

Resolucija Evropskega parlamenta z dne 2. aprila 2009 o evropski zavesti in totalitarizmu

Evropski parlament,

- ob upoštevanju Splošne deklaracije Združenih narodov o človekovih pravicah,
 - ob upoštevanju Resolucije št. 206(III)A o genocidu, ki jo je dne 9. decembra 1948 sprejela Generalna skupščina Združenih narodov,
 - ob upoštevanju členov 6 in 7 Pogodbe o Evropski uniji,
 - ob upoštevanju Listine Evropske unije o temeljnih pravicah,
 - ob upoštevanju Okvirnega sklepa 2008/913/PNZ z dne 28. novembra 2008 o boju proti nekaterim oblikam in izrazom rasizma in ksenofobije s kazenskopravnimi sredstvi⁽¹⁾,
 - ob upoštevanju Resolucije št. 1481 parlamentarne skupščine Sveta Evrope z dne 25. januarja 2006 o potrebi po mednarodni obsodbi zločinov totalitarnih komunističnih režimov,
 - ob upoštevanju svoje deklaracije z dne 23. septembra 2008 o razglasitvi 23. avgusta za evropski dan spomina na žrtve stalinizma in nacizma⁽²⁾,
 - ob upoštevanju svojih številnih resolucij o demokraciji in spoštovanju temeljnih pravic in svoboščin, vključno z resolucijo z dne 12. maja 2005 ob 60. obletnici konca druge svetovne vojne v Evropi 8. maja 1945⁽³⁾, resolucijo z dne 23. oktobra 2008 o spominu na žrtve namerno povzročene lakote (holodomor)⁽⁴⁾ in resolucijo z dne 15. januarja 2009 o Srebrenici⁽⁵⁾,
 - ob upoštevanju komisij za resnico in pravičnost, ustanovljenih v različnih delih sveta, ki ljudem, ki so živeli v številnih nekdanjih avtoritarnih in totalitarnih režimih, pomagajo preseči razlike in doseči spravo,
 - ob upoštevanju izjav, ki so jih predsednik Parlamenta in politične skupine dali 4. julija 2006, sedemdeset let po državnem udaru generala Franca v Španiji,
 - ob upoštevanju člena 103(4) svojega Poslovnika,
- A. ker se zgodovinarji strinjajo, da zgodovinskih dejstev ni mogoče razlagati povsem objektivno in ker ne obstajajo objektivna zgodovinska poročila; ker poklicni zgodovinarji ne glede na to uporabljajo znanstvena orodja za preučevanje preteklosti in poskušajo biti čim bolj nepristranski;
- B. ker noben politični organ ali politična stranka nima izključne pravice do razlage zgodovine in ker ti organi in stranke ne morejo trditi, da so objektivni,
- C. ker se uradnih političnih razlag zgodovinskih dejstev ne bi smelo vsiljevati z večinskimi odločitvami v parlamentih; ker parlament ne more sprejemati zakonodaje za preteklost,
- D. ker je osrednji cilj procesa evropskega združevanja zagotoviti, da se spoštujejo temeljne pravice in načela pravne države, in ker so bili s členoma 6 in 7 Pogodbe o Evropski uniji zagotovljeni primerni mehanizmi za uresničitev tega cilja,
- E. ker lahko napačne razlage zgodovine spodbujajo politike izključevanja in tako napeljujejo k sovraštvu in rasizmu,
- F. ker je treba ohraniti spomin na tragično preteklost Evrope, da se počastijo žrtve, obsodijo storilci in položijo temelji za spravo, ki bo temeljila na resnici in spominu,
- G. ker je bilo v totalitarnih in avtoritarnih režimih dvajsetega stoletja v Evropi pregnanih, zaprtih, mučenih in ubitih na

milijone žrtev; ker je vseeno treba priznati holokavst za edinstven primer v zgodovini,

H. ker je bil nacizem glavna zgodovinska izkušnja Zahodne Evrope in ker so v srednje- in vzhodnoevropskih državah izkusili tako komunizem kot nacizem; ker je treba spodbujati razumevanje za dvojno diktatorsko zapuščino teh držav,

I. ker je bilo evropsko združevanje sprva odgovor na trpljenje, ki sta ga povzročili dve svetovni vojni in nacistična tiranija, ki je pripeljala do holokavsta in širjenja totalitarnih in nedemokratskih komunističnih režimov v srednji in vzhodni Evropi, bilo pa je tudi način preseganja globokih delitev in sovražnosti v Evropi s sodelovanjem, združevanjem, končanjem vojne in zagotavljanjem demokracije v Evropi,

J. ker je bil proces evropskega združevanja uspešen in je naposled pripeljal do Evropske unije, ki združuje države srednje in vzhodne Evrope, ki so živele pod komunističnimi režimi od konca druge svetovne vojne do zgodnjih devetdesetih let, in ker je pred tem pristop Grčije, Španije in Portugalske, ki so trpele pod dolgotrajnimi fašističnimi režimi, pomagal utrditi demokracijo v južnem delu Evrope,

K. ker Evropa ne bo združena, če ne bo sposobna oblikovati enotnega pogleda na svojo zgodovino, če ne bo priznala nacizma, stalinizma ter fašističnih in komunističnih režimov kot skupne zapuščine in če ne bo izvedla poštenih in poglobljenih razprav o njihovih zločinih v prejšnjem stoletju,

L. ker leta 2009 ponovno združena Evropa praznuje 20. obletnico razpada komunistične diktature v srednji in vzhodni Evropi in padca berlinskega zidu, kar bi morala biti priložnost za krepitev zavesti o preteklosti in priznanje vloge demokratičnih pobud državljanov, kot tudi spodbuda za krepitev občutka skupnosti in združenosti,

M. ker je pomembno tudi, da pomnimo tiste, ki so dejavno nasprotovali totalitarni vladavini in ki bi morali zaradi svoje požrtvovalnosti, zvestobe idealom, časti in poguma imeti mesto v zavesti Evropejcev kot junaki totalitarne dobe,

N. ker je z vidika žrtev vseeno, kateri režim jih je iz kakršnega koli razloga prikrajšal za svobodo, jih mučil ali ubijal,

1. izraža spoštovanje do vseh žrtev totalitarnih in nedemokratskih režimov v Evropi in se poklanja vsem, ki so se borili proti tiraniji in zatiranju;
2. obnavlja svojo zavezanost miroljubni in uspešni Evropi, ki temelji na vrednotah, kot so spoštovanje človekovega dostojanstva, svoboda, demokracija, enakost, načela pravne države in spoštovanje človekovih pravic;
3. poudarja pomen ohranjanja spomina na preteklost, saj brez resnice in spomina ni sprave; ponovno potrjuje svoje enotno stališče proti vsem oblikam totalitarne vladavine ne glede na ideološko ozadje;
4. opozarja, da so se zadnji zločini proti človečnosti in dejanja genocida v Evropi dogajali še julija 1995 ter da je za boj proti nedemokratskim, ksenofobičnim, avtoritarnim ali totalitarnim idejam in težnjam potrebna stalna budnost;
5. poudarja, da je treba za okrepitev evropske zavesti o zločinih, ki so jih zagrešili totalitarni in nedemokratski režimi, podpirati dokumentiranje in pričevanja o nemirni evropski preteklosti, saj brez spomina ne more biti sprave;
6. obžaluje, da se 20 let po razpadu komunističnih diktatur v srednji in vzhodni Evropi v nekaterih državah članicah še vedno neupravičeno omejuje dostop do dokumentov, ki so pomembni za posameznike ali potrebni za znanstvene raziskave; poziva vse države članice, naj si resnično prizadevajo za odprtje arhivov, tudi arhivov nekdanjih notranjih varnostnih služb, tajne policije in obveščevalnih služb, čeprav je treba zagotoviti, da se to ne bo izrabljalo za politične namene;
7. odločno in jasno obsoja vse zločine proti človeštvu in množične kršitve človekovih pravic, ki so jih zagrešili vsi totalitarni in avtoritarni režimi; žrtvam teh zločinov in njihovim družinskim članom izraža sočutje, razumevanje in priznanje za njihovo trpljenje;
8. izjavlja, da je evropsko združevanje kot model miru in sprave svobodna izbira narodov Evrope, da se zavežejo skupni prihodnosti, in da je Evropska unija posebej odgovorna za spodbujanje in varovanje demokracije, spoštovanja

človekovih pravic in načel pravne države, ne le v Evropski uniji, ampak tudi zunaj nje;

9. poziva Komisijo in države članice, naj si še naprej prizadevajo za krepitev pouka evropske zgodovine, ter poudarijo zgodovinski dosežek evropskega združevanja in ostro nasprotje med tragično preteklostjo ter miroljubnim in demokratičnim družbenim redom današnje Evropske unije;

10. je prepričan, da bi ustrezno ohranjanje zgodovinskega spomina, obsežno prevrednotenje evropske zgodovine in vseevropsko priznanje vseh zgodovinskih vidikov sodobne Evrope okrepilo evropsko združevanje;

11. glede tega poziva Svet in Komisijo, naj podpreta in zagovarjata dejavnosti nevladnih organizacij, kot je organizacija Memorial v Ruski federaciji, ki se aktivno ukvarjajo z raziskovanjem in zbiranjem dokumentov, povezanih z zločini iz stalinističnega obdobja;

12. ponovno izraža svojo dosledno podporo okrepljenemu mednarodnemu pravosodju;

13. poziva k vzpostavitvi platforme evropskega spomina in vesti, ki bi zagotovila podporo pri povezovanju in sodelovanju med nacionalnimi raziskovalnimi inštituti, specializiranimi za totalitarno zgodovino, in k ustanovitvi vseevropskega dokumentacijskega/spominskega centra za žrtve vseh totalitarnih režimov;

14. poziva h krepitvi obstoječih zadevnih finančnih instrumentov, da bi podprli strokovne zgodovinske raziskave, povezane z zgoraj opisanimi vprašanji;

15. poziva k razglasitvi 23. avgusta za vseevropski dan spomina na žrtve vseh totalitarnih in avtoritarnih režimov, da bomo lahko dostojanstveno in nepristransko počastili njihov spomin;

16. je prepričan, da je končni cilj razkritja in ocene zločinov, ki so jih zagrešili komunistični totalitarni režimi, sprava, ki jo je mogoče doseči s priznanjem odgovornosti, prošnjo za odpuščanje in spodbujanjem moralne preнове;

17. naroči svojemu predsedniku, naj to resolucijo posreduje Svetu, Komisiji, parlamentom držav članic, vladam in parlamentom držav kandidat, vladam in parlamentom držav, pridruženih Evropski uniji, ter vladam in parlamentom držav članic Sveta Evrope.

European Parliament resolution of 2 April 2009 on European conscience and totalitarianism

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
- having regard to United Nations General Assembly Resolution 260(III)A of 9 December 1948 on genocide,
- having regard to Articles 6 and 7 of the Treaty on European Union,
- having regard to the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union,
- having regard to Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law⁽¹⁾,
- having regard to Resolution 1481 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe of 25 January 2006 on the need for international condemnation of the crimes of totalitarian Communist regimes,
- having regard to its declaration of 23 September 2008 on the proclamation of 23 August as European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Stalinism and Nazism⁽²⁾,
- having regard to its many previous resolutions on democracy and respect for fundamental rights and freedoms, including that of 12 May 2005 on the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe on 8 May 1945⁽³⁾, that of 23 October 2008 on the commemoration of the Holodomor⁽⁴⁾, and that of 15 January 2009 on Srebrenica⁽⁵⁾,
- having regard to the Truth and Justice Commissions established in various parts of the world, which have helped those who have lived under numerous former authoritarian and totalitarian regimes to overcome their differences and achieve reconciliation,
- having regard to the statements made by its President and the political groups on 4 July 2006, 70 years after General Franco's coup d'état in Spain,
- having regard to Rule 103(4) of its Rules of Procedure,

A. whereas historians agree that fully objective interpretations of historical facts are not possible and objective historical narratives do not exist; whereas, nevertheless, professional historians use scientific tools to study the past, and try to be as impartial as possible,

B. whereas no political body or political party has a monopoly on interpreting history, and such bodies and parties cannot claim to be objective,

C. whereas official political interpretations of historical facts should not be imposed by means of majority decisions of parliaments; whereas a parliament cannot legislate on the past,

D. whereas a core objective of the European integration process is to ensure respect for fundamental rights and the rule of law in the future, and whereas appropriate mechanisms for achieving this goal have been provided for in Articles 6 and 7 of the Treaty on European Union,

E. whereas misinterpretations of history can fuel exclusivist policies and thereby incite hatred and racism,

F. whereas the memories of Europe's tragic past must be kept alive in order to honour the victims, condemn the perpetrators and lay the foundations for reconciliation based on truth and remembrance,

G. whereas millions of victims were deported, imprisoned, tortured and murdered by totalitarian and authoritarian regimes during the 20th century in Europe; whereas the uniqueness of the Holocaust must nevertheless be

acknowledged,

H. whereas the dominant historical experience of Western Europe was Nazism, and whereas Central and Eastern European countries have experienced both Communism and Nazism; whereas understanding has to be promoted in relation to the double legacy of dictatorship borne by these countries,

I. whereas from the outset European integration has been a response to the suffering inflicted by two world wars and the Nazi tyranny that led to the Holocaust and to the expansion of totalitarian and undemocratic Communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as a way of overcoming deep divisions and hostility in Europe through cooperation and integration and of ending war and securing democracy in Europe,

J. whereas the process of European integration has been successful and has now led to a European Union that encompasses the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which lived under Communist regimes from the end of World War II until the early 1990s, and whereas the earlier accessions of Greece, Spain and Portugal, which suffered under long-lasting fascist regimes, helped secure democracy in the south of Europe,

K. whereas Europe will not be united unless it is able to form a common view of its history, recognises Nazism, Stalinism and fascist and Communist regimes as a common legacy and brings about an honest and thorough debate on their crimes in the past century,

L. whereas in 2009 a reunited Europe will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the collapse of the Communist dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe and the fall of the Berlin Wall, which should provide both an opportunity to enhance awareness of the past and recognise the role of democratic citizens' initiatives, and an incentive to strengthen feelings of togetherness and cohesion,

M. whereas it is also important to remember those who actively opposed totalitarian rule and who should take their place in the consciousness of Europeans as the heroes of the totalitarian age because of their dedication, faithfulness to ideals, honour and courage,

N. whereas from the perspective of the victims it is immaterial which regime deprived them of their liberty or tortured or murdered them for whatever reason,

1. Expresses respect for all victims of totalitarian and undemocratic regimes in Europe and pays tribute to those who fought against tyranny and oppression;

2. Renews its commitment to a peaceful and prosperous Europe founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights;

3. Underlines the importance of keeping the memories of the past alive, because there can be no reconciliation without truth and remembrance; reconfirms its united stand against all totalitarian rule from whatever ideological background;

4. Recalls that the most recent crimes against humanity and acts of genocide in Europe were still taking place in July 1995 and that constant vigilance is needed to fight undemocratic, xenophobic, authoritarian and totalitarian ideas and tendencies;

5. Underlines that, in order to strengthen European awareness of crimes committed by totalitarian and undemocratic regimes, documentation of, and accounts testifying to, Europe's troubled past must be supported, as there can be no reconciliation without remembrance;

6. Regrets that, 20 years after the collapse of the Communist dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe, access to documents that are of personal relevance or needed for scientific research is still unduly restricted in some Member States; calls for a genuine effort in all Member States towards opening up archives, including those of the former internal security services, secret police and intelligence agencies, although steps must be taken to ensure that this process is not abused for political purposes;

7. Condemns strongly and unequivocally all crimes against humanity and the massive human rights violations

committed by all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes; extends to the victims of these crimes and their family members its sympathy, understanding and recognition of their suffering;

8. Declares that European integration as a model of peace and reconciliation represents a free choice by the peoples of Europe to commit to a shared future, and that the European Union has a particular responsibility to promote and safeguard democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law, both inside and outside the European Union;
9. Calls on the Commission and the Member States to make further efforts to strengthen the teaching of European history and to underline the historic achievement of European integration and the stark contrast between the tragic past and the peaceful and democratic social order in today's European Union;
10. Believes that appropriate preservation of historical memory, a comprehensive reassessment of European history and Europe-wide recognition of all historical aspects of modern Europe will strengthen European integration;
11. Calls in this connection on the Council and the Commission to support and defend the activities of non-governmental organisations, such as Memorial in the Russian Federation, that are actively engaged in researching and collecting documents related to the crimes committed during the Stalinist period;
12. Reiterates its consistent support for strengthened international justice;
13. Calls for the establishment of a Platform of European Memory and Conscience to provide support for networking and cooperation among national research institutes specialising in the subject of totalitarian history, and for the creation of a pan-European documentation centre/memorial for the victims of all totalitarian regimes;
14. Calls for a strengthening of the existing relevant financial instruments with a view to providing support for professional historical research on the issues outlined above;
15. Calls for the proclamation of 23 August as a Europe-wide Day of Remembrance for the victims of all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, to be commemorated with dignity and impartiality;
16. Is convinced that the ultimate goal of disclosure and assessment of the crimes committed by the Communist totalitarian regimes is reconciliation, which can be achieved by admitting responsibility, asking for forgiveness and fostering moral renewal;
17. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the parliaments of the Member States, the governments and parliaments of the candidate countries, the governments and parliaments of the countries associated with the European Union, and the governments and parliaments of the Members of the Council of Europe.