 volumes. After the

RFE/RL Research Institute in Munich was closed, part of the library came to OSA together with the archival collections, and the rest was delivered to RFE/RL in Prague.

The Library at the Open Media Research Institute was formed as an independent educational and research organization to conduct research and analysis primarily for RFE/RL. Its general book and periodicals collection continued to emphasize the interests of RFE/RL, with special attention to the former Soviet Union.

In 1996–1997 the OSA Library received two huge shipments of books and periodicals from OMRI. Journals and dailies (mostly from the region) subscribed to by the Institute were also directed to the Library.

Computerization

Until 1993 a card catalog was used by RFE/RL. Then the Library in Munich installed the ALEPH library system, which was deleted by RFE/RL staff in the Spring of 1995 during the move to Prague. OMRI had a temporary library catalog which listed new acquisitions.

In 1996 the Archives created electronic records about more than 8,000 volumes of the General Book Collection with the help of the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) Microcon project.

The Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty book collection

In the summer of 1997, following OSA's move to the building of Central European University (CEU), RFE/RL and CEU concluded an agreement to transfer the RFE/RL book collection to the CEU Library. The CEU Library took over a selection of the books, mostly in English and Russian, and the Archives gave the Library the electronic records about these volumes as well. Thus, these books are now included in the CEU Library's online catalog <<http://matisse.ceu.hu/departs/library/libmain.htm>>. The descriptions of the books in this catalog always indicate that they are from the RFE/RL collection and can only be used on the premises; that is, unlike most other CEU Library books, they cannot be borrowed.

The remaining items from the RFE/RL book collection are being stored by OSA while they await further processing. Also, some of them have been given away to non-profit organizations with the permission of the Radios:

- In May 1997, 6,000 volumes of the former Hungarian Collection – mostly fiction, biographies, books on Hungarian history and literature available in other Hungarian libraries – were donated to the Hungarian Institute of Culture in Bucharest, which was closed by Nicolae Ceaușescu in 1986 and reopened after the revolution.
- The Library donated duplicate copies to several other Hungarian and foreign libraries and foundations. The University of Michigan Library, for example, received a series of RFE/RL publications, and the Hungarian National Library was given 41 years of The New York Times on microfilm (over 1,500 rolls).



Special collection of books. Photo by András Révész. Fonds 304 Records of the International Human Rights Law Institute relating to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, OSA.

Periodicals

The OSA Library holds the periodicals collection of the Radios and OMRI. It also continues to acquire subscriptions to periodicals from the former Soviet Union and the Balkan states. The collection includes publications from and about Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Altogether over 30 languages are represented. Coverage is significant from about 1950 to the present. The collection amounts to about 6,000 serial titles. The Library also contains newspapers and journals on microfilm and microfiche (approximately 40,000 items) including complete sets of Pravda from 1917 and The New York Times from 1941. They are available in the Research Room by self service or on request.

Special collections include Russian Regional and Informal Press and Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) Daily Reports on Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, Central Eurasia, and China between 1977 and 1994 (12,449 pieces of microfiche). Other governmental publications of importance are the Confidential US State Department Central Files. The Soviet Union. Internal Affairs 1949-1959 and the CIA Research Reports. The Soviet Union, 1946-1976.

One of the most interesting collections, Russian Regional and Informal Press, dates from the late 80s and the early 90s, and contains not only Russian language journals and newspapers, as its name suggests, but materials published in the various languages of the former republics of the Soviet Union. On 12 June 1990, the law O pechati i drugikh sredstvakh massovoi informatsii abolished censorship and the state publishing monopoly. This made it possible for those publications until then published secretly as samizdat to be circulated legally. Through this unique collection one can see the process whereby the anonymously authored, primitively duplicated works turned into professional publications. There were also many short-lived local papers published by various towns, associations, schools, universities, trade unions, and churches; quite frequently these were published irregularly. Between 1995 and 1997 OMRI continued adding to this collection, and in 1999, the OSA Library acquired more than 400 Russian and Ukrainian regional publications on microfiche to further enhance it.

The regional press and the informal press were handled by the Russian Samizdat Unit, and a database was created for them. OMRI maintained the database on the regional press. The OSA Library will keep records on the journals and dailies of the regional press in the same database with the other periodicals, indicating the original source (see subchapter "Samizdat Archives").

Polish Independent Publications, 1976 – is the most complete collection of opposition and samizdat periodicals issued up to 1988. It was filmed by IDC from the serial holdings of RFE in Munich, the Polish Library in London, and the Feltrinelli Foundation in Milan, and from the Polish collections of other contributing libraries in Europe and North America. Titles include not only documents of KOR, the unofficial Committee for the Defense of the Workers, but complete serials of well-known national periodicals such as Tygodnik Mazowsze and KOS as well as many clandestine publications of all kinds including bulletins and leaflets originating from factory, local, and regional Solidarity branches, academic and student circles, peasant organizations, political groupings, and religious and cultural groups.

The Prague Spring 1968 collection contains dailies and periodicals covering all spheres of social life ranging from the two important Communist Party newspapers Rudé Právo and Pravda (Bratislava), and economic publications such as Hospodářské Noviny and Zemědělská Ekonomika, to a number of relatively little-known though important military periodicals such as A Revue. Publications of all legal political parties, cultural and even satirical magazines (Dikobraz, Roháč), and a number of Czech and Slovak regional dailies are included in the collection. The selection covers a period ranging from early 1967 to late 1969, illustrating the reform period, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, and the so-called "normalization period".

The Bulgarian Regional Press collection consists of 88 bound volumes of local newspapers and covers the period between 1945 and 1949 and between 1962 and 1987.

The Library handles the collection of the Radios' own publications on microfiche (Background Reports, Situation Reports, and others), while the original hard copies are listed as a separate archival subfonds (see subchapter "The Publications Department").



Microfilm reels of Pravda (Moscow) from the Russian Press Collection, Library, OSA.
Photo by Mark Snowess. Records of the Public Relations and Development Office, Central European University.

Books

The OSA Library's holdings also include the small reference section (dictionaries, bibliographies, directories, biographies, statistical handbooks, and encyclopedies) located in the Research Room as well as maps and history textbooks published in the region after the Second World War, and the Hungarian Cold War Collection. The latter has been augmented by several donated and purchased special items presenting the history, politics, and culture of post-war Hungary, with particular emphasis on literature about the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

The Library also collects publications about the history of RFE/RL and the history of broadcasting.

As a part of an archival fond, the OSA Library holds 68 books and periodical titles from the International Human Rights Law Institute relating to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Based on an agreement with the CEU Library, OSA systematically buys newly published literature on the Cold War and history of communism, thus continuously enhancing and updating the RFE/RL book collection now located within the CEU Library.

There is also a small but rapidly-growing section of Archival and Information Management Publications. As a member of 13 professional associations, the Archives regularly receives newsletters, journals, directories, and annual reports from them. The collection includes:

- current and recent issues of professional journals;
- significant handbooks, readers, bibliographies;
- international standards, reports, and guides.

The OSA Library is a non-circulating library, but the materials are open to all on-site researchers. The Western Press Collection, a collection of newspapers and journals in English, German, French, and Italian, the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian Collection and periodicals from the former Yugoslavia are kept together with new periodical titles in the Archives' stacks and are available upon request. Back issues of newspapers and journals in other languages of the region are located in the Archives' remote warehouse on the basement level of the CEU dormitory. Researchers are asked to put in a request for the periodicals they need in advance, at least one or two days before they come to use the collection, to allow time for delivery from the warehouse.

The OSA website includes catalogs for periodicals and special book collections.

Descriptions from the Western Press Collection can be found also in the Union Catalog for Foreign Periodical Literature in Hungary (in Hungarian) both on CD-ROM and online <<http://www.iif.hu/db/npac/>>. Our other language collections of periodicals also will be added to this union catalog which serves as a background for interlibrary-loan requests.

CHAPTER III

Public programs

The series of historical exhibitions

Although it may seem quite unusual that an archives would invest so much energy into organizing and presenting historical exhibitions for the broader public, the Open Society Archives (OSA) believes that its exhibition series is not just an ephemeral luxury. On the contrary: these exhibitions are inherently part of OSA's archival work. The preliminary idea behind such efforts, which are not reckoned among the classical duties of an archives, is closely related to the Archives' origins and holdings. The Cold War period involved a harsh struggle to cover, distort, manipulate and communicate information. The mission and activities of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) in Munich were primarily focused on this battlefield: breaking the information monopoly of the Soviet-type regimes and conveying alternative information to the people. The records of RFE/RL, including the samizdat collections and the records of its human rights related materials, are all products and documents of that struggle. Becoming familiar with these, analyzing them, and interpreting them is not the exclusive right of privileged professionals just as the existence and collapse of the communist regimes was not the private business of some particular group but was the business of everyone who lived in those countries. It is both a moral and historical demand that all have equal access to this past, and the OSA's exhibition series attempts to serve that demand.

OSA's historical exhibitions aim to bring the contemporary past as close as possible to those to whom it belongs: the people who live in this region, the people whose lives these documents are partly about. This past is close to them – it is a part of their lives. It remained, however unfinished: OSA functions in an environment shaped and marked by the unavoidable heritage of communism. Thus, the structure and ambitions of its exhibitions are somewhat unusual. The Archives does not try only to commemorate events and demonstrate the confirmed and established results of scholarly contemplation – it also tries to present historical problems, questions that have not yet been raised, and problems that look different now that communism has collapsed. The exhibits try to articulate problems which once seemed so evident that, in many cases, it was difficult to identify and dissect them.

Since OSA is above all an archives, its exhibitions mainly present printed and audiovisual documents from its holdings and from the holdings of partner institutions in Hungary and abroad. However, the conceptual basis behind the exhibitions is often hidden. What

the Archives hopes and expects from visitors is that they will make the same efforts as a historian must make when exploring an archives. The exhibitions are more than mere shows: they are open invitations, to laymen as well as to scholars to analyze the sources and documents, to make judgments and to come to conclusions. The exhibitions call for visitors to do exactly what the people of this region had been prevented from doing for many decades. In this sense, the historical exhibits are not solely representative events; they are – like an archives in the original sense – venues for collective historical recognition and reconstruction.

The first OSA exhibition opened on 15 March 1996, on the occasion of the Archives' opening. Although it was small, in Hungary it was a pioneering exhibition of its genre – a comparative exhibit of samizdat publications from all over the region. Since OSA holdings already included some major samizdat series from the former Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia and in light of Gábor Demszky's recent donation also from Hungary – it provided an opportunity to show the hidden and rather unintentional, instinctive and non-coordinated cooperation between the various Central and Eastern European opposition movements. By presenting parallel activities and productions, the exhibition made it apparent that the separate movements profoundly influenced each other, and often coincidentally focused on the very same issues.

The Representation of the Counter-revolution opened on 4 November 1996, on the 40th anniversary of the invasion of Budapest by Soviet troops to suppress the 1956 Revolution. This was the Archives' first attempt at organizing an archival exhibition that targeted an important but poorly discussed, or even neglected problem of the contemporary past: how the oppressive regime tried to handle the embarrassing circumstances of its origin. The exhibit had a double ambition: it aimed to reconstruct how the post-1956 regime tried to communicate the official version of "counter-revolution", while keeping the memory of 1956 under control; and to show how and why the regime failed to establish its version of the events, which forced it to choose silence and oblivion instead of cultivating and propagating "heroic" party mythology. The starting element of this historical reconstruction was the restoration of the official traveling propaganda exhibits which were put together at the instruction of the Party's Politburo in the spring of 1957.

Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union brought together – for the first time in history – the two biggest collections of Soviet underground art produced in the 50s, 60s, 70s and 80s. The show, which was staged in the Palace of Arts in Budapest featured over 300 paintings, drawings, collages, and sculptures which refused to follow the Communist regime's prescribed aesthetics of social-realism. One part of the exhibited works, acquired and taken out of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, came from the private collection of Norton Dodge, who donated the works to the Zimmerli Art Museum at the Rutgers State University of New Jersey. The other part of the artworks came from the National Tsaritsyno Museum of Moscow, the biggest Russian repository of Soviet nonconformist art.

The Art of the Unofficial was a smaller document exhibit in Galeria Centralis which complemented the nonconformist art show by presenting the political and historical background of the artists and their artwork. Contemporary photos, documents and newswires from the Archives holdings and from other sources illustrated the troublesome lives of the artists, their "illegal" exhibits, and the sometimes tragic, sometimes comic episodes in their continuous battle with the authorities.

These exhibits were accompanied by the colloquium Politics as Art /Art as Politics, hosted by OSA on 11 and 12 October 1997. The panelists and moderators were prominent art historians, art critics and philosophers whose work concentrates on the oppressed art of the former Soviet Union. The American collector Norton Dodge and Andrei Erofeev, curator of the Contemporary Art Collection of the National Tsaritsyno Museum in Moscow, were among the speakers.

50 Years Ago It Was 100 Years Ago was a multimedia exhibition revealing the various ways in which the 1848 Hungarian revolution and war of independence has been remembered, celebrated, interpreted, and represented in Hungary over the last 50 years.

The exhibition's narrative started with the year 1948, when the Hungarian Communist Party seized power. The centennial festivities of that year – directed by the Party – transformed the memory of 1848 into an early, heroic manifestation of communist ideals. The 1956 uprising denied that image by holding up the events of 1848 as the shining example of Hungary's fight against foreign and domestic oppression, and the legendary motivation and courage of the "March Youth" to defy authority. In the years following the failure of the 1956 uprising, the celebration of 1848 became a delicate and potentially dangerous issue – the spontaneous, unofficial commemorative events which stressed national freedom and independence from the Soviet Union were often brutally suppressed by the police. After the fall of the communist regime, "15 March" again rose to the rank of the officially cherished, majestic national holiday. Additionally, the newly-arisen right wing groups created another image of the 1848 revolution and its leaders by arguing that the great poet Petöfi did not die, but was captured by the Russian Czar's troops and taken to Siberia. They associate his figure with those thousands of martyrs who were tortured and worked to death by the Soviet state in its Gulag system. Thus, the poet of the 1848 revolution is linked to the tradition of anti-communist resistance.

The exhibition demonstrated the main stages of this process with the help of contemporary paintings, statues, drawings, monument plans and models, newsreels, short films, press articles, political speech transcripts, and other commemorative paraphernalia in the most surprising shapes and forms.

OSA also organized a Revolutionary Film Festival related to the topic of this exhibition. Hungarian military propaganda films exploiting the legacy of 1848 were screened along with feature films reenacting the events of the revolution.

Legends in Life and Art: The Portrait Photography of Roloff Beny from the National Archives of Canada was organized by the Open Society Archives with the financial assistance of the Ford Motor Company, which paid for the transportation of the photos.

The late Canadian photographer Roloff Beny (1924 – 1984) achieved an international reputation for his lavishly produced photo-illustrated books. His photographic and manuscript archives were donated to the National Archives of Canada by his estate. Within the collection, there was a virtually unknown group of approximately 500 portrait sittings taken between 1956 and 1983. The Canadian National Archives created a travelling exhibition from these photographs, which portray the leading figures in the world of dance,

opera, music, literature, cinema, theatre, fashion, and politics. Because of an invitation from OSA, Budapest was one of the major European cities to receive the exhibition.

On 14 April in connection with the exhibition, there was an English language presentation by Lilly Koltun of National Archives of Canada entitled *Facing the Past: The Historic Importance of Portrait Photography*.

23 Years of the International Helsinki Human Rights Movement was an exhibition which the Open Society Archives organized when the International Helsinki Federation (IHF) donated its most important records to OSA. The documents, dating from 1983 to 1996, amount to some 22 linear meters and include administrative files, files on the activities in each of the countries where Helsinki Committees have been established, and documents regarding the IHF's monitoring of the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and its successor, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The purpose of the exhibition was to present the history of the Helsinki movement from the signing of the Helsinki Accords to the present, and to showcase the newly acquired documents.

On 27 June OSA and the International Helsinki Federation held a joint press conference entitled 23 Years of the Helsinki Human Rights Movement – Human Rights Violations Today. IHF released its 1998 Annual Report during this event, and representatives from the national Helsinki Committees of Belarus, Russia, Kosovo, Hungary, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Bosnia, the US, and Canada answered journalists' questions about human rights.

Prague Spring /Prague Fall – 1968 was staged to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the suppression of the Prague Spring. It presented the story of the reforms in Prague – this last attempt to create a socialist utopia in Europe – in the context of the events that took place worldwide in 1968. The lost world of the Prague Spring was brought to life against the backdrop of the barricades in Paris' Latin Quarter, the Polish police forces' brutally crushing of student demonstrations in Poland, and the battles fought in Vietnam and elsewhere in the Third World. In addition, by exposing newly released interviews with the main figures of the Prague Spring, the exhibition refuted the fable that János Kádár was unwilling to take part in the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia. Photos and documents revealed that the Soviet incursion involved casualties and brutality, a fact that had previously been denied.

In connection with the exhibition *Örökmozgó* held a filmfestival in 11–15 September .

Freeze Frames of Communism was an exhibition devoted to exploring the propaganda use of a special communist genre of visual communication, the film strip "diafilm", in Hungarian.

The diafilm prospered in the former communist countries in the 1950s and 1960s. In addition to catering to the "natural" audience for this medium with adventure stories exalting Pioneer morality and animal fables symbolically addressing issues of "socialism", the golden age of diafilm produced a mass of silly tales about the emancipated communist woman working in the factory, the tricks and glorious successes of hog-breeding on socialist cooperative farms, heroic Hungarian sailors revealing a counter-revolutionary conspiracy, and the wise peasant and his son battling potato beetles, the "secret agents of imperialism". Stretching the possibilities of the diafilm resulted in such comic attempts as presenting soccer games or ice-skating championships with a medium that cannot represent movement.



The invitation card designed by Zsuzsa Medve for the exhibit *Freeze Frames of Communism* (October–December 1998). The same design was used for the poster of the exhibition.

Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Originally the diafilm – a shiny black-and-white celluloid strip with a 20- to 40-frame story – was projected on the wall of a darkened room with the help of a primitive-looking instrument that squeaks every time one turns the knob to advance the film, and smells horribly when the strong bulb inside heats up. The audience – children, workers, students or peasants, depending on the topic of the film – sat in the back of the room and looked at each image as it came wobbling into view, and listened as the person "operating" the projector read out the short text underneath the picture: "The Zrínyi Pioneers were marching toward their summer

camp through beautiful landscapes in merry mood.” or “Jani grabs the spade when henbane and nightshade show up, for those provide food and ground for the potato bug.”



A special bookmark designed by Zsuzsa Medve for the exhibition The Commissar Vanishes (March–April 1999). By pulling on the insert leaf, the face of Stalin changes to that of Beriya.
Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

In the OSA exhibition several dozens diafilm could be viewed in their original form. In a curtained corner of Galeria Centralis visitors could project the filmstrips of their choice with the squeaky, smelly projectors, while other filmstrips were presented on CD-ROM. Additionally, OSA borrowed the original artwork for some of the filmstrips from the National Széchenyi Library.

The exhibited filmstrips were categorized according to topic and the audience targeted: Pioneer tales, odes to the emancipated woman, life on the cooperative farm, the heroic stories of soldiers etc. and the attempted propaganda mechanisms through which the makers of filmstrips wanted to reach their audience became apparent.

The Commissar Vanishes – Falsified Photographs of the Stalin Era was another traveling exhibition which OSA invited for a guest appearance at Galeria Centralis. The show, which was previously on view in Berlin and in Milan, enjoyed a great success in Budapest as well.

The exhibition consisted of photographs about Soviet Russian politicians and public personalities presented in both their original and retouched versions. The majority of the material came from the collection of David King, who started to amass the photos about 20 years ago. Initially the British art historian simply wanted to compile a photographic history of the Soviet Union. Later, after he noticed the difference between the original and later versions of certain photos, he began to seek out series of photos from which people were retouched after they had fallen out of Stalin's grace or had been executed. The falsification of photographs speak volumes about the diabolic cynicism of the regime.

OSA complemented the photos from King's collection with a few retouched photos from Hungary which followed the Soviet pattern. With the help of the Hungarian Film Archives, the motion picture equivalent of falsified photos, Soviet propaganda and pseudo-documentary films, were also presented in video installations.

Ten Years of Freedom – 1956 in Hungarian Historical Thought, was an unusual exhibition in that, instead of exploring a historical event of 1956, it presented the findings of the exploration of the researchers without any commentary or interpretation.

Categorized on the basis of the most commonly occurring topics in the research of this era, the exhibition featured all 1956-related scientific research work, monographs, studies, bibliographies and source listings by Hungarian authors that were published after 1989. The activities and histories of individual research centers were also presented.

During this exhibition Galeria Centralis functioned as a reading and research room where visitors were able to study printed and electronic literature about the Revolution. The computer database, digitized photo collection, and Oral History Archives database created by the 1956 Institute were available for use on the spot, as well as the Internet-based educational materials, and the forthcoming CD-ROM produced by the Institute. Perusal of these materials was aided by documentaries made in 1956 as well as segments of films made after 1989 about the historiography of 1956. A few of the most important items in the Oral History Archives were also be available for reading. Additionally, the exhibit featured a computer database of sound documents and programs about 1956 from the Archives of Hungarian Radio. Segments from these broadcasts – including the broadcast of Radio Free Europe during the Revolution, which are currently being processed – could be listened to in the exhibition hall.

The exhibit was opened by Domokos Kosáry, a historian and former President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Árpád Göncz, President of the Hungarian Republic, also graced the event with his presence.

Gulag, an exhibition about the past and present of Soviet labor camps, was not staged in Galeria Centralis, but in the abandoned

and decrepit industrial hall of the Zrínyi Press, a token of the past regime soon to be turned into a five-star hotel by a foreign investor. Placed in this surrealistically decayed environment, the photos and archival documents telling the story of life in the camps provided the visitors with a unique visual experience.

This exhibition consisted of several components. The artistic photographs of Tomasz Kizny, taken in the past few years, showed the present state of former labor camps, many of which are now desolate and ruined. "Overgrown canals, unfinished roads, abandoned mines and factories, barracks falling to ruin, mazes of barbed wire, the stubs of watchtowers: 'Remnants of a great slave empire' – writes former Gulag inmate Sergey Kovaliov about the images Kizny captured with his camera. Kizny's photos were juxtaposed with archival pictures from the holdings of the Moscow Memorial Archives which depicted life in the camps when they were operating. The pictures from the two sources were selected and organized into an exhibition by the Karta Center in Warsaw.

As usual, the Open Society Archives compiled some supplemental "background" material from its own holdings and other sources. These documents described how the East and the West dealt with the topic of labor camps: how the official Soviet media shrouded the forced labor camps with silence, how publications and films propounding state propaganda tried to blur the differences between plain criminals and political prisoners, and how truthful information was "smuggled out" of labor camps, later to be distributed in the West, and domestically in samizdat.

Cirkogejzír Cinema hosted a film festival related to the exhibition. Propaganda and feature films about the Gulag, selected by the staff of the Open Society Archives and the Hungarian Film Archives, were shown on 6–12 May.

From the beginning of 1999, the staff of the Archives was preoccupied with the production of an exhibition commemorating the 10th anniversary of the transitions in Central and Eastern Europe. Many different ideas were brought up and discussed, and although it was agreed that the exhibition somehow had to shed light on the contrast between the hopes of 1989 and the reality of the past decade, it was difficult to come up with a concrete concept that would communicate this. In the end, the solution came from outside: a beautiful photo collection documenting the past decade, assembled by Transitions magazine in Prague, needed a new home, because the journal's funding had been cut. OSA acquired the photos which became the first part of the exhibition Ten Years After.

The pictures, taken by 27 artists from 15 different countries, provided an objective view of the past ten years in the countries of the region. Among the topics presented were unemployment, prostitution, abandoned street children, homeless people, drugs, and wars arising from resurrected nationalism, as well as the influx of American culture, the revival of religion, the development of private enterprises, and the newly acquired freedom of expression.



Poster of the photo and document exhibit Ten Years After. The exhibit was organized by OSA on the occasion of the World Economic Forum's 1999 Central and Eastern European Economies Summit, 30 June – 2 July 1999, Salzburg.

Designed by Attila Nagy. Collection of Posters, Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

The other half of the exhibition, recalling the events of 1989, was put together by the Archives using documents from its holdings and photos from various sources. The texts and images narrated the most important euphoric or solemn, or even bloody moments of that year in each country: the first free elections in the Soviet Union, the reburial of Imre Nagy in Hungary, the victory of Solidarity in Poland, the general strike in Czechoslovakia, the demonstrations in Bulgaria and Albania, the revolt and the execution of the Ceaușecus in Romania. This part of the show was invited to the World Economic Forum's Central and Eastern European Economic Summit, which took place in Salzburg from 30 June to 2 July 1999.

Academic programs

The Open Society Archives has concentrated not only on archival projects, but on academic projects as well. In May 1995, the academic programs of OSA were launched with two remarkable and related events. In cooperation with Collegium Budapest (Institute for Advanced Studies), OSA organized a standing seminar of six lectures called Construction of Memory Under Historical Contingency. The lecturers were prominent scholars from the fields of philosophy and the theory of history, among others Frederick Ankersmit, Thomas Laqueur, Joan W. Scott and Geoffrey Hartmann, whose presentations were discussed and challenged by the permanent members of the seminar. At the end of May 1995, parallel to the standing seminar, OSA invited to Budapest five outstanding historians of the contemporary academic world – Thomas Laqueur, Steven Greenblatt, Carla Hesse, Reinhard Koselleck, and Nathalie Z. Davis – for an open discussion about the “millennial perspectives”, the future orientations and moral implications of historical scholarship. The event took place in Budapest City Hall in front of a large audience. Professors Gábor Klaniczay and István Rév of Central European University moderated the discussion.

In the following years OSA actively took part in organizing and hosting international conferences closely related to its profile and holdings. In 1996, the Archives contributed to New Archival Evidence, an international conference on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution organized by the Hungarian 1956 Institute and the National Security Archives (Washington, DC). The conference attempted to evaluate the status and results of research on the Hungarian Revolution throughout the world from China to the Soviet region and the United States. A special session was devoted to the role of Radio Free Europe in events during the days of the uprising. During 1996, OSA also held an international conference on the handling of highly sensitive documents relating to war crimes. Many experts, legal scholars, and historians participated in the event: Cherif Bassiouni (head of the UN Commission for Human Rights) from De Paul University, Chicago, Aryeh Neier, President of the Open Society Institute and former President of International Human Rights Watch, and representatives from the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Paris, among others.

The last major international event organized by the Open Society Archives was the conference and colloquium of the International Helsinki Federation held in Budapest. The Federation played a major role in international human rights protection, and its activities in the region before 1989 largely contributed to the shattering of the Central and Eastern European dictatorial regimes. The occasion of the colloquium was the 23rd anniversary of the Federation's foundation. At this time, the IHF also deposited its records at OSA.

OSA has played an important role in promoting and improving the professional quality of archival management and historical research in the region. The Archives gives financial support to projects in these areas, and also offers research grants for young scholars – those from the region are especially favored – who work on the history of communism and the Cold War.

The Archives' CEU Summer University courses and its public lecture series both also serve this end. OSA regularly invites highly esteemed international scholars, archivists and historians from the fields of archival management and contemporary history to give public lectures in Budapest, usually at CEU. In the last few years, lecturers have included Lilly Koltun, National Archives of Canada; Anna K. Nelson, American University; Vladimir Lapin, Director of the Russian Central State Historical Archives; Richard Crampton, University of Oxford; John Lewis Gaddis, Yale University; and Klaus Oldenhege, Bundesarchiv, Germany.

Professors Crampton and Gaddis, well-known experts on postwar Central and Eastern European history, spoke about special aspects of the history of the Bulgarian and Polish communist regimes. Other lectures dealt with current issues in the development of archival management and records management (Oldenhege) and the special problems and difficulties of archives in a post-dictatorial situation (Lapin). Not surprisingly, the greatest interest was raised by the lecture of Anna K. Nelson, who is on the Clinton administration's John Kennedy Assassination Records Board. The Board has been assigned to scrutinize and declassify the records of the investigations and hearings on the Kennedy assassination, including background materials of the famous and often questioned Warren Commission report. Nelson's presentation covered the legal and archival issues relevant to the process of declassifying such extremely sensitive materials. She also confirmed the conclusion of the Commission and reassured the audience that Lee Harvey Oswald was the single perpetrator, despite the recurring rumors and legends about political conspiracies, and mafia and CIA involvement.

Open House

The Open Society Archives (OSA) has a three-year tradition of organizing open house events for archival professionals from the region. The idea behind the open house program is to put forward new and interesting topics in the archival and information management sciences. Being in a more favorable financial position than many other archives in the region, OSA can afford its staff members to subscription to Western professional literature, internet access and websites, and participation in conferences and training seminars. Part of the Archives' mission is to serve as a gateway – an open archives – where ideas and opinions can be exchanged, and where archivists can reinterpret their challenging role in managing information societies. OSA staff members work on establishing contacts with other archives, disseminating the information they gather during their professional training, and providing other archives from the region with the infrastructure to make their holdings accessible for researchers. Being the only regional archives, OSA can be the place where archivists from the private and state archives of different countries can discuss the problems they face in the new electronic age.

The first open house was organized at OSA's initial location in February 1997. Almost every Hungarian county archives sent representatives to the event, and national institutions participated as well. Among many other programs, the agenda focused on two main topics: the role of information technology at archives in general, and educational possibilities sponsored by OSA. The latter issue

was raised at a round-table discussion during which archivists could share their experiences with archival education. OSA staff members also distributed a questionnaire to the participants in order to find out more about topics which would stimulate their interest in the Archives' future CEU Summer University courses.

The second open house was held at the new building in April 1998, attended by archivists from Hungarian institutions and from neighboring countries. The programs on the agenda were very popular with these professionals: Trudy Peterson's opening speech about the Internet and archives, a tour of the Archives' modern facilities, and discussions on fundraising and records management.

A fortunate coincidence allowed the Archives to profit from the presence of the international archival community in Budapest on the occasion of the annual meeting of the International Conference of the Round Table on Archives (CITRA) on 6–9 October 1999. On 6 October 1999, OSA opened the exhibition *The Past in the Present for the Future* in Galeria Centralis, in cooperation with the Hungarian National Archives, the official organizer of the conference. The opening of this exhibition provide OSA with the opportunity to introduce itself to the archival world and to start a constructive dialogue about common archival problems. Thus, this year's open house will take place in a broader international context.

CHAPTER IV

Cooperation

The Open Society Archives (OSA) is not a reclusive institution. Its goals are broader than simply acquiring, preserving and making available documents, or exhibiting them for the public; they include cooperation with other archives and related institutions, especially in the former communist countries, and supporting projects which aim at preserving documents and making them accessible to researchers. They also include giving professional help, providing forums for exchanging information and ideas as well as sharing the specific knowledge and experience of Archives staff, and contributing to formal and informal archival education.

In other words, OSA's ambition is to provide an information gateway between East and West; to help researchers from outside of the Central and Eastern European region find archival sources in countries of the region, to help archivists establish professional contacts in OSA's main areas of activity, and to provide relevant professional information for archivists in the former communist countries and from the rest of the world.

OSA is convinced that through these various forms of cooperation it can actively contribute to the development of archival and information legislation in the countries of the region, as well as to the formulation of an information policy based on democratic principles.

These were the main reasons why the Archives established the Regional Archival Support Project (RASP) and its successor, the Regional Archival Cooperation Project ("YEAST") which provide a framework for the various cooperative and support activities in the above areas.

The following section provides an overview of the most important projects, events and activities involving cooperation between OSA and its partners.

Regional Archival Information Center

An important element of RASP was an online service for the archival community, RASP Online, which constituted a part of the OSA website. It included regularly updated information about recent and upcoming events, descriptions of archival courses and distance-learning possibilities, and a collection of links to relevant websites. Important pieces of legislation related to information policy and archival regulation, both from countries of the region and elsewhere, as well as the texts of basic international archival standards were also posted on the pages of RASP Online. A special service of RASP Online was the Archives-East Listserv which provided a free online discussion forum on archival issues of the region for participants, regardless of their geographic location.

The renewed Regional Archival Cooperation Project ("YEAST") is also emphasizing the exchange of information using the ever-increasing possibilities of the Internet. One of the central elements of its Internet-based Regional Archival Information Center is an information base on archives and the archival situation in countries of the region. A questionnaire has been sent to several leading archival organizations in the region in order to receive up-to-date information relating to the main categories of archives; the hierarchy among the different categories and levels of archival institutions; the archives specializing in the history of communism and the Cold War and/or human rights issues; the most important laws and regulations in the archival field; the most important archival publications, archival programs and projects; regular archival events; and contact information including websites and mailing lists. The questionnaire has also been distributed at seminars held at OSA, and the information received is being processed for eventual posting on the OSA website.

International conferences organized by the Open Society Archives in Budapest

In addition to organizing public lectures and events, OSA regularly hosts conferences, seminars and other forums for discussion especially for members of the international archival community.

An outstanding event of this kind was the meeting of archivists from former Yugoslav countries hosted by OSA in Budapest on 12–13 July, 1996. This event was the first face-to-face conversation of national archivists from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Yugoslavia since the old Yugoslav Federation split apart. The Secretary General and the Chair of the Coordinating Board for European Programme of the International Council on Archives (ICA), as well as representatives of UNESCO and the Council of Europe were present and took part in the discussions. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the records necessary for the functioning of the new governments, the records of the political history of the republics, as well as their former records remained in the National Archives in Belgrade. The main issues raised at the meeting were as follows: a survey of all federal records; the publication of a list of accessions to archives since the split; the provision of copies of vital documents, guarantees of free access to documents for government purposes; the inclusion of a consultation and consent period for all states in the destruction schedules for federal records, and the initiation of direct cooperation among archivists on archival issues.

On 23–24 August, 1996, an international seminar was hosted by OSA in cooperation with the International Association of Sound Archives (IASA), the International Council on Archives and the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) on Descriptive Standards for Sound Archives. As a result of the joint seminar, the representatives of these three international non-governmental organizations confirmed that, although the underlying principles and the basic blocks of description of sound recordings appear to be similar, the three traditions represented at the seminar approach the practice of description in different ways. Moreover, each NGO has already completed a great deal of work to standardize practice. Therefore, a Recommendation and an Action Plan were drawn up by the participants in order to foster a convergence of standards and practices of description, building on the common elements of the three traditions, which would be of considerable mutual benefit to both professional archivists and the users of archives.

In connection with the meeting of the Programme Management Commission of the International Council on Archives (ICA/CPM) held at Central European University, The Electronic Record and the Changing Workplace - Colloquium on Archives and Records Management in the Electronic Age was held in the CEU Auditorium on 7 December, 1996. Opened by Wang Gang, President of ICA, the colloquium provided an opportunity for the leaders of the international archival community to participate in an exchange of information and ideas related to electronic records and “re-engineering” of archival institutions.

In March 1999, OSA hosted the annual research workshop of the International Team of InterPARES (International Research on Permanent Authentic Records in Electronic Systems), led by Luciana Duranti, Professor at the School of Library, Archival and Information Studies, University of British Columbia, and President of the Society of American Archivists. The InterPARES Project is a major international research initiative in which academics, national archival institutions, and private industry representatives collaborate in order to develop the theoretical and methodological background for the permanent preservation of authentic records created in electronic systems^[35].

On 12–13 March, in connection with the workshop, OSA organized the Open Archival Forum on archival automation for archivists and computer experts from countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The forum provided an opportunity for the participants to introduce and discuss archival automation systems, software developments, plans, and practices. OSA wishes to foster the development of commonly used standards and practices in archives of the region; to help standardize concepts, terminology, and methodology; and to help create a common, standardized archival database in Central and Eastern Europe. As part of the forum, the members of the InterPARES International Team presented a short seminar on the status of research on long-term preservation of electronic records.

A two-day seminar and workshop for Soros foundations network staff was held at OSA in Budapest on 25–26 March, 1999. The purpose of the event was to discuss records management and archival issues concerning the records of the national Soros foundations. An important issue discussed by the 20 participants from 13 foundation offices was the possible closure of some Soros foundation offices in the near future. OSA plans to establish standard procedures for dealing with older and current documents before the offices close.

In addition, the seminar and workshop can be considered the first step in establishing a network-wide comprehensive records management manual to assist each Soros foundation in properly managing its records, and to be used as a model in setting up records retention schedules in each foundation. It can also assist the foundation offices to establish proper document management procedures and transfer historic materials to OSA for permanent retention.

Conferences organized by the Open Society Archives in foreign countries

Responding to the requests of archives and other organizations from various countries of the region, OSA has organized a series of seminars and conferences in former communist countries.

In June 1997, two members of the Board of the Soros Foundation – Kazakhstan visited OSA and requested assistance with reforming archival law and practice in Kazakhstan. After a visit by OSA’s Executive Director to Kazakhstan, and based on discussions with key individuals in the archival field, a joint project was developed in cooperation with the Foundation.

The Kazakhstan project consisted of a series of three seminars held in Almaty. The first four-day seminar was organized in January 1998 under the title Access to Government Information; the guest lecturers were Trudy Huskamp Peterson, then Executive Director of OSA, Claes Gränström, Deputy General of the National Archives of Sweden, and Iván Székely, then Chief Counsellor of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Data Protection and Freedom of Information, Hungary. The issues discussed included the

examination of the principles for archives and current records legislation prepared by the ICA, the examination of various models of freedom of information and secrecy legislation, and the examination of privacy legislation, with an emphasis on the administration of the acts. The guest lecturers prepared several case studies in order to find solutions together with the Kazakh participants, and important pieces of legislation were translated into Russian and sent to participants prior to the seminar. An important aim of the seminar was to assist Kazakh legislators, government officials and archival experts in drafting the new Archives Act for Kazakhstan.

The second workshop was organized in April 1998 on the topic of the international standards for archival description. The leader of the workshop was Christine Nougaret, the chair of the ICA Committee on Descriptive Standards. The discussions included the examination of the General International Standard Archival Description [ISAD(G)] and the International Standard Archival Authority Records for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families [ISAAR(CPF)]. The participants viewed a demonstration of the application of description standards in an automated archival information system.

The objective of the third workshop, held in May 1999, was to develop a knowledge of preservation management, including disaster planning, and to offer a methodology for developing programs and priorities in this field. The guest lecturers were Helen Forde, Head of Preservation Services at the Public Record Office, UK, Josef Hanus, Head of Department of Archives Preservation, National Archives of the Slovak Republic, and Leszek Pudłowski, then Supervisory Archivist of OSA. Before the workshop, the students were given a questionnaire which they could use to help identify the preservation management needs in their own archives. Environmental control, disaster control, identification of vital records, and the preservation of audiovisual records were among the topics discussed.

On 4–5 June, 1998, OSA organized an international conference in Riga, in cooperation with Latvian partners, on the records of the security services of former repressive regimes. The participants included human rights lawyers, historians, archivists and victims of the former regimes from Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The presentations and panel discussions focused on the analysis of the situation of the archives of the former repressive institutions in the Baltic States and Poland, the state of legislation, and the problems of preservation and accessibility. Topics relating to human rights were also discussed: the rights of victims, the rights of alleged perpetrators, the rights of third parties, and the right of access to public information. The necessity of creating a Code of Ethics for Archivists and the role of such a code were also among the subjects discussed. Prior to the conference, the UNESCO/ICA report *Archives of the Security Services of Former Repressive Regimes* was translated into Latvian and distributed to the participants.

Following the conference, a two week course on Managing Current Records was organized by OSA and the Soros Foundation – Latvia. More than 30 participants from Latvian archives and record-keeping institutions took part in the course, and outstanding international experts from the archival community were invited as guest lecturers. One of the outstanding lecturers was Eric Ketelaar, professor of archival science at the universities of Leiden and Amsterdam and Chair of the Programme Management Commission of the International Council on Archives.

Other forms of cooperation

Among all of its partner institutions, OSA has the closest relationship with the Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. This is not only because both are located in Budapest and both focus on the contemporary, post-war history of the region, it is also due to the crucial symbolic historical role that the 1956 Hungarian Revolution played in shaping the identity of RFE/RL.

Many of the Archives' public and scholarly programs would have been seriously hindered, or would have failed without the help of the 1956 Institute. The historians and archivists of the institute served as consultants to OSA in many cases, sharing ideas and lending important resources for its exhibitions. In addition, OSA has had the chance to participate in some major international events organized by the 1956 Institute, such as the international conference *New Archival Evidence* in 1996. In January 1999, the two institutions held a joint exhibition about the post-1989 historiography of the revolution.

The Institute of Contemporary History, established in 1989 in Prague, is an interdisciplinary research center focusing on the historical period from the beginning of the Second World War until the present. As part of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, the Institute aims to fill the gaps, both in academia and in public knowledge, which have been left by totalitarian distortions of the past. OSA and the Institute cooperate by exchanging information on research activities; OSA provides copies of documents from its holdings to the Institute for research purposes.

OSA is taking part in the Russian archival education project established within the framework of the Archival Training Center (ATC) affiliated with the European University in St. Petersburg by actively shaping its curriculum and sending guest lecturers to its courses, especially experts in information policy, data protection, and access to information legislation. The Archives has also offered to cover the costs of some Russian-speaking archivists from former communist countries of the region who will participate in the Center's courses.

Recognizing that accessibility of retrospective information plays a major role in the political, economic, social, and cultural development of Russia and the other countries of the former Soviet Union, and that most of the archivists in Russia (especially in St. Petersburg and the northwestern region of the country) have no historical and archival education, the ATC has been established in cooperation with the Open Society Institute in Moscow as a branch of the OSI-Russia Archival Support Program planned for 1999–2000. OSA already organizes a series of Summer University courses for archivists at Central European University in Budapest for archivists, especially from the former communist countries and considers it important to strengthen archival education in the countries of the region, and seeks to share its professional knowledge with archivists in Russia and other Central and Eastern European countries.

OSA holds the status of Associate Institution in the International Committee for the Computerization of the Komintern Archives

(INKOMKA), in which the Directorate of Archives of France, the Federal Archives of Germany, the Ministry for Education and Culture of Spain, the Swiss Federal Archives, and the Library of Congress are partner organizations. The project is based on the Framework Agreement between the State Archival Service of Russia (later Federal Archival Service of Russia – Rosarkhiv) and ICA, signed in June 1996. The Russian Centre for Preservation and Study of Modern History Records, on behalf of the Russian parties, guaranteed the integrity of the Komintern Archives and provided for the creation of a database and digitized copies of the documents. The Centre also developed the methodological documentation concerning the implementation of the project and established the rules for providing free access to the database and the digitized copies of the documents for all researchers, irrespective of their citizenship. The ICA supplied the Centre with the Russian version of the software used in the Archivo General de Indias (the archives relating to the discovery of America), and provided the delivery, installation and technical support for the necessary equipment as approved by INKOMKA. As reported at the fourth meeting of INKOMKA held in Moscow on 15–16 March, 1999, altogether 63,248 files were processed and 246,528 images were digitized, comprising 12 to 33 percent of the documents selected for processing. The project, supported by the Council of Europe, will likely continue in the following years and is expected to produce 50–60,000 new records in the database and 120–150,000 images per scanning station each year.

Beside the above mentioned projects and activities, OSA regularly receives visitors from the international archival community, and Archives staff participate in national and international archival events and pay visits to partner organizations. The Director of the Section of Archivistics and Record Management of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic visited OSA in 1998, and in the same year the Archives received a representative of the Society of Archivists of Croatia. The Director General of the National Archives of Hungary visited OSA in 1999. A Russian archival delegation headed by Vladimir Eremchenko, Deputy Head of the Federal Archival Service of Russia and Chairman of the Central Records Appraisal Commission, visited OSA in Spring 1999. The members of the delegation had discussions with senior OSA experts about possible joint projects and asked for professional support in describing archival materials, and in creating finding aids for the Russian archival network. Natalia Tomilina, Director of the Russian State Archive of Most Recent History (RSAMRH; formerly the Storage Center for Contemporary Documentation), visited OSA in May 1999. During her visit she gave a lecture on the holdings of RSAMRH and proposed to publish a book on “destalinization” on the basis of documents held by OSA and RSAMRH.

The German Historical Museum, in cooperation with the International Association for Media and History (IAMHIST), organized an international conference on The Media and Political Change in Europe in September 1999 in Berlin. Csaba Szilágyi, an Archivist at OSA, presented his paper What Do We, RFE/RL, Talk About When We Talk About the Romanian Events of December 1989? based on an analysis of the Romanian records (Subject Files and Monitoring Files), RFE/RL publications, and OSA Library holdings. This not only provided the opportunity to share the results of detailed research on OSA materials with a large scholarly audience, but it also called the attention of historians, media professionals and other possible researchers to further OSA resources yet to be exploited. In addition, the conference laid the path for potential cooperation between OSA and other organizations interested in the relationship between history and the media.

As a unique action in an emergency situation, OSA sent 4,000 archival boxes to Poland in the summer of 1997 in order to assist with repairing the damage caused by the worst flooding in Polish history. Professor Daria Nalóncz, Director of the General Office of State Archives of Poland, had asked for the international archival community’s help in diminishing the losses. In the southern and western regions of Poland about four kilometers of records were flooded by polluted water in public and private archives, and OSA sent a shipment of boxes suitable for storing the material which could be salvaged.

Cooperation with civil organizations

The Open Society Archives has established special relationships with several civil organizations which have as their mission the collection and preservation of documents related to the recent past and the opening of files to ensure the public’s right of access to information and documents.

Memorial is one of OSA’s most important partners in the civil sector. This organization is a movement arising from the years of perestroika with the main task of awakening and preserving society’s memory of the severe political persecution in Soviet Unions’s recent past. It is also a community of dozens of organizations in different regions of Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Latvia and Georgia. Memorial maintains both a museum and a repository of documents, as well as a number of specialized libraries^[36].

In several cases OSA has requested and received photos, copies of documents, and books relating to famous Soviet dissidents, while colleagues from the archives of Memorial have requested copies of samizdat publications from OSA’s holdings of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty material.

Memorial contributed to the Archives’ Gulag exhibition (see Chapter III) by sending scanned images of documents, comments and autobiographies of famous Gulag prisoners. For the same exhibition, OSA translated the Memorial’s questionnaire for collecting data from former prisoners, their family members and their acquaintances, and made it available for visitors to the exhibition. Organizations of former Hungarian Gulag prisoners also received the questionnaire. The content of the completed questionnaires will be translated into Russian and sent to Memorial in order to enhance its database on persons who suffered from political repression and the deprivation of freedom.

The National Security Archive (NSArchive) is an independent non-governmental research institute and library located at the George Washington University in Washington, DC. The Archive collects and publishes declassified documents acquired through the US Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). NSArchive is also a public interest law firm defending and expanding public access to government information through the FOIA, and it indexes and publishes these documents in books, on microfiche and in electronic

formats^[37]. Founded in 1985 by a group of journalists and scholars, NSArchive has become the world's largest non-governmental library of declassified documents. OSA has already received copies of a number of declassified documents from the collection of NSArchive. Since many documents describing the activities of US secret services relating to the covert operating of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are still classified, it would be desirable for the OSA to establish cooperation with both the CIA and NSArchive in order to facilitate the declassification of those materials which have already lost their operational character and are now of historical value. During a seminar on Cold War documents organized by NSArchive in Washington in the summer of 1999, Natasha Zanegina, Senior Archivist at OSA, held discussions with staff members of NSArchive and made important steps toward establishing this potential cooperation.

Citizens' Watch, a St. Petersburg-based, non-governmental human rights organization formed in 1992 by a group of human rights activists, lawyers, and members of the Russian parliament, primarily attempts to assist in establishing parliamentary and civic control over governmental agencies, such as security services, armed forces, and the police.^[38] Since 1998, Citizens' Watch has concentrated its efforts in three important fields of the new Russian legislation: access to information, protection of personal data, and the rights of servicemen. In December 1998, Iván Székely, Counsellor of OSA, gave a presentation entitled Access to Information, Access to Documents at the international seminar Freedom of Information: Standards of a Democratic Society, organized by Citizens' Watch. There he consulted with Russian archivists on the legal and practical aspects of different models of access to information of public interest. In February 1999, Székely participated in another Citizens' Watch international conference held in St. Petersburg, Privacy in the Era of Contemporary Information Technologies. There Székely presented the paper Principles, Dangers and the Legislative Solution. Technology against Technology. Both papers were translated into Russian and published by the organizers.

The founders of the Bulgarian organization Access to Information Programme (AIP), established in 1996 are journalists, human rights lawyers, sociologists and economists. Their main goals are to encourage individual and public demand for information through civic education, to fight for greater transparency in government, to provide legal help for subjects of information refusal cases, as well as to encourage freedom of information legislation by reporting on legal and practical solutions from different countries, by organizing workshops and seminars, and by submitting recommendations to governmental and legislative agencies. Iván Székely was an invited lecturer at the international conference Access to Information – The International Standards and the Bulgarian Legislation, in December 1998 in Sofia organized jointly by AIP, the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, and the non-governmental organization Article 19. The conference was supported by the Open Society Foundation Sofia and the Council of Europe. He introduced the theoretical background and the legal and practical implications of the Hungarian model of openness and secrecy legislation. In September 1999, Székely was also invited as a lecturer and consultant to a roundtable with lawmakers, followed by a conference for the general public, jointly organized by AIP and the Bulgarian Media Coalition in Sofia. Both events were intended to improve the draft bill on freedom of information, and coincided with the first reading of the draft in the Bulgarian Parliament.

In April 1999 the newly established Association "Memorial of the 1989 Revolution in Timisoara" contacted OSA and requested professional help in establishing a collection of documents relating to the 1989 Romanian Revolution. Their mission is to keep the memory of the Revolution in Timisoara alive, and to purchase, acquire, collect and exchange historical documents of all types in connection with these events. The holdings of the planned archives of the Association include manuscripts (testimonies of eyewitnesses), oral history recordings, and collections of publications and scanned images. OSA has offered professional archival assistance in setting up the Association's archives, and the two organizations have exchanged information about their holdings concerning the Romanian Revolution.

The Recovering Identity Program

One of the tragic lessons of the conflict in Kosovo is that in modern wars it has become possible to expel masses of people while systematically stripping them of all proof of their identity, thus making it difficult or impossible for them to return. Similarly, centralized and computerized population registers, real estate registers and other databases concerning large numbers of citizens provide technical possibilities for deleting or manipulating citizens' identities and personal data.

Without documents or other proof of identity it becomes almost impossible to gain access to the most basic and essential services of a modern society, especially those associated with the rights of citizenship.

At the end of any war it is essential to ensure the safe return of refugees. In most cases this requires international cooperation. One of the basic conditions of refugee return is proof of the identities of refugees, and, if no such proof exists, the formal restoration of refugees' identities.

The Recovering Identity Program was established by a number of international organizations to ensure that, wherever possible, such destruction of identity would be reversible, both in Kosovo and in future conflicts.

On 1 July 1999, a coalition of international organizations including representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Civil Emergency Planning Division of NATO, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Medecins Sans Frontieres, the Forced Migration Projects of the Open Society Institute, the US Department of State, the International Foundation for Election Systems, the Open Society Archives and other organizations met in Budapest to discuss coordination of the Recovering Identity Program. As a result of this meeting a series of specific recommendations has been made toward the establishment of international rules to protect and/or re-establish the identity and property rights of refugees.

To this end, through the Recovering Identity Program the Open Society Archives provides a consortium of international agencies with secondary sources of verification, from OSA's collection efforts, for refugees' identities. These secondary sources of identification

include such varied materials as census surveys and telephone directories. In addition, OSA offers ongoing support services for international agencies involved in the identification of refugees, and – using its significant expertise in dealing with openness and secrecy, informational rights and data protection – has proposed basic principles for the handling of personal data of refugees.



Blace, Macedonia, April 1999. A family driven out of Gnjilane arrives at the refugee camp in Blace after several days of being on the run. Displayed at the exhibit Ten Years After (Galeria Centralis, June – July 1999). Photo by Szabolcs Dudás. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

The draft DNA Recommendation

As we learned from events in the Kosovo conflict, organizations dealing with refugees register people as they arrive in camps, and generally record data and issue temporary identification cards on the basis of the refugees' own testimony. Apart from the questionable reliability of data recorded in this way (the memory of shocked, elderly people can be at fault, while others may even intentionally report false data) the data collected may not be identical to information in central registries, or may be unacceptable as proof of identity to the authorities.

In such cases, as a last resort, it might be necessary to establish the genetic relationship among family members as a means of recovering identity. The technologies required for such tests are generally well established, in some cases routinely applied, and their reliability has been scientifically proven.

A mass application of these technologies has been necessitated by the Bosnian war, where genetic identification is used by the organization Physicians for Human Rights to identify victims buried in mass graves, and to prove their relationship with surviving family members. This organization has worked out the technology of these tests, and has developed a so-called "antemortem database" to help identify missing persons.

With the living, the task is somewhat different: a single given sample need not be matched against many, but against one or a few. In such tests, nuclear DNA, which is cheaper and easier to look at than the mitochondrial DNA used in forensic samples, can be used. The technology applied is readily available and can be used while the costs of such tests are moderate. These facts ensure the feasibility of using this method of testing to help restore the identity of refugees deprived of their documents.

However, the use of genetic information relating to identifiable individuals requires special safeguards. History has shown that centralized lists of personal data can be used to great harm, as well as to great benefit. Genetic data, such as data on racial or ethnic origin, might provide the basis for discrimination and social stigmatization, as well as the resources for genocide or a new series of deportations if history were to take an unfortunate turn.

Therefore, a generally accepted recommendation and a set of basic principles to be followed by all who participate in recovering peoples' identity are needed to serve as guidelines for such procedures if they are adopted.

OSA has therefore worked out a draft Principles and Recommendations based on existing international documents in order to help recover the identity of present and future refugees by applying modern technology with necessary safeguards to avoid harm, and ensuring full respect of the informational rights of the people concerned.

(The full text of the draft of Principles and Recommendations can be found in the Appendix)

Managing the records of the Soros foundations network

About Records Management

There is little doubt that our society is much more information-dependent than previous societies – in fashionably saying, we live in an "information society". During the second half of the twentieth century, due largely to the technological development, the quantity of both publicly available and organizationally-private information has grown exponentially. The variety of media and the forms of

information has increased, as has the number of information producers and providers. Information has become our basic resource and our basic product, and it has to be managed properly to be useful.

One might get the feeling that coping with the information explosion is mostly about volume. The vision of the paperless office has not been realized, and it may never be, but how electronic information is being managed is still an issue. In addition, there are the problems of controlling access to information, government control, and freedom of information, as well as the unresolved problems of copyright and security.

Along with the changes mentioned above, there has also been a change in the perception of the function of records management. While in the past records management mostly meant dealing with paper records, nowadays the profession is considered as a part of information management. The definition of records management has been radically broadened: it is the discipline of organizing and maintaining records^[39] to ensure that they are kept as long as required for business purposes and for any sanctioned secondary purpose. However, records management issues also include the consideration of legal requirements for keeping records as well as any legal and ethical restraints on making the records available. Information professionals such as archivists and records managers work together to assess records for continuing value through a process called a records survey. They then "timetable" the records for eventual disposal, using a document known as a retention schedule. Records are either destroyed at the end of a specified period or transferred to archival custody. A records manager can assist organizations by helping to incorporate the record-keeping requirements defined in the records schedules into business procedures, practices and systems.

Records with continuing value to the Soros foundations network

The Archival Policy of the Soros foundations network recently approved (June 1999) by its International Strategic Board provides a general framework for the individual records management projects launched by organizations in the Soros foundations network. The Open Society Archives not only has a coordinating role in the development of these projects, but as the official archives of the network it assumes responsibility for preserving non-current records that are no longer needed for the regular activities of the foundations and which have been identified as having continuing value. These records are referred to as "permanent records". Although OSA can provide optimum storage conditions for the permanent records of the network, it also encourages Soros organizations to establish their own archives and preserve records possessing sufficient historical value in their own countries. The reason behind the strategy dividing permanent records of the Soros foundations network into two categories – records to be transferred to OSA and records to be kept in the country – is that certain records created by Soros organizations are part of the national heritage of their countries.

Soros foundations started their activity before, during or after the collapse of the communist regime, and their mission is to promote civil societies and to support the development of new democratic institutions in the transitional period in Central and Eastern Europe. The Soros Foundation Hungary, established in 1984 was the first foundation in the region funded by George Soros, and it is one of the oldest private, independent foundations in the region. Soros foundations have been established in more than countries of the world; and in addition, the Open Society Institute, Budapest and the Open Society Institute, New York administer "network programs", which function on a regional or network-wide basis. It is difficult to measure how much the foundations have contributed to the transformation of closed societies into open societies; however, it is possible to say that these organizations have done much to support or directly sponsor programs in education, law and arts, and in other areas such as disseminating information. Sometimes simple things were enough to cause irreversible changes: recognizing that access to information is one of the keys to an open society, Soros foundations purchased xerox machines – photocopying was not permitted in many communist countries without bureaucratic procedures – and distributed them to all kinds of institutions.

Although the life-span of the Soros foundations network will be relatively short, it has existed during a period when most of the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe were undergoing a deep and intense economic and political transformation. One day the records of the Soros foundations network will provide a unique and rich resource for scholars writing the history of the transition in the region. Whether the right kind of information is saved for the future, and how this information will be accessible, now depends on the judgement of thorough records managers and archivists. Entrusted with making these decisions in cooperation with the foundations, the Archives believes the constant reappraisal of the network's records will lead to the identification of permanent records that can only be understood in their own context. Hence, OSA is also convinced that certain records of the individual Soros foundations, of the network programs and of the international initiatives, are more valuable to the corporate memory of the network than to that of the national foundations, and as such, they have a place at OSA.

Records management services to the Soros foundations network

The Records Management Program of the Open Society Archives was established to assist the organizations of the Soros foundations network. The Program is based on the information management strategy which says that information is a unique resource for the organization producing it, and it should be managed in such a way that it be useful and accessible in the present and in the future. The Records Management Program includes services intended to help Soros network staff in all locations to create effective and efficient systems for the management of records and information. The aim is to ensure that proprietary records of the network are accessible when and where they are needed. Knowing the latest developments in information technology, OSA encourages the Soros organizations to pay special attention to the management of electronic records. In the implementation process, OSA is working to secure the permanent records of the Soros foundations network worldwide. The advisory service of the Records Management

Program includes:

- Advice, assistance and training in the implementation of the records management program of the Soros foundations network;
- The preparation of appraisal reports for the development of retention schedules to provide for the authorized, systematic and economical disposal of all kinds of temporary records at the Soros organizations;
- Information and advice regarding filing procedures, equipment and storage facilities;
- Storage, preservation and retrieval of non-current records with continuing value to make possible their permanent retention and use at the OSA;
- Regular off-site visits to monitor the implementation of record keeping procedures at the Soros organizations.

CHAPTER V

Access, reference services, and automation

RESEARCH SERVICES

Reference services

Probably the shortest description which would catch the very essence of the Open Society Archives' (OSA) reference services is this: its staff is trying to carry on the good and somewhat contradictory work of making a private archives as public as possible. Due to the uniqueness of its aims and the diversity of its holdings, OSA is a multifaceted institution: it is an archives, an exhibition organizer, a research institution, and a library. It is the complexity of the Archives' role and holdings – and the diversity of its users – that makes OSA reference services likewise complex.

Broadly conceived, reference services at OSA are the activities by which its archivists bring users and records together in order to meet the users' needs. Since OSA users have a wide variety of research needs, reference services at the Archives encompass a wide range of activities and call for intellectual, administrative and interpersonal skills. OSA is an open-access facility committed to making materials available to users on equal terms of access. Reference services are provided in the Research Room by telephone, by fax, through the Internet, and by e-mail or regular mail.

The Open Society Archives' reference services provide:

- Information about the holdings
- Information from the holdings
- Information about the creators of records
- Referrals to other repositories or resources
- Instructions of how to use archives and how to conduct the research process
- Physical access to holdings
- Copies of archival materials
- Information about copyright, privacy, confidentiality, and other relevant laws
- Loans from holdings
- Services through public programs



The Research Room of the Open Society Archives with the Library of the Central European University in the background.
Photo by András Révész. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

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Research room

The OSA's Research Room shares space with the Central European University (CEU) Library. The OSA Research Room can be reached through the main entrance of the Library. OSA is an open-access facility committed to making materials available to users on equal terms of access. Reference services are provided in the Research Room, until 4:30 p.m.

The full capacity of the Research Room is 18 people. The room contains 10 research desks with electrical outlets; one non-restricted station for viewing or listening to audiovisual materials, which comfortably accommodates up to three people; two limited-access computer terminals; two microfilm/microfiche readers with printers; a set of shelves containing finding aids and reference books; and a microfilm cabinet containing selected microfilm copies of daily newspapers, predominantly from former communist countries.

Archives staff are available in the Research Room to assist researchers in finding and using relevant materials. Researchers who wish to visit OSA are encouraged to contact the Archives in advance to help ensure that each research visit be as productive as possible. To arrange a visit, please contact OSA at:

Open Society Archives	Telephone: (36 1) 327-3250
Október 6. utca 12.	Fax: (36 1) 327-3260
H – 1051 Budapest	E-mail: archives@ceu.hu
Hungary	Website: http://www.osa.ceu.hu

Mailing Address: H – 1396 Budapest 62. P.O. Box 458, Hungary

On-site research

The Open Society Archives is an open-access facility. Research status is available to anyone at least 16 years old, while individuals under 16 may apply for special permission to use OSA records under the direct supervision and responsibility of an adult researcher. If a researcher intends to use records that may be restricted, advance notice is necessary so that the classification status of the records could be determined. The researcher will be notified if the records have not been declassified or processed. Contacting OSA in advance may also save the researcher needless frustration if the Archives does not hold any records related to the topic of interest.

The holdings of the Archives are located in its main building and in an affiliated repository at the CEU Residence and Conference Center. Although OSA does not have a fixed retrieval schedule, researchers should note that 3:30 p.m. is the latest retrieval time. When ordering materials from the repository (predominantly newspapers and publications) arrangements must be made at least one day in advance.

When visiting OSA for the first time, researchers should plan the visit for as early as possible in the day. A late afternoon visit may not allow enough time for records to be identified and retrieved during the same day.

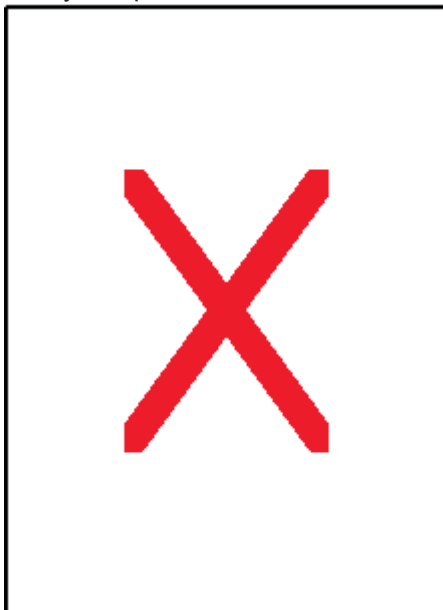
Before using archival records, every researcher must obtain a researcher identification card at the OSA Reception Desk which is valid for two years and must be presented to the Research Room Attendant each time they visit the OSA Research Room.

Researchers then meet with the Reference Archivist to discuss their research needs. The orientation content varies on a case-by-case basis. Variables include the nature of the research inquiry, whether the researcher has previously conducted any archival research, the amount of time available to conduct research etc.

The orientation conducted by a Reference Archivist may include the following points:

- Identification of researchers' reference needs
- Introduction to the holdings of OSA
- Research strategy suggestions
- Initial orientation to the use of specific fonds and finding aids in the Research Room
- The roles of Research Room and reference services staff
- Proper handling of archival materials
- Notification of restrictions that pertain to certain records
- Copying procedures
- Building orientation (including directions to lockers, Research Room, Reception/Cashier Desk)
- Follow-up guidance after research has commenced
- Consultation service to researchers in order

to rectify complaints.



Microfilm cabinets in the Research Room. Photo by András Révész. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Research Room rules

Concerns for the preservation and security of archival materials have resulted in distinct reference procedures. Bearing this in mind, certain rules must be followed when handling archival records in the Research Room. Researchers are not permitted to bring briefcases, boxes, suitcases or other large containers into the Research Room. A cloakroom is provided at no charge in CEU's main hall.

Researchers who wish to bring personal typewriters, tape recorders, cameras, computers and other equipment into the Research Room must get approval from a Reference Services Archivist, who will inspect the equipment before allowing it to be brought into the room.

Researchers are expected to exercise care when using records and to follow proper handling techniques such as maintaining the original order in which records are filed and using only one folder of records at a time. Documents may not be leaned upon, written on, traced, altered, or handled in any way that can do harm. The Research Room Attendant or other staff members can assist researchers in determining the best way to handle records. The use of pens is prohibited, and no smoking, drinking or chewing gum is permitted in the Research Room.

Finding aids

A number of printed and electronic finding aids describe the holdings of the Open Society Archives in detail. Inventories are prepared for many, but not all fonds. Other finding aids include catalogs of OSA microfilm publications, newspaper holdings, and audio-visual materials as well as a series of Insert Leaflets and Reference Information Papers on selected topics (see Appendix). Finding aids and other OSA information materials are available in the Research Room and can be also accessed through the OSA website at: <http://www.osa.ceu.hu>.

Copying

The Open Society Archives provides copying services in the following formats: electrostatic reproductions, videotape and audiotape, and photographs. The copying is done by the Archives' staff only; no self-service copiers are available. For small quantities (up to 50 copies), copies are usually delivered 24 hours after being ordered. The delivery time for larger quantities of electrostatic reproductions – as well as for videotapes, audiotapes and photographs – is subject to agreement between OSA and the researcher requesting the copies. Current fees (as of September 1999) are 15 HUF (approximately 7 US cents) per A4-format copy and 20 HUF (approximately 9 US cents) per A3-format copy. Other reproduction prices vary. Payment for reproductions ordered on-site is done upon delivery of the copies at the Open Society Archives Reception/Cashier Desk.

Off-site research services (World Wide Web)

In order to provide information and reference services to its off-site researchers, the Open Society Archives has established its World Wide Web site at: <<http://www.osa.ceu.hu>>. This site is designed to provide basic description of OSA reference services available online, the open hours and location of Open Society Archives facilities, information and forms regarding off-site ordering of OSA holdings, and other information of interest to off-site researchers (including the OSA Restriction Statement, Reference Information Papers, citation recommendations etc.).

General reference or research questions may be sent via e-mail, regular mail, fax or phone (see information above). Please note that, in the case of off-site research, OSA staff does not perform research on behalf of researchers. However, they do offer a range of information about OSA holdings which includes:

- confirmation of the existence of fonds relevant to the inquirer's research interest;
 - determining the quantity of the requested material;
 - estimates of the required time, cost and feasibility of providing copies of selected materials in accordance with copyright laws.
- Researchers may request that copies be delivered by express mail or regular mail, or in some cases by fax, or be picked up at the Archives by special arrangement.

In order to properly respond to researchers' questions, OSA asks that they include the following information in the body of all messages: first and last name, telephone and fax numbers (including necessary codes), mailing address and e-mail address.

Note: Because of rapid changes in online communications, the information discussed above is subject to change. The most current version will always be posted on the OSA website at: <<http://www.osa.ceu.hu>>.

GRANTS

The Open Society Archives (OSA) offers a variety of grants to encourage innovative, outstanding and groundbreaking research. These grants are offered to scholars, archivists, journalists, artists and others exploring the field of communist and post-communist studies in the region covered by OSA's holdings. Grant applications are accepted from all over the world.

In 1998, for example, grant applications arrived from such diverse countries as Armenia, Georgia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Ukraine, The United States, and The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In all, some 28 research grants and sundry other grants were awarded to outstanding scholars and artists in 1998. Two of OSA's grantees were awarded prizes for books written utilizing OSA resources. Paul Josephson was awarded the Marshall Shulman Book Prize for his study *New Atlantis Revisited – Akedemgorodok: the Siberian City of Science* (Princeton University Press), and Padraic Kenny was awarded the AAASS/Orbis Polish Book Prize for his work *Rebuilding Poland – Workers and Communists, 1945–1950* (Cornell University Press).

Research Grants

The Open Society Archives offers research grants on a competitive basis to support scholars who wish to pursue research in its holdings (see list of research grants in the Appendix). These grants, which are designed to provide access to the Archives for scholars and journalists who live outside Budapest, provide travel to and from Budapest, a modest stipend, and accommodation in Budapest for a maximum research period of two months.

There is no application form for the grant program. Applicants may be researchers, students carrying out post-graduate research, or journalists, academics, artists or others who have already embarked upon their careers. Applicants are asked to submit a C.V., a research description plan of 500 words (or more) indicating the period of time the applicant needs to carry out research in Budapest, and two confidential professional or academic letters of recommendation. The research proposal should indicate the relationship of OSA holdings to the project, and should state the preferred dates of residence. In their research description applicants are expected to indicate how they plan to utilize the research they do at the Archives. Undergraduate applications are not accepted. Preference is given to persons from Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Nonetheless, outstanding researchers from any part of the world are encouraged to apply.

The application, C.V., and letters of recommendation should be sent to the Research Grant Selection Committee, Open Society Archives, H-1396 Budapest 62 P.O. Box 458, Hungary.

There are no deadlines in the grant program. Applications are considered as they are received by the Selection Committee. The Committee normally meets four times a year in March, June, September and December.

Other Grants

The Open Society Archives regularly offers other grants to scholars, artists or journalists who wish to carry out projects related to topics covered by the Archives' programs, and exhibitions to be hosted by Galeria Centralis. For more information regarding such grants, please consult the Archives' web-page and look under Public Programs, Galeria Centralis, or the Institute of Records.

Applicants whose grant are considered to be of worth, but which cannot be supported by OSA, may be referred to other programs within the Soros Foundations Network. Such reference, however, should not be taken as a guarantee that a grant will eventually be awarded.

THE AUTOMATION SYSTEM

The long-term impact of quickly developing and widely used computer technologies was a key incentive for the Open Society Archives (OSA) to employ automation. Computers have already become an essential part of almost every activity and they could be used to greater advantage by archival staff and researchers alike. For OSA, however, automation is more than just a tool which helps to improve work efficiency and increase access to information. The Archives does not see automation as a single action, but instead views its long-term automation strategy as a continuous process consisting of the study and intelligent use of technology with the aim of improving core archival functions and facilitating the exchange of information about archival holdings and institutions.

OSA's computer network is part of the larger distributed data network of Central European University (CEU) and the Open Society Institute, Budapest, which integrates approximately 1000 personal computers and 30 servers. The qualified staff of the Information Technology Support Unit ensure effective operation and data exchange among several organizational departments, including OSA. All staff members at the Archives have computers with access to the World Wide Web and electronic mail. Shared access to generic office applications, databases, information and hardware provides powerful communication and collaboration capabilities for organizing effective teamwork within and among all departments.

This environment was the foundation for the development and operation of the the Archives' automation system (AS), which addresses the needs of both the professional archival and general administrative areas, and includes several databases for OSA's holdings and Library, and intranet^[40] and internet websites.

Automating core archival functions

The core modules of the AS were designed to help archivists in their daily work on accessioning, arrangement, description and promotion of the documents in the Archives.

The Accessioning Module serves the function of taking initial control over records being transferred to the Archives repository. Creation of an accession record in the database is the act through which the establishment of both physical and intellectual control begins. The records' bulk, date, title, donor, access restrictions etc. are recorded, and the new records are assigned to appropriate fonds. Physical control over archival items is governed through the Master Location Register, which stores the most detailed information about each item from OSA holdings, including its unique reference number, its container type, its physical location in the depository, its relation to series within fonds and subfonds, and appropriate units of description.

The System of Arrangement Module is based on interrelated fonds, subfonds and series, and allows the Archives to maintain the records' context and original order. By September 1999, there were 132 fonds registered in the AS.

The Description Module supports various levels of description, starting with basic information about the individual archival item (box, folder or document). A separate Unit Description Module supports ISAD(G)^[41] and ISAAR(CPF)^[42] compliant descriptions of fonds, subfonds and series and related authorities.

The Reporting Subsystem supports various forms of output: lists of accessions, fonds, subfonds, and series; detailed reports on items within series and storage modules; several types of labels etc. Like any database, the AS is an efficient tool for preparing extensive information on a particular subject, compiling lists of different types of related items, and producing other general or subject excerpts to be used as clear directional signs guiding researchers through the Archives.

The main focus of the existing AS is to streamline routine archival functions into a single automated process: from registering an accession to arrangement and description and producing container labels and finding aids.

Going online

The Web Connectivity Interface is an essential part of the AS. Utilizing this interface, lists of series within fonds and subfonds, and detailed finding aids on record groups and related series can be automatically converted into web-page format and published on the website.

OSA's website currently includes about 900 pages. Several areas play essential roles in promoting the holdings and activities of the Archives to a wider audience. Traditional finding aids are complemented by Research Information Papers prepared by OSA archivists to guide researchers to records relating to specific topics.

In addition to announcing public exhibitions and other OSA events, the website has become a permanent „gallery“ for online exhibitions which provide visitors with an opportunity to become familiar with sample records preserved in the Archives.

Another important part of the website contains information and links to other Internet resources prepared especially for archivists from Central and Eastern Europe: archival education, legal matters, publications, standards and other topics.

Staying up-to-date

The AS has become an efficient tool used by archivists for the acquisition and retention of records. However, the development of technology has affected existing methods in many ways. For instance, in case of some digital records, certain agencies may maintain physical records while the Archives will provide access through its automated system of intellectual control. In practice, this demands direct integration of records-management and archival tasks.

Influenced, if not driven, by the Internet and World Wide Web technology, archival description in the 1990s has focused on standardization of language and information, authority control, and ways of presenting information through unified formats such as EAD (Encoded Archival Description).^[43] This sets a new goal for the Archives – by means of SGML technology, OSA plans to make its finding aids interchangeable with those of other archives and fully accessible to researchers around the world.

A variety of usage statistics produced by the AS will serve as the basis not only for reports and publicity – these data should be continuously evaluated and used to improve overall performance, to plan future development and to refine existing practices.

A modern computerized system for an archives means an independent and fully integrated system: it integrates the use of all types of media (text, pictures, video, audio, software); it provides a gateway to distributed electronic sources of information from internal computing networks to the Internet; and it provides independent access to basic functional modules – appraisal, acquisition, accession, arrangement, description, preservation and public access – through an interactive system using a common database and common access procedures.

CHAPTER VI

The Open Society Archives and the Central European University **The Archives in the University**

Ties between the Open Society Archives (OSA) and Central European University (CEU) go far beyond their current institutional framework. Their organic bonds were established as early as the Archives materialized, given that many OSA staff members joined the organization from the ranks of CEU's teaching and administrative staff, as well as from its student body. Thus, despite the fact that it was at first located in its own home a few subway stops from the university campus, from its earliest days the Open Society Archives had started its gradual move, both symbolically and literally speaking, toward its current position within CEU.

From the very beginning, one of the Archives' main goals was to establish itself as a reliable research facility and to provide creative support for CEU's academic community. Indeed, it took less than a year from OSA's official opening in 1996 for both institutions to realize the mutual benefits arising from their newly established ties. While profiting greatly from conducting research at OSA and from taking part in its public programs, academics from CEU largely contributed to the process of shaping the Archives' profile in its early days both with their helpful remarks as well as through their seats on the OSA Board. Thus, the Archives' eventual move to the Central European University complex seemed rather evident.

From that moment on, with its Research Room discreetly but visibly incorporated into the CEU Library, OSA became not only a physical part of the CEU campus, but an inseparable, active part of the academic environment which allowed CEU students and its own researchers to make the best use of both facilities. It was probably the combination of the Archives' unique holdings and the appeal of its public programs that made OSA, soon after its move to CEU, one of the favorite places to take the university's academic visitors and distinguished guests. (There are some 60 CEU-related visits per year.)

Ever since it moved to CEU, OSA has primarily focused on establishing itself as the natural research base for the university's academic community. This effort has resulted in the fact that, on average, 25 percent of the approximately 350 researchers who register at OSA each year come from CEU. In addition to contributing to the personal academic efforts of CEU students and staff, OSA engages in the university's educational process by providing teaching staff with textual and audiovisual materials to strengthen their syllabi. In this respect the closest cooperation so far has been established with CEU's Legal Studies and History departments as well as with the Human Rights and Southeast European Studies programs. However, initiatives to broaden this cooperation are well underway, the most significant being OSA's plan to put together a comprehensive collection of teaching aids and readers based on its holdings to support CEU's courses.

Apart from its involvement in CEU's academic life, OSA also became a noticeable participant in CEU's extracurricular activities, mostly through its public programs such as lecture series and film weeks related to the region's history, culture and current social issues. In this respect, probably the most visible OSA contribution to CEU's academic and cultural profile is the ongoing exhibition series, mainly presented in the Archives' exhibition hall, Galeria Centralis.

Finally, a joint OSA/CEU project was launched in 1998 in order to establish the CEU Records Center, thus making OSA a vital provider of records-management services to CEU's administration. This project also marked the last step towards the OSA's admission as a full member of the CEU family. In March 1998, the Open Society Archives finally officially became a part of Central European University.

Summer University

OSA, in close cooperation with the CEU Summer University (SUN), organizes intensive summer courses each year. The Summer University is an academic program offering two-, three- or four-week courses in the social sciences and humanities for university professors, administrators, and professionals.

Its primary aim is to strengthen, encourage and promote academic cooperation and curriculum development, as well as to build a network of faculty and professionals in the region to facilitate the exchange of ideas and projects. Another significant goal of the courses is to increase interaction between academics and professionals from the East and West.

The Summer University courses invite applicants from all over the world. The courses are designed both for junior faculty and

researchers involved in teaching, and for professionals such as archivists, librarians, environmental experts and computer experts. These courses offer full funding for those participants from Central and Eastern Europe, Mongolia, and the countries of the former Soviet Union. Grants for these participants cover travel, accommodation, a stipend, insurance and a book allowance. Other participants must pay for the courses. There is, however, a limited number of scholarships for Western students.

Summer University courses are led by a course director who is an outstanding professional in his/her field. The task of the course director is to prepare the academic content of the course and supervise its organization. The course director submits a proposal that is evaluated by an external evaluator and the SUN Board, which is chaired by the President and Rector of CEU and composed of members including CEU faculty, the Director of the Higher Education Support Program (HESP), the HESP Advisory Board members, the Dean of CEU's Special and Extension Programs, external higher education experts, and the SUN Director.

The course director recruits an international team of instructors or "resource persons", preferably both Eastern and Western professionals and scholars and they cooperate closely to design the course content, syllabus etc. of the courses. While the resource persons help the course director with the academic part of the course, each course director gets help from a coordinator in completing administrative tasks. The SUN office is responsible for the overall organization of the courses: recruitment, processing applications, accommodations, travel arrangements etc.

Applicants must meet the following criteria upon applying: they must have a university degree and hold a teaching job at a university or college, or work as an administrator or a professional. Graduate students with teaching experience may also apply. Undergraduates without a university degree will not be considered. As the language of the courses is English, all applicants must demonstrate a good command of English to enable them to actively take part in the workshops and to follow the lectures.

The SUN office began to operate in 1996 and the Archives' first SUN course was held in the same year. Ever since then, the Archives has organized a two-week course each summer.

The archival courses are intended for professional archivists in the region, as the course topics are closely related to archival issues (e.g. preservation, appraisal methodology, records management, automation).

The first course was entitled *Managing Modern Archives*, and the course director was Trudy Huskamp Peterson, then the Executive Director of the Open Society Archives. For this course she recruited a team of internationally recognized archival professionals, mainly from the Western archival community.

Participants in the course had the opportunity to study issues such as international standards for archival description, and to attend lectures covering a wide range of topics such as preservation management, disaster planning principles of archival practice, archival management of electronic records, access policy, reference administration, archival ethics, professional issues, and the profession itself.

The course also offered participants an excellent chance to exchange ideas, as they came from diverse backgrounds and had different work-related experiences. Participants took a break from their academic pursuits for a visit to the Hungarian National Archives and a boat trip on the Danube. They also had a chance to visit OSA, (which was at that time in Eötvös Street), and the CEU building including the Library and the computer labs.

The first course had 25 participants from 12 countries, including two OSA staff members.

The Archives' second Summer University course, in 1997, was entitled *Archival Management of Modern Records*. Again, the targeted participants were archivists from the region with special interest in current records management practices in automated office environments.

The course took up the challenge of introducing course participants to the practice of modern records management in the context of modern office technology, and also to the techniques for managing electronic records. They were able to build on their knowledge and experience of traditional appraisal methods by attending a lecture entitled *Modern Archives Appraisal Methodology*. In the final part of the course, they learned about archival ethics, and afterwards the participants engaged in a debate on ethical issues that affect archivists in the transition countries.

The course director was again Trudy Huskamp Peterson, who invited many wellknown experts from Europe, the United States, and Canada, and utilized the expertise of her OSA colleagues, who also gave lectures during the course.

The number of participants increased from the first year: there were 29 participants from 15 countries, including the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Finland, Norway and Turkey. Three staff members from OSA also took part in the course.

The third SUN course was *Management Issues in Archival Preservation*. This course was intended for professional archivists from the region who are expected to develop their skills and work with preservation strategies and programs. It offered the opportunity for participants to continue their professional development by exploring preservation issues and finding solutions.

The resource persons recruited for this course came not only from the Western archival community, but from Hungary as well. Again the Archives' staff actively contributed the course, with three of them giving lectures.

The two-week course began with a discussion of how to plan a preservation program. Apart from the lectures, the tentative schedule also included discussions of preservation needs assessment, appropriate environmental control, and practical conservation monitoring procedures. An entire day was dedicated to disaster prevention and emergency planning, which also included identification of vital records and their maintenance. As the course proceeded, the participants were allowed to explore how important preservation issues can be focused upon during archival moves. During the second week the focus of the course shifted to preservation issues concerning the three major archives formats: paper, electronic and audiovisual.

A half-day roundtable discussion followed on the use of reformatting as a preservation measure. The closing session of the course dealt with the international context, and initiatives that are mobilizing professional expertise across international borders. As

usual, a boat trip on the Danube and other social events served as good occasions for the participants to get to know each other and make valuable professional connections.

Altogether 30 participants took part in the course, including two OSA staff members. The majority of the participants came from Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The Archives' 1999 SUN course, Archival Automation, followed in the footsteps of the previous courses. The course director was Margaret C. Crockett, former Deputy Executive Director of the Archives.

Because computer-based archival management systems are being introduced to more and more archives all over the world, the course tried to focus on this very current issue. Archival automation was adopted gradually in the archives of Western Europe and North America, and now many of the archives are adopting fully-integrated systems. In Central and Eastern Europe, archives are also interested in developing their computer-based archives management systems, but the lack of resources is slowing this process.

The 1999 course was designed for mid-level archival managers who will be responsible for making decisions on automating their institutions. The course had two parts. In the first week it concentrated on planning for automation, trying to cover issues such as the goals of automation, the identification of users who are affected by automation, and choices of integrated and function-specific applications. The second week offered a more practical approach to the issue, as two archives specific systems were demonstrated and evaluated by the class. Additionally, there were lectures about applying various technologies in archives, and comparing and contrasting information system development methods. The course concluded with discussions about personnel management issues related to introducing systems in archives.

Again, the resource persons for the course came mainly from Western countries, while in contrast, the majority of participants came from Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. There were altogether 32 participants from 15 countries.

APPENDIX

Proposal

to establish an international repository of documents related to war crimes
and human rights violations at the Open Society Archives

Preserving memory is a fundamental tool in preventing human rights violations and crimes against humanity from recurring. Documents created and collected by various national and international bodies – truth commissions, tribunals, even civil organizations – contain descriptions of facts, data, evaluation and analysis of events and procedures which are of vital importance in preserving memory and exposing the past. These textual and non-textual documents also constitute a valuable source for historical research. However, if these documents are dispersed, are in various states of processing, and are subject to differing accessing regulations, reliable comparative research becomes very difficult, and sometimes almost impossible.

I am convinced that establishing an international repository for preserving the most important and most typical documents on this subject, and making them available for comparative analysis and historical research would significantly promote the work of other such institutions, and would forward the work of human rights organizations, as well as scholarly research and education.

I believe that the Open Society Archives in Budapest, a research and education base equipped with long-term and secure storage facilities and top-notch expertise, would be an ideal site for such a repository.

The mission and holdings of the Open Society Archives

The fundamental mission of the Open Society Archives (OSA), founded by George Soros in 1995, is to obtain, preserve and make available research resources for the study of communism and the Cold War (particularly in Central and Eastern Europe), and for the study of twentieth and twenty-first century human rights issues.

The core of the Archives' communism and Cold War holdings are the records of the Research Institute of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, including a unique collection of samizdat publications. OSA's current human rights holdings embrace a significant collection of materials related to the war in the former Yugoslavia. These materials were donated to the Archives by the International Human Rights Law Institute (IHRLI). This record group includes the reports of the UN Commission of Experts, as well as their original background documentation (textual documents, video tapes, audio tapes, books and journals). OSA also holds the records of the Index on Censorship and the International Helsinki Federation.

OSA regularly receives researchers from all over the world and runs a reference and retrieval service augmented by a copying and mailing service. OSA ensures equal access to its holdings to local and distant researchers through its mailing service, by offering research grants to support visiting scholars and journalists, and by maintaining a web site which contains information about its holdings.

While advocating and practicing easy access and openness, OSA has instituted a restriction policy aimed at, among other things, honoring the wishes of donors and depositors, and maintaining personal privacy. For example, in the case of the materials received from IHRLI, Mr. Cherif Bassiouni, Chairman of the Commission of Experts and Rapporteur for the Gathering and Analysis of Facts,

decided which documents should be available for research, and which should be temporarily closed.

OSA also provides research opportunities for the professors, MA and PhD students of Central European University. In the future OSA will develop an even closer working relationship with the Human Rights Program of the Legal Studies Department, which will launch new courses with curricula based on our archival holdings. Some of the planned courses are: Human Rights Aspects of Armed Conflicts, Political Rights, Minority Rights, Humanitarian Law and Protection of Civilians, Asylum and Refugees, and International Human Rights Issues.

Proposed acquisition principles

The main sources of documents in such a repository would be truth commissions, tribunals, committees of experts at the national and international level; international organizations and their sub-branches; and international, national or local human rights organizations.

If an important document collection is in danger of being destroyed, disarranged or dispersed, the repository should be able to take it over in its entirety. However, the repository does not intend to acquire any documents which constitute an integral part of a given country's history if they have a long-term, secure storage place with adequate provisions for preservation, processing and research by outsiders. Therefore, this repository would mainly be composed of copies of individual documents and samples of distributed or printed material.

Documents in the repository could cover the following areas:

- laws, resolutions, agreements and other legal papers documenting the establishment of institutions set up to investigate war crimes and human rights violations; documents describing any debates and arguments preceding the adoption of such laws and resolutions;
- documents describing the actual founding process of these institutions;
- internal documents about the work of such institutions;
- drafts and final reports, analyses and statistical data about their activities;
- documents sent by the institution to international organizations;
- publications about the work and findings of the institutions;
- typical cases and procedures.

The creator and/or owner of the original records would judge the importance of the documents, deciding which ones should be copied and sent to the repository. As stated before, OSA is ready to follow the express restriction requirements of any donor organization.

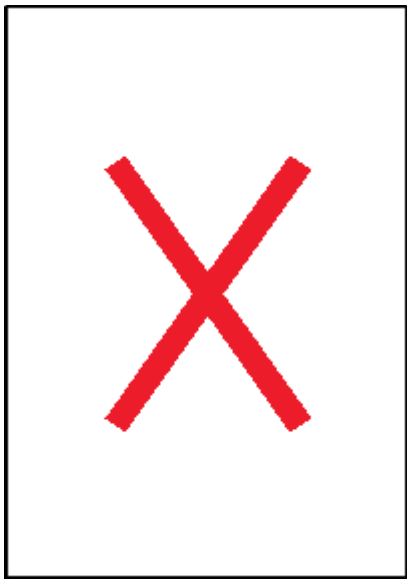
International cooperation is needed

My recent discussions at the International Seminar on Justice, Truth and Reconciliation, held in Geneva, 9–12 December 1998, and the resulting enthusiastic response to this idea reinforced my conviction that there is a need to establish such a repository. However, moral support received from reputable international organizations is not sufficient for realizing this idea – your cooperation is essential to the success of creating this repository. Therefore, I am now sending this proposal to the leaders of the organizations represented at the Geneva seminar, and asking them to consider this idea and embrace our initiative.

We are prepared to launch this project as soon as our potential partner institutions express their intention to cooperate with the Open Society Archives. We intend to inform all our partner institutions on a regular basis about the growth of the repository and the processing work completed or underway.

Budapest, 12 January 1999

István Rév
Director, Open Society Archives



Cover-page of a CIA Research Report, issued on 6 April 1950 regarding the Soviet atom bomb. Published on microfilm after declassification.

Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

GENETIC PROOFS OF RELATEDNESS TO HELP RECOVER
THE IDENTITY OF REFUGEES
WITHOUT DOCUMENTS AND OTHER PROOFS OF IDENTITY

Principles and Recommendations

DRAFT

Preambulum

The Open Society Archives

- Realizing the danger inherent in modern wars and civil wars that masses of people might leave their homes, losing their documents and other proofs of identity;
- Ascertaining that techniques for genetic demonstration of relatedness are available for mass use at moderate costs;
- Assuming that in case of lack of other proofs or non-approval of proofs it might be necessary to demonstrate genetic relationships as a means of recovering identity;
- Being aware however, that the introduction of these techniques might arouse anxiety and that it is therefore desirable to give assurances as to their proper use;
- Being aware of the dangers of discrimination and social stigmatisation which may result from genetic data, and determined to fight such phenomena;
- Being aware also that abusing human rights comprises not only physical assaults but also infringements of information rights which can have a long-lasting impact on the individuals' future;
- Convinced therefore that such tests could be carried out only when initiated by the persons concerned, in full respect of their personal rights and the internationally accepted norms of data protection;

Recommends that

- The international community and democratic governments accept the following principles and promote their application;
- Humanitarian and other civil organizations have due regard to these principles while carrying out their activities and ensure their wide circulation among the potential subjects;
- Medical organizations suitable to carry out such tests follow these principles and be assured that their tests are used in a way which complies with these principles;

as well as

All these organizations cooperate, when necessary, to enforce these principles.

Scope and Definitions

These Principles and Recommendations apply to the collection of samples and use of DNA analysis for the purposes of demonstrating genetic relatedness in order to help recover the identity of refugees without documents and other proofs of identity.

“DNA analysis” or “genetic tests” refer to any procedure which may be employed in the analysis of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), the basic genetic material of life.

“Samples” refers to any substance of living origin which may be utilised for the purpose of DNA analysis.

“Genetic data” refers to any structured collection of the results of DNA analysis tests whether retained in material form, as manually held records, or on a computerised database.

Informing the public

The public should be informed about the possibilities of genetic demonstration of relatedness, in particular their availability, purpose and implications – legal, medical, social and ethical – as well as the centres where they are carried out.

Equality of access and non-discrimination

Among refugees who have no other proof of identity, or their proof of identity is not acceptable, there should be equality of access to genetic testing, without financial considerations and without preconditions concerning eventual personal choices.

No condition should be attached to the acceptance or the undergoing of genetic tests.

Self-determination

The provision of genetic services to demonstrate relatedness should be based on respect for the principle of self-determination of the persons concerned. For this reason, any genetic testing, even when offered systematically, should be made only when initiated by the persons concerned and should be subject to their express, free and informed consent.

The testing of the following categories of persons should be subject to special safeguards:

- minors;
- persons suffering from mental disorders;
- adults placed under limited guardianship.

Testing of these persons should be permitted only if the information is imperatively needed to prove genetic relatedness. The consent of the person to be tested is required in these cases too.

Non-compulsory nature of tests

Health service benefits, family allowances, marriage requirements or other similar formalities, as well as the admission to, or the continued exercise of certain activities, especially employment, should not be made dependent on the undergoing of genetic tests.

The granting of citizenship, and issuing of identity documents may depend on the results of genetic demonstration of relatedness only if the person concerned expresses his free and informed consent to the use of these results as the basis of proving identity.

Quality of genetic services

Genetic tests may only be carried out under the supervision and responsibility of a duly qualified physician.

It is desirable for centers where laboratory tests are performed to be approved by a competent national or international organization, and that they participate in an external quality assurance.

Counselling and support

Any genetic testing procedure should be accompanied by appropriate counselling, both before and after the procedure.

Such counselling must be non-directive. The information to be given should include the results of tests, pertinent medical facts, as well as the potential consequences and choices inherent in the results. It should explain the purpose and the nature of the tests and point out possible risks. It must be adapted to the specific local circumstances in which individuals and families receive genetic information.

Everything should be done to provide, where necessary, continuing support for the tested persons.

Data protection

The collection and storage of samples, and the processing of information derived therefrom, must be in conformity with the Council of Europe's basic principles of data protection and data security laid down in the Convention for the Protection of Individuals

with regard to Automatic Processing of Personal Data, European Treaty Series No. 108 of 28 January 1981, and in line with the relevant Recommendations of the Committee of Ministers in this field.

Nominative genetic data or associated personal data may be collected, processed and stored only for the purposes of demonstrating relatedness when so requested by the persons concerned.

Genetic data, as all medical data, should as a general rule be kept separate from other personal records.

Professional secrecy

Persons handling genetic information should be bound by professional rules of conduct and by the rules laid down by national legislation which are aimed at preventing the misuse of such information and, in particular, by the duty to observe strict confidentiality. Personal information obtained by genetic testing is protected on the same basis as other medical data by the rules of medical data protection.

However, in the case of a demonstration of genetic relatedness, and the finding of a severe genetic risk or illness for the person tested or other family members, consideration should be made whether family members or those affected should be informed about matters relevant to their health or the health of their future children in accordance with national legislation and professional rules of conduct.

Such findings may be communicated to the person tested only if they are of direct clinical importance to the person or the family. Communication of such findings to family members of the person tested should only be authorised by national law if the person tested refuses expressly to inform them even though their lives are in danger.

Handling of samples and data

Samples taken from individuals for DNA analysis should be destroyed after the rendering of the final decision in the case for which they were used, unless it is necessary for purposes directly linked to those for which they were collected.

Measures should be taken to ensure that the results of DNA analysis and the information so derived is destroyed when it is no longer necessary to keep it for the purposes for which it was used. Samples, or the information derived from them, may be stored for longer periods:

- when the person concerned so requests; or
- if needed for population and similar research and statistical purposes, provided that all personal data with which the individual concerned can be identified are irreversibly removed prior to use of the samples or data for such purposes.

The same applies to the publishing of such data.

CHRONOLOGY OF EXHIBITIONS

Samizdat Exhibition
15–22 March 1996

The Representation of the Counter-revolution
4 November – 20 December 1996

Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union and The Art of the Unofficial
10 October – 31 December 1997

50 Years Ago It Was 100 Years Ago...
13 March – 10 April 1998

Legends in Life and Art:
The Portrait Photography of Roloff Beny from the National Archives of Canada
15 April – 15 May 1998

23 Years of the International Helsinki Human Rights Movement
27 June – 5 August 1998

Prague Spring / Prague Fall – 1968
10 September – 11 October 1998

Freeze Frames of Communism
21 October – 18 December 1998

The Commissar Vanishes – Falsified Photographs of the Stalin Era

12 March – 25 April 1999

Ten Years of Freedom – 1956 in Hungarian Historical Thought

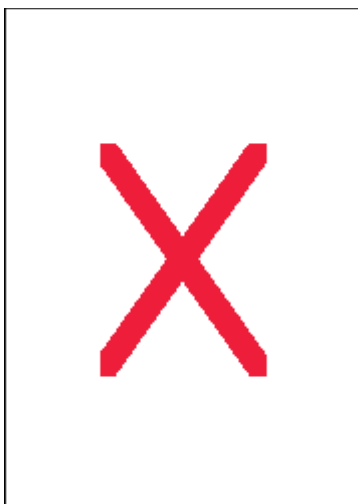
28 January – 27 February 1999

Gulag

1 May – 30 May 1999

Ten Years After

23 June – 1 August 1999



The invitation card designed by Zsuzsa Medve and Ferenc Nemzetes for the exhibition The Commissar Vanishes (March–April 1999).

The same design was used for the poster of the exhibition.

Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

POLITICS AS ART/ART AS POLITICS

An international conference organized by the Open Society Archives

at the Central European University, Auditorium

11–12 October 1997, Budapest

Consultant: Konstantin Akinsha

Program:

Underground Art as Art

Moderator: Andrew Solomon, art critic of The New York Times Magazine

Panelists: Boris Groys, Professor of Philosophy and Aesthetics at the Hochschule
für Gestaltung, Karlsruhe

Ekaterina Dyogot, art historian, art critic for the "Kommersant," Moscow

Kim Levin, President of the International Association of Art Critics, New York

Underground Art as Politics

Moderator: Wolfgang Eichwede, Director, Research Institute of Eastern Europe,
Bremen University

Panelists: Andrei Kovaliov, Professor at Western European Art Department

of Lomonosov University, Moscow
László Beke, Director, Palace of Art, Budapest
Alla Rosenfeld, curator and art historian, Jane Voorhees Zimmerli
Art Museum, Rutgers University

Collecting Underground Art

Moderator: Dennis Cate, Director, Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum,
Rutgers University

Panelists: Alexander Borowsky, Head of the Department of New Trends at the
State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg
Andrei Erofeev, curator and art historian, National Tsaritsyno Museum,
Moscow
Rene Baigell, Professor at the Art History Department of Rutgers University



Invitation card for the exhibition 50 Years Ago was 100 Years Ago (March–April 1998), designed by Péter Vajda. The same design was used for the poster of the exhibit.

Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

RUSSIA IN THE 20TH CENTURY COMPETITION FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, 1997

In November 1997, the Open Society Archives organized a two-round competition for high school students in connection with the OSA exhibition The Art of the Unofficial – Rebel Artists and Their Work from the Soviet Union. According to the contest guidelines, each of the participating groups sent in two essays on topics in the two thematic groups, history and art history, by the deadline at the end of January 1998.



An ingenious concept for a case, which serves as a pop-up illustration of the essays submitted for the competition Russia in the 20th Century. Prepared by the student competitors: Lilla Bodor, Krisztina Havasi, Norbert Jankovics, Rebeka Kánnai, Melinda Sipos, László Szűcs from Tóparti Gimnázium és Művészeti Szakközépiskola (Secondary School for Arts and Humanities, Székesfehérvár, Hungary). Photo by András Révész. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Twenty-nine school groups visited The Art of the Unofficial, and were led on tours guided by OSA historians. Of these, 18 groups submitted essays in the competition. The five best essays were selected by the judges, and four students from each of the five groups were invited to compete in the finals.

The judges of the competition were Professor Ágnes Gereben of Eötvös Loránd University, and literary historian Ilona Kiss, researcher at the COLPI Russian Studies Center.

The five groups competing in the finals came from the following schools:

- Béri Balogh Ádám High School, Tamási
- Technical Secondary School for Crafts and Design, Budapest
- József Attila High School, Makó
- Kossuth Lajos High School, Miskolc
- Szent-Györgyi Albert School for Elementary and Secondary Education (1–12), Budapest.

The finals were held on 27 March 1998, in Galeria Centralis. All of the groups proved to be exceptionally well prepared for the oral competition, displaying sound knowledge of the subject matter. Prizes were awarded the following groups:

First Prize (tie) – 150,000 HUF Szent-Györgyi Albert School for
Elementary and Secondary Education,
Budapest;
Kossuth Lajos High School, Miskolc

Second Prize – 100,000 HUF József Attila High School, Makó

Third Prize – 50,000 HUF Béri Balogh Ádám High School, Tamási

The schools close to use the prize money for field trips.

announces
FROM DISSENT INTO MADNESS
A Festival of Documentary Films on the Conflicts in the former Yugoslavia
4:00 pm, October 6. building, 1st floor, Room # 107

Monday, 26 April **DEATH OF YUGOSLAVIA (part I)**
(BBC, United Kingdom, 1995, 50 min.)

An excellent and detailed account of the turbulent history of Yugoslavia from WW I to the secession of Slovenia in 1991. One ideology replaces another: the fall of communism, brotherhood and unity and the rise of nationalism. Old rivalries and hatred are ignited. The 'powder keg' of Europe explodes again.

Tuesday, 27 April **DEATH OF YUGOSLAVIA (part II)**
(BBC, United Kingdom, 1995, 50 min.)

The second part of this series traces the ultimate disintegration of the federation. Nationalism in both Serbia and Croatia evoke deep-buried memories of terror. Political solutions are ridiculed when warring spirits run high. All sides disregard the consequences, and the war machine is set in motion. The result is the horror and madness that is Vukovar.

Wednesday, 28 April **A STREET UNDER SIEGE (part I)**
(Saga, BiH, 1994, 10 min.)

A series of short clips depict the everyday lives of people living in besieged Sarajevo. Ordinary people in unique circumstances. Water, food and shelter – basic needs attained through unimaginable obstacles.

DISAPPEARING WORLD: WE ARE ALL NEIGHBORS
(Channel 4 London, United Kingdom, 1992, 55 min.)

A very thoughtful story of a Bosnian village where Croats and Muslims lived together for centuries. Can friendships spanning half a century be maintained under the pressure of war? What makes neighbors, living together peacefully for decades, suddenly take up arms against one another?

Thursday, 29 April **A STREET UNDER SIEGE (part II)**
(Saga, BiH, 1994, 10 min.)

A second part of a series tracing human destinies in war-torn Sarajevo. Disbelief, fear, anger, disillusionment, resilience and resignation...

SARAJEVO DIARY
(Channel 4 London, United Kingdom, 1994, 52 min.)

A British ex-pat in Sarajevo for 27 years becomes a refugee in his native country. The return to a city he remembers as colorful, cosmopolitan and tolerant is painful amidst the destruction and horror. Yet the Sarajevo he finds is not unlike the city of his memories: at once defiant and accepting. War brings fear and suffering, but the human spirit prevails.

Friday, 30 April **ROMEO AND JULIET IN SARAJEVO**
(Frontline-PBS, United States, 1993, 85 min.)

The title tells all: boy loves girl but nationalism and hatred intervene. Their story is not atypical, it is one example of the great number of mixed marriages in Bosnia. Yet their death is all the more tragic and disturbing as it brings no resolution in a world ruled by hatred.

The films comprise a part of the audio-visual holdings of OSA. To access the audio-visual holdings of the Archives for similar or different materials go to: <http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/1999/osabook/BookText.htm>

GULAG FILM WEEK

On the week of 6 May 1999 the Open Society Archives organized "Gulag film week", a screening of a series of films to coincide with the Archives exhibit "Gulag". The topic of labor camps were approached from three angles, by showing the following types of

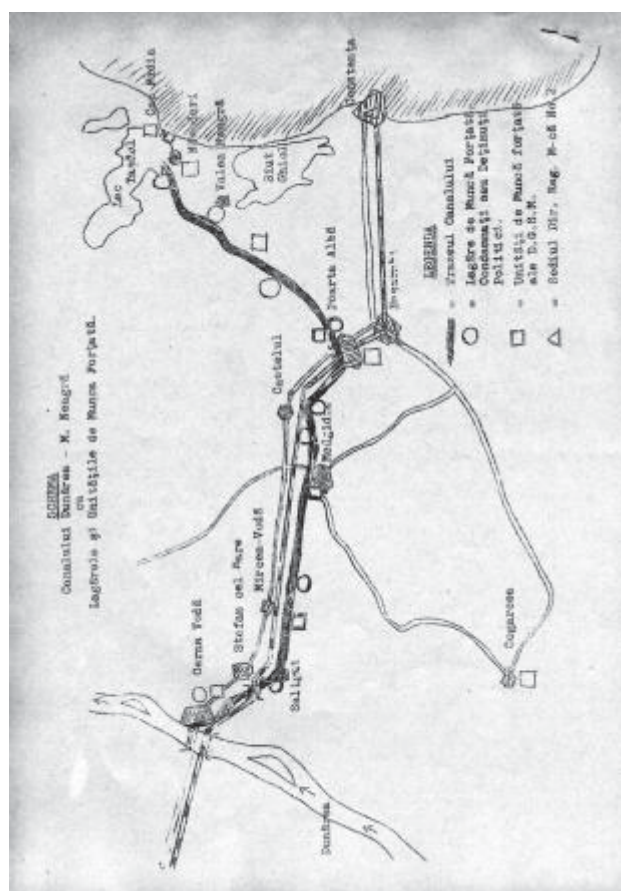
films:

- The most famous propaganda films made about the Gulag in the 1930's (The White Sea Canal, Solovki and The Fergana Canal.)
- Soviet feature films from the 1930's, which present the Soviet Union as a "heaven on earth", and its society as being comprised of continuously and tirelessly happy people. These movies – Volga-Volga, Jolly Fellows – and other Soviet classics such as The Party Membership Card, The Big Sunrise, The Road to Life, Far from Moscow and Chapayev present a non-existent world as reality, thereby creating an absurd effect on present-day viewers.
- Documentary and feature films from the 1980's and 1990's showing the reality of the Gulag system and the totalitarian regime (Hungarian Women in the Gulag, Recsk, The Division, Chinese Defense, The Cold Summer of '53).

The opening act of the film week was a lecture by Ilona Kiss, scholar of Russian literature.

Program:

- 6 May 6 pm Lecture by Ilona Kiss
The Party Membership Card (D: Pirev, Soviet, 1936.)
8 pm The White Sea Canal (D: Lemberg, Soviet documentary, 1936.)
The Sunrise (D: Chiaureli, Soviet, 1938.)
- 7 May 6 pm Solovki Camp (D: Cherkasov, Soviet propaganda film, 1928.)
8 pm The Division (D: Péter Gothár, Hungarian feature film, 1995.)
- 8 May 6 pm Volga – Volga (D: Aleksandrov and Dunaevski, Soviet comedy, 1938.)
8 pm Recsk I–II. (D: Böszörményi and Gyarmathy, Hungarian documentary, 1985-87.)
- 9 May 6 pm Jolly Fellows (D: Aleksandrov and Dunaevski, Soviet comedy, 1934.)
8 pm Hungarian women in the Gulag (D: Sándor Sára, Hungarian, 1991.)
- 10 May 6 pm The Road to Life (D: Ekk, Soviet, 1931.)
8 pm The Cold Summer of '53 (D: Proshkin, Soviet, 1988.)
- 11 May 6 pm Far from Moscow (D: Stopler, Soviet, 1950.)
8 pm Chinese Defense (D: Gábor Tompa, Hungarian, 1998.)
- 12 May 6 pm The Fergana Channel (Soviet documentary, 1939.)
8 pm Chapayev (D: the Vasilyev brothers, Soviet, 1934.)



A graphic appendix of an Item (anonymized interview) from 16 March 1953, showing the scheme of the Danube–Black Sea Canal with the attached forced labor camps and units.

Romanian Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

SELECTION OF THESES OF CEU STUDENTS WHO CARRIED OUT RESEARCH AT THE OPEN SOCIETY ARCHIVES

History

- The Dynamics of Extinction: The Nazarene Religious Community in Yugoslavia after 1945
- Ethnic Competition and State Policies in a Village from South-Eastern Transylvania, 1970–1999
- Institutional Structure of Soviet Unofficial Art in Post-Stalin Russia
- Politics of Power versus Politics of Culture: Intellectuals under Communism
- Perceptions of Self and the Other: the Construction of National Identity in Czech and Slovak History Textbooks during the 1980s and 1990s
- Bulgarian Communist Historiography on Bulgarian Fascism
- Generation Gap during the “Thaw” Period: Nonconformity of Soviet Youth
- The Post-War International Activities of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1944–1953)
- Local History vs. National History: Collective Memory Among the Pomaks in the Region of Teteven, Bulgaria
- Reflections on the Revolution in Czechoslovakia
- The Image of the Leader in the Communist Period: The Romanian Case in the Ceaușescu Era
- Advertising “Goulash Communism”: Consumer Good and Service Advertisement Films in Hungary in the 1970’s and 80’s
- Pedagogic Work of the Soviet Authority: The Party Against Musical Formalism
- The Church under Conditions of Krushchev’s Anti-Religious Offensive: The Ukrainian Situation and its Polish Parallel
- The First Avant-Garde Exhibitions and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Kyiv
- Holocaust Denial in Romania’s Post-communist Period
- Borrowed Clothes: History Politics in Hungary, 1945–1956
- The Peasant Uprising in Western Siberia (1921): A Case Study in History of the Russian Civil War
- National Movement in Croatia, 1971
- Unzipping the USSR: Jeans as a Symbol of the Struggle Between Consumerism and Consumption in the Brezhnev Era, 1964–1982
- The Bulgarian Exarchate: Church Policy and Balkan Nationalism (1870–1913)

- The Celebrations of Polish National Holidays by the State and the Church between 1944 and 1980
- "The Kosovo Battle": The History, the Myth, the Manipulation
- De-Stalinization of the Soviet Bloc Countries, 1953–1956: The Case of Hungary
- Dissident vs. Conformist in Kadarist Hungary: Mental Reservation as an Intellectual Strategy of Survival
- U.S. Foreign Policy During the Balkan Conflict
- Political Usage of Culture: Cultural Policies of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the Sixties and Seventies
- Broken People: The Story of Prejudice and Collaboration Perpetrated Against the Roma in Communist Hungary
- The Memory of 1956 Gendered Transcript
- Representation of National History in the 1950's in Hungary
- Intellectual Dissidents in Romania, 1977–1989
- The Threat From Below: Workers' Protest in Communist Romania
- The "Making" of Elena Ceaușescu's Cult of Personality by the Romanian Communist Party's Propaganda Daily, Scinteia, 1971–80
- First Feminist Groups in Leningrad, 1979–1982

Political Science

- Intellectuals, National Identity and Mass Media in Latvia: 1986–1991
- Problems of Administrative Reform: The Case of Ukraine
- Values in the Content of the Election Platforms of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Union of Democratic Forces (1990–97)
- Delayed Transitions: Management of Time in Post-Communist Romania
- Dual Television Broadcasting in Transitory Societies: The Case of Czech and Slovak Television Operators
- Media as a Weapon: The Role of the Media in Ethnic Conflicts, Case Study: Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Opportunity Structure And Political Attitudes
- False Hopes, False Fears
- Ethnicity and the Structuring of the Political Field in Bulgarian Transition

Environmental Sciences

- Biomass Assessment and Utilization Options for Energy Production in Albania
- A Simulation Model of a River Basin as a Tool in Sustainable Management
- Factors Impacting Agricultural Occupational Health Arising From the Privatization of Agriculture in Albania: Pesticide Issues, Policy and Agricultural Occupational Health

Gender Studies

- East Meets West Where Past Meets Present: Translating Western Feminism into Eastern Europe

RESEARCH GRANTS

1996

- Comparative Study of State and Nation Creation Processes in the post WW II Lithuania and Poland
- The Russian Patriarchate and the Slavonic Orthodox Churches during the Period of the Cold War

1997

- The Impact of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution on the West
- Alternative Macroeconomic Policies for Transitional Economics: The Case of Poland
- Stalin, Technology and Russia's Environmental Crisis
- Problems of Democratic Transition: Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Belorussia
- Mass Media in the Civil Conflicts: Eastern Europe and the Former USSR
- Option for the West: Polish Foreign Policy Orientation
- The Responses of Eastern European Countries to the 1967 Arab–Israeli War
- Chernobyl Stories (short stories)
- Collectivization in the 1970's and 1980's: The Case of Zamogorie, Slovakia
- Transmission of Values in the Hungarian Political Programs of Radio Free Europe
- Minorities in Communist Romania, 1948–1965

1998

- Human Rights Violations During the Sovietization of Armenia
- The Effects of the 1950 Repression in the Field of Genetic Research
- The Relationship Between Human Rights Movements in the Balkans and Existing Social and Cultural Models of Women's Behavior
- The Efforts of the International Community to Solve the Emerging Ethnic Conflicts Resulting from the Dissolution of the Former Yugoslavia

- Civil-Military Relations in Post Communist States
- Multiculturalism in Bosnia and Hercegovina
- Russians Abroad: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters, 1917–1991
- The Policy of the Soviet Union Towards Eastern Europe, 1953–1958
- The Transformation of Bulgarian Political Elites During the System Change, 1988–1993
- The Reception of Andrei Sakharov's Texts by Human Rights Movements in Eastern Europe
- The Evolution of Cold War Propaganda Images, 1948–1989, in the Context of US–Bulgarian Relations
- The Effectiveness of the International Law of Armed Conflicts – The Problem of Reprisals
- The Educational Policy of the Socialist Countries
- Caricature as a Source for Nationalism Studies: The Image of the Balkan Neighbor As Seen by the Bulgarian Political Caricature
- The Macedonian Question: Nationalism and Communism in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in the Wider Cold War Context, 1958–1989.
- The Ways Public Space Was Controlled by the State Socialist Regime in Czechoslovakia
- Political Communication Before and After the Cold War: Structural Changes, Perception and Foreign Policy Decision Making
- Dissident Movement in the Former USSR in 1950–1960
- The Role of Samizdat in the Democratization of Former Socialist Countries
- Nationalism in Czech Republic and Slovakia: A Comparative Study
- Censorship Mechanisms in Central and Eastern Europe During Communism
- The Attitude of Western Propaganda Toward Political Life in Bulgaria, 1949–1956
- Marxism-Leninism and Non-conformist Intelligentsia: Years of Resistance and the Revival of Russian National Consciousness
- Romanian Historians Under Communism
- The Experience of the “Russian Sixties” and the Cold War

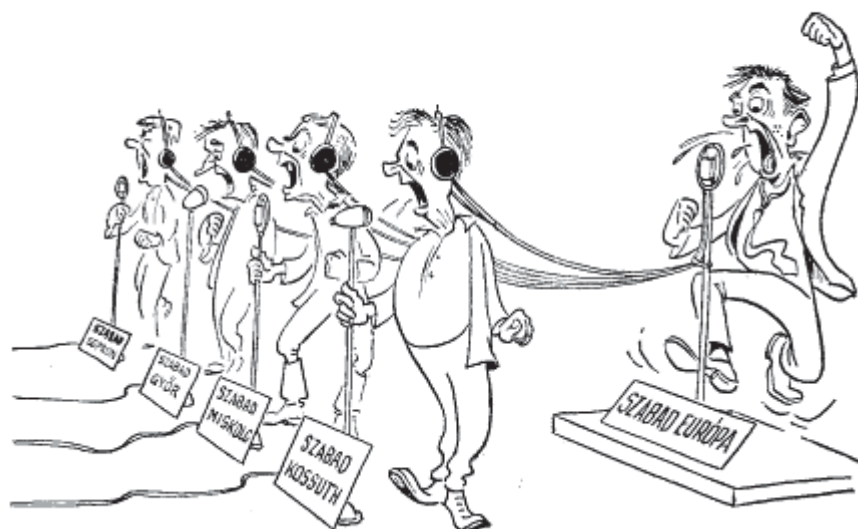
1999 (January–August)

- Democratization, Civil Society and Ethnic Peace Constituencies: East European and Post-Soviet Prospectives
- Coming to Terms with the Past: Ethnic Restructuring and Its Aftermath in the Baltic States
- Turkestan Re-Union: National Identity and Regional Integration in Central Asia
- Yugoslav Theatre and the 1968 Student Protest
- The Interplay of Communism and Nationalism in the former Soviet Union (The Case of Armenia)
- National History and Nationalist Myth: A Case Study of the Historical Thought of Ukrainian Dissidents, 1960s – 1980s.
- The Systematic Discrimination of Roma and Criminal Justice Reform in Hungary: A Critical Sociological Approach
- Basic Attitudes Towards Europe in Belarus and Russia, 1975–1980
- The Roots of Collapse: Soviet “Sixties” and the End of Communism

REFERENCE INFORMATION PAPERS (RIP)
PREPARED BY OSA STAFF

- RIP 1: Raoul Wallenberg
RIP 2: The Environment
RIP 3: Roma
RIP 4: 1956 Hungarian Revolution
RIP 5: Religious Issues and Church History (in Hungarian)
RIP 6: Non-Conformist Artists In the USSR, 1956–1986
RIP 7: Records Relating to Prague Spring 1968
RIP 8: Forced Labor Camps under Communism

PARTTOL ES KORMÁNYTÓL FÜGGETLEN, SZABAD
MAGYAR LEADÓÁLLOMÁSOKAT!



"We demand free Hungarian broadcasting stations, independent of the Communist Party and government! – Radio Free Europe"
Cartoon from Sándor Pogány's book "October 23" which was published in Budapest in 1958. The series of caricatures on the 1956 Hungarian revolution "was inspired by anger, hatred and sarcasm" and was pulped after its publication. Even the authorities found it too brutal. Three known volumes remained – one of them is in the OSA Library.

REFERENCE INFORMATION PAPER 6

Records Relating to Non-Conformist Artists in the USSR, 1956–1986

Records of the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute
Information Resources Department

Compiled by Olga Zaslavskaya and Bosko Spasojevic, 17 September 1997

The Research Institute of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty maintained files pertaining to non-conformist artists and art in the Soviet Union for use by Radio broadcasters and analysts. Approximately 2400 pages of such materials are found in the research records of Radio Liberty which supported broadcasting to the USSR.

The records of the Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives of the Information Resources Department of the Research Institute of Radio Liberty are arranged in two main groups of records:

1. The Soviet ("Red") Archives, records the Radio gathered about Soviet government and life, contain 35 files of documents relating to non-conformist art issues such as Exhibitions (2 files), Art (9 files), Artists (6 files), Culture (2 files), Dissenters (10 files), Intelligentsia (2 files) and Censorship (4 files). The "Red" Archives contain only two files on specific non-conformist artists: Ernst Neizvestny and Oscar Rabin. These files contain press clippings, wire service dispatches, RFE/RL Background Reports and research materials.

2. The Samizdat Archives are records on dissidents, émigrés and human rights issues in the Former USSR, including a body of self-published works collected by the Radio. These files contain press clippings, news agency releases and Radio Liberty Research Reports which are primarily in Russian and English. Two major series of Samizdat Archives records include materials on non-conformist artists:

- a) The Biographical Files contain two kinds of files:

- Files on Individuals. These files contain 18 personal files on the following individual artists: BIRGER Boris, BULATOV Eric, IANKILEVSKII Vladimir, KABAKOV Il'ia, KOMAR Vitalii, KROPIVNITSKIE Evgenii, KROPIVNITSKIE Lev, KROPIVNITSKIE Valentina, MELAMID Aleksandr, NEIZVESTNYI Ernst, NEMUKHIN Vladimir, PRIGOV Dmitrii, RABIN Oscar, RUKHIN Evgenii, RYBAKOV Iulii,

SHTEINBERG Eduard, SIDUR Vadim, SINIAVIN Igor, SYSOEV Viacheslav and FILIMONOV Vadim.

– Alphabetical files with records on several individuals grouped together. These files contain records pertaining to nearly 70 other non-conformist artists and art critics (see next page.)

b) The Subject Files contain the following entries on non-conformist art and cultural issues: Arts, Artists, Censorship, Culture, Dissenters, Exhibitions, Intelligentsia and Nonconformist Artists.



A scene from the exhibition The Commissar Vanishes (Galeria Centralis, March–April 1999).
Photo by Zsuzsanna Fekete. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Alphabetical files containing records
on non-conformist artists and art critics

Ablakova, Natal'ia
Abezgaуз, Evgenii
Avetisian, Lev
Alekseev, Nikita
Anufriev, Sergei
Aref'ev, Alexandr
Babin, Alexandr
Bakhchinian, Vagrich

Belenok, Petr
Chuikov, Ivan
Ganikovskii, Igor'
Gerloviny, Valerii, Rimma
Gumennuik, Feodosii
Iakovlev, Vladimir
Infante, Frantsisco
Kalinin, Viacheslav
Kantor, Maksim
Kaplan, Anatolii
Kharitonov, Alexandr
Kizevalter, Georgii
Kopistianskie Igor?, Svetlana
Kosmachev, Vadim
Kosolapov, Aleksandr
Krasnopevtsev, Dmitrii
Kulakov, Mikhail
Ladyzhenskii, Efim
Lebedev, Rostislav
Leonov, Aleksandr
Makarevich, Igor'
Makarenko, Vladimir
Masterkova, Lidia
Mikhnov-Voitenko, Evgenii
Monastyrskii, Andrei
Nakhova, Irina
Naumets, Vladimir
Nesterova, Natal'ia
Nysberg, Lev
Ovchinnikov, Vladimir
Petrov, Arkadii
Pivovarov, Victor
Plavinskii, Dmitrii
Purygin, Leonid
Putilin, Anatolii
Piatnitskii, Vladimir
Roginskii, Mikhail
Roshal?, Mikhail
Roiak, Yefim
Runge, Sir'e
Shemiakin, Mikhail
Shnurov, Alexandr
Shurgin, Anatolii
Semenov-Amurskii, F.
Sitnikov, Vasilii
Skersis, Victor
Slepyshev, Anatolii
Sveshnikov, Boris
Tabenkin, Lev
Tiapushkin, Aleksei
Tselkov, Oleg
Shelkovskii, Igor'
Filatov, Nikolai
Zhilagov, Anatolii
Zhilius, Valdas
Zakharov, Vadim
Zverev, Anatolii
Zvezdochetov, Valentin

ACQUISITION POLICY

Cold War and Communism

The mission of OSA is to expand its collection related to the Cold War, and the life and afterlife of communism. Although we are interested in the afterlife (this is why we collect tapes of evening news from the colliding countries of the former Yugoslavia) we do not feel it to be our duty to collect materials on life after communism. Although OSA acquired the documentation of the East European Constitutional Review, which is part of our holdings related to the process of transition, it is not our ambition to consider transition as an unending, unlimited process.

The Archives considers it inappropriate to collect and ship to Budapest original documents from other countries unless – for whatever reason – there is no place for them in an archives of the country of origin. In our acquisition policy concerning materials from the communist period we will primarily concentrate on audio-visual materials. We are interested in textual materials only in as much as they complement our existing holdings.

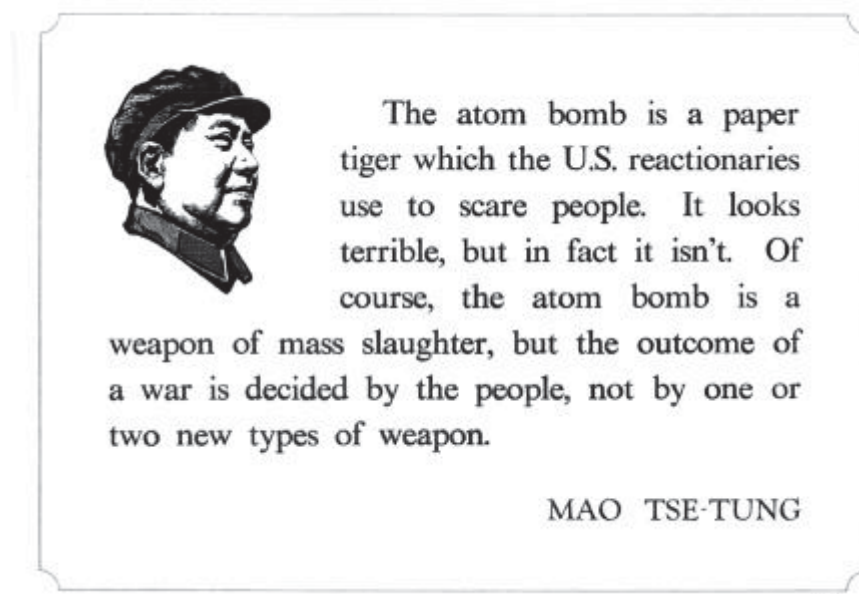
- We plan to make a conscious effort to build a collection of propaganda materials, primarily propaganda films made by the military, military academies and open or covert propaganda agencies.
- Our plan is to create a regional film collection of historical films produced both after the second World War and after 1989.
- We will increase our efforts to expand the documentary film collection.
- We also plan to start collecting multi-media teaching aids for history.
- We propose to the Environmental Studies Department of CEU a collaboration in creating a “state of the environment report” collection from the countries of the region. In addition to reports documenting the current situation, we try acquire reports from the period of communism, thereby supplementing our sizable special collection on the Chernobyl disaster. (Beside our extensive textual collection, we have a large collection of audio-visual interviews relating to the Chernobyl accident.)
- OSA is ready to house a special oral history archive that might develop out of the Oral History Teaching Program at CEU.

Solicitation of human rights materials

The Archives is planning to be pro-active in collecting materials related to human rights violations during Communism in East and Central Europe. However, in the field of human rights our mandate is broader than concentrating exclusively on the Cold War period and on the geographic boundaries of East and Central Europe. Accordingly, we are negotiating about the formation of a core holding on war crimes, and Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. We are active in bringing over documents of the organization Physicians for Human Rights and there is a chance that Archives of Human Rights Watch and Penal Reform International will eventually be donated to OSA.

Soros Network and CEU

The Archives is in charge of the records management of CEU and the Soros Foundation. OSA, in cooperation with the CEU and the Foundation, is working on records management guidelines both for traditional and electronic records. These guidelines might serve as a model for electronic records management in general for the region.



A Chinese propaganda poster with Mao Tse-Tung's infamous slogan about the atom bomb, which was used as an instalation at the exhibit Prague Spring / Prague Fall – 1968 in Galeria Centralis (September–October 1998).
Colection of Posters, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

Contributors

István Rév, historian, Director of OSA

Trudy Huskamp Peterson, Archivist, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; former Executive Director of OSA; Acting Archivist of the United States

Charles Kecskeméti, historian and archivist, Adviser of OSA; former Secretary General of the International Council on Archives

András Mink, historian, Program Coordinator of OSA

Leszek Pudłowski, Chief Archivist, OSA; former Executive Director of the State Archives of the Capital City of Warsaw

Olga Zaslavskaya, Archives Assistant, OSA

Pavol Salamon, Senior Archivist, OSA

Csaba Szilágyi, Archivist, OSA

Boško Spasojević, historian, Reference Services Archivist, OSA

Natasha Zanegina, Senior Archivist, OSA; former Senior Information Specialist at OMRI

Iván Székely, social informatist, Counsellor of OSA; former Chief Counsellor of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Data Protection and Freedom of Information, Hungary

Gabriella Ivacs, Records Manager, OSA

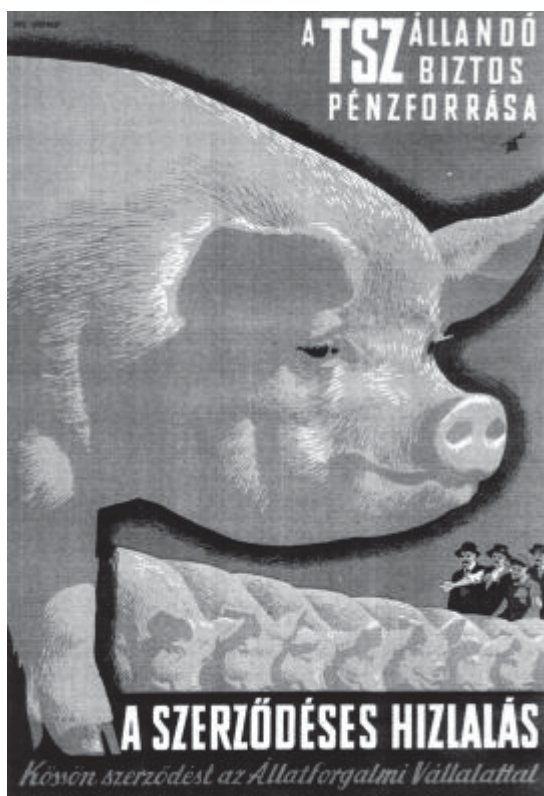
Zsuzsa Zádori, Audio-Visual Archivist, OSA

Andrea Jakobs, Archives Assistant, OSA

Katalin Dobó, Librarian, OSA

Edina Kishonthy, Exhibitions Manager, OSA

Sergey Glushakov, Electronic Services Manager, OSA



A stable financial source for the cooperative farm: the contracted hog fattening: A poster designed by György Pál (1961) displayed at the exhibition Freeze Frames of Communism (October–December 1998). Property of the National Széchenyi Library.



Processed archival material are stored in acid-free cardboard boxes in the depository of OSA.
Photo by Ferenc Nemzetes, Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.



Compact shelving system in the archival depository of OSA.



Photo by Ferenc Nemzetes, Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Page from a special revolutionary calendar designed for the exhibition organized on the 30th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution at RFE/RL in Munich. The texts on the preceding pages, covering the events from October 23 to November 3, were printed on a tricolor, red-white-green basis. The last two pages, November 4, the day of the Soviet invasion, and the Epilogue, were printed in black.

Hungarian Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

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* The expression comes from *The Imperial Archive* by Thomas Richards

[1] The report on Archives of Security Services of Former Repressive Regimes is available on UNESCO's website.

[2] A proposal of setting up such a database, developed three years ago by Dr. Lajos Körmendy of the Hungarian National Archives, has not been implemented.

[3] For instance, the records of analyst Bohdan Nahaylo, who was expected to work in OMRI, but he never arrived there.

[4] The Research Institute card files are very important and valuable historical sources. Usually they are divided into two series: subject and biographical. It is not known why but, for instance, the Bulgarian cards were separated: subject cards remained in the Radios (and were transferred to OSA), and the biographical ones were moved to Prague and now constitute part of the OMRI fonds.

[5] There are archival materials from the Evaluation and Research Section, East Europe Research and Analysis Department, Communism Area Analysis Department and German Affairs.

[6] Rossitza Guentcheva, who worked at OSA in 1995–1996, was the first to arrange and describe these materials.

[7] Jiřina Šmejkalová, who worked at OSA in 1995–1996, was the first to arrange and describe these materials.

[8] The Polish Unit was the biggest of all the national units. In 1966, it employed 16 people, while the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Units employed 9 each, and the Bulgarian and Romanian Units 6 people each.

[9] In 1965 three people processed 1,330 Items totaling 6,745 pages.

[10] For instance, in 1969 there were 13 dailies, 22 weeklies, 13 monthlies and 15 others publications (A Survey, 1966, p. 141). According to Teresa Karaszewska, at one point the staff used more than 150 Polish periodicals (Morawski, 1993, p. 8).

[11] Mikołaj Kunicki, who worked at OSA in 1995-1997, created the first arrangement and description of the Polish subfonds.

[12] News file “budget” papers were short daily texts in English, German and French, created immediately after important events, with condensed interpretations and evaluations.

[13] In one week of 1966 there were 300 clippings from the Polish Monitoring Bulletin, 280 from Trybuna Ludu, 210 from *Życie Warszawy*, 75 from the Polish Press Summary, 70 from the news file “budget”, 60 from *Głos Pracy*, and 45 from *Dziennik Polski*. This totals 1040 clippings per week, which would make more than 50,000 clippings per year!

[14] In 1966 there were 68,000 Subject Cards on more than 1000 topics.

[15] In 1966 there were 77,000, and in 1975 136,500 biographical cards representing 112,500 people.

[16] Mikołaj Kunicki, who worked at OSA in 1995–1997, was the first to arrange and describe the subfonds of the Polish Underground Publications Unit. The description of this unit is partly based on his work.

[17] Historian from Toruń, who used the pseudonym Michał Kołodziej on the radio.

[18] There were never more than three people in the staff.

[19] In March 1989, a young Romanian man set himself on fire on one of the slopes of the ski resort Poiana Brasov, in protest against the regime. His deed was soon reported to the (Western) media by two British tourists who witnessed the case.

[20] The majority of these cards have been created at the Research Institute. After its closure in 1994, the cards were taken over by OMRI, where they underwent updating

or discarding processes. According to the principle of "the last current use", the standing series of cards now make part of the Records of OMRI.

- [21] In addition to biographical cards, there are subject cards with information about institutions, organizations, state apparatus, culture, politics, industry etc.
- [22] Irida Tase, who worked at OSA created the first arrangement and description of the Albanian records. The description is partly based on her work.
- [23] Jennie Anne Levine, an American fellow of OSA in 1996-1997, wrote the first description of SBE Archives and its administrative history. She also processed the records of the Soviet "Red" Archives. This section is based on her description.
- [24] RFE/RL Research Institute. Activity Report No. 12, July – October 1992, RFE/RL, Administrative History, Central Files, OSA. Electronic files are also available at the Open Society Archives as a series of the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI) records.
- [25] The first description of the Samizdat Archives was prepared by Jennie Anne Levine, an American fellow of OSA in 1996 – 1997. She also interviewed former archivists of the Samizdat Unit, Peter Dornan and Mario Corti as well as staff member, Bedend Wispelway. This description is based on those documents.
- [26] [Mario Corti], The RFE/RL Research Institute's Samizdat Collection, Russian Samizdat, RFE/RL Administrative History, Central Files, OSA. Mario Corti (who is currently the Acting Director of the Russian service at RFE/RL in Prague) in the 1970s while working in the USSR played a significant role in sending samizdat materials to the West. In 1979, he joined the Samizdat Unit at RFE/RL in Munich (starting in 1988 as its chief), and later became an Assistant Director of the Information Resources Department.
- [27] This chapter is based on the facts given by Charif Bassiouni in: Final Report of the Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992), S/1994/647, 27 May 1994 and Annexes, Volume 1 – Final Report and Annexes I through V, United Nation's documentation, 1994, pp. 7-10.
- [28] See also <<http://www.ihf-hr.org>>
- [29] In the following countries and regions: Albania, Austria, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America, Yugoslavia.
- [30] Index on Censorship. Spring 1972. vol. 1, no. 1. p. 3.
- [31] *ibid.*, p. 81.
- [32] The section written on the administrative history of the Soros foundations network is based on the 1998 annual report of the network Building Open Societies published by the Open Society Institute in 1999, New York.
- [33] Records of the Office of Bill Newton-Smith contains also files on the Sarajevo Project and the Science Support Scheme for Bosnia-Herzegovina Project launched by the Office.
- [34] Trudy Huskamp Peterson, Memo: Russian Monitoring by Radio Liberty, 23 May 1996, RFE/RL, Administrative history, Central Files, OSA.
- [35] See <www.interpares.org>.
- [36] For more details, see <www.memo.ru>
- [37] See <www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv>
- [38] Further information about Citizens' Watch can be found at <www.wplus.net/pp/citwatch>
- [39] "Record may be defined as any information captured in reproducible form that is required for conducting business." (Penn, I.A., Pennix, G., Coulson, J.: Records Management Handbook, London: Gower, 1994. p. 3). It can be also defined as "... recorded information, in any form, including data in computer systems, created and received and maintained by an organization or person in the transaction of business or the conduct of affairs and kept as evidence of such activity" (Standards Australia, 1996, pt. 1, p. 7, 4.21)
- [40] A network based on internet standards and protocols belonging to an organization accessible only by the organization's members, employees or others with authorization.
- [41] General International Standard Archival Description
- [42] International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families.
- [43] The EAD Document Type Definition (DTD) is a standard for encoding archival finding aids using the Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML).