Cold War: Collective Memory and Identity

Conference 4-5 June 2024

Session 1: Stories, Memories and Reflections as Tools in Cold War Historiography

Ulla Varnke Sand Egeskov:

Ms. Ulla Varnke Sand Egeskov holds a Master of Arts degree and currently serves as a curator at the Cold War Museum REGAN Vest. Over the past five years, her primary focus has been on the establishment of the new museum and her role as the leader of the exhibition group on the Museum Project.

In 2024, Ms. Egeskov initiated a research project titled "Atomkrig, risikorationaler og det civile beredskab i Danmark 1956-1979" in collaboration with Aalborg University and received support from the Augustinus Fonden. Additionally, she co-authored a book titled "If (Atomic)War comes" with Bodil Frandsen, published by Gads Forlag in the same year. Furthermore, her upcoming article "Considerations on how to make a new Cold War Museum experience" is set to be featured in the edited collection "Cold War Museology: How museums have shaped our understanding of the Cold War" by Routledge.

From 2017 to 2021, Ms. Egeskov participated in a research project titled "If war comes" in collaboration with Aalborg University, Museum Stevnsfort, and Museum Langelandsfort, supported by Velux Fonden. In 2020, she contributed an article titled "Erindringer om den kolde krig. Danskerne og atombomben" to the publication "Atomangst of civilt beredskab," published by Aalborg Universitetsforlag. Additionally, she co-authored the book "REGAN Vest – Last Bastion of Democracy" with Helle Nørgaard, first published by GADs Forlag in 2019 with the fourth edition printed in 2023.

Government Facility Regan Vest and how Testimonies Helped Gaining Knowledge about a Secret Story

In February 2023, the Cold War Museum REGAN Vest opened. Before the opening, 10 years were spent building a collection of objects and gathering knowledge about the former secret government bunker REGAN Vest. REGAN Vest was constructed as a nuclear-proof facility that could be used in a crisis or war. The bunker is located 60 meters below a chalk hill and was designed to accommodate the Danish government, the queen, doctors, the press, and operational staff during a war.

The knowledge gathering about the bunker took place on several fronts, including the investigation of archives, collection of objects, and most importantly, tracking down individuals who had worked in or with the government facility. Because the facility had been kept secret during both the construction phase and the operational period, there was virtually no public knowledge about how the construction had unfolded for those who worked there, nor was there publicly available knowledge about the government facility as a workplace during the more than 40-year operational period.

In connection with the establishment of the museum's collections, museum curator Ulla Egeskov has collected testimonies about the bunker construction as a workplace - a workplace where everyone was kept at a strictly "need to know" level and where confidentiality was something everyone was subject to. The local workers did not know what they were building, but there were many good guesses. The

investigation provided new knowledge about the government facility and has helped to provide a comprehensive picture of the facility.

Likewise, testimonies have been collected from the operational staff at REGAN vest. The nuclear-proof government facility fortunately never came into use, but during the Cold War, it was kept in constant readiness in case of war. There were four people who had their daily work at REGAN Vest. One of them, the chief engineer, lived with his family in a service residence right in front of the secret facility. The chief engineer's work and the location of the family's residence naturally influenced the family's everyday life. Even the children in the family had to help keep the "secret in the backyard."

This collection of oral history has provided the Cold War Museum REGAN Vest with valuable source material for the facility, which otherwise is not knowledge that can be found in the archives. These are personal stories that bring to life a government facility that never came into use but significantly occupied many people's minds over the years. The collected knowledge has been widely used in the museum's current dissemination through guided tours and visits to the chief engineer's residence.

Dr. Peter Johnston:

Dr Peter Johnston is a military historian and museum professional. He is currently the Assistant Director for Narrative and Content at the IWM, having previously been Head of Collections and Research at the Royal Air Force Museum and Head of Collections Research and Academic Access at the National Army Museum in London. Peter studied History and Modern History for his Undergraduate and Masters degrees at the University of Durham, and completed his PhD at the University of Kent, focusing on recruitment and culture in the British Armed Forces.

Peter has acted as an expert and accompanying academic on battlefield tours from Flanders to the Falklands, as well as regularly appearing across media channels providing expert commentary and insight. His first book, British Forces in Germany: The Lived Experience, was published in 2019. He has also published on recruitment propaganda and museum collections.

Foe to Friend. A Multi-National Oral History of British Forces Germany During the Cold War

Conquerors. Occupiers. Allies. Friends.

The British military's relationship with West Germany throughout the Cold War was complex. In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War the British established garrisons there to, in the words of Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, 'win the peace.'

Yet the reasons for the British being in West Germany changed rapidly. Initially they were occupying a defeated and destroyed country. They then stood on the front line in the Cold War. West Germany became the focus of British military effort in the Cold War.

More than a million British personnel and their families called West Germany home during the Cold War. But they are only one half of the story. What did their neighbours, the West German people, think? As neighbours, employees, customers, friends, love interests and spouses – and sometimes adversaries – of the British in their garrisons, they had an important perspective on this peculiar aspect of the Cold War.

In 1945 Field Marshal Montgomery had warned his troops that to win the hard-fought peace of the Second World War, 'you must keep clear of Germans, man, woman and child, unless you meet them in the course of duty. You must not walk out with them, or shake hands, or visit their homes, or make them gifts, or take gifts from them. You must not play games with them. In short, you must not fraternise with Germans at all.' Yet this proved impossible and relationships between the two were

established immediately, forcing even Montgomery to accept that he could not keep the British and Germans apart.

This relationship would become transformative, and a defining aspect of the British experience in Cold War West Germany. Indeed, a Bundeswehr General used the phrase ‘foe to friend’ to describe just how the relationship between the German people and the British military transformed throughout the Cold War, which became the subject of a 2020 National Army Museum exhibition. This incorporated German oral history testimony alongside that of British personnel for the first time, exploring a relationship of the type not otherwise explored in Cold War museum spaces in the UK.

This paper will describe and elaborate on the findings of this multinational oral history project, highlighting the advantages of placing previously excluded voices back into the Cold War narrative, the revelatory nature of what they had to say, as well as exploring some of the limitations experienced.

Dieter Bacher:

Dieter Bacher, Mag. Phil., is a historian specializing in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. He completed his studies at the University of Graz, Austria, from 2000 to 2005, focusing on history with an emphasis on the region, along with Slavic studies, particularly Russian.

Since 2005, Dieter has served as a research fellow and project coordinator at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for the research of consequences of war in Graz. Additionally, he has worked as a freelancer at the Austrian Center for Intelligence, Propaganda, and Security Studies in Graz, contributing to research on intelligence and security matters.

Recognized for his academic contributions, Dieter became a "Young Science-Ambassador" in the "Young Science" project of the Austrian agency for international mobility and cooperation, Österreichischer Austauschdienst (OEAD), in Vienna in 2015. He has also taken on editorial responsibilities, serving as co-editor of the Journal of Intelligence, Propaganda, and Security Studies (JIPSS) in Graz since 2019.

In recent years, Dieter has spearheaded significant research projects funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), focusing on various aspects of Austria's post-war history. His main research topics include Soviet and Czechoslovakian intelligence activities in post-war Austria, intelligence operations during the Cold War, forced labor during World War II, and the experiences of displaced persons and refugees in Austria.

Remembering Secrets. The Role of Written Memoirs for Intelligence Studies on Cold War Austria

After the end of World War II, Austria, occupied by the four Allied forces Great Britain, USA, France and the Soviet Union, became also an important theatre of operations for intelligence services in the upcoming Cold War. As the opposition between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union and its satellites increased, their services recognized the strategic value of the Austrian territory for their plannings and actions. Therefore, they invested major efforts in securing their influence and positions within the country, making Austria the “intelligence hub” it was during the whole Cold War.

In research, these intelligence activities can be traced mainly by declassified archival materials from both Eastern and Western intelligence services involved. But archival sources on intelligence have their shortcomings, for example by documenting the operational sphere mainly from administrational view or by being inaccessible due to classification. One additional approach can be via a form of “individual memory” on the Cold War: published and unpublished memoirs of former intelligence officials and recruited personnel. Such memoirs can be useful for the intelligence historian, as they may contain

information on topics and aspects that can not be covered by available files. They can even be the only approach towards certain services, like the Soviet/Russian General staff's main directorate for military reconnaissance and intelligence (Glavnoe Razvedyvatelnoe Upravlenie, GRU). On the other hand, they represent a rather difficult source with sometimes questionable reliability, as many information contained in these publications can be very difficult, nearly impossible to verify. Additionally, they can be affected by review/classification procedures of services, or they were written with a certain purpose in mind, like "defector literature" published in the USA or Great Britain, or memoirs that were published with the purpose to "whitewash" the activities and biography of the author.

This presentation wants to pick three examples of such published "intelligence memoirs" that deal in parts with Cold War Austria: "GRU in the years of the Great Patriotic War. Hero of the invisible front" by Vitaliy Nikol'skiy (published in Russian, and despite the title, a part of the book is also dealing with the years of Soviet occupation in Austria), "Sentenced to death. Memoirs of a spy" by Ladislav Bittmann (published in German), and "KGB. Masters of the Soviet Union" by Peter Deriabin (published in English). As these three books originated from very different backgrounds (not only nationally), they may serve as good examples to describe the general advantages and disadvantages of such memoirs for historical intelligence studies. They will then be analyzed on what infos they contain on Austria, and to what extend these infos can be estimated reliable and to what extend these infos may add to the current picture research has on Austria and intelligence during the Cold War. This analysis should also allow to draw methodological conclusions on how research should, can or cannot deal with such source material, what questions have to be asked from the view of source criticism, and to what extend they have to be analyzed and questioned differently to other memorial literature.

Jochen Krüger:

Jochen Krüger is currently research assistant at the Berlin Wall Foundation and working in the team of Dr. Susanne Muhle in the project Remembrance Place Checkpoint Charlie since spring 2022. He is a historian with interests in Eastern European and German history of the 20th century, as well as everyday history. After graduating from Humboldt University (MA) in 2014 he worked on a research project on dictatorships as alternative orders with focus on the KPSS party reforms of the Khrushchev era. From 2017 to 2019 he was trainee at the memorial site Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, the GDR main political remand prison (exhibitions The Red God. Stalin and the Germans, 2018 and Stasi in Berlin. Surveillance in East and West, 2019). Later, he became project manager and curator for the permanent exhibition at the Documentation Centre Displacement, Expulsion, and Reconciliation (The Century of Displacement, summer 2021). In continuing so, he worked as a project manager for two temporal exhibitions at Berlin Humboldt Forum (Against the Current: The Omaha. Francis La Flesche and His Collection, autumn 2022, and Ts'uu – Cedar. Of Trees and People, winter 2022).

Checkpoint Charlie – A New Place of Remembrance for the Cold War between Personal Stories and Global Entanglements

Berlin, especially the former Checkpoint Charlie, is one of the most famous Cold War spots. Globally, there are only a few spots where the clash of powers came so close. People who lived in the divided city were inevitably part of the conflict story of the Cold War. What have these people witnessed, and what can they tell us about it today? Their stories are as manifold as their backgrounds, regardless of whether they lived in the East or the West. However, within the Checkpoint Charlie research project an overall Cold War identity in oral history work cannot be determined. Eyewitnesses from that time remember their story from a very individual biographical access. In contrast, people from all over the world come to Berlin and visit the Checkpoint Charlie with their own certain Cold War references and images. Thus, they are looking specifically for these Cold War traces and vibes at the historical site.

They are obviously quite disappointed of what they can find there: a place without any authentic remains, an expensive privatemuseum without any exhibition concept or scientific background, and tourist traps like expensive snack points, souvenir sellers, or notorious thimble riggers.

So what is to be done when the Berlin Wall Foundation is commissioned by the city's government to establish a new place of remembrance and education at the Checkpoint Charlie? What are challenges and concerns? Which approaches in exhibition making should be adopted? My talk will examine some of these questions. It will cover the idea to establish a new meeting space regarding the social concept of museums as a Third Space (Oldenbourg, Bhabha) of which we believe we may also adopt for a place like the Checkpoint Charlie. A Third Space evolves when two or more individuals/cultures interact in spheres that are neither home nor work (e.g. cafés, libraries). Therefore, we want to establish with our concept for the Checkpoint Charlie not only a place where people come together and can learn something about the history of the site and its international role during the Cold War. Thus, the audience shall have the opportunity to participate and share their experiences as well as personal stories. Here it is important to address people likewise from former Comecon countries as well as from their Western counterparts. Its very integrative potential is one of the key elements of the new place of remembrance and education. Following this idea and meeting the variety of audience expectations, we will conceptually split the site into an inner and outer space, as well as a digital space. My talk will deepen the idea behind it and bring it together with the practical question of oral history work within the Cold War context. In addition, it will show some results from the latest oral history research with people whose life stories were somehow tangled with the Checkpoint Charlie. Furthermore, the talk will bring up the civic involvement with experts, city society, and tourists.

Session 2: The Cold War as Creator of National Identity

Dr. Paul Maddrell:

Dr Paul Maddrell has been a Lecturer in International History and International Relations at Loughborough University, United Kingdom, since 2012. Before that he was a Lecturer in International Politics at Aberystwyth University and a Lecturer in the History of International Relations at Salford University. His teaching concentrates on international history in the twentieth century and international relations in the 21st century. His research concentrates on the history of both Communist and Western intelligence agencies, and particularly the history of the East German Stasi. He is a prominent international authority on the world's intelligence and security agencies, in both the past and present.

Dr Maddrell is the author of Spying on Science: Western Intelligence in Divided Germany, 1945-1961 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), the editor of The Image of the Enemy: Intelligence Analysis of Adversaries since 1945 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2015), and the co-editor of Spy Chiefs (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2018). He has also published ten articles in refereed journals, four articles in other journals, and ten book chapters. He is a frequent commentator in the media on intelligence-related subjects. He has given 53 presentations, in three languages, at conferences on intelligence and international history held in eleven countries. He has given 31 seminar papers at universities, research institutes and archives in Britain, the United States and Germany. He has given 30 public lectures at museums, schools and universities in Britain and Germany.

The Legacy of Betrayal During the Cold War to Contemporary Germany

The societies of the two German states, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), were both plagued by betrayal during the Cold War. In the case of the Federal Republic of Germany, the betrayal constituted treason. Throughout the period from 1949 to

1990 many cases of espionage on the part of West Germans on behalf of the intelligence agencies of the GDR and the Soviet Union came to light. There is space here only for a few examples. The treason of Heinz Felfe, uncovered in 1961, severely damaged the reputation of West Germany's Federal Intelligence Service. Many secretaries working in ministries in Bonn were exposed as spies who had been drawn into espionage by so-called "Romeo" agents. Perhaps most demoralizing of all was the treason of Günter Guillaume, an assistant to Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt whose exposure as a GDR spy in 1974 led to Brandt's resignation. These cases of treason showed the West German government that it had been gravely penetrated by spies working for Communist states. Like the far-left terrorism and student protest which erupted in West Germany from the 1960s to the end of the Cold War, such treason demonstrated that many West Germans regarded the Federal Republic as discredited by its connection with Nazi Germany. It was a demoralizing reminder of the disloyalty to the new West German democracy of many of its citizens and of the harm done to Germany by Nazism.

When the Communist regime collapsed in 1989-90 and the records of its security service were opened to public inspection, the West Germans discovered that the GDR's espionage had been even more successful than they had thought: the Stasi's records show that, in the period from the early 1950s to the late 1980s, the GDR's intelligence agencies ran some 12,000 spies in West Germany. This is the biggest network of human agents supplying intelligence from a foreign country yet to come to light.

The people of East Germany also had to contend with betrayal. This was not treason: East Germans were betrayed by their friends and acquaintances. Every East German knew that he or she was under surveillance by agents of the state security service, the Stasi. This induced great caution in them; every East German knew that he or she had to be careful what he or she said in public. Fear of the Stasi's surveillance harmed friendships and working relationships throughout the GDR's existence.

When the Communist regime collapsed and the Stasi's records became available for inspection, East Germans learned that, despite their caution, they had underestimated how thoroughly the Stasi's agent network had infiltrated GDR society. Between 1950 and 1989 approximately 620,000 people spied for the state security service. There was a Stasi informer for every 89 citizens of the GDR. This is the closest surveillance by informers in human history. When East Germans exercised their new legal right to inspect their state security files, they learned how deeply the Stasi had been able to penetrate their social circle. Many discovered that they had been betrayed by people they considered to be close friends. Some learned that they had been betrayed by family members.

These legacies of betrayal continue to influence Germany today. The theme of betrayal is a persistent one in contemporary German culture. Germans are fully aware that many of them have in recent times been willing to betray their friends, their colleagues and their country. They know full well that many Germans are not committed democrats. The television series, "Deutschland '83", broadcast in 2015, concerned a young East German sent to the Federal Republic to penetrate the West German army. It underlined how demoralizing such betrayals had been for the Federal Republic. The film "The Lives of Others" (Das Leben der Anderen), released in 2006, reminded East Germans how close the Stasi's surveillance had been. East Germans still struggle with the legacy of betrayal; they know not to trust their friends. However, since it is the establishment of democracy which has enabled them to find out how oppressive the Stasi's surveillance was, their commitment to democracy has been strengthened by the opening of the Stasi's files. Despite the Cold War legacy of betrayal, Germans display a striking faith in their public institutions.

Elena Grossfeld:

Elena Grossfeld is a PhD candidate in the Department of War Studies, King's College London (KCL), and a member of King's Intelligence and Security Group (KISG). Her research interests are strategic culture

of Russian/Soviet intelligence, Cold War, and information warfare. Elena holds an MA in Intelligence and International Security from KCL, an MA in Linguistics from San Jose State University, and a BS in Mathematics with a minor in Russian Studies from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Having started her career as a software engineer and architect, she specialized in reliability and performance of systems powering the Internet and e-commerce before moving into cybersecurity, focusing on the areas of insider threat, cyber threat intelligence, and cryptocurrencies-related fraud investigations.

A Memory Called Empire

During the Cold War, when the Soviet empire stood as one of the two superpowers, the State Security Committee (KGB), a pivotal element within the Soviet power structure, was actively safeguarding the regime from internal and external threats. At the time when the Soviet military, closely supervised by the KGB, was participating in limited expeditionary campaigns and military advisory roles while preparing for total war, the KGB, as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's (CPSU) shield and sword, considered itself the only Soviet security organization of its time conducting both a covert and overt war. Thus, the strategic culture of the KGB wielded significant influence.

Upon the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the KGB, an organization in charge of all aspects of state security from safeguarding the physical borders to protecting the minds of its citizens from malign ideological subversion and commanding vast human and technological resources, was never required to account for its role in maintaining the regime, nor atone for its crimes. Experiencing no true reform beyond organizational changes, such as superficial division into several entities while preserving most of its leadership, the KGB was able to protect its strategic culture and impart it not only to its successor organizations but also to the contemporary leadership of Russia.

As the facade of democratization in the Russian Federation dissipated, the strategic culture of the KGB, coupled with the enduring memory of the Cold War and its legacy of the lost empire, embodied in elements such as ongoing war, besieged fortress mentality, and fears of ideological subversion, resurged to prominence once again. This revival is particularly effective in influencing vulnerable audiences, whose memories of the period elicit conditioned behaviors, such as denunciations and public condemnations.

Despite Russia's lack of an official ideology, the strategic culture's contribution to the mental schemes of hostile Western ideological subversion seeking to attack Russian unique values and Russian interests in the world inflicts the phantom pains of its Soviet past. The public repentances, extracted, filmed, and posted by current siloviki, of those suspected of objecting to the war in Ukraine, or, in the regime's terminology, discrediting its armed forces, carry the memories of the Soviet comradely courts, facilitated by modern technologies and social media. The pervasive suspicions that characterized the KGB during the Cold War have persevered within current Russian intelligence organizations, whose technical capabilities, enabled by modern technologies such as facial recognition, surveillance of cellular communications, and internet browsing, far eclipse those available during the Cold War.

Driven by the strategic culture element of the besieged fortress, the Russian Federation, led and guided by the former KGB officers, is luring autocratic, failed, and pariah states with an opportunity to preserve their repressive and corrupt regimes under the guise of doing away with "US-imposed" rule-based world order. The use of Cold War memories as a basis for their simulated efforts to restore justice and redress alleged past wrongs has allowed former Chekists to instigate and promote negative sentiments towards Western democracies among their citizenry. The memories of the Cold War, thanks to Russia's embrace of KGB's strategic culture, its destabilizing efforts, and the war it started in the heart of Europe,

are having a chilling effect on the former Soviet republics and states of the former Eastern European bloc.

This paper explores the KGB's strategic culture as a transmission device of Cold War memories, facilitating the revival of the Cold War antagonism under a new leadership, unconstrained by official ideology. The salient elements of the KGB's strategic culture and the Cold War memories they successfully propagate have had an outsized effect on Russia and the world.

Dr. Anna Graf-Steiner:

Dr. Anna Graf-Steiner is a research associate at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on the Consequences of War, with locations in Graz, Vienna, and Raabs, a position she has held since 2019. She obtained her doctoral degree from the University of Graz in early 2023.

Her research interests span various aspects of Cold War Studies, including Soviet foreign policy, Austrian-Soviet relations, diplomatic history, and neutrality policy. Dr. Graf-Steiner's doctoral dissertation, titled "Die Rolle des neutralen Österreich in der außenpolitischen Strategie der Sowjetunion 1969-1975" (The Role of neutral Austria in the Soviet Union's foreign policy strategy, 1969-1975), earned her the prestigious Award of Excellence in 2023 from the Austrian Ministry for Research and Education. In 2024, Dr. Graf-Steiner published her monograph "Brückenbauer im Kalten Krieg. Österreich und der lange Weg zur KSZE-Schlussakte" (Bridge Builders in the Cold War. Austria and the long road to the CSCE Final Act), further cementing her expertise in the field.

Austrian Neutrality as Cold War Legacy

When Austria declared itself neutral on the 26th of October, 1955 on its own free will, neutrality was seen as the "prize" one was willing to pay for the sovereignty and end of its 10-year occupation provided for in the State Treaty. Neutrality was not imposed on Austria, yet it had been agreed with Moscow as a precondition for concluding the State Treaty. The Austrian neutrality was, like the Finnish one, a classic product of the Cold War.

When the Soviet Union gave its consent to the signing of the State Treaty, it sent a clear signal for the beginning of détente in Europe. In Moscow, however, certain hopes were placed in Austrian neutrality: Neutrality could be a fruitful basis for the spread of socialism.

In 1955, Austria had set itself the fundamental goal of taking the neutrality policies of Switzerland and Sweden as a model. Austria's accession to the UN in 1955 already showed that it would rather follow the example of Swedish neutrality than that of Switzerland.

However, it was not so much the Austrian federal government in Vienna that influenced the foreign policy direction of Austria's neutrality during the Cold War, but rather external impulses; above all the crises in the Eastern Bloc - in Austria's immediate neighborhood (Hungary 1956; Lebanon 1958; Czechoslovakia 1968). The slogan of not being ideologically neutral and being able to determine the practice of its own neutrality policy itself often meant a political balancing act in the context of the East-West conflict.

At the same time, the political leadership in Vienna quickly realized that neutrality offered Austria – and Austrians – the chance of a new identity. Along with the "first victim"-thesis, i.e. the myth that Austria fell victim to Nazi Germany's aggression in the Second World War (without pointing out the high level of support for the Anschluss and the complicity of Austrians) that was upheld until the 1980s, neutrality had a "self-cleansing" effect, as Austria saw itself as a peace-loving mediator. The role

Austria, and especially Vienna, played as a mediator and international meeting spot was also honored internationally.

The fact that the political leadership came to like this image is also evidenced by the fact that the day on which the Neutrality Act was passed in the parliament - at the time treated as a simple agenda item, as there are not even any audio recordings or images of it - was declared the national holiday in 1965. Popular myths about neutrality quickly emerged, which were at least not actively debunked - including the one that the Austrian delegation had achieved the State Treaty in Moscow due to their coziness and drinking strength, or that they had even "drunk the Soviets under the table". The self-attributions of the Austrian mentality – which were above all created in contrast to “Prussian thoroughness” – complemented the Austrian understanding of neutrality: a certain peasant shrewdness, humor, sociability, being a “good neighbour”, the willingness to turn a blind eye,…

The article will explore the question of how Austria defined its neutrality during the Cold War, how it was viewed from the outside - and why Austrians have continued to see neutrality as "national pride" and identity-building factor, even after the end of the Cold War and until today.

With EU accession, Austrian neutrality was undermined and de facto limited to military neutrality, but public and political support remained high. It is therefore not politically opportune to seriously discuss neutrality in Austria. Security considerations play only a secondary role, if at all. The favorable geographical location and a "protective umbrella" of NATO and the EU are perceived as security guarantees - neutrality, in turn, as a guarantee of not being "drawn into" a war.

Thus, the originally unloved neutrality became a symbol for being Austrian. Then-chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel mocked in the early 2000s, Austria was built of “neutrality, Lippizaner and Mozartkugeln”.

Marie Černá

Marie Černá is a researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. Her long-term research focuses on the political and social context of life under the communist regime, and more recently on historical memory and its political use. She is the author of *Sovětská armáda a česká společnost 1968-1991* (Soviet Army and Czech Society 1968-1991) and co-author of books on political vetting and ideological education in Czechoslovakia. She has also contributed to the development of the serious computer games based on of Czech war and post-war history Attentat 1942 and Svoboda 1945.

The Legacy of Second World War Myth in the Public Space of the Czech Republic

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, the Cold War froze the memory of the Second World War and the victory over fascism into long-held untouchable myths. In the East, these served the needs of particular political regimes and the declared brotherhood of a socialist bloc more or less replicating the area of the victorious Soviet campaign. The national and international aspect of the war myth manifested itself in publicly staged memory, rituals and commemorations, bearing signs of rigidity or a certain loosening depending on internal and external political developments. The annual ceremonies celebrating the end of the war were usually a society-wide mobilization to perform a certain memory, but they also fulfilled contemporary political objectives, which included, among other things, the ritualized affirmation of a divided world. Manifested belonging to the socialist (peace) camp was not infrequently accompanied by taunts to the other (imperialist) one. This reinforced and fused the declared internationalist cohesion based on the antifascist national struggle/Soviet liberation and the cohesion of the struggle against the West. An important part of this politics of memory and politics in general were the graves, monuments and memorials to the fallen Red Army soldiers and the victorious Red Army-liberator. Even

their management was subject to political developments: the so-called Czechoslovak normalization after the Soviet invasion in 1968 saw a new wave of monuments as a sign of gratitude to the USSR, often presented in the form of the Red Army.

The post-war and normalisation monuments and statues, most of them stylized in victorious, confident or protective gestures and poses, were expressions of gratitude to the liberators, the Soviet Union in general and its leaders, as well as political submission. They contributed to the building of a cult of victory and fitted into the political project of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, which was largely saturated with gratitude for liberation. For various reasons, many of these monuments dedicated to the Red Army and the Soviet Union have survived and still add to the colour of Czech towns and cities. Their presence has long been questioned by some inhabitants, with renewed vigour after the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, others take them for granted as unimportant, others defend them. From the point of view of Cold War legacy, it is relevant to trace the arguments for and against the removal of these objects, the levels and actors of the debate, and the meanings or interests involved. In my contribution I will therefore focus on the historical context of the creation and functioning of war memorials, as well as on selected cases, their fates and the debate surrounding them.

Dr. Tilman Lüdke:

Dr. Tilman Lüdke received his doctorate in Modern Middle East Studies from St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, in 2002. He taught at Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, North Cyprus and the universities of Erfurt and Freiburg, Germany. Since 2009 he is Senior Researcher, Near and Middle East, at the Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut for Socio-Cultural Research at the University of Freiburg, Germany. His research interests are political and social processes of modernisation in the Middle East during the 19th and 20th centuries: these relate to the transition from empire to nation-states as well as to the evolution of citizenship. Another field of interest is the interaction between religion and politics. Furthermore, he has worked extensively in the field of intelligence history, focusing particularly on the activities of western intelligence services in the Middle East during the 20th century. Between 2013 and 2018 he served as member of the Independent Commission of Historians for the History of the West German Foreign Intelligence Service (Unabhängige Historikerkommission für die Geschichte des BND). He has published two monographs and a variety of articles in various academic journals and collective works.

Observing and Undergoing Identity Formation: The Org. Gehlen/ BND in the Middle East, 1945 – 1968

The notion that identities matter, and exert a strong influence on political, social and even economic behaviour of individuals as well as societies had become accepted by governments in the so-called "developed states (both in East and West)" by World War II. However, the observation that identities played at least as important a role in non-Western societies in the countries undergoing de-colonisation was quite new in the 1950s and 1960s. The situation presented itself as a rather paradoxical one: while in many de-colonised countries democracy rather soon proved unworkable and fell victim to authoritarian regimes of various ilk, "the people" became an important power factor, and even the most authoritarian regimes had to take this populist factor into consideration.

Within the context of the Cold War the temptation was great to distinguish simply between "pro-western" and "pro-eastern" leanings, and many (particularly western) observers, particularly in the former (such as Britain and France) and the upcoming (USA) colonial powers. Realities, as we know with the benefit of hindsight, was quite different: the Nonaligned Movement originated with a genuine wish of various recently independent countries to avoid allegiance to either camp in the Cold War. Nationalism might be evenly directed against foreign encroachment from east as well as from the west.

Social movements and collectivist identities did not equal readiness to accept or even foster communism, to name but a few popular misconceptions.

The Org. Gehlen/ BND began their work in the Middle East at US instigation from the early 1950s on. With the upcoming Cold War, the United States were forced to acknowledge that the military and political cooperation with the former colonial powers (Britain and France) would cost it considerably sympathy in the de-colonising regions such as the Middle East. Germans – from 1949 onwards West Germans – were unburdened by „colonial guilt" and thus could play an important role as a link between the West and local regimes. The West Germans had three great advantages: first, they were not concerned with the loss of empire (in difference to their Western allies); second, they did not share the increasing US hysteria about the seemingly inevitable spread of communism in de-colonising countries, and, third, Germany did not have a mechanism for the formation of "colonial specialists": West Germans therefore were able to observe and interact with emerging regimes in the Middle East without intellectual and political burdens from the past. In Egypt – which endeavoured to become the leading Arab power in the 1950s and 1960s – this was of particular relevance, which serves as an explanation why the presentation will focus on this country and only make occasional reference to other examples.

Another important point is that the West German activities in the Middle East also contributed to the emergence of a new West German identity: the former Great Power was an economic giant and able to acquire considerable influence in de-colonising regions. In order to transform said economic into political weight required West Germany to make itself useful to the western partners, particularly the USA. It would not go far amiss to argue that in the Middle East West Germany played the role of a neutral rather than a completely pro-Western power; this served it well to make the later 1950s and early 1960s "West Germany's moment in the Middle East." This moment was terminated to other aspects of German identity: its special relationship with Israel (which West Germany felt compelled to support no matter the cost), and to the divided status of Germany as a whole: this meant that the Federal Republic was open to be blackmailed by local regimes who threatened to recognize Eastern Germany in case of West German "misbehavior."

The presentation will track this double emergence of identity, and will largely be based on documents found during research in the Archive of the BND at Pullach/ Germany. It argues that while Western governments during the Cold War committed numerous errors through not understanding identities in de-colonising countries, this was not the fault of Western intelligence services: what Dina Rizk Khoury has proved for MI 6 and the CIA, might also be upheld for Org. Gehlen and the BND.

Session 3: The Cold War as Cultural Heritage

Ave Paulus & Robert Treufeldt:

Ave Paulus, a PhD candidate, is the president of ICOMOS Estonia and an expert member of the ICOMOS scientific councils on cultural landscapes, rights-based approach and climate action working group. Her main subject is the heritage of coastal landscapes. She has scientific master's degrees from the Estonian Academy of Arts (heritage conservation and restoration) and Tartu University (semiotics and theory of culture). Her doctoral thesis relates to the topic of community-based heritage conservation and rights. She has coordinated cooperation between heritage communities, states and universities in more than 30 development projects concerning heritage management. She is a senior specialist for cultural heritage issues on the Environmental Board of Estonia and a board member of Lahemaa and Alutaguse

National Parks Cooperation Councils. Paulus has presented her research results at many national and international scientific events and papers.

Robert Treufeldt, ICOMOS Estonia, IcoFort (ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Fortifications and Military Heritage), Estonia. Robert Treufeldt is an independent researcher whose main subject is the military heritage of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Shifts in the Sociopolitical Context of the Cold War Military Infrastructures on the Coastal Areas of Lahemaa National Park, Estonia

The present paper focuses on the difficult legacy of the traces of the Soviet Occupation period military activities in the region during the Cold War and after the Estonian Restoration of Independence on the North coast of Estonia. The case study of the former Soviet Naval Base around Hara Bay (1953) in Lahemaa National Park (1971) shows the paradigm shifts in the discourse of Soviet Occupation period heritage in the context of cultural landscape protection in national parks of Estonia. Lahemaa's coastal environment has undergone drastic changes during the 20th century both in physical appearance and in people residing on the coasts, mentalities and meanings of the landscapes.

In this paper, authors will focus not only on the exact historical and military contents of the bases but rather on their sociopolitical context, which will be analysed from three different aspects: how Lahemaa's military infrastructure around Hara Bay is seen from the point of view of local Estonian-speaking population, those who served or hired in the (semi-)military institutions around Hara Bay (Suurpea naval base, signal units of the navy, air defence units, border troops, Loksa Shipyard) and state institutions of the Estonian SSR and the Estonian Republic, including Lahemaa National Park established in 1971. Mutual relations between these three groups have been far from uniform through the Soviet period and beyond. There have been serious paradigmatic changes in the 1990s with the restoration of independence and dismantling of Soviet military presence in the Baltics and in the 21st century when the military heritage came to be re-evaluated as a resource or a site of memory, but even around the 1970s when the everyday relations between the locals and the military personnel had become settled, and Lahemaa National Park was established.

After re-independence, there was a strong debate about the values and fate of those areas between different communities and the State. The complex was declared to be military heritage by the authorities of the National Park at the beginning of the 2000s. It had a strong resistance from local communities. Besides several socioeconomic, political and environmental issues, personal wounds were to be reconciled. These traces were the „ghosts" of the tragedy of the nation after WWII, local traditions marginalised, people deported to Siberia, and industrial areas formed. The paper analyses the changes in the sociopolitical context and the role of local communities in "domesticating" the Soviet Occupation period military heritage of Lahemaa National Park. Locals now develop the complex as a military heritage as well as a museum and modern marina.

The authors rely on a holistic concept of cultural heritage, defined in international policy documents, and show the benefits of a community-centred and participatory approach toward heritage, which is the basis of transformative change in heritage protection. Semiotic models of meaning shifts show the potential of creative approaches in "neutralising" and "domesticating" such controversial objects, translating them into people's positive futures. The author's position is not purely academic. The leading author has been responsible for the cultural heritage preservation of this state-protected area for the last 20 years. Authors have been active participants in the process of re-evaluation of the structures as valuable military heritage. Besides historical research in archives and several in-depth interviews with different stakeholders, all the authors have been active participants in the community-based management initiatives in this area.

Roxane Permar & Susan Timmins:

Cold War Projects is the collaboration between Roxane Permar and Susan Timmins. They are based in Shetland, which, like other Northern communities, was strategically very important during the Cold War. They employ different art forms to chronicle issues that ordinary people of both East and West faced during the Cold War and explore the strategic role the populations of these communities played in relation to international conflict in the 20th century and its continuing impact today. Their socially engaged art projects involve audiences of all ages in the questions posed by this period and its continuing relevance. Their film, *Countdown*, has been shown in Shetland, Scotland, Russia, Iceland and the USA and was included in the Aesthetica Short Film Festival (York, England) and Film Al Fresco (Philadelphia, USA).

They pursue individual practices alongside their collaboration. Permar explores societal threats, specifically nuclear disaster and climate crisis, facilitating creative exchange across cultures and communities, using a range of media including textiles, film and audio. She is Professor in Art and Social Practice at the Centre for Island Creativity, UHI Shetland and leads the MA degree programme in Art and Social Practice, which is delivered entirely virtually. Timmins' practice is concerned mainly with the skills, tools and language of work. Through social engagement and using photography, sound recordings and installation she researches and documents work place communities. Research is at the heart of many of her other ongoing projects such as the invention of the Beaufort Scale, ice, and the movement and behaviour of water.

Art and Engagement with the Cold War in Shetland and its Norther Neighbours

For more than ten years the Shetland-based visual artists and social art practitioners Roxane Permar and Susan Timmins have worked in collaboration to explore memories and perceptions of the Cold War across the northern and Arctic region by recovering little known stories of the period. Through socially engaged art projects, exhibitions, and public engagement they collect, record, and share material across the circumpolar north. The memories they gather, and present give personal insight into activities and places, such as the early warning radar sites operated by NATO.

Their work extends our sense of the Cold War period not only as it exists physically in the northern landscape but in the memory. It reveals hidden stories behind the Cold War, or the imaginary war (Kaldor, 1990; Grant and Ziemann, 2016), which dominated the 20th century, polarised the world and presented the nuclear threat amidst a growing nuclear culture. Permar and Timmins generate discussion about the nuclear threat across generations. They strive to find ways that art can help to re-imagine this period and give insight into the impact that Cold War military installations have had on local populations.

For decades Permar and Timmins have been based in Shetland, an archipelago of more than 100 islands in the North Atlantic, yet they grew up in North America in the shadow of the atomic bomb. Shetland's geographical position means that at different times in its history it has been of importance militarily; its architectural landscape reflects this past. The presentation will provide an overview of their work across a ten year period including a range of media, e.g, film, photography, sound, textiles and digital gaming, embedded within socially engaged and place based projects.

The equipment used in the NATO early warning defence system across North America, Greenland, Iceland, Faroe and Europe has been removed, and the remaining bunkers and buildings are largely derelict; these remains from the Cold War period hold archaeological value. They contribute to the living landscape, cultural heritage and historic identity they played throughout the Cold War period. Surviving sites form the content and backdrop for much of the artwork in Cold War Projects, particularly

the film and photographic installation Countdown, and the socially engaged project, Recount, which features former volunteers from the Royal Observer Corps who operated a system of UK civil defence posts.

Today we face increasing instability, both internationally and in the UK. The Russian invasion of Ukraine increases the relevance and meaning of ongoing work around questions posed by the Cold War as current conflicts introduce a new dimension to societal threats for the 21st century. Permar and Timmins work through social and creative engagement to place the nuclear threat from the Cold War period alongside new contemporary threats, such as the coronavirus pandemic, cyberterrorism and climate change. The geopolitics of these threats demands imaginative and socially just solutions that contribute to mutual understanding and a stable future.

Cold War Projects underlines the importance of finding imaginative ways to communicate the impacts of societal threats and to use the arts to raise awareness of the urgency of these issues. Nordic Connections, the most recent project, realised in collaboration with Norwegian partners, emphasised the value of working together and the importance of learning about global issues from different international perspectives, including older generations and young people. An interdisciplinary approach that brought together the arts, environmental science, cultural heritage and immersive technology, enabling young to people gain insight into ways forward for a better, more sustainable future.

Through their creative vision and outputs, Permar and Timmins bring Cold War histories into the nuclear present, and future. Their work provides a timely reminder of the nuclear threat, highlighting the continuing relevance of the Cold War period, particularly for younger generations. It reveals the importance of dialogue as a means to listen and learn from each other. They ask what lessons we can learn from our nuclear past during the Cold War period to help understand the threat posed by conflict in our current century, inform future generations and make a safer world.

Simone Labs

Born in Karl Marx Stadt (now Chemnitz) on October 5, 1963, Simone Labs is an accomplished professional with a diverse background encompassing literary, journalistic, and project work. With extensive experience in coordinating European projects aimed at promoting cooperation between regions and facilitating cultural exchange, Simone has made significant contributions to various initiatives across multiple countries. Since 2011, she has served as the Head of the Network Aesthetics & Sustainability, demonstrating a steadfast commitment to fostering cultural dialogue and promoting sustainable practices. With a solid academic foundation in Latin American Studies and Literature from the University of Rostock, Simone brings a wealth of knowledge to her multifaceted career. As a journalist and author, she has contributed radio reports, print media publications, and authored several books, reflecting her deep passion for storytelling and cultural exploration.

From the Iron Curtain to the European Green Belt

Since the 1990s, I have resided adjacent to the former Iron Curtain in Mecklenburg, the eastern part of Germany, formerly known as the GDR. In this region, the Iron Curtain was marked by walls, fences, automatic firing systems, dog squadrons, and border guards.

The European Green Belt represents the legacy of the Iron Curtain during the Cold War period. This barrier separated the East from the West, symbolizing political and ideological differences and imposing physical barriers that restricted the movement of people and ideas between the two sides. It stood as

a significant historical phenomenon that shaped the geopolitical and natural landscape of Europe for nearly 40 years.

As a writer, I have been deeply intrigued by the lives of people in this region during the Cold War era. Through extensive research, interviews, publications, and projects, I have delved into this period's history and its impact on communities.

Remembering the Cold War history is one important aspect, while the other lies in the natural environment. Over the last three decades, the Iron Curtain has evolved into an extraordinary ecological network and living memorial landscape. The Green Belt serves as a crucial ecological corridor spanning across 24 countries, stretching over 12,500 kilometers from the Barents Sea at the Russian-Norwegian border to the Black and Adriatic Seas. It plays a vital role in conserving biodiversity, protecting endangered species, and preserving natural habitats. Additionally, the Green Belt promotes sustainable development, fosters international cooperation, and raises awareness about the importance of environmental conservation. Overall, it is a significant initiative in safeguarding our natural heritage and the memory of the Cold War period for future generations.

Today, I reside in the UNESCO Biosphere Reserve Schaalsee and endeavor to integrate the past with the present and future. I am actively involved in various aspects of the Green Belt and the border museum "Grenzhus Schlagsdorf" and participate as an activist in the network "Aesthetic and Sustainability."

Contribution:

A brief examination of the transition from the Iron Curtain to the European Green Belt, particularly in the German part of Mecklenburg.

Research and interviews with residents of the former border strip, now a biosphere reserve, utilizing biographical writing methods.

Experience in networking within the Green Belt initiative.

The primary focus of the European Green Belt initiative is the protection of nature and the biotope network. I see immense potential in enriching this valuable work with aspects of the former dividing line between East and West, along with addressing current questions of coexistence in Europe, to raise awareness among the public.

Idea: My question is: What can we do to raise awareness of the Green Belt? For many people, the name holds little significance even after so many years, especially among younger generations unfamiliar with the historical concept of the Iron Curtain.

Presenting the idea of the European project "The Green Belt Is Singing for Earth, Peace, and Democracy" in 2026 and extending an invitation to participate in it. We aim to set a positive example for sustainability, democracy, and peace through music and dialogue. Amidst a time of crisis, uncertainty, and conflict, this initiative seeks to unite communities and foster harmony along the former borders.

Session 4: Stories from Cold War Hotspots – A European Documentation Project

Tobias Henriksen:

Tobias Henriksen graduated with a master’s degree in history from Nord University in 2019 and has since augmented his expertise with additional studies in English and International Relations. Since then, he has been actively involved in research and project endeavours. Notably, Henriksen contributed as a research assistant and translator for Hugh Sebag-Montefiore’s forthcoming book "The Sea War"

(scheduled for publication in 2024). He also served as a historical consultant for Alstahaug municipality and worked as a scientific assistant for the Faculty of Social Sciences at Nord University.

Presently, Henriksen holds the role of project manager for the research and exhibition project "Stories from Cold War Hotspots" and is one of the principal organizers of the Cold War: Collective Memory and Identity Conference in 2024.

Exploring Methodology: A Reflection on Semi-Automated Interviews

In the documentation and research project "Stories from Cold War Hotspots," the Norwegian Aviation Museum, along with partners in Estonia, Denmark, Germany, and Scotland, embarked on an exploration of interview methodology. Faced with the twin imperatives of authenticity and logistical feasibility, we developed a methodology termed "Semi-Automated Interviews," aiming to empower participants as co-creators of the research results and the subsequent exhibition of their reflections and stories.

This presentation delves into the rationale behind our chosen approach, addressing our starting point, logistical and methodological challenges, and the decision-making process. I will examine both the advantages and drawbacks of the Semi-Automated Interview method, aiming to provoke thought and inspire similar innovative approaches to memory collection and oral history in institutions engaged with Cold War and historical memory projects. Through a stream-of-consciousness style presentation, I aim to offer insights into alternative methodologies and stimulate dialogue among researchers and institutions in the field.

Karl L. Kleve:

Karl Lorentz Kleve is a curator and historian at the Norwegian Aviation Museum in Bodø, where he has been working with research, collection management and outreach since 1998. He is a Cand. Philol. from the University in Oslo.

His fields of study are general Norwegian aviation history, including the history of charter tourism, 19th century ballooning and the Cold War impact on aviation and society in the High North. He has published on the Scandinavian – Soviet aviation agreements, the role of espionage in international air travel, the impact of military aviation on Northern Norway, and more. He has also published a radio series on Norwegian aviation history, podcasts, articles, and other outreach works, and is frequently used by TV, Radio and other media.

Is the Cold War Still Relevant? An Analysis of the Documentation Project “Stories from Cold War Hotspots”

Norwegian Aviation Museum has together with partner museums in Estonia, Denmark, Germany and Scotland conducted a documentation project called ‘Stories from Cold War Hotspots’. The aim of the project was twofold:

To engage the regular museum visitor of all ages and sexes in a conversation on a museum topic of great importance for the museums. With the aim of finding out what the Cold War really means for the common man and woman.

Secondly, to study whether the Cold War can be considered to have one overarching narrative across the borders of Europe, much like World War II has, or not?

To minimize the influence of the interviewer, we attempted to create a semi-autonomous interview process, where all museum visitors were invited to enter into a small booth and share their thoughts

in private, speaking only to a microphone and camera, without an interviewer present. We also aimed to invite all museum visitors to share their reflections, not pre-selected informants.

This paper aims to present the documentation project and its major quantitative results and discuss some of the more interesting findings.

I will present the statistical results of the project: The number of interviews, the spread across age groups and sexes and the variations between the five participating countries.

Afterwards I will attempt to discuss the content of the interviews with a focus on a few major aspects: How do most people reflect on the Cold War? Are there major differences between how regular people and the museum professionals and historians view the Cold War? Are there major differences between the participating countries, or can the Cold War be considered one European narrative? And finally: Is the Cold War still relevant for most people, or just another distant past?

I also aim to discuss some of the particular challenges with the interview process. Can this project help increase dialogue between museum and museum visitor? And will the results strengthen our existing views on the Cold War, or force us to reorientate?

Bernd von Kostka:

Bernd von Kostka, M.A., is a distinguished historian and esteemed member of the Academic Staff at the Allied Museums, Berlin. Born in Germany in 1962, he embarked on his academic journey studying History, Political Science, and Administrative Law in Trier, Germany, and Stafford, Great Britain.

Since 1994, von Kostka has played a pivotal role at the Allied Museums, contributing significantly to the institution's exhibitions and programs. His tenure as the Acting Director of the Museum from April 2016 to March 2018 further exemplifies his leadership and dedication to preserving Cold War history.

Von Kostka's expertise in curating exhibitions is evident through his oversight and responsibility for various acclaimed displays, including "The Link with Home," "The Children's Airlift 1953-1957," and "Mission Accomplished." He has also curated special exhibitions such as "Who was a Nazi?" and played a pivotal role in the Exhibition “100 Objects. Berlin during the Cold War.”

In addition to his curatorial work, von Kostka is a prolific author, co-authoring books such as "Capital of Spies" and "Vacation from the Cold War," and publishing numerous articles on topics related to the Berlin Blockade and Berlin Airlift.

Von Kostka also serves as a consultant for films, documentaries, and magazines, providing valuable insights into Cold War history. He is a member of the Advisory Board for the project “Materializing the Cold War” in Scotland and serves as the responsible Berlin-Partner for the international Norwegian project “Stories from Cold War Hotspots” (2022-2024), further highlighting his commitment to advancing Cold War scholarship and commemoration.

Berlin: Magnifying Glass on the History of the Cold War and a Collecting Basin for Cold War Identity

Berlin, the former capital of the Third Reich, remained important after 1945 because of its status as a Four-Power city. The city’s division between the former allies United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union provided the basis for the conflicts in the next decades.

Here in Berlin, the first Cold War confrontation started with the Berlin Blockade/Berlin Airlift, but the city remained a hotspot for such disputes – for example, when the Berlin Wall was built in 1961. Living

in Berlin, divided into East and West, was very different from living in other large cities in Germany like Hamburg or Munich. Personal memories in Berlin were much more affected by this Cold War background, which was somehow just a "normal" part of everyday life. However, not only citizens were affected – the entire public administration, the military garrisons of the four occupying powers, the social life and political parties in the city as well as all economic sectors were impacted by the Cold War.

Situations occurred in the city that were unthinkable elsewhere in the world. The interviews we carried out in Berlin shed light on this in many different ways. As such, the history of the city was a major contributor to the local identity within a Cold War identity.

These personal experiences, stories and memories of the Cold War decades are essential to understanding the circumstances in which the people of Berlin lived during that period. Individual feelings were a part of the feelings of an entire society. Looking at those individual memories and listening to the emotions connected with them will enable us to gain a better and broader picture of what the lives were like of the individuals who lived through the Cold War in Berlin. And the more interviews we have, the better we can assess how the Cold War influenced the lives of individuals within society as a whole.

They can also tell us a great deal about how the Cold War experience has continued to impact our lives today and help us to find out whether the feelings expressed in the interviews have gone mow, or whether they perhaps still exist. As a historian and curator, an interesting question for me is whether feelings like the "fear of an atomic war" can be described in a book or displayed in an exhibition, and how do other people's experiences influence my own life today? Since Russia's attack on Ukraine and considering the increase in China's military strength, the kind of feelings people had in the past may not be that dissimilar to the way people feel about the future today. The main question now is whether the world is heading towards a "new" Cold War. The project "Stories from Cold War Hotspots" can act as an additional tool for Cold War historiography and will help us to identify where the main differences are, and what the historic Cold War and the "new" Cold War have in common.

Ian Brown:

Ian Brown is the curator at the National Museum of Flight, at East Fortune Airfield in Scotland and part of National Museums Scotland. Ian has been in post for 19 years and has worked for NMS for 26 years. He gained his BA degree at the University of Stirling and his Masters degree in Museum Studies at the University of Leicester.

During his time at the National Museum of Flight Ian has catalogued the aviation collection, including a large collection donated by the Royal Observer Corps in 1992. This fed into wider museum projects, including a Collaborative Doctoral Partnership on Materialising the Cold War in Scotland that included a focus on the Royal Observer Corps.

Ian is an expert in radar and air defence history, having written and presented widely on the subjects. He has written on a number of different topics, including radar history and museum curatorship and his first sole authorship book, Radar in Scotland 1938-46, was published by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 2022. He also most recently presented at the international Radar Conference in Edinburgh in 2022.

Scotland's Cold War

The National Museum of Flight, part of National Museums Scotland, holds and displays the nation's collection relating to aviation. This includes many Cold War aircraft, including the Lightning, Avro Vulcan, Phantom, Hawker Siddeley Buccaneer, Hawker Siddeley Harrier, Tornado and Nimrod, several

of which are examples that were based in Scotland during the Cold War. The museum is fortunate to have a large team of volunteer guides, several of whom actually flew in the aircraft at the museum. They have strong memories of their time in the military and are enthusiastic about sharing these experiences with museum visitors. They were also enthusiastic to contribute to the Stories from Cold War Hotspots project, providing some oral history context to Scotland's Cold War role.

This paper examines Scotland's Cold War role, shaped by its geopolitical location as part of the UK and NATO but on the edge of the borders between the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans and the North Sea, putting Scotland at the centre of a contested zone of air and sea. It looks at how this geopolitical environment shaped the experiences of the people of Scotland, and those from elsewhere sent to Scotland. It draws on the personal experiences of museum volunteers as recorded in the Cold War Hotspots project to give examples of how the Cold War affected the lives of people in Scotland who flew in the museum aircraft and served on the front line in a war that was never fought.

The Cold War in Europe was characterised by the East-West stand-off of NATO and Warsaw Pact military forces in opposition but not in open conflict. In terms of this stand-off, Scotland was uniquely positioned right in the front line of this confrontation, located as it is in the northern part of the United Kingdom. Scotland's front-line role covered several different aspects of the Cold War military stand-off.

This geographical position meant that Soviet aircraft flying round the north of Norway and then down into the Atlantic would skirt the edge of UK airspace off the north of Scotland and would be detected by radars in Scotland long before reaching that airspace. Fighter aircraft (English Electric Lightnings, McDonnell-Douglas F4 Phantoms and Panavia Tornado F3s) on Quick Reaction Alert would take-off to intercept these Soviet aircraft before they could enter UK airspace.

Scotland was also home to the UK maritime patrol aircraft (Avro Shackletons and Hawker Siddeley Nimrods) which monitored and identified Soviet surface vessels and submarines. These aircraft would, in the event of war, have been tasked with preventing Soviet submarines entering the Atlantic and interfering with commercial and military shipping between the US and Europe, as well as hunting and destroying Soviet nuclear missile submarines before they could launch a nuclear strike.

Arguably Scotland's most important role during the Cold War was as the base of the UK's nuclear missile submarines, based at Faslane on the River Clyde. These submarines, equipped with Polaris and later Trident nuclear missiles, were Britain's independent nuclear deterrent from 1969 onwards and put Scotland very much in the front-line of the nuclear confrontation component of the Cold War. This presence also provided a focus for protest movements and indeed the Faslane Peace Camp remains the longest continuously occupied peace camp in the world. This camp sits in juxtaposition with the Faslane Naval Base and its Trident submarines, both camp and base being contested spaces in an undeclared war.

A more unusual aspect of Scotland's Cold War experience was that of the Klondykers. These were fish-processing ships from Eastern Europe receiving mackerel caught by Scottish fishing boats and processing them before taking them back to home markets. The crews of these vessels were given exceptional freedoms to mix with locals ashore in Scottish fishing harbours and a healthy trade in Western luxury goods developed.

Terje Anepaio

Terje Anepaio (MPhil) has researched and curated exhibitions about everyday life of the late Soviet period at the Estonian National Museum (ENM) since 2001. Her background is ethnology and social history. In the team of ENM's present core exhibition „Encounters“ (2016), she mainly treated topics about the everyday life of the Cold War period.

As an oral historian, she has worked with different mnemonic communities such as repressed people (NGO Memento) and Ingrian Finnish ethnic minority in North East Estonia.

She has published several studies on the memory work and practices of commemorating the repressed during the post-Soviet period and has made a documentary “We remember! We commemorate!“ on this subject.

Jeppe Jøhn Hørsholm

Jeppe Jøhn Hørsholm is museum inspector at Langelands Museum, of which Langelandsfort is a part, and archivist at Rudkøbing City Historical Archive. He has a master's degree in history from the University of Southern Denmark and also minors in Russian language from the University of Southern Denmark and Saint Petersburg State University. His area of responsibility at the museum includes research and dissemination of Langeland's history from the Reformation to the present day. In addition to the general history of Langeland, he works with recent war and military history as well as Cold War history. At the moment it is, among other things, topics such as the occupation of Denmark 1940-1945 and a project about the history of the Danish Home Guard.

Langeland in the Cold War.

During the Cold War, Denmark was a frontline state and Langeland's geographical location made the island a Cold War Hotspot. In connection with the project Cold War Hotspots, the Langelandsfort was chosen as such a Hotspot, and the fort is indeed a symbol of the Cold War. But it was not the fort itself that made Langeland such a hotspot. Through various research projects, the Langelands Museum has succeeded in gaining access to Warsaw Pact material. It has given historians an insight into what thoughts were made in the eastern bloc in connection with Langeland.

We know from East German and Polish intelligence reports that there were spies on Langeland on several occasions. They weren't there because of the fort, though they spied against it as well. They were there because Langeland was a part of the Warsaw Pact's plans for attacking NATO.

All this the ordinary citizen on Langland knew nothing about. They knew about the Cold War and the ever-present fear of war, but there is no indication that it was more widespread on Langeland than elsewhere. But the Cold War was by no means hidden from the local population. Warsaw Pact spy ships could be seen in the sea around the island and there were military exercises, but again it was not something that only affected Langeland. In the island community on Langeland, one instead had to deal with the fact that a fort was built in the early 1950s. The fact that the fort came into existence meant that many new people also came, because the fort had to be manned. At the beginning there was a widespread feeling of “them” and “us” on the island. The new ones were not welcome. But when the fort closed in the 1990s, it was still mourned by the people of Langeland.

In my call, I will primarily investigate and explain how the Cold War was felt on Langeland, and secondly how Langeland fit into the Cold War. Emotions are a difficult quantity to work with for a historian, they cannot be measured. However, I want to talk about how the feelings of the locals towards the fort and its staff changed. It was not pure grand politics, but more due to a great effort on the part of the fort to meet the locals. It was done on several fronts which ultimately showed the local population that the fort and its staff were an asset both in the island's social life, but also in practical everyday life.

Nor was it only military personnel who came to the island to serve at the fort. It was whole families who moved to the island. Mothers who had to find work and children who had to go to school. Among the children, a new term "fortungen" arose. The term was used by the local children for the children

who came to the island because their father worked at the fort. It shows that even the children were affected by the adults' politics.

It is not the first time that Langelands Museum has collected accounts and stories from the fort's time. It has been done pretty much since Langelandsfort opened as a museum. It will largely be the collected material, both new and old, that will form the basis of my presentation.

I start from the helicopter perspective and end in everyday life at Langeland. With my call, I will try to understand how the fort's personnel could go from looked bad upon to loved. Some of the reasons are due to everyday life, some are due to politics.