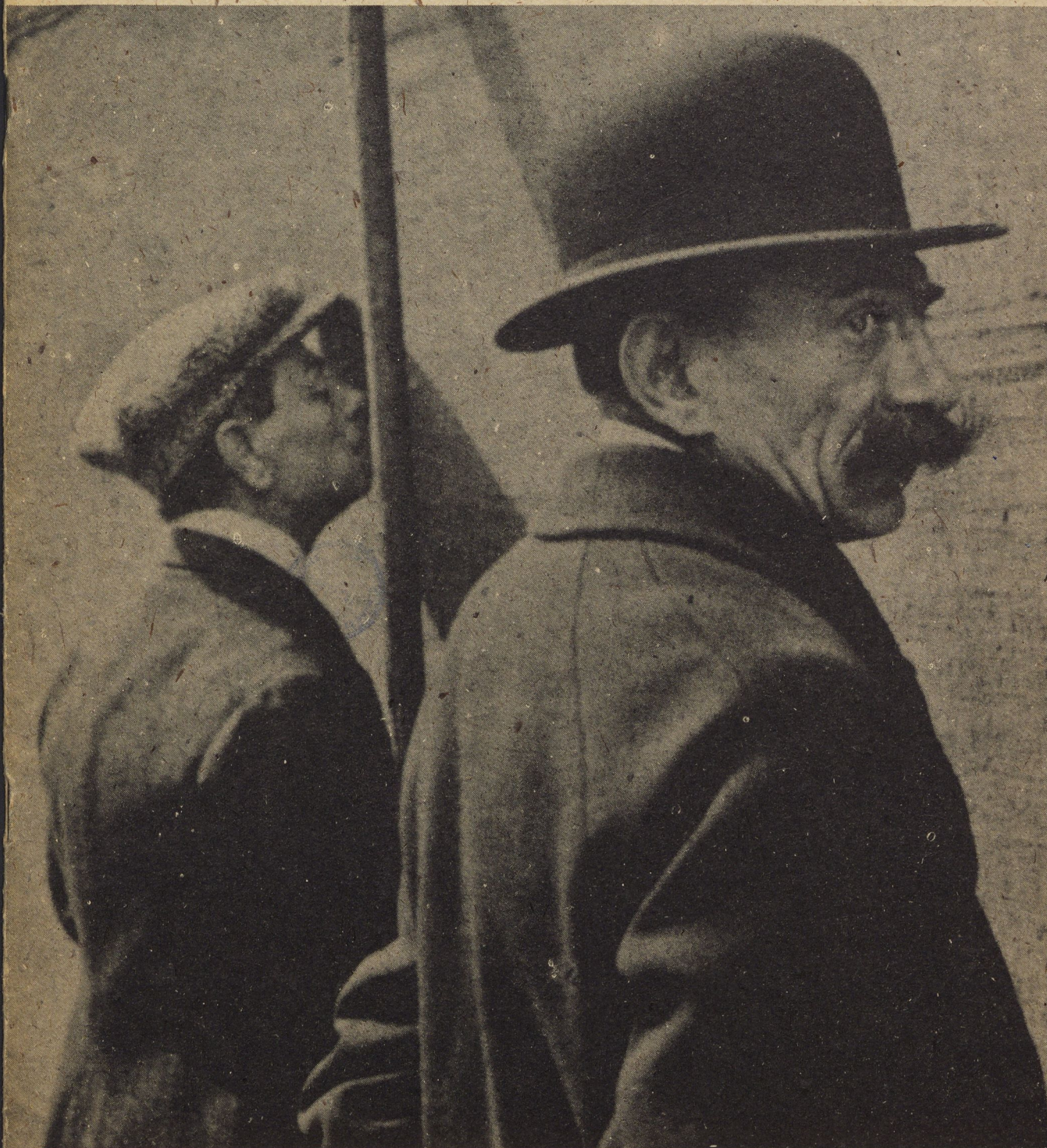


# The Intruder

The Center for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence, Ljubljana, Slovenia, Year II, No. 5, May 1992





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# The Fast-Food in Terms of Information *or The Electronic Age*

**Peace Activities have entered the new age of electronic communications. The emergency culture has overwhelmed and spread insidiously without us acknowledging it, having just been able to admire the newness up to now.**

Considering the technical aspect, nothing is more admirable. Messages, articles, press release, diaries..... whatever is possible to be written is dropping into the computer, just ready to be used. The fast-food of the communication. The informations: eaten, digested ? No, just swallowed. The computer of the Peace Center in Ljubljana is literally bombed everyday by tons of messages of all kinds. The present situation in Bosnia is increasing the quantity and variety of Email correspondance, partly due to the cut of other means of communication in former Yugoslavia but also to the users (anybody possessing the technical installation) who, instead of imposing themselves a discipline of quality or utility, in many cases, consider the mean as a funny toy. Similarly to children playing with "talkie-walkie", when the point of the game

doesn't lie in the content of the message but in the capacity to formulate words through the spatial distance. In parallel, our thirst of information is infinite, motivated by the tragedy and the constant changes of situation. The obsession of watching the TV-news is slowly replaced by the daily discovery of the electronic correspondance. The continuous and never-satisfied search for new informations turns into a priority, time and space for analysis being drastically reduced. The anecdotic replaces the thoughts. The mind is emptied little by little for the benefit of the multiplied "last news". As for the TV's images which satisfy our curiosity, and attest in our minds of the "truth", we forget the need of placing them in their wider context, understanding them as part of a broader reality. Having the impression of living the events minute after minute "as if we were there", reading detailed descriptions of atrocities (whether mental or physical), I often had as first reaction: "Now I know", transformed into the unexpressed and unlogical implication: "I understand". When realizing they were only giving a very small part or

aspect of the situation, exactly as the TV image would, I figured out that an education on selecting electronic informations, on handling them and using them as a source among many others was necessary.

Another additional complexity (compared to similar process of selection on TV or newspapers) is our double position of consumer and reproducer that has to be handled. The following nightmare's scenario is very likely to happen: first you are impressed by the informations, second you can't check them, third you reproduce. In the case of the war in Bosnia, more or less nothing is subject to be trusted or possible to verify. In few weeks of use, both Peace Centers in Ljubljana and Zagreb had cases of such deviance concerning the sake of information. In Ljubljana, we received a report from a police-station in Bosnia, with the demand to translate it and spread it widely. Once managing to get them on the phone, another police officer assured that the message as well as his colleague were not reliable. What happened ? Whom to believe ?..... In Zagreb, Anti-War Cam-

paign having received a dramatic fax decided to translate the first lines of it and threw them on the electronic network: "Over 1,000 people were killed and slaughtered in Bijalina". The origin of the fax was SDA office in Sarajevo. At that time CNN reported 10 people killed, and later on 1,000, citing also SDA as a source. The E-mail started to act as a boomerang, while each channel of information began to reinforce the validity of the news and confirm each other: was it CNN which was making credible the electronic message, or the contrary, or both ? Even SDA declared that they received proof via ARK (Anti-War Campaign) and CNN ! Nobody has found out yet what happened in Bijalina, though Amnesty International has been asked to investigate. Will peace activists become propagators of bloody "scoops" ?

When the common trust in a source of information is so high, I begin to find the instrument very dangerous, and to be handled with precautions or skills. Or maybe is it simply my resistance to modernity ?

*Dominique Cochard, May 1992*



# UNDERSTANDING THE PEACE MOVEMENT(S) IN SLOVENIA AN OUTLINE

By Tonči Kuzmanić

The peace movement in Slovenia is a product of the political and social strifes opposed to the mono-party system in the eighties. There were some absorbed intensity of peace experiences and activities from the end of the sixties and from the beginning of the seventies, but not in any significant form. Roughly speaking, it is practical to distinguish three developing periods of the peace movement(s) in Slovenia:

1. before the political parties came forth, mainly from mid eighties to the 1989 elections;
2. in the times of the elections;
3. following the elections to the ongoing time situation.

## 1. Before the elections

The main attributes of the circumstances, prior to the appearance of the political parties in Slovenia and preceding the first elections, were:

- one-party, comparative centralised system at the level of Yugoslav federal state;
- due to the various historical, social, political, religious and cultural reasons, the one-party system was a bit less intense in Slovenia, as ingredient of Yugoslav federal system;
- higher living standards in Slovenia than elsewhere in Yugoslavia;
- stronger ideological and political influences from the west in Slovenia than in the other parts;
- relatively forceful new social movements (broadly speaking, action for so-called civil society) in Slovenia.

### **Non-revolutionary platform of transformation**

During the eighties, mainly in the second part of the decade, the opposition in Slovenia was twofold: civil opposition or opposition of so-called new social movements (as a matter of fact of new political strategies, interests, ambitions... captured in a quite sophisticated ideological form of "new social movements"!) and national opposition.

The peace movement was one of the most prominent and influent within "new social

movements". Furthermore, there were effective feminist actions, ecological, gay, punk and some other "representatives" of new ideas, interests and conceptions.

**Side by side, as the new social movements were the opposition in Slovenia they played also the role of the preeminent oppositional force in former Yugoslavia as a whole.** Namely, following the national fracture of the Communist organisation, Yugoslavia was turning into a state merely "preserved" by Yugoslav People's Army. Conflict between Slovene peace movement and Yugoslav army bureaucracy was the predominant one in 1987/1988. The dispute on the theme of the army role in the "socialist system", on "militarisation of the society", on civil service, on consciousness objection... were the most meaningful levels in declining the militarised antipolitical system regulated from Belgrade. The new social movements inevitably had an ideological and political impact in Slovenia, focusing on the individual, civil rights, liberalisation of the society and stressing the unambiguous distinction between state and civil society. Prevailing denotation of the socialism in those times (1985-88) was stemming from the statement concerning the deficiency of the contrast between state and civil society. **Precisely this kind of "positive critique" of decaying self-managing system, which tried to work out a non-revolutionary platform for the changeover of socialism, was the reason for the new social movements being the outstanding opposition factor in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia between 1983 and 1989.**

### **Neorevolutionism**

In addition, there was a traditional, nationally oriented opposition, which functioned from a distinct background and with different motives and purposes. First of all it was an action of so-called cultural intelligentsia (writers, poets, actors...) and of some influent groups closely connected with the Slovenian Catholic Church, known as conservative. This part of the Slovenian opposition appeared in the public domain later (the exception being "New Review", a national-revolutionary, anticommunist review), not prior to 1988 demanding for the one-nation, Slovenian state

with drastic focusing on the national slovenian army role and supplemental ideas from the treasury of Orthodox national movements. It is important to punctuate that exactly right wing nationalists used to argue for the right to national self-determination in typical "leninist manner". **The dominant aim of this revolutionary and anticommunist movement was the revenge, full renewal of strifes between communists and nationalists from the Second World War.**

As an outcome of those events and according to the public opinion data, between 1984 and 1988 approximately 50% of slovene population manifested this or that form of antimilitarist values and were even ready to assist the actions of new social movements, especially that of peace movement.

## 2. The elections

From these, comparative undifferentiated Slovene political, social movements and nation-oriented groups came out different "political" parties in pre-election times. The turbulent party-building period led to the appearance of numerous nation-oriented, more or less right wing parties and to the involution of the "new social movements". The majority of "bearers" of the new public, political and social interests, didn't want to join any form of traditionally party oriented politics, not to speak about those right wing. As the outcome, almost all "capital", political capacities of civil society actions and new social movements, collected through the various fights with the one-party system, was disseminated among diverse, but mostly nation-oriented political parties. In spite of many political parties in the pre-electoral period (close to 10), the battle between communists and nationalists, between traditional Right and Left dominated. So called "third block", actually a third probability of political acting, the new social movements broke up into two basic positions: into those who joined political activities in a party ("Liberal party" was the new name for ex-Slovene youth organisation) and non-party public, political and social activities (majority of ex-social movements). In other words, new political initiatives and interests gathered in the form of "new



social movements" have been marginalised and under the pressure of both: nationalists from different political parties and of the above mentioned liberal party members.

## Different peace trends

Observing from the point of view of the "peace energies", there were a significant split among peace activists resulting in the following subdivision:

- 1 - something which could be designated as the "national" or nation-oriented peace movement";
- 2 - communist peace movement;
- 3 - and civil or "peace peace movement", which - as mentioned above - was additionally divided into two positions: party-organised peace movement (liberal democrat party) and peace movement external to any political party.

## Peace and the Nationalism

Regarding the relatively small Slovene population (approximately 2 millions of inhabitants) perhaps it would be possible to figure out the former (before the elections) peace initiatives as a movement, for there were around 30-40 agile and organised persons engaged in peace and problems of nonviolence. In the period of the elections these activists have dispersed and joined different political (also national-oriented) parties' options. Instead of peace movement, from this moment on, it is - according to me - more accurate to describe the new circumstances through the various, rather weak peace initiatives and small groups, mainly outdoor of different political parties on the slovene nation-policy stage.

Nation-oriented peace initiatives are of immense significance when analysing the concrete slovene situation and trying to understand the previous changes which took place in this part of Europe. Basically, it is possible to present this "peace" orientation in two different forms:

a) as a temporary and very narrowly bounded action of some solitary activists who tried to maintain their previous peace endeavours and actions in new circumstances, within diverse political parties (Slovenian Green, Slovenian Democrats...).

b) as a sort of "non-peace policy" which became a main source for political leaders in organising a symptomatic platform within various political parties.

The principal characteristic of this situation was the mixture of abstract peace beliefs, or, better, desires with quite strict right wing national ideology. The outgrowth of this "colourful" connections was a radical turnabout at the point of peace and nonviolence. So-called "national threat", "endanger of slovene nation" was the point of capture where the mixture of principally peacefulness, previous peace intentions and the endangered nation plunged into the word-for-word

militant defence ideology and action.

Some followers of ex-peace activists, who used to be engaged in questions of War and Peace, became cardinal creators of the militant ideology according to which keeping peace only means "installing the armed force"!

**Peace intentions fixed on the basis of the nation-policy ideology were that fateful vehicle for transition from the peace position and action into radical, military national defence.** Proceeding from those experiences, perhaps it is not illogical to raise the following question: whether this transition was made possible because of the concrete nation-policy position or, maybe, due to the contrasts and oppositions within the peace "ideal" as such, or both? Namely, it was a situation in which we had an extraordinary opportunity to witness a very "normal" transition of numerous peace activists into defenders of militarisation - including the experience that one of the important members of the peace movement became the minister of defence!

It seems that peace ideas, activities, intentions somehow contended something which was so adaptable, which is possible to use for this or that purpose, which is, in short, dependent and subjected to various ideologies and political ideas.

## Communist version of peacefulness

An opposite transition came in the case of single slovene communists and ex-communist party too. Before the elections, communists, as members of the party on power, had no real prospect to express various forms of peacefulness which persisted among them. Nevertheless, some of them used to express their support to oppositional oriented peace movements, although their position made impossible any serious form of open and public peace (anti party!) engagement. When the national opposition took the power, or even before, when it was transparent that this would be just a question of time, a lot of communists began to defend this or that form of peacefulness and nonviolence, including an open collaboration with peace activists and movements... **After the elections, a great part of those communists (the party has changed the name into the Party of "Social-democrat Renewal") who remained in the party became the loudest in supporting peace activities and nonviolence.**

## Peace-peace movement

As it was already emphasised, the third part of the divided peace movement was (still is) "peace-peace movement" in meaning of the remnants of those activists who tried to continue with peace action in new circumstances of national, non-political "pluralism". Absolutely speaking, it was the majority of the ex-peace movement, but simultaneously the

minority in comparison with the new political (national) subjects which appeared in Slovenia. In contrast with the previous times, when numerous democrats, greens, liberals... were the members of peace movement, when peace movement was a sort of umbrella for all different political or semi political, social and other aspirations, peace activists suddenly became just a small part of the greater nation-political theatre. The former distinction and contrast between "civil society opposition" and communist regime position, was superseded by two others: a) between communism and anti communism (nationalism) and b) between "peace" position which could be defended by the armed force (Slovenian army against "Yugoslav enemies") and the idea of demilitarisation of Slovenia, which has become the platform of the leftover peace movement actors and of some peace activists in different political parties (liberal democrats, green party, ex-communists, some socialdemocrats...).

However, Demos, the coalition composed by more or less right wing national parties won the elections in spring 1990, the civil peace movement became a marginalized, out-parliament opposition. One of the prominent activists of the national peace movement, Janez Janša, became a heavy metal defence minister.

## 3. After the elections

The new slovenian nationalist government (president is coming from the Christian democrat party) started with politics of conflict towards the very similar but ideologically "opposite based" extreme politics of the federal authorities and, especially, of Yugoslav People's Army. The result of relatively long strifes was one-week semi-war ("semi", of course, in comparison with the wars in Croatia and Bosnia) in Slovenia. **At any rate, so-called "small" and "dirty war" has produced extremely strong militarisation:** not only in the sense of buying and distributing weapons and uniforms, but firstly militarisation of the mind, militarisation of thinking of entire slovenian population, of the emerging society as a whole. Due to the fact that war was predominantly the media-war, consequences of it were more intense and profound on the symbolic aspect than in the field of "reality" (material destructions, number of killed people...). The previous undifferentiated mass peacefulness, present in public opinion data, became, literary speaking, through the night, consciousness of militarisation. **It was a triumph of nationalist "peace policy" guided by the straight military defence of ex-peace activist and national hero.**

The radical changes due to the war, in the new social and political space emerging in Slovenia has produced the following crucial problem, which - probably for years - would determinate this environment: **to be a peace movement activist or to be a pacifist, to defend any sort of peace and nonviolent action, by definition became the same as**



being "national traitor" of the slovenian nation-state! To be a "national traitor" not solely in eyes of political leaders, police and army commanders, of public opinion, but firstly in eyes of the "ordinary" people, in every day life, on the streets... For this present situation, incredible high degrees of merit are due to journalists and editors of almost all slovenian media - including the ex-alternative oriented weekly "Mladina".

### The results

What are the results of this quite inspiring period of the history in Slovenia? The peace movement lost its illusion that it is powerful and relatively mass movement; the peace movement went through the process of re-definition of the aims and set up the new project under the title of "Demilitarisation of Slovenia", which is becoming more and more inadequate (too abstract, blocking new actions...). The Peace institute in Ljubljana was established and started with investigations on the history of militarisation in Slovenia and analysing the war conflict net in former Yugoslavia... Wars in Croatia and Bosnia has shown that the Slovene peace movement - if it is still possible to speak about "movement" at all - went down in rather deep crises.

What are the foundations on which it might be possible to build up a relatively normal peace structure in Slovenia in the future? The possible grounds are: 1. a relatively strong affirmation of the idea of demilitarisation from the previous times. The idea is still living among intellectuals and opinion makers, in some factions of different political parties and it is also present in certain segments of public media and public opinion; 2. processes of building slovenian nation-state independency are going to an end, so perhaps, it is also possible to expect changes in the internal Slovenian nation-state policy; 3. Large segments of slovenian population were already experiencing the rapid falling down of their living standard, which is first of all a consequence of the strong militarisation of the slovenian state.

### What kind of problems we should expect?

The main problem could be "specified" around the complex of so-called slovenian "introvertiveness": not solely at the individual, psychological level, but as a sort of state politics resulting in the fact that there is still no proper way out from former Yugoslavia to Europe, and simultaneously there is no way back. This situation somewhere in between non-existing Yugoslavia and Europe, is suitable for the introvert mentality to work out a very similar military defence to the so called "Igel mentalität" in Switzerland. Of course, without political culture, history, Swiss standards of living...

# THOUGHTS ON THE CONFUSION IN THE THEORIES OF NATIONALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

By Ana Dević, sociologist

*Having read in The Intruder 3 the articles concerning the apparent identity crisis of peace movements and analysis of the Yugoslav conflict, Ana Dević sent us the following article.*

I inevitably started comparing their insights to my own criticism of the predominant intellectual currents in the USA (and certainly in many other social science centers) addressing the explosion of "ethnic Babels" in Central and Eastern Europe, and my guesses about the reasons of their negligence of the emergence of alternative social movements in these areas.

We, peace activists, at least in theory, try to be critical of the popular media cliches (both Yugoslav and foreign). How many times I have written to some major daily/weekly newsletter in the USA about their undue neglect of the peace activities that take place in all ex-Yugoslav regions! I have succeeded only twice. Disappointed - yes, but not surprised. The mainstream media here have their standards too, and they very often follow the ideological definitions of reality that already exist in the places they are reporting from.

But we are yet to learn how to be critical of the cliches that exist in the modern social science that is trying to come to grips with this "new age of nationalism". Numerous academic forums at all major universities are putting nationalism on their agendas. The following critique is a result of my attendance of a series of these meetings.

The first cliché is a "primordial-cultural" interpretation of nationalism. It assumes that there exists a "cultural ethos" of the people (in this case, of an ethnic group), which remains unchanged over a long (?) period of time and that leads that group to pick on a certain model of economic and political development. Because of their "organic" cohesion, these groups are very vulnerable to any foreign intrusion into their distinct pattern of private and public life. Regardless of how

much another cultural-ethnic-linguistic group tries to integrate the other into some common ways of "getting things done", they remain incompatible, and one cultural group is duly regarded as an aggressor. Whatever the mode of government or economy exists within a cultural group it is considered better than any other observed outside it, because the former is "authentic", endemic to the group. When applied to the situation in the former Soviet Union, Eastern block and Yugoslavia, the judgement is simple: the culture of ethnic majorities in each particular multiethnic entity, was imposed upon a multitude of smaller peoples, whose natural response to the collapse of Communism is the attempt to restore their cultural autonomies. Independent states are incidental, yet quite "natural" protectors of these cultural movements; civil and human rights movements are best realised if developing within these culturally autonomous entities. The principal operating idiom here is the "people's culture".

The second cliché emerges from a complex mixture of liberal, neo-marxian and functionalist paradigms of the industrializing societies. It also look at the world as a multitude of diverse and unique cultural entities, but it emphasizes the role of economic and political modernization: in particular, the models it assumed in the course of the nineteenth century in different parts of the world. When applied to current outbursts of ethnic nationalism in multiethnic states, these theories see their sources in uneven industrial development that elevated some ethnic groups above the others in their economic and political status (institutionalized unequal opportunities). When the state apparatus develops to the extent that it has to employ members of



other (all) ethnic groups, the bilingual intelligentsia is created. It is this group that now aspires to gain economic and political equality for the members of (their) previously disadvantaged group. The best way to realize this project is to establish an independent nation-state, which provides the best conditions for democratization of political life. Here, the major operating terms are **"uneven development", "competition", and "state-territorial boundaries"**.

The two approaches are complementary in their attempts to explain why the communist multiethnic empires had to collapse. First we had a multitude of culturally diverse groups, dominated by the members of one ethnic group (usually the majority). The state organisation, economic development, and cultural-educational policies were shaped after the "ethos" of the privileged group ("primordial" explanation). Alternatively, they were shaped after the demands of economic and political development that had already developed within the advantaged group (liberal-functional-Marxian approach). **Both perspectives assume that it is better to have ethnically homogeneous state, or co-habitation of the groups that have had similar patterns of economic development, and/or shared the same cultural ethos.**

My despair as a sociologist over these dominant rationales in social theory is caused by the fact that they fail to recognize the peculiar role of *political elites in authoritarian (incidentally multiethnic) societies*, and the emergence of nationalism as a mobilizing force from above in the situations when ideological and real legitimacy of authoritarian elites is undermined, which is the case of both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union (to a somewhat different degree). The primordial approach fails to recognize the source of contemporary nationalism because it is blind to the dynamic nature of the culture with its decisive class, political and ideological nuances. The liberal-functional-Marxian approach also assumes the existence of some fixed cultural entities which get "expanded" or "exploited"; it underestimates the changing forms of political legitimacy, i.e. the capacities of political elites to stage their own "ideological conversions", despite any "law" of pluralization. **To put it bluntly, the theorists got cheated by the "bad guys", who made the former believe in the projects of the "restoration of authentic cultures", accompanied by the emergence of "authentic democracies". The development of the theories of "more democratic" and "less democratic" "traditions" enormously helps the restoration of authoritarianism, because it does not distinguish between the ideology and actual goals of the political elites.**

I find it necessary to criticize the two major theoretical paradigms, because they seriously affect the current (absence of) motivation for studying the emerging peace and human & civil rights movements in the ex-communist multiethnic countries. they can also affect the modes of self perception and

attitudes of the activists toward two critical issues:

- a) the evaluation of real goals of state politics and political parties (as compared or contrasted to their ideological agendas);
- b) the communication between the movements/individual activists from different regions (countries, republics).

What is missing from the approaches I criticized, and what should be part of the peace activists' strategies, is **understanding the relationship between the officially dissolved (communist) authoritarianism, and the emerging forms of nationalist authoritarianism.** Both systems pursue consolidation and concentration of state power as their primary goal (many people still assume that it is just an accidental tragedy), which is accompanied by various forms of pseudo-egalitarian ideologies (communist or ethno-nationalist). The research that I propose to social scientists who also happen to be involved in civil rights or peace movements, would include **a study of the strategies of ethnic mobilization and homogenization of ethnic majorities (and minorities)** in each region of the ex-communist countries. If we miss to understand the differences between our motives of political involvement and those of the directors of ethnic mobilization (and militarization), then we may end up believing that the formal collapse of communist regimes is, indeed, due to the "return of the repressed cultures". We may even begin to believe that it is both a justifiable and feasible promise to provide ethnically homogeneous states with better prospects for building democratic institutions. In other words, we may start "getting used" to the "legitimate" claims of the state and major political parties to be the representatives of major ethnic enclaves (of "our people", or "our territory") and "minorities", with vague references to responsibilities toward citizens. We may fail to notice that both **"represented groups" are not real, because they are defined as non-individuated entities.** In order to criticize the logic of these claims for legitimacy we ought to criticize its premises.

We ought to distinguish between state-directed mechanisms of cohesion/integration between individuals and groups (which we opposed before and should oppose now), and cohesion that emerges as a result of articulation of common interests by individuals or groups themselves. **It is true that the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, as states, were artificial constructs, but which state isn't? Only if the mechanisms of civil integration/cohesion manage to develop within such artificial constructs, the states may be saved from explosive disintegration.** Authoritarian states usually explode, and their "first servants" often manage to create new centers of state power, without disturbing the principles of its distribution). **From the point of view of the authoritarian elites, nationalism, formation of ethnic armies, and the war between them are, indeed, the ideal of state cohesion.**

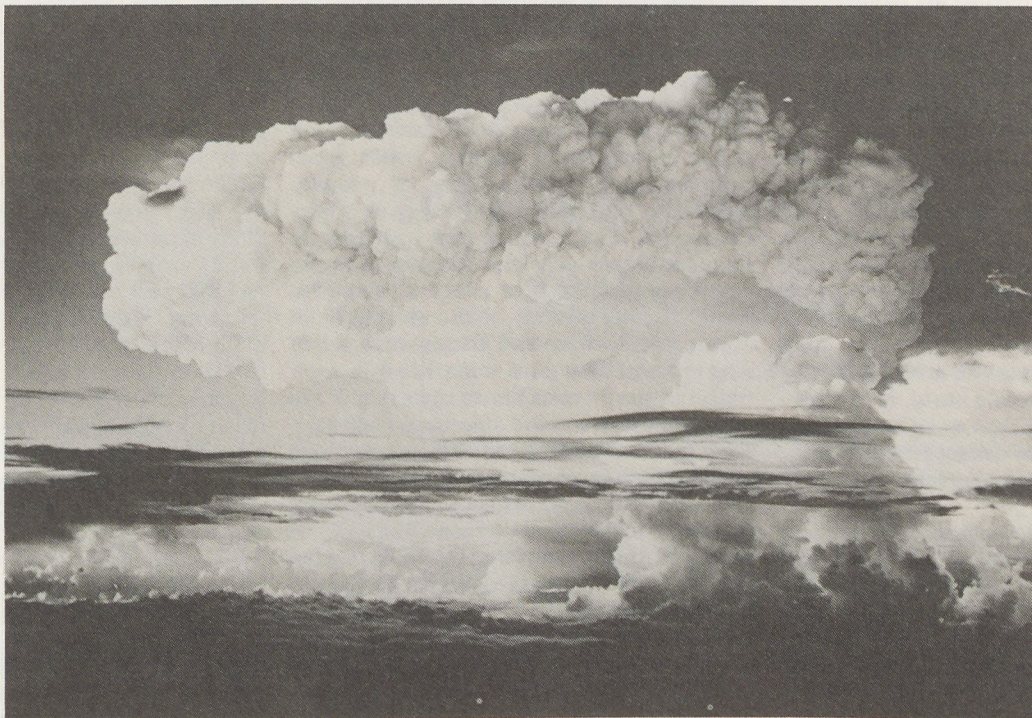
However, even in authoritarian states,

there exist civil ties that have developed as a result of self-conscious interests for cooperation within and between different regions. In the now divided country, where state-directed cohesion becomes the first priority of new authorities, these civil ties present a threat to "the integration from above". Nationalist ideology and the war between the new states undoubtedly help deny any value and purpose to inter-regional cultural performances, workshops, academic forums, and at last, but not the least, to the articulation of common interests by peace groups from different regions. But they can succeed in killing the motives for communication only if we all agree that state-directed cohesion is the principal precondition of citizenship. If we fall into this trap, we ourselves become the carriers of what Jan Oberg calls "selfishness" which has been generated by political elites, and disseminated down to the individual levels. If I start believing in the goodness of state-directed civil integration, then I could say the following: "My concerns about state control in the media and cultural-educational policies in ethnically mixed regions in Vojvodina are fundamentally different from the problems faced by the people in Kosovo! Let the Albanians have their own leaders fight the Serbian leadership!" Yes, I would say this if I believed that the politics of apartheid is bad simply because it negatively affects the majority of population. Or, if I were a compassionate humanist of a cosmopolitan provenance. But I do not believe in validity of either of the two attitudes. The problem of civil and human rights is always the problem of denying the possibilities to articulate them. Authoritarian states prevent the conceptualization and assertion of civil and human rights by homogenizing certain social groups, thereby constructing "irreconcilable differences" between them, and finally, playing them against each other. If we, peace and civil & human rights activists, fail to specify our "meta-state" political orientation, then the logic of our efforts may become another self-fulfilling prophecy of our new (or not so new) leaders: ethno-national sovereignty first, civil and human rights afterwards. **Fascistization and militarization of all states of ex-Yugoslavia have their roots in the patterns of control and command of the previous regime. Our common goal is society and culture free of the uncontrollable concentration of power that feeds itself on the construction and enforced isolation of "hostile" groups and distortion of their interests.** I know it is damned hard to maintain this consciousness in the times of mass murder, bomb shelters, the encounters with hatred- and fear-stricken thousands of refugees. But we have already decided that we want to save people's sanity from manipulation. And we have started with ourselves. To paraphrase the point of Thomas Mann's letter to the dean of the Bonn university: "The two of us, sir, belong to two very different notions of culture". He did not say which one was real.



# The Army Against The Country: A Story About The War in Croatia

By Ivo Skorić



*This article is the main part of a study, made in February 1992, comporting an introduction on the history which is relevant to the subject, and a part on the war's impact on Yugoslav finances. The full article is available from The Intruder or Center for Anti-War Campaign in Zagreb (addresses on the back cover page)*

## What do the State Department, the US Defense industry, the Yugoslav Army and the president of Serbia have in common? Business.....

The Yugoslav Army is the largest Yugoslav industry. With annual exports of \$3 billion, the Yugoslav Army, whose main offices are in Serbia, is twice as large as the second largest Yugoslav industry, tourism, which is based mainly in the coastal regions of Croatia. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, self-destruction of the Warsaw Pact and the end of the Cold War, countries that have been living off arms sales suffered a harsh economic crisis, as we have seen in the US and Serbia. California, for example, reported a fall on its growth rate of 30% and layoffs of 600,000 workers, mainly

from California's large weapons plants. The Federal Directorate of Supplies and Reserves (FDSR) is the name of the Yugoslav Army weapons dealership. FDSR does its money-transactions through Beobanka, a bank with headquarters in Belgrade, Serbia. Beobanka is the strongest bank of Yugoslavia; it is 359th on the World list of banks, and it is four times bigger than the largest bank in Croatia, Privredna Banka Zagreb. Slobodan Milošević, who is now president of Serbia, was manager of the Beobanka's subsidiary in New-York, and later, was chairman of Beobanka in Belgrade. While Milošević headed Beobanka, Lawrence Eagleburger, who is now US deputy Secretary of State, was a US ambassador in Belgrade (1977-1981), and Cyrus Vance, who now heads the UN sponsored peace-negotiations for Yugoslavia, was the US Secretary of State. Both Eagleburger and Vance have past and present connections with the US Defense industry, and US defense policy. Vance was the (unsuccessful) negotiator of peace in Vietnam at the conference in Paris 1968. Later he was the Secretary of Defense and he was on the Board of Directors of General Dynamics, a major defense contractor. Eagleburger was Undersecretary of Defense, a political adviser in the US mission to NATO, assistant to president for operations of na-

tional security in the Department of Defense, president and CEO of ITT (also a major defense contractor), president of Kissinger Associates (a powerful think-tank). Kissinger Associates provides advice (global strategic, geopolitical, and economic analysis) for a fixed fee of \$150,000 to \$200,000 per client. Eagleburger was head of ITT and Kissinger Associates at the same time, and ITT was one of his main clients: by consulting himself, he collected bonuses from both ITT and Kissinger Associates.

Henry Kissinger, founder and chairman of Kissinger Associates, was accused of being behind the military coup in Chile. Evidence of his activities couldn't be submitted to a court because of national security reasons. Lord Carrington, a head of the EC sponsored peace-negotiating team in Yugoslavia is still on the Board of Directors of Kissinger Associates. The president of Kissinger Associates today is Bremer, formerly US ambassador at large for combating terrorism.

A Yugoslav/Serbian based construction company, Energoprojekt which had large contracts in Lybia and Irak (ten years ago it was the 16th largest world construction company), was one of Eagleburger's biggest clients while he was president of Kissinger Associates. In January 1990, Eagleburger had a meeting with defense industry executives. A few



months later, in July, he fired off a classified memo to all US embassies worldwide asking them to help the US defense industry in marketing its products. **In times of fear of uncontrolled weapons proliferation, Eagleburger is asking US foreign representatives to act as weapons salespeople, as agents for weapons proliferation.**

The Yugoslav military-industrial complex bought licenses for sophisticated new weapons from the American military-industrial complex, paying above the market price, and US political consultants got paid for their help in such deals. **Yugoslav workers engineers produced tons of such weapons using American know-how.** Yugoslav workers and engineers were paid in highly inflated Yugoslav currency and with a few months delay. **With 2000% of inflation each year, labor costs in Yugoslavia were hundreds of times lower than in the US.** Products were sold below market price to Irak, Lybia, Iran, Algeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, North Korea, and other nice third world "democracies". Products were sold for dollars or for oil. Dollars were kept by Beobanka, and oil was kept by Tehnogas (a major Serbian oil company).

Particularly interesting is the fact that Slobodan Milošević was CEO of both Beobanka and Tehnogas. **This is why Ante Marković, the most recent Yugoslav Prime Minister, could not permanently stop inflation: the business of the most powerful Yugoslav corporation -the Yugoslav Army- is based on high inflation rate, and they had no interest in lowering it.** While the more sophisticated Yugoslav factories are in Slovenia and Croatia, the headquarters of the Yugoslav Defense industry is in Serbia. No wonder Serbia started the war when Slovenia and Croatia declared independence.

According to a recent report by the US-Yugoslav Economic Council (a Washington DC non-for-profit organization of American companies doing business with Yugoslavia) there are 270 American companies doing business with Yugoslavia. More than 20 of them are Yugoslav subsidiaries. Some of the US companies doing business with Yugoslavia include: Lockheed Corp., California Helicopter International, Aircor Precision Industries, Rockwell International Corp., Textron Inc., and Radiation Systems Inc. Those companies are not producing diapers.

Franjo Tudjman, the president of Croatia, Stipe Mesić, then president of Yugoslavia and Ante Marković, then Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, were almost killed in the presidential palace in Zagreb, Croatia, when the Yugoslav Army fired a US made Maverick TV-guided missile on the palace. This is the latest US defense industry product, which we remember from the "nintendo" War in the Gulf. Yugoslavia ranks as the 30th country in the US's trading balance. In the first nine months of 1991, US exports to Yugoslavia fell 25% and US imports from Yugoslavia fell 14%. This was before the war.

It seems that America does not need democracy in third-world countries, but rather a stable dictatorship headed by a strong man capable of securing cheap labor for American business, and an obedient market for products "made in USA". **This is what the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević, is promising. This is why he is gaining support.**

Lawrence Eagleburger was on the Board of Directors of Yugo America Inc. Yugo America Inc. was owned by Global Motors Inc., and Global Motors Inc. was owned by Zavodi Crvena Zastava of Serbia. Zavodi Crvena Zastava is an old Serbian weapons factory, and about 60% of its production is defense products. Its main customers (70% of exports) are Irak and Lybia. **Zavodi Crvena Zastava supplied weapons to both Irak and Iran during the Irak-Iran war, showing that Yugoslavia's non-alignment policy was just doublespeak.**

Yugo America Inc. sold Yugo cars in the US for \$3999- half of the Yugoslav price, and well below the price of production. The rest was paid by the Yugoslav worker, who received a slavish wage; by the Yugoslav buyer, who paid twice as much as the American price; and by weapons exports. Yugo America Inc. filed for Chapter 11 in 1989, but it was bailed out by generous loans from its parents, Zadovi Crvena Zastava, and from Genex, the Belgrade based major Yugoslav export-import company. Yugo America Inc. is still alive and kicking in Upper Saddle River, New-Jersey. Nobody knows what they are doing. Yugo did not participate in this year's car-show in Detroit. **Jack Anderson on February 21, 1989 reported that the Yugo automobile was "built by a division of the huge conglomerate which is the backbone of the Yugoslavian arms industry.** Among its clients are Irak, Lybia and East European countries." This account was repeated in a memorandum by Dave Keaney and Bob Friedlander to all members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 13, 1989.

Eagleburger was then on the Board of Directors of LBS Bank, a wholly owned subsidiary of Ljubljanska Banka, Slovenia (after Beobanka, the second largest bank of Yugoslavia). In 1989 Ljubljanska Banka declared its inability to return to Yugoslav people outside of Slovenia their foreign currency deposits. (There is no FDIC in Yugoslavia). People in Croatia who had a foreign currency account in Ljubljanska Banka virtually lost their money. In 1988 Ljubljanska Banka invested \$12 million in its US subsidiary LBS. This money was later re-invested in third-world countries. Ljubljanska Banka was also a main financial institution involved in the greatest financial scandal in Yugoslavia, "Agrocomerc", which was a communist example of the junk-bonds idea. There is a case pending in the New-York State since 1988 against LBS because of suspected money-laundering for drug-smugglers. 20-25% of LBS' business came from Banca Nazionale Del Lavoro (BNL) of US in Atlanta. While Eagleburger was president of Kissinger Associates and a member of the Board of

Directors of LBS, Henry Kissinger was the head of the international department and Renato Guadagnini was general manager. After Eagleburger assumed his position at the State Department, his seat on the board of LBS was given to Guadagnini. What a coincidence ! The reader may get even more information on connections between BNL and LBS by getting the Congressional Record (House, Thursday, April 25, 1991, 102nd Cong. 1st Sess., 137 Cong Rec H 2547; Vol.137 n.62, BNL Subpoena Renewal).

**On January 25 1992, the Croatian Community in New-York organised a fundraiser for the re-election campaign of Senator Alfonse D'Amato. D'Amato told the public: "Eagleburger has to remember that he is not representing Serbia any more, but that he has to serve the interests of American people".**

However, Lawrence Eagleburger was not the only American ambassador to Yugoslavia bought by Belgrade. John Scanlan, a US ambassador to Yugoslavia (1985-1989) is today on the board of ICN Galenika. ICN Galenika is 25% owned by Galenika from Zemun/Serbia/Yugoslavia, and 75% owned by SPI Inc. SPI Inc. is wholly owned by ICN pharmaceutical industry. Besides Scanlan, the Board of ICN Galenika includes Velimir Branković, a vice-president of the Serbian Democratic Party for America. ICN Galenika contributed to election campaigns for US senator John Breaux (D-LA), US Representative Phil Sharp (D-2-IN) and US Representative Jill Long (D-4-IN). **The Serbian Cultural Society "J. Ducić" is registered in Indiana. The head of this society, Stevo Dobrijević, organised in 1990 a tour in the US for Jovan Rasković, then a leader of Serbian insurgency in Croatia.**

There are rumours that Crossocean Shipping, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Yugoslav shipping corporation Jugolinija, which has Serbian majority on the international Board of Directors, decided to change its principal harbour in the US from Norfolk(VA) to Baltimore(MD), merely to please Maryland Congresswoman Helen Delich-Bentley, a great supporter of the Serbian cause in Congress. Late in 1989, Narodna Banka Jugoslavije (a Yugoslav counterpart of the Federal Reserve Bank) lent \$71 million to Drexel Burnham Lambert, just a few months before their bankruptcy. The loss of \$71 million is the equivalent of 1% of the annual Yugoslav national budget, and 45% of the nation's annual budget for social programs. Today, Yugoslavia is suing Drexel, its subsidiaries and individuals employed by them. Yugoslavia is represented by Richard Levy, a lawyer in Chicago. It is highly probable that some of the Narodna Banka Jugoslavije employees received generous bonuses (or, more accurately, bribes) from Drexel for acting against the interest of their country. There were examples in the past of many Yugoslav business executives who engaged in business harming their companies and their country if that would benefit them personally.



# The Need for Unofficial Diplomacy in Identity Conflicts

By MATS FRIBERG, Associate Professor

*This text is only an extract of a longer article which is going to be published in the book "Yugoslavia: War" (available from Ljubljana's Peace Institute)*

The Yugoslav conflict has some unique features but it also shares some characteristics with other conflicts, such as those in Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Israel-Palestine etc. This family of conflicts can be described as **conflicts over deep-rooted social identities**. There are more than seventy actual cases in the world today (Azar 1990a:2). **Such conflicts share most of the following characteristics:**

- ethnic, religious or cultural cleavages,
- protracted conflicts with a long history of conflict cycles,
- irrational and violent behavior motivated by very deep emotions,
- underdevelopment, economic disruption and disparities between groups,
- breakdown of centralized state agencies,
- external interventions usually reinforcing the crisis.

The sources of the conflict are mainly internal to the region, not systemic or international. The conflict ultimately springs from unsatisfied basic human needs in the population involved, particularly the needs for security, identity, recognition, autonomy, participation and material development (Azar 1990b:146; Burton 1990:25-47). Such needs are basic in the sense that they are not within the ability of the individual to control. When people perceive that they are denied a separate identity, physical and material security and effective political participation they must protest, at least when this occurs under modern conditions. The key explanatory concept is social identity which refers to an individual's self-image as it is derived from the social categories to which he or she belongs. The social identity is a very significant driving force because people are deeply attached to their self-concept and the need to increase or maintain self-esteem.

What conclusions concerning resolution of

identity conflicts can be drawn from this brief analysis? The general conclusion is that sustained conflict resolution can only be achieved by measures that fulfill the basic needs of the people involved. That is to say, only by treating the sources of the conflict, not the symptoms. Otherwise it will only be temporarily settled. Basic human needs can be suppressed but they can't be eradicated.

**An identity conflict can't be solved by traditional power politics.** Real power doesn't lay with external forces, neither with official authorities. It lays with the identity group because it is backed by the energy of the people. A small Catholic minority in Northern Ireland could not be controlled by a large British army (Burton 1990:34). **A foreign power can only suppress the conflict, not solve it.** Neither can the conflict be solved by an internal law and order approach of the relevant state agencies as will be seen below. The coercive machinery of the state is part of the problem rather than of the solution. If the centralized state agencies can't deal with the unmet needs they become sources of the conflict.

The empirical facts of this type of conflicts also show that the official representatives of the conflicting groups are unable to solve the conflict by the usual methods of direct bargaining and negotiation. This is particularly so in the initial stages of the violent phase of the conflict. **Even a simple cease-fire is difficult to establish by so called official diplomacy.** One reason for this sad fact is that official diplomacy is carried out within a power-oriented bargaining framework. Such a framework implies that the conflict is about a cake that can be divided - a zero-sum conflict ending in one winner and one loser or in a compromise. However, social identity is an indivisible value and not a cake that can be cut into slices. Human identity needs can't be traded, exchanged or bargained over. They are not subject to negotiation. Therefore elite

agreements based on negotiations don't last (Burton 1990:39)

Another very important reason for the failure of official diplomacy is the tenuous link that exists between the people directly involved in the conflict and their official representatives. Lacking a real understanding of the sources of the conflict the authorities are prepared to use coercive power to contain the situation, believing that there is an obligation on the part of the minority to obey. The result of using coercion is resistance and a loss of legitimation on the part of the authorities. **In most identity conflicts people have very little trust in the established authorities. Cynicism is widespread. They trust only people they know personally or people belonging to their own community. Thus, even if the authorities were able to devise adequate policies catering to the needs of the people, they would no longer have the power to implement them.**

To summarize the argument so far, the main points are the following:

- the conflict must be solved at the level of its source, that is to say the solution must deal with basic human identity and security needs as they are perceived by the people directly involved in the conflict,
  - the conflict must be solved by a decentralized and cooperative process among the people and not by power-oriented negotiations or decrees by the elite.
- The solution, then, has to come through so called unofficial diplomacy.

PADRIGU

January 1992

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# Family Sculptures

By Lynne Jones, psychiatrist

## A report on the use of "Family Sculptures" to explore perceptions of intergroup conflict in Yugoslavia

Sculpting is a tool used both in psychodrama and family therapy to explore intra-group or family dynamics. In the first stage the protagonist presents his or her perceptions of "what is going on" in the form of a living sculpture. The form allows for a powerful visual dramatisation of complex interactions and feelings that a group member may be aware of but find hard to articulate. The use of family or group members as the "clay" of the sculpture allows these individuals to explore for themselves the physical and psychological feelings generated by their position in the sculpture. It also allows them to test out the protagonists perceptions of the situation against their own (is this the correct position for them within the sculpt? Do they feel happy with the sculpt as a whole?) and to feed these perceptions back to the protagonist. Onlookers may also present their perceptions of the sculpt as a whole. Following this exploration of the current situation, sculpting can be used as a safe and creative way to explore the possibilities for change. The protagonist can "rearrange" the figures into an "ideal" form, and again through feedback from participants and onlookers, test out the impact of this solution on those involved.

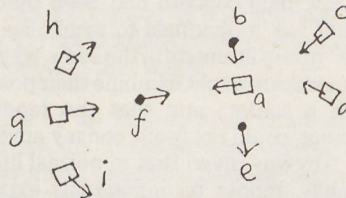
For example a young man who found it difficult to articulate his feelings about any member of his family was asked to "show" the family in the form of a sculpt. He immediately took four chairs and placed them equidistant, facing outwards, with a family member on each. Mother was clearly shocked, complaining at how isolated this position was for her and how wrong it felt. Both mother and son were offered the opportunity to rearrange the sculpt to their liking: mother rearranged the circle facing inwards; son left things as they were but took himself out of the circle and placed his chair at some distance. This quite simple and brief exercise provided the opportunity for a continuing dialogue about their different perceptions of what the family was like, and their differing aspirations, which previously had not been clear.

**This November I was invited by the Anti-War Coalition in Zagreb to share my experiences from my work as a psychiatrist that I considered might be of use in helping both to understand and begin to resolve the current conflicts in Yugoslavia. After a wider discussion of psychological defences and the use of various problem solving and conflict resolution techniques used at the interpersonal level, we decided to explore in an experiential way the appropriateness of family sculpting as a tool for understanding what**

### was going on in Yugoslavia at the moment.

One member of the group was asked to use any number of other members to create a sculpture that symbolised his understanding of the problems in Yugoslavia today. As he built the sculpt he was asked to tell each person involved who or what they symbolised and to be very specific about the exact position, posture and facial expression he wanted them to adopt. Members taking part were asked to focus on and to note both the physical and psychological feelings their position in the sculpt produced in them. Onlookers were asked to note their reactions to the sculpt as a whole. There were no other preconditions. The only difficulty experienced was that the sculptor found it hard to give people their individual roles until he had built the sculpt as a whole. This delayed the time it took for people to get into role and meant sustaining what for some were quite uncomfortable positions for a long period of time. However it also revealed the difficulties we can have in defining any individuals role in a system until we can see the whole - surely as true for interrelations between groups as families.

The sculpt took the following form:



Dots= standing figures, squares= seated figures, arrow indicates direction in which figure faces

### The sculptors' explanation:

- a) A man standing with head down, both arms are raised in a fighting position symbolises Serbs in Croatia, sitting because not so active as others in Croatia, and the lower position demonstrates a sense of inequality.
- b) A tall man standing with one arm raised with fist clenched, symbolising the fighting Croats with fist ready to defend from attack.
- c) A woman sitting with amazed expression, symbolising Croats living on the front line whose interests b defends, but note that b cannot see c.
- d) A woman sitting with a friendly relationship with c and an expression of approval symbolises Croats with no understanding of what is happening.
- e) A woman standing with one arm out-

stretched as if to grasp something or pick a fruit, symbolises Croats indifferent to the war.

f) The largest man in the room stands facing all the Croats with one fist raised symbolising Serbs on the front line.

g) A woman sitting with both hands raised in a supportive gesture to f symbolises the Serbs who want war and offer direct support and help.

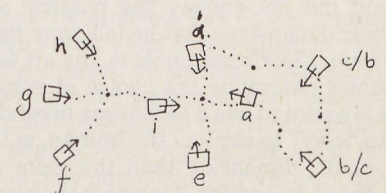
h) A man sitting head buried in arms, turned away symbolises Serbs with no explicit views.

i) A woman sitting turned away with fed up expression symbolises dissatisfied Serbs.

Participants while keeping their positions were asked to feed back how they felt and their comments were quite revealing of the stresses the sculpture imposed on them. For example those with their arms raised either to grasp or fight kept taking them down to rest. The fighting Serb "f" commented that seeing as he was standing he felt the sitting Serb minority should stand too. "g", the supportive Serb, said she felt protected but could not see what was going on, while h felt easier not seeing but also anxious at his ignorance of what was happening. He added that if he did look up, all he could see was a Serb surrounded by Croats. significantly all of us initially forgot to ask "a" his feelings. My excuse was that I could not see him! However when given the chance, he reported how claustrophobic he felt, and that there did not appear to be a way out and putting his hands up felt like the only way of creating space.

As an outsider, both to the group and to the war, what struck me about the sculpture was that it was both menacing and chaotic, with hidden figures outstretched limbs, menacing postures, a wide range of emotions and a scatter of figures that did not cohere in any way or create any sense of harmony or balance. One Croatian peace activist had managed to articulate a perception and feeling of the crisis as powerfully as any number of articles on the subject.

The sculptor was then asked to alter the arrangement to how he would like things to be (see diagram below)





Again the feedback from the participants was revealing and not all of it approving: for example, "b" the fighting Croat said he had liked his central position and now felt uncomfortable on the margins. Moreover asking him to hold hands with "a" seemed "too nice" and made everything that had gone before seem a waste. The sculptor then swapped "b" with "c" where he agreed that he felt more comfortable. "a", as the Serbs in Croatia, stated that he now felt much better although he still had the sensation that everything revolved around him. "h", the Serb with unknown views commented that this sudden contact with too

many sweaty hands did not suit him, and that in his view a looked "tied down". "i" as the dissatisfied Serb stated that the change was too sudden and being put in this connecting position was too big responsibility. "g" commented that it was probably good to put fighting Serbs and Croats at opposite ends but that her view was still blocked and that separate circles of Serbs and Croats would be more natural. **Outsiders also commented that the whole thing looked better but that the harmony seemed in some way artificial.** At this point the exercise was ended and evaluated.

The workshop did appear to demonstrate that sculpting can be useful tool in increasing our understanding of the way groups interrelate in political conflicts. Although only one individual demonstrated his own perceptions and hopes, others found themselves stimulated into conceptualising their own alternatives. In addition the sculptors' own stereotypes of the different groups was dramatically portrayed in a creative visual manner that is perhaps less threatening to involved onlookers than a verbal description. Indeed, I found the sculpt **challenged my own stereotypes of the problem. I had not previously recognised the significance of so many subgroups.** The sculptor himself felt the sculpture was oversimplification and while symbolising the ethnic dimension did not convey the political and economic dimensions that he felt were more significant. Clearly materials in any art form sometimes determine the choice of subject and it is easier to use a technique involving human "clay" to explore the human, in this case ethnic, dimension than the more abstract one of economics. It is also in the nature



JAROSLAW MODZELEWSKI " PROBLEM KEEPING A BALANCE"

of symbolism that in some respects it simplifies what is complex. That can sometimes be a virtue in that it may allow one to cut through to creative solutions. Moreover as another participant pointed out, "starting at one level allows one to see other levels. We started with national groups and realised there are subsystems and that they do not conform to stereotypes."

My main concern had been that one could not ask individuals to symbolise and explore "group interests in the same way that family members might examine their position through a sculpt; and that the feedback component could not really convey anything useful. Anyway given that in normal life we continually impose on individuals expectations, derived from group stereotypes, of how they should or might behave, the sculpt provided the opportunity to explore that imposition in a very concrete way. The individual could explore and respond to how it felt to be in the position of the token member of the Serb minority for example. All the participants seemed to gain from this opportunity. And in reporting their individual feelings about both the frustrations and possibilities of their position, increased our understanding of how that position might feel for the group that they symbolised. This was particularly important in the second stage when **what looked like a harmonious if somewhat unreal solution to the outsider was demonstrated to be no solution at all for many of the participants.** The sculpt brought home visibly and forcibly how interconnected everyone was and that solutions could only be negotiated with participant involvement. In addition it provided a starting point for political discussions within the group. The roleplaying component also

increased participants empathy for members of the group they symbolised. One woman commented that she was still thinking about the impression her role as a Serb had made on her after the exercise finished.

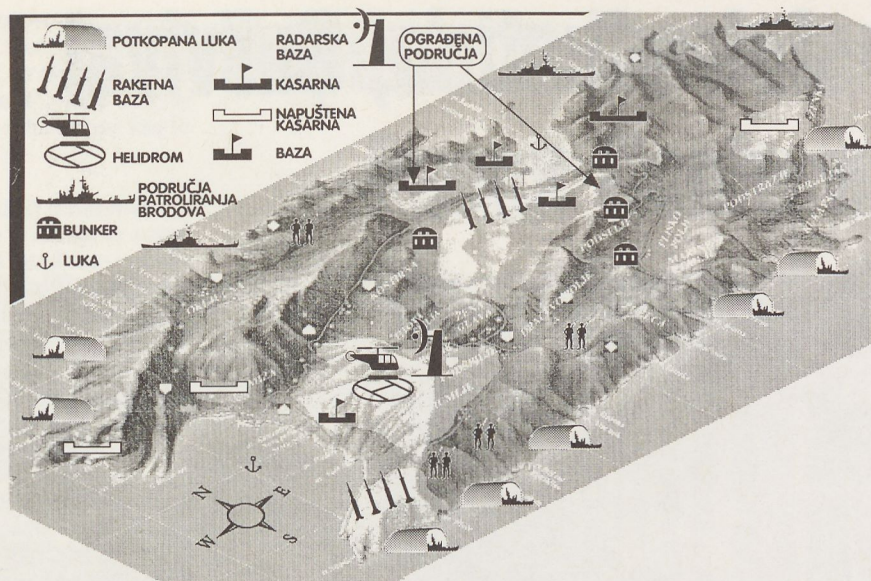
Sculpting allows individuals to transform some of the psychological intangibles of relationships into a concrete form that can be both seen and felt. **The physical reality often brings home the psychological aspect more clearly.** For example holding up a raised fist, even in defence, is as exhausting to the body as permanent readiness for attack is tiring to the mind. Concepts like domination, submission, marginality,

or feeling trapped, as important in intergroup as interpersonal relationships, come to life in a vivid way. Moreover the sculpt, by freezing one moment or aspect of a dynamic process, allows a group to highlight something of significance that might well be missed in a straightforward role play.

This exercise was tried out in a "safe" environment of a like minded group with some interpersonal skills, keen to experiment with methods they could apply to their own situation. All of us felt that the method had potential: firstly as a tool to explore differing perceptions of complex intergroup relationships and identify sources of dissatisfaction and conflict. It also allowed participants to experience the imposition of stereotypes, and to feel empathy for groups with whom they had not previously identified.

Second I would also suggest that the method could be of use in more heterogeneous or ethnically mixed groups as a safe way of presenting and exploring very different understandings of their relationships to each other and of demonstrating possible solutions to conflicts. In this case the role playing element would not necessarily be present and the situation would more closely resemble that described in the example of family work described above. Giving different members of the group their own opportunity to construct the sculpt would be crucial, so that no single vision was imposed, but that all views were fully explored as a starting point for discussion. The non verbal, creative and symbolic aspects of sculpting can diffuse hostility in a way that verbal presentations of grievance cannot, and allow people to demonstrate feelings of which they might be embarrassed or could not articulate.





Map representing the military installations on Vis: which has been drawn by Anti-War Campaign in Zagreb, and is controversial by Tonči Kuzmanić. It is then to be considered that some details are not accurate. Nevertheless, it should give the reader an idea of the military reality on the island.

*The texts of this "dossier" have been prepared by Tonči Kuzmanić*

## The Case of Aland: An example

(Based on documents given by Jan Oberg, Lund Institute, Sweden)

The island of Aland is a composition of more small islands which are situated between Sweden and Finland. As far back as is known the Alanders have been Swedish-speaking, their culture closely resembling that of Sweden, with the local variations. The Aland island belonged to the Kingdom of Sweden, occasionally with a fairly independent administration, right up to the 1808-1809 War, when Sweden was forced to relinquish Finland and Aland to Russia. Aland then became a part of the Grand Duchy of Finland.

When the Russian Empire started disintegrating, a meeting was held at the Aland in 1917, with secret discussions between representatives of all the Aland districts, who resolved to work for reunion with the old mother country of Sweden. The wish was conveyed to the King and Government of Sweden by Aland representatives, being supported by a mass petition signed by an overwhelming majority of the resident adult population.

In December 1917 Finland proclaimed itself an independent republic - by virtue of the same principle of national self-determination which was being invoked by the Alanders in support of reunion with Sweden. However, the Finns were not prepared to comply with the Alanders' demand for reunion with Sweden. Instead they wanted to give them a

certain form of internal self-government. In 1920 the Parliament of Finland passed an autonomy act, but the Alanders were unwilling to accept it at that stage.

Because of its international character, the Aland Islands question was referred to the newly formed League of Nations, and in June 1921 the Council of the League decided that Finland should receive sovereignty over the Aland Islands. Finland undertook, however, to guarantee the inhabitants of the Aland Islands their Swedish language, culture and customs. The decision was supplemented by a treaty between Finland and Sweden on how the guarantees were to be effected.

Stipulations concerning voting rights and the acquisition of land were added to the Autonomy Act and in 1922 the first election to the Aland Parliament was held. The Aland Parliament assembled for its first plenary session on June 9, which date is now celebrated as Aland's Autonomy Day. The first Autonomy Act soon proved inadequate. Work of revising it commenced already in the 1930s but did not yield results until 1951, when the current Autonomy Act was passed. Today revision of the Autonomy Act is again being prepared.

Aland is demilitarised, which means that no

armed forces may be stationed here and no fortifications may be built in Aland. A natural consequence of this demilitarised status is that possessors of Aland regional citizenship are exempted from military service.

After the incorporation of Aland with the Russian Empire in 1809, Russia began building a fortress. It was planned to be one of the biggest fortresses in Europe: During the Crimean War the island was attacked and captured by force from France and Britain. At the Peace of Paris in 1856 the Aland islands were demilitarised for ever, thanks to an unilateral undertaking on the part of Russia.

In the same year (1921) as the League of Nations decided the question of the national status of Aland, a new convention was concluded whereby Finland confirmed the prohibition against fortifications which Russia had proclaimed in 1856. An important addition to the convention was that Aland also became neutralised. The Peace Treaties between Finland and Soviet Union in 1940 and 1947 confirmed the demilitarisation of Aland. In the current discussions about establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries it has been pointed out that the Aland Islands are already non-nuclear by virtue of international agreements.



# Introduction, Survival



PHOTO: IGOR BJAŽEVIĆ

The essential reason to begin the project of demilitarisation on the Island of Vis is, of course, War in Croatia and Dalmatia. More precisely, the Island of Vis (and Lastovo!) is one of the potentially most endangered place in the region as a whole.

According to its natural geo-strategic position during the history Vis became known as "the key of the Adriatic sea". It was important in the Greek and Roman times, as well as in the times of Venice, Napoleon, Italy, Austrohungarian empire, in First as well as in Second World War...

As an outcome of the communist defence concept of Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), after the second World War Vis became terribly strongly fortified in order to defend Yugoslav coast and territory from NATO forces (Italy). For example, in fifties it was impossible even to travel from Vis to Split (and vice versa) without the military permission. During last 45 years there was no entryway for the foreign tourists and citizens, this until 1989. A short exception was the initial part of seventies.

For our common project and for the comprehension of the current time situation I would like to put some sentences in connection with **the year 1989 when the island was opened for the foreign tourists**. Of course, due to the fact that it was an extremely important **civil action which had something in common with our present thinking and acting**.

In 1989 we were spectators of quite strong strifes between, at least, two "political" positions. **On one side military structures of YPA**

**together with local power elites, self-organised civil society on the other**. The initiative for opening the island to the foreign tourists was of course a symbolic battle based on communication and human rights. More genuinely, the group of intellectuals from the island and from other parts of the former Yugoslav state (some of them are present also in this very moment and at this place) wrote a "common paper", the petition, insisting on the opening of the island to foreign tourists. **Blockades on different points of the former "political" system were so strong that no serious possibility of communication between "ordinary people" and local authorities did exist**. The result was the open civil action (civil disobedience) of collecting signatures in which lot of people participated, directed against both: local authorities and the monopoly of YPA over the truthful interests of the islander.

When the local authorities grasped that the civil action was becoming stronger and stronger they tried to stop it by the following trick: the "leading force of civil action" should be the local authorities themselves. Fortunately that plan did not prevail totally and after quite strong clashes at the level of the public sessions it became clear that the action of opening the island remained in the hands of civil society and also with more creative participation of local authorities. Possible new strifes stopped the information from the federal level which inaugurated the opening.

Why it is important to stress the events which took a place in 1989? Because of **the experiences which could be useful also in the present, more dangerous situation**. What were the results which could be extracted from those circumstances?

1. For the very first time in the post-war history of the island there had emerged something that could be named action by civil society. So called ordinary people had experienced that they could protect their own real interests, that their (although solely symbolic connection through the act of signing) collective action could produce enormously important counter-power. It should be stressed that in comparison with the other parts of Dalmatia and even with other parts of Croatia and Yugoslavia (with the exception of Slovenia at that times) **the Island of Vis was among very few locations where in the communist times its inhabitants tasted the sweetness of the "civil victory"**. Of course, not due to the fact of the special nature of inhabitants, but on account of special circumstances and more or less accidental concentration of intellectuals who had the courage to articulate the "no" to the Army.

2. Military forces drew back in front of civil, nonviolent action. According to my knowledge it was the very first time in last fifty years that nonviolent action succeeded in this way in the Balkans. Even in Slovenia where peace movement was remarkably stronger, the nonviolent action was beaten by the militant force and structures.

3. In conformity with the concrete circumstances of centralised and undemocratic system, local authorities by definition have played an executive role of those ideas and com-



mands which came from above, from various decision making centres. Of course, not due to the bad people on power, or because of the "bad inhabitants of the island", but owing to the nature of the system in which they like to play quite passive role.

Of course we have significantly different situation today in comparison with three years before, but we must keep in mind some previous elements, since they are still playing an important role in the present, more complicated situation.

**Concerning our project of demilitarisation on the island of Vis, the present war circumstances and the occupation of the island should be underlined.** Not solely circumstances in terms of military surrounding, but also of enormous concentrations of destroying weapons on the island. Notably, this weapons are, of course, turned towards the Adriatic Coast, to the rest of Dalmatia and to Croatia, but first of all this unhuman concentration of weapons operates as a permanent threat against the inhabitants of the island.

It is very important to warn about the fact (which is constantly passed in silence by the local authorities) that this problem also includes the situation in which Croat military forces could intend to "liberate" the island by force, with the armed, violent intervention. In other words, the inhabitants could pay full price for this more and more possible action.

**To simplify : the main problem regarding the island in this situation is twofold:**

- First, how to find out a possibility of retreat for YPA and, simultaneously, not to produce conflict among two or even more military forces present in this part of the world.

- The second is closely connected with the previous one and it is the most important for our project: the question on the long term survival of the population from the island. How to conceptualise, in the present circumstances, a kind of future development which would protect Vis' population from the disappearance. Although in that context our project is working under the title of demilitarisation, we should emphasise that demilitarisation is just the beginning of the project, **that the project of demilitarisation has at least three aspects:**

a) it is necessary for any possible thinking and conceptualisation of the future of the island in the concrete circumstances;

b) it is a concrete step by step action regarding concrete conflict situation;

c) it is a larger project which contains various concepts of alternative living and working on the island without which the possible future of the island (under any sort of army control) would collapse in few decades.

# Report on the International Peace Conference: Vis - Peace Island (3 - 5 April 1992)

**Unfortunately, the primary information is that the meeting has been banned by the Croatian authorities**

There were two different grounds for the scientific conference to be prohibited. The first one is coming from the local level of authorities. Their justification is: the "serious suspicion regarding the possibilities of irritation of the public order and peace in larger dimensions", and the "safeguard" of the scientists and peace activists (foreign guests) on the island in these circumstances. Of course, the real problem was absorbed in the following question: from whom should we expect "disturbance of the public order and peace", since it is by definition impossible to postulate that pure thinking, scientific discussions and explanations could produce such results. It is true that the island is under the occupation of the illegal remnants of the Yugoslav People's Army, while the civil authorities are still in the hands of Croatian. During our visit and work on the island it became apparent that the main motive for the action of local authorities might be established on a very weak assumption. Namely, that few right wing, military oriented individuals, who were against discussion about the peace island and against the nonviolent departure of YPA, could endanger scientists and activists from European countries. But even if it would be the case, the role of local authorities should be to stop such violent action, and not to suspend the act of thinking and talking as such. Nevertheless, this was only one part of the reality.

The second explanation has come from the Croatian capital Zagreb, more precisely, from the Croatian president Mr. Tudjman. At the press conference held in Zagreb on April

7th he was interrogated in order to clarify the motives which guided authorities to the constraint of the international scientific peace conference on Vis. He recognised that he was responsible for the prohibition of the conference and he advocated the possibility of the "estrangement of the Croatian territory". In other words, according to president Tudjman's testimony, the International peace conference (dedicated to the problems of peace and nonviolent conflict resolution on the island!) was under a ban because there are some people to be in favour of the separation of the island from the Croatian sovereignty.

Unfortunately this part of the report is neither the science fiction nor a wishful thinking. It is just a small case of the war situation and atmosphere on the small Croatian island.

As the signals of the support for the nonviolent conflict resolution on the island there were a dozens of letters coming from all over the world (Germany, England, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, France...) to the addresses of local and state authorities protesting against the prohibition of the international peace efforts, against the repression over the speech, mind...

The conference was forbidden, people from the island could not think and discuss and even be together with the experts and peace activists. However, twenty persons from Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, Germany, France (Antiwar campaign from Zagreb; Peace institute from Ljubljana-Slovenia; Pax Christi, Alpe Adria Alternative, Ecumenical Network for Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation from Austria;



Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie from Germany, War Resisters International from London...) discussed concrete happenings and possibilities for a nonviolent way out of the Army from the island. First of all we wrote letters to several addresses:

- a protest to Croatian authorities concerning the unreasonable and undemocratic prohibition of the conference, regarding the prohibition of scientific thinking and discussing.

- To the Army headquarters in Belgrade, we sent the urgency for the peaceful and nonviolent step down from the island.

- On the way back from the island, in Split, our delegation also visited the admiral Letica, commanding officer of Croatian Navy, and posed him the requirement against the possible violent actions on the island from the Croatian side.

- With the purpose of informing and warning we also sent our letters to different international subjects (European parliament, ONU...) in order to go along with the events on the island in which more than 3000 people are still playing duplicated hostage role: both for YPA and Croatian authorities. Namely, both sides are caught within the unavoidable laws of the "big war game" (typically zero-sum game) in which the inhabitants of the occupied island are forced to play the role of the petty cash.

- To the local people we dedicated an information respecting the situation, regarding our prohibited work and about the future steps of the civil peace action on this island.

The main problem from which we began our prohibited and "private" conversations was the new and unexpected element we were facing. Namely, that Croatian authorities has a strong interest against internationalisation of the concrete problem of the occupation of Vis (and Lastovo, neighbouring fortified island). The same authorities who, solely a month ago tried to internationalise the conflict in the case of Dubrovnik, now, in

the case of the island Vis (and Lastovo), has banned similar civil action. Precisely this insight and the experience that our international peace conference was **the first international peace activity prohibited in Croatia from the beginning of the War, were conducting our discussions and strongly influenced our work and ideas.**

Observing from the other side, it is more than obvious that the situation on the Islands of Vis and Lastovo is becoming more and more enigmatic and hazardous too. Particularly due to the new circumstances (War) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second annoying ingredient is twofold. Firstly, there is the fact that despite the agreements YPA still not indicates any serious intention to leave the islands, and secondly, Croatian authorities have not yet introduced any verifiably stimulating procedure for the nonviolent resolution of the situation. It is even the contrary: the first officer of the Croatian navy for the last few months used to declare publicly the possibilities of the "violent liberation of the islands". In other words the situation is getting worse and worse from day to day, threatening to become an open armed conflagration, the War with cataclysmic outcome, with human and ecological tragedy in this European region, of course, including the feasible devastation of a sizable part of the Adriatic Sea!

Trying to overcome this situation - at least at the level of the concept - we have



ARRIVAL OF PARTICIPANTS IN VIS  
PHOTO: IGOR BJAŽEVIĆ

originated the future steps of the project:

1. First of all, in order to ensure immediate peace reactions we worked out the communicative network, have opened possibilities for fast exchange of informations between the island, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Graz, W i e n a , Sensbachtal, London....

2. The second conclusion was concerning judicial legalisation of the organisation under

the name: "Vis - peace island". It was anticipated that this civil association will have an international Steering committee composed by different members of European peace movements. The first session of the international Steering committee will take place in Ljubljana, Slovenia on April 22nd 1992.

3. From the beginning of May at least two peace activists (one from Croatia and one from abroad) will start with the work in the Peace office on the island Vis.

4. From 30th of May to 14th June the peace training camp will be organised on the island. Among other actions we are preparing a Peace march from one to another part of the island, lectures on peace and nonviolent behaviour, discussions regarding concrete circumstances...

5. We have also discussed the idea of the "European house" on the island Vis.

Please distribute this report, inform your colleagues, interested and influential persons about the events concerning this project and join us in our concrete actions. Thank you very much in advance for yours fresh and further ideas and views, initiatives and help. Our project is open and it is waiting for you. Just do it, tomorrow could be too late!

Ljubljana, May 5th 1992



# Press Review about The Forbidden Conference

**An article from the daily  
"Slobodna Dalmacija", Split,  
April 2, 1992, p. 6**

Split, 1. IV - The organizers of the international peace conference "Vis - the Island of Peace" are persistent in their trials to hold the conference which was planned to start on Friday, April 3 and continue until Sunday in the hotel "Issa" in Vis.

We should remind our readers that a group of citizens from the island Vis, together with the Council of the Anti-War Campaign from Zagreb, the Peace Institute from Ljubljana, the Committee for Human Rights and Democracy from Germany and The War Resisters Organization from London, announced the international peace conference on demilitarization of the island Vis. Some two dozen members of different European and Croatian peace groups announced that they would attend the conference.

According to organizers, the representatives of the Municipal Council of the island Vis have also been included in the process of preparing the conference. However, on Monday they publicly expressed their attitude that the conference is "incompatible with the war time", and that it could "provoke new conflicts in the process of peaceful departure of the Yugoslav Army from Vis". In spite of it, the first group of participants of the conference has yesterday arrived in Split. According to a categorical announcement by Tonči Kuzmanić from the Ljubljana's Peace Institute, the conference would nevertheless be held. If it happens that the conference should be officially banned, Kuzmanić stated that then it would be held in a private arrangement, since the whole project is already designed as a civil action.

D. FILIPOVIĆ

**An Article from the daily  
"Večernji list", Zagreb, April 1,  
1992, p. 6**

The initiative of University of Social Sciences from Ljubljana to hold an international scientific conference on subject "European project of demilitarisation of the island Vis" was rejected by Municipal Assembly of Vis.

In the letter of the Municipal Assembly send to the University says "methods adopted by international conference is not suitable for the war time we live in. It would cause new conflicts, contradictory to the efforts to find a peaceful solution for evacuation of so called People's Army from Vis and it would have effects contradictory to peace, although it was originally a good idea."

Members of Municipal Assembly recommended to organisers of the conference to try achieving the project on the territory where there are no war operations.

The International peace conference initiated by the Peace Institute from Ljubljana planned to establish of a peace office on the island and also an international peace camp, which was supposed to open already this summer. The conference had a goal to initiate realisation of the European project of demilitarisation of this Croatian island. In its three days schedule quite a few prominent scientists and peace activists from Slovenia, Croatia, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland were supposed to take part. (H)

*After three days of fruitful debates the participants of the International Peace conference dedicated to the demilitarisation of the island Vis (3.-5. April 1992) are expressing the results in the following*

## Manifesto

It is an obvious and alarming fact that the Croatian island Vis is still occupied by the illegal remnants of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army. Despite the reality that until this moment there were no serious conflicts on the island, it is appropriate to stress endlessly high possibilities of the future conflicts. The consequences of the long term War pressure overhead the local population are quite visible in expensive extent of depressions and indignation present among people. Not to talk about the uncertainty concerning their future. In the name of peace in this region and in the Balkans as a whole, in the name of the lives of coming generations, we are insisting upon the final retreat of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army from the island: in a nonviolent way and in agreement with the Croatian and the local authorities.

Simultaneously, we are proposing the concept on which we worked for last few months, the idea of the island Vis as a peaceful island, an island without uniforms and any kind of fortifications; the island in connection with which it could be impossible to think in terms of geo-strategic concepts and ideas of occupying, destroying...

We are convinced that the island Vis without army could play an extremely important role in the long term processes of demilitarisation of the Adriatic Sea, that this concept could serve in searching the solution of engrossed problems aroused in this area after the disintegration of the former state. Instead of heavy fortifications, cannons and warships and unpleasant island, we are proposing the concept of the demilitarised island Vis without weapons, the island on which it could be possible to organise peace conferences, peace training camps, ecological investigations and other human and humanitarian activities so desirable in the existing conflict situation in Europe. Instead of the reality of killing, bombing, building fortifications, living under stress, we are demanding and proposing at the same time the "positive utopia", positive reality defined on the basis of living in peace, cooperating with each other as well as with the nature and with history which is so visible on this beautiful island.

Adriatic Sea should be the Sea of peace, the Sea without weapons. The island of Vis, through the history known as the "Key of the Adriatic", must be the very first location from which should start the peace building process of demilitarisation of the Adriatic.

We are sending this manifesto produced and signed by people from different parts of Europe to all national and international subjects, to all potentially interested governments, peace organisations and different communities with the ambition of joining us at the platform of the project established in Spring 1992 on the island Vis. We are calling YPA officers and soldiers to depart from the island in a peaceful and nonviolent way, proposing to the Croat authorities, first of all to the Croat Assembly, to support our peace project and to show to Europe their good and active ambition in peace building policies. We are also sending this invitation to peace action to all governments, assemblies in countries we are coming from and also to all international, European and World institutions to give us concrete support in our efforts.

Under the motto, "do it now, tomorrow could be too late" we are appealing to all international communities, all individuals over the world for an active and concrete help in our common engagement for the peaceful island Vis.

For centuries the island was a symbol of militarisation and misplace of the future. We are trying to transfigure this history towards the peace island which must become a sign indicating that an alter future is still plausible.



# The "European House"

The "European house" on the island of Vis is a symbolical name for the project-idea which is including two basic elements. Firstly, it could be empirically tested that Vis is an island with enormous richness in natural, cultural and historical potentials and resources, and simultaneously the entity of fantastic misery with respect to potentials at the level of the knowledge. Secondly, "Europe" as a potentially terribly strong potency of the knowledge and side by side as a "locus" which is considerably weakening their own natural, historical and even cultural capacities. The idea could be established in a quite simple outline: the problem is how to bring together two various and at same time corresponding entities, how to produce a set of "new qualities"?

It is obvious that the idea of the "European house" at first sight has a certain linkage with Mr. Gorbachev's inspiration of the so-called Common European house. But just at first sight. Namely, this idea has no intention of inquiring for any sort of "protection", it has not an ambition of searching for the new, deficient shelter under the head of the "new nations" or locations, and it is not the proposal of locking into the new "common house" which could be the component of defence from the "wolves outside" it. First of all, the idea of the European house in this setting is a project of opening the island towards its natural and cultural surroundings. **This is an attempt to invent possibilities for common research projects regarding conditions of survival of the island and its residents.** The idea is based on seeking new strategies of concrete development, drastically crude circumstances. It is an effort in the direction of working together with the people all over Europe in order to achieve some way out of the existing situation.

**The "European house" ought to be the house of common disputes and dialogues among diverse profiles of scientists, activists, people from the island, it ought to be the residence in which different aspects, points of view and conceptions of survival should come together and perhaps lead to concrete answers on existing dilemmas.** Of course, not only answers and paradigms about the problems of the island as such. Even though Vis is a concrete island, it is at the same time a simulation of the situation in which so many people in this part of Europe used to live.

**In other words, we are facing a large range of problems regarding the so-called transition from socialism to postsocialism, from various concrete forms of totalitarianism towards new shapes of something which**

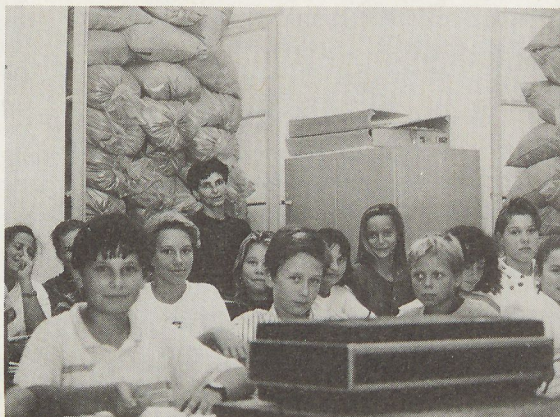


PHOTO: IGOR BJAŽEVIĆ

**should be, or should represent itself as a democracy.** It is entirely hopeless to reduce all those compounded problems on so called "political aspects", not to mention the ideological aspects of political questions. Among other problems, the most important should be the following: the problems of conservation or better, of transformation of the traditional culture forms existing in this part of the World and their connection with new ones. Observing from this point of view it would be extremely important to define a correct form and grasp according to which an old, traditional kind of living (values, perception...) might become an inner part of the new ones. At this place I would like to underline just one aspect of this perplexity: **how to prevent well known, so to speak classic, form of the "mutual relation" between concrete traditions and modern (West European) culture (uniformisation) of "expansion" which used to produce tragic results of "colonialisation"?** What sorts of financial resources, institutions, financial politics and orientations could endanger desired development in concrete, underdeveloped, and traditionally oriented circumstances? What could be the influence of the different concepts of financing for persisting relations in concrete local communities?

The second point is, of course, the problem of the searching for the proper forms of **"material" development for concrete circumstances.** For instance, what might it mean a sort of "usual" and even "normal" form of tourist development (in terms of mass tourism, hotels building industry...) in concrete circumstances of the island Vis? Among other arguments it is possible to answer this question with the picture of a truly catastrophic future.

The third complex regarding the long standing programmes of peace activities in this part of Europe we have to put already today. Can we await, perhaps, proper answers on

this awfully crucial problem from those individuals who have made up the last- ing War in the Balkans or should we act for the engagement of the first-class peace researcher, scientist, specialist and activist all over the world? The island of Vis is a drastic proof of the concrete circumstances in which during the whole history there were no peace options which could assure any serious sort of so-called normal living. In this context the European house on the island of Vis could be a very appropriate place for discussions and (historical and present) researches concerning the problems of war, peace, demilitarisation... both in this region as well elsewhere. Of course, primarily on the island

itself.

**The fourth important problem is that of energy.** The most eminent point at the level of the relation between industrialism and post-industrial society is the problem of the qualities and quantities of energy. Alternative forms of energy (for example solar and wind energy) are becoming more and more superior not only from the point of view of the economic success but firstly regarding the survival of the human race as such. The island of Vis is a proper place for those researches, researchers, debates and concrete actions and projects at the levels of the local community.

And so on and so forth...

The idea of the "European house" on the island of Vis is not a "political project" and it **has no political intentions.** The idea is just to put together people from science, researchers in concrete circumstances with the aim of searching for the proper answers to the important questions. The idea is functioning at the level of ideas, problem-solving relations, acting at the level of so-called civil society and not in politics. Individuals who have already expressed their ambition of coming and joining the project of a European house on the island of Vis are not members of political parties and they are not even engaged in political problems: neither in their countries, nor in various international communities. They are specialists, scientists, peace, ecological and other activists who are ready to invest their free time and good will in order to work with other people and to investigate the solutions of concrete problems in this part of Europe. The majority of them were already engaged in human actions during the War in former Yugoslavia, some of them are today among us. The terrible events which have taken place in the last two years are the principal motives for their willingness as well as for their enthusiasm in helping the people from this area of Europe.



# Invitation for Summer Holidays

This letter is an offer for the summer holidays peace action. We are inviting you as an individual to consume your summer holidays on the Croatian island Vis. Depending on the numbers and "qualities" of persons during the whole summer - we are going to organise different peace activities (discussions, peace marches, different training programmes, cultural programme...twice a week). Our main problem is how to make possible different peace activities on the island in the circumstances of the

YPA occupation and with the Croat authorities who are going to block it.

Why peace activities on the island?

Beside, extremely high conflict potentials on the island, threatening to destroy the island and producing ecological catastrophe we have also some indefinite murmur according to which there would be a deal between NATO and Croatian authorities (new base?) concerning the future of the island.

So, join us in our common European project for demilitarised island Vis. In addition, the island is in the middle of the Adriatic sea, possess a beautiful nature and numerous monuments from the past (Greek, Rome...). It is also very easy to find a proper place where to stay, also for whole families. Hoping to see you on the island and with best regards.

*The address and phone number of the Peace Office on Vis are unfortunately not known yet, so please contact The Peace Institute- Mestni trg 13- 61000 LJUBLJANA-SLOVENIA, to get them.*

# Zagreb Diary 7 May 1992

I really would like to know how the concerts for "Peaceful Bosnia" (Mirna Bosna) went in the other towns (Beograd, Ljubljana, Skopje, Novi Sad and Amsterdam). For me it was at least an experience to find out that sometimes it is possible to organize something rather quick in this country. The idea to organize this concert came Tuesday, last week, from Ljubljana, it hardly have been discussed, but the organization motor started; Friday we designed the posters, in the meantime somebody organized amps and bands and Saturday evening the town was full of nice red and green (you know this special hard colors, they seems to give light in the dark) posters, which you could recognize from a long distance. So that part worked. The press conference (two journalists) on last Tuesday was less well prepared, but became more or less a press conference about the use of electronic mail (somehow GreenNet became a lifeline with the outside World, never before the people at ARK realized so clearly their relation with the rest of the World's movement) and the importance of free media, than about Bosnia.

Anyway the stage was ready, the amps came 5 minutes before the start of the concert and the bands came even later, but the whole concert was great. It started with the chorus of the Islamic Center in Zagreb, nicely dressed up in Green outfits, singing the new national hymn of BiH (a very peaceful song), then came a guy with a guitar, which sung one of the best and most intensive version of "all we are saying, is give peace a change" I ever heard (hope that we can raise money to make a cassette with him for the outside world, the emotions in his voice are just real (title of the cassette "Flowers from a WARZONE", cover a picture of a sandbag with a sunflower in it)) and then a Croatian alternative rockband (also great, 2 guys on guitar and a very good drummer, although he had only a snare drum, 3 tonga's and a very little cymbal, it sounded if the whole bloody drum kit was there, great, with a big smile

on his face). From the songs I didn't understand a word, but it seemed to be hard and funny, as far as I could see from the reaction of people.

It all looked a little small and improvised, maybe if you think about the big concert which was given in Beograd some weeks ago, but the place is great, about 4-500 people stood still and watched and sang along. You could also see that a few elder people specially came for the concert (they stood up from their chairs, when the national hymn from Bosnia was sung and were rather emotional, also Chatrine from Osijek was emotional and started to cry half way "Give peace a chance" (she would love to organize something like this in Osijek, but it can't be done in the shelters!). We (ARK) will try to get this circle of concerts going again, since it is good for our social outreach (this morning already two guys phoned what to do with the mobilization card, they saw the concert yesterday). Just talk with Marko from Ljubljana, at last there is a line now from GreenNet to Adrianet and it seems to work, they started yesterday. Their concert yesterday evening was a bigger success, if possible, than here in Zagreb, lots of famous writers (refugees) from Bosnia.

One thing I could not understand is why the app. 45.000 refugees from Bosnia in Zagreb didn't show up (only a few came), but we were lucky since there was no place. In two weeks from now, there will be a bigger concert in the main park Maksimir, maybe that will bring a lot more people, but I was already satisfied with what we established now.

Love and Peace from Zagreb

Wam

Wam is the newly arrived long-term volunteer working with Ark'zin and the Center for Anti-War Campaign in Zagreb

Note: There were 1000 people in Belgrade, 400 in Novi Sad, and 300 in Pozavrac.



# Proposals of Peace Activists

*Peace Activists from Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia Meet in Vienna, May 30 till June 1 1992.*

Activists from peace groups from former Yugoslavia named below met in Vienna\*, to discuss four basic issues: to better the communications amongst the peace groups, to exchange experience and plans in the work with refugees, to discuss possibilities of nonviolent action in the war time and to find out possible solutions that could lead towards ending the war in Balkans.

The following are two declarations adopted by consensus decision of all participants at the meeting. The list of participants at the meeting is available at any organization mentioned below.

*To the UN, the CSCE  
and the European Council*

## **DECLARATION on Stopping the War in South-Eastern Europe**

The sanctions recently declared against Serbia and Montenegro have become reality. These sanctions are the result of a reaction to the war in Bosnia and Hercegovina, thus sanctions themselves will neither stop the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina nor prevent it from spreading to Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, particularly in Vojvodina, Kosova and Sandzak, as well as further into South-Eastern Europe. Being aware of the disastrous consequences of a war affecting the entire region of the Balkans, we, the peace minded people, active in anti-war and peace groups in different regions of former Yugoslavia, request the international community to immediately apply the following measures:

1. to immediately recognize the sovereign and independent Republic of Macedonia;
2. to recognize the legitimate representatives of Kosova, elected May 24, 1992, as legitimate partners in negotiation process;
3. to request the Serbian government to enter a process of serious negotiations with legitimate Kosova representatives, under the auspices of the UN. The removal of sanctions (diplomatic or economic) should be conditioned by successful peace process;
4. to immediately send international observers to Kosova, Vojvodina and Sandzak;
5. to offer support to nonviolent movements in all parts of former Yugoslavia and to grant asylum to war resisters;
6. to condition the removal of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro by amnesty being declared to war resisters;
7. to impose the final cease of all war activities and especially to subject to international control all heavy weaponry of former Yu-

goslav army and its relics, regardless of the name they use in public, and to put under control the activity of military flying objects in the region concerned.

These measures should be understood as a precondition for the processes of demilitarization of former-Yugoslav regions and thus a precondition for any kind of processes of trust-building, peaceful co-existence and democratization of states following the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

We appeal to the international community and all NGOs worldwide to apply pressure towards their respective governments in order that these measures be applied immediately.

*To the UN,  
to humanitarian organizations*

## **A P P E A L concerning the problem of refugees in the states of former Yugoslavia**

One of the hardest effects of the war is the problem of displaced people and refugees, including the problem of regions which are hosting them, thus facing the social and the economic collapse. The international community does not pay sufficient attention to this problem, which can potentially generate new conflicts. Most of the energy has been burnt arguing short-term political solutions, while refugees and local population hosting them are facing hunger. Thus we are loosing momentum for issuing long-term peace options.

Since the probable grow of totalitarianism in the respected states could feed new hostilities and wars, it is necessary to support all efforts directed towards democratic order within the new states.

The refugee problem can only be solved with a help of international community. On the one hand the wave of refugees can no longer be kept within the borders of former Yugoslavia, on the other hand we face a dangerous of new hostilities deriving from refugee problem within local communities.

It is urgently requested that:

1. humanitarian help be distributed to refugees as well as to local community hosting them;
2. humanitarian help be distributed directly to regions concerned and not only into the capital cities;
3. humanitarian help be distributed not only via state-agencies and via red cross or church organizations, but as much as possible also via citizens organizations and alternative groups. Political manipulations

can thus be avoided and the scope of those eligible to receive help can thus be more complete;

4. humanitarian help be distributed non-selectively, to all displaced people regardless where they ended. This is due to the fact, that all states of former Yugoslavia face the problem and not all receive help.
5. the return of refugees be guaranteed after the cease fire, to avoid the creation of ethnically clean areas, which can source new wars in the future
6. UN High Commissioner for Refugees should open its offices in all regions where larger numbers of refugees are reported, to avoid political manipulations with the number as well as the life-conditions of refugees;
7. national governments in Europe and worldwide should encourage their experts on refugee problems to visit the states of former Yugoslavia and offer respected governments their assistance in terms of consultations and advice;
8. local alternative civic initiatives dealing with refugees should receive support in terms of consultations and with material means.

*Vienna, May 31. 1992*

Both, the DECLARATION and the APPEAL were adopted by consensus decision of the participants, members or activists of the following groups:

- Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske
- Centar za antiratnu akciju, Beograd, Srbija
- Centar za antiratnu akciju Beograd - ogranak Ada, Vojvodina
- Center za kulturo miru in nenasilja Ljubljana, Slovenija
- Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava Zagreb, Hrvatska
- Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava Osijek, Hrvatska
- Civilno dvizenje na otporot Skopje, Makedonija
- Dalmatinski odbor solidarnosti, Split, Hrvatska
- Društvo za preventivno in prostovoljno delo, Ljubljana, Slovenija
- Gradjanski forum Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina
- Këshilli për Mbrojtjen e të Drejtave dhe Lirive të Njeriut, Prishtinë, Kosovë
- Komitet na Helsinskiot gradjanski parlament vo Makedonija
- Mirovna radionica, Rijeka, Hrvatska
- Mirovni institut Ljubljana, Slovenija
- Odbor za gradjanski i mirovni inicijativi Skopje, Makedonija
- Organizacija na zenite Makedonija
- Pokret za mir Pancevo, Vojvodina
- Pokret za mir Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Vojvodina
- Zenska inicijativa - Iniziativa delle donne, Koper, Capodistria, Slovenija
- Zenski parlament Beograd, Srbija

**\*The meeting was called and sponsored by Österreichische Hochschülerschaft, and The Initiative for Croatia-Serbian Peace Dialogue.**



# SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

## The Last 45 Years

After the World War II, the Communist Party came to power in Yugoslavia. It established a stiff bolshevist regime, that fought cruelly their political opponents. During the fifties and sixties the establishment gradually liberalized and introduced so called "workers self-management", although all control remained in the hands of the party and its charismatic leader Josip Broz Tito. At the end of the seventies there have been strong requests for democratization, especially in Croatia ("Croatian spring of '71") where strong nationalistic movement was created. Federal party leadership intervened, all requests have been refused, strong repression against its participants began. Last big political trials were held in mid-eighties. Soon after J.B. Tito's death economic crises developed and the system couldn't work it out. Social unrests arose but not to the level of destabilizing the regime. The Communist party of Serbia in 1987. used the so called imperil of Serbs in Kosovo to accept the program which could be adequately described as national socialism.

In Croatia in political fights in 1985-86 the liberal stream (Ante Marković) came to power, but has no strength to go through with essential social reforms. During 1989 new political groups arose, that are later transformed to political parties. They operated semi-illegally, but there was no repression. Transformation into multiparties system was very quiet.

## First Free Elections

The first free elections in Croatia were held in April and May of 1990. They were won by Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) with 42% of votes: the majority election system provided them with 65% seats in the Parliament.

Calling upon their victory the new government de facto continues to rule in the same way: HDZ takes up the role of Communist party, Franjo Tupman became a new charismatic leader, individual liberties are restricted in the name of national interest (before it was in the name of working class interest). The government does not tolerate any opposition or difference, but they simply don't know any other kind of ruling. Their approach to national question is very firm, there are incidents on local level but not to such an extent that the government could be called a fascistic one neither to justify an armed insurrection from the Serbian side and Yugoslav Federal Army.

## Current Violation of Human Rights

- The state (i.e. governing party) controls almost all economy. The unions are established by the state (Hrvatska unija sindikata), the independent unions are weak. Almost all forms of workers participations in decision making are cancelled.

- Concentration of power in the hands of president Tupman and his cabinet rises. Government has little influence and Parliament even less. The chaos that began in the first months of war wasn't overcome by democracy but by authoritarian system.

- Media are controlled or under a great deal of pressure. The only independent media are: local TV "Marjan" in Split, daily newspaper "Slobodna Dalmacija" in Split and magazine "Danas" in Zagreb. Private newspaper "Slobodni tjednik" is considered drastically unprofessional because of great number of defamations it makes.

- The extremism of fascistic qualities rises rapidly. Croatia party of rights (Hrvatska stranka prava-HSP) has its army in black uniforms Croatian armed union (Hrvatski oružani savez-HOS). Among the right wing members of governing party there are also some sympathies for them.

- There is a strong tendency of clericalism in which the church circles are more moderate than the governmental ones.

- Strong campaign to abolish abortion rights is going on.

- In many cases Serbs are loosing their jobs, and this fact can only partially be explained by the severe situation in which many Croats also loose their jobs.

- Outbursts of extremists towards the Serbs are numerous (physical attacks, missing people taken by unknown uniformed and armed persons, houses being mined), with little government reaction or protection of attackers (Tomislav Merhep, who boasted openly of his "death squadron", is a counsellor in the Ministry of Internal Affairs).

Note:

It has to be mentioned that in the same time the system of terror of Serbian extremists under support and protection of Yugoslav Federal Army has been established on the occupied Croatian territories. Croatian population is systematically killed, robbed and expelled, and this terror is applied to moderate Serbs as well.

*Zoran Ostric, April 1992*



# THE WAR AND THE DAMAGE ON THE ENVIRONMENT

By the Center for Anti-War Campaign, Zagreb

The war in Croatia has caused many deaths. Moreover, over 500.000 refugees and exiles from the war stricken areas have sought refuge in the less dangerous areas of Croatia, in Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and other European countries.

Croatian cultural heritage has also suffered. More than 500 cultural monuments have been damaged or destroyed.

The winds of war have affected the nature as well. The fighting in national parks and nature reserves have been disturbing the delicate balance of the ecosystem. Army tanks entered the National Park Plitvička jezera in April 1991. The tanks tread are breaking the forest land and glades which only bears and occasional explorers used to walk on. The forests near Skradin in the Krka National Park were burnt after the shelling in October 1991. The Trsteno arboretum near Dubrovnik, founded in 15th century, was also burning. The nature reserve Kopacki rit, the unique bird-habitat situated between the rivers Danube and Drava, is covered with mines. There are other damages done, but we will know more about them only when the experts are able to visit the occupied areas.

The bombing of industrial facilities has caused pollution of soil, rivers and underground waters. For instance, the oil that leaked into the river Sava after the bombing of the refinery in Sisak has reached Belgrade. Some effects of the oil and chemical spills are already being studied, but the detailed examinations can be carried out only in a more stable cease-fire or after the war.

The plants affected by the bombings which may have caused pollution are the following:

- INA Oil Industries, especially the Sisak Refinery

- Ferrous metallurgy-Iron and Steel Works Sisak

- Non-Ferrous metallurgy-Aluminium Factory "Boris Kidrič" Šibenik

- Chemical Industry: Saponia-Osijek, Cosmohemia Otočac, Poliplast-Šibenik, Folijaplast, Kemoplast, Kepol i Vinil-plastika-Zadar.

- Glass Industry Lipik, Drava-match factory in Osijek, Electrode and Ferroally Factory Šibenik, OLT-Osijek, TANG-N, Gradiška,

Torpedo, Dalit, Kordun i ZEČE-Karlovac, etc

## What are the Greens doing ?

The activities of the majority of the green groups have stopped in the course of the war. Some groups no longer exist. Their members have joined peace or humanitarian groups. Nevertheless, the activities and the green projects have been resumed in the past few months.

The Zagreb Green Action is preparing a book titled "The Effects of War on Environment of Croatia in 1991 and the Priorities of Restoration". The book will contain various relevant informations, photographs, short essays on the restoration priorities, statistical data etc. The publication of the book is expected in April 1992.

The green organisations of Croatia are meeting at the Green Forum in Zagreb on April 22 and 23. They will discuss what can be done about eliminating the damage and the sustained development of Croatia in the future.

## What can you do ?

You can help the Greens groups and organisations of Croatia. You can visit us and see if you can start practical work on the nature conservancy when the war subsides. We seek experienced volunteers.

You can help to publish the information on the damage done on the nature in Croatia in other languages. After the above mentioned book is published in Croatia, it will be published in English, German and Italian. We are still collecting funds for translations and need translators.

*You can obtain the list of protected objects of nature affected by the war at the following address:*

**Green Action Zagreb**  
Ranička cesta 22  
41000 ZAGREB-CROATIA  
tel/fax: 3841-610951

# More informa- tion about refusing the Mobiliza- tion

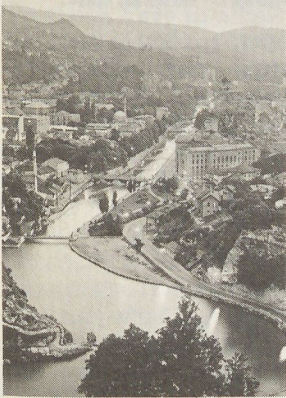
Since Zoran (from the Anti-War Campaign) was called up for his tour of Duty at the front it became needed to jump into the problem of total refusers a little deeper. At this moment the law is strict about those who refuse totally any army duty, including civil service, and they can be sent to jail for 1 to 5 years (in former Yugoslavia, that was 2 years, after which they call you again and then the procedure could go on for years, some people have been in jail for over 12 years that way). Refusers are under the military laws and therefore sent to military courts, without public lawyers. The normal police is allowed to arrest people who are on the wanted list of the army for not following their call-up papers (according to rumors app. 20-30% is not responding and try just by not responding to stay out of the frontline). **Up to now the police couldn't jail people at the police-station for more than 2 days, but Tudjman decided some months ago, since it is wartime, to give the police the right to keep people 6 days or longer, without any form of process.** Via a lawyer we call for juridical help we have heard that there are more cases known about persons which are already arrested and for over 6 months in jail for refusing the army. She will, together with her colleagues make a list with names and places where people are imprisoned. As soon as we have that data we will spread it with the hope people will react and write letters to the refusers and to the Croatian government.

Wam Kat, Zagreb



# An Appeal from Sarajevo

By the center for Anti-War Activities



IN MEMORIAM

I am writing on the 30th of April (1992) at 9.00 am, after a night without sleep, which was for all of us, citizens of Sarajevo, a hell. The bombardment from the hills around Sarajevo started last evening at 22.00 pm and went on almost until this very moment. Hundreds of mines, granades and other projectiles were thrown on the old Town center, which is very valuable monument and on other parts of the Centar, Novo Sarajevo, Novi Grad and the suburbs, Hrasnica, Sokolovic Colony, etc. Especially the parts of the town with Moslim population were heavily bombed. The terrorists of the Serbian Democratic Party located on the hills around the town have complete logistic support from the former JNA\*, that includes food, arms and munition supplies. **Defenders and territorial Defence are not able to resist these attacks because tanks of former JNA are directed with their cannons towards the town and so they protect the terrorists.** It seems that the best organised and larger terrorist group is in fact former JNA. All citizens of Sarajevo suffer and feel the consequences of this situation, Serbs, Croats as well as Moslims.

There is almost no medicines and other medical supplies in the hospitals any more. There is no food and the citizens from Sarajevo are systematically threaten with starvation. Serbian terrorist and former JNA have blocked the town from all sides, so there is no possibility to enter the town from outside. **Neither enter nor exit the town.** Forces of former JNA have taken the airport of Sarajevo a few days ago and transform it into a military airbase. The citizens do not only fear bombardments but **also kidnapping.** Members of the extrem part of the Serbian Democratic Party dressed in civilian clothes enter the town, kidnapped citizens and exchange them for arrested terrorists. In the last two days 13 persons came to the clinic with wounds from snippers. And one citizen was killed. Two days ago soldiers of former JNA have killed the secretary of the city board of the opposition Party of Democratic Changes (ex communist party) in front of the HQ of the second military sector. He was killed in a

grual way by a rifle shot in his mouth, he was already wounded when they killed him. Senad Secerovic and his driver Dzevad ?sic are victims of the public appeal of their party to defend their town and the whole republic.

Anta Kozina, medical technician has been killed in ambulance when he was on his way to pick up some patients. From the 6 of April until today in Sarajevo 50 people have been killed and over 500 have been wounded. The number of deads and wounded in BiH is not known, but the estimations are over a several 1000's. In Bijeljina, Zvornik and Foca nobody can enter, not even the forces of UNPROFOR or the EC observers, because the Serbian local authorities and forces of former JNA do not give permissions. News from persons who escaped include slaughtering, robbings, burnings, killings, etc.

**Over 400.000 inhabitants of BiH are now refugees abroad, that is almost 10% of the total population, which is 4.500.000.**

USA never accepted terrorism. Why do they allow that terrorist, like SDS and former JNA kill innocent people, destroy the most important cultural monuments, destroy the economy of the already poor republic of BiH. Please do everything in your power to press your government take the steps to protect us.

Sarajevo 30th April

*\* Late April, the Anti-War Center in Sarajevo insisted on talking about the former YPA (Yugoslav People's Army, instead of YPA.*

Center of Anti War Activities  
Centar za antiratne aktivnosti  
Ul. Hasana Kikica br. 8  
71000 Sarajevo  
tel 071-276155  
fax 071-219866

The center is still publishing "Why", the last issue having been printed in April

## AGAIN AN URGENT APPEAL

The following two faxes came in during the night, somehow Sarajevo is able to come through to Zagreb, but not the otherway around. Please, take this messages serious and do whatever you can with them to help our friends in sarajevo and the rest of Bosnia Herzegovina before it is too late, everyday more people are dying of hunger, snippers and otherwise. Every dead can be stopped, but only if the world react.

International Peace Center Sarajevo  
Sarajevo 14/05/92

Dear Friends,  
We would like to inform you that the situation

in sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina constantly changes but badly. The rest of the previous Yugoslav army and the leadership of the Serbian democratic party under the eyes of Europe and the World are making new army forces, but the Government in Beograd formulating false peaceful policies behind which direct participation of the internal and external aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina is hidden.

You must urgently more influence public opinion and humanitarian help and warn the world about the crimes on the people, nature and monuments about which we'll send you more documentation.

Do it as soon as possible. Please inform us if it possible for you to make a delegation consisting of major known people in order to testify people suffering. That delegation would be able to come with a convoy of humanitarian help.

Please be so kind and send us all information to fax +38- (0)71-646-455. We sincerely hope you come and send our greetings,

Ibrahim Spahic

President International peace Center  
City assembly of Sarajevo President  
Sarajevo 14.5.92

## To all Humanitarian Organisations in the world

Dear friends,

The clashes and fightings in Bosnia and Herzegovina have escalated. That is the reason we would like to ask you on behalf of all innocent and helpless people of Sarajevo to stop the war clashes, the expansion of horror and to prevent the chaos. The extreme Serbian forces are shooting even on the defenceless and unarmed citizens and children. Supplies of food and other goods are very, very short. Shops and pharmacies are totally empty. On this occasion we would like to ask you to engage your Government in the aim to stop this cruel war which is the great shame for Europa and for the whole world. In the other hand we would also like to ask you as follows:

1. Urgently, very, very urgently we need food and medical supplies for the people of Sarajevo and also making a human corridor in order to convoy mentioned above.
2. We also would like to ask you to do the best to assure humanitarian organizations: ICRC, UNACR, MEDICINS WITHOUT FRONTIERS and UN PEACE KEEPING FORCES placed in sarajevo for not leaving Sarajevo.
3. At the very end we would like to ask you to pressure on the Government in beograd to stop the aggression on the independent and sovereign republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We sincerely hope that you will help us as soon as possible.

**Phone 38-71-648034 fax 38-71-648016**



# Serbs, Croats and Muslims are Those who are Together in the Cellars...

Interview on the phone with Nada Selimović, by Zoran Ostrić

Note made after a telephone conversation with Nada Selimovic from the Center of Anti War Activities of Sarajevo (Friday, 8th May 1992, 15:00) Nada Selimović is the chairperson of the Center for Anti War Activities Sarajevo. She is very active from the beginning of April, when the armed conflicts around Sarajevo begun. She was present at the Parliament of BiH and she reported to us regularly all through the time when the crowd went in and pronounced themselves "All Peoples Parliament". During that time we were in daily, sometimes hourly contact. She managed to stop the "communist alliance for Yugoslavia" to push a declaration through in which all legal authorities should have been overruled and which would have broken the legitimacy of nationalistic parties which were in Power. By this declaration a national council should have been formed and JNA should have been called in for keeping the order in BiH. She and some other peace activists were strong enough to stop this declaration and that the people left the building and gave it back to the legal BiH parliament. Later on she continued to send her reports by fax about the events in



PICASSO "WAR" (1963)

Sarajevo. During the last week all the connections were broken. Eventually we managed to make a new connection on an other number and that line still works. We talked something like 25 min. and I wrote down everything she told me word by word, with-

out changes. Nada is of Serbian nationality.

Most of the time in the last few days, I have spend in the cellar. In Sarajevo 45000 telephone connections are not working since the telephone building is bombed. Lots of other things were bombed, half of the town is damaged. The building of the Electra company was hit and the buildings of parliament and government are almost totally destroyed, the building of Energoinvest is gone, the children which were in the building of Unis is also hit, the children playground (kindergarten), the Church of St. Joseph on Marin Dvoru, the world famous mosque of Begova dzamija, those are all civilian targets.

At this moment you can only hear sniper shootings. Snipers are of some building, water company and military building, the building of the Military hospital is the main place where JNA is located. Snipers are shooting from there and there is also a mitralieur nest. From there they can control the whole town. Yesterday afternoon a man was killed by snipers in front of my eyes. I have tried to reach Marac Goulding, but I couldn't. He



didn't want to talk with anybody else than with members of the presidency and with the ruling parties. **Senator Dole is also making a lot of bad publicity for us and put us back months ago. He is still talking about 3 parties in this war and there are only 2. Everybody have to admit that the sovereign state of BiH has been attacked by the Serbian army. Serbs, Croats and Moslem are those who are suffering and are together in the cellars.** There are only two sides, those who are offending BiH and those who are attacking.

The day before yesterday I was at the side where M. Goulding, S. Nambijar, Alije Izetbegovic were looking at the destruction of Bascarsije. **I have tried to go to Goulding to tell him what is going on, but he doesn't want to talk to normal people, only with high level politicians. He has no ears for NGO's and normal citizens.** We don't know what interests have the high politicians in this game.

Serbs are mostly afraid, since they have been threatened by the Serbian Army. **Serbian intellectuals in Sarajevo could have done something 3 months ago, even 1 month ago to open the eyes of the people but they haven't done it.** Lot of Serbians are frightened, but most of them are just waiting for what will come. Those who have common sense are not strong enough to lead the people in the right direction. Those who have some public influence are mostly very passive. **One should get the Serbian population on the right side for the defense of the country and its independence.**

They are taking hostages, three days ago they took 150 children as hostages in Hrasnici, suburb of Sarajevo. They picked up near my house a group standing at the house door. Yesterday there was an exchange of "prisoners", everybody for everybody. Yesterday 1000 soldiers left the barrack "Marsal Tito", but from the barracks of "Viktor Bubanj" and others nobody left and they are still attacking the town. **Lots of damage will be done also by the decision of the new- Yugoslav presidency that all Serbian and Montenegrion citizens who are member of JNA should go with their families out of BiH. They give their arms to SDS and Serbian volunteers (Sjesels and Arkans Chetniks), who will stay here.** The official Serbian government wash their hands in innocence. Yesterday tanks went through Grbavica and they shot in all direction without aims. Serbian territorial defense held villages Vraca and Lapisnica and they shot also without aim. **Their goal seem to destroy everything they can.** The day before yesterday at the new moslim graveyard of Skoraci there was a funeral of dead Muslims. From Lapisnica the funeral was shot at with artillery.

The food supplies in the town are on the very very end. Bread is still produced but can't be distributed, because of continuous bombings and snippers. For 4 days already there is no possibility to pick up wounded and dead

bodies from the streets because of snippers. Lots of people bled to death. Lot of people burned out in their houses because the fire department couldn't come closer. The football stadium of Zeljeznicar and a few houses nearby has been totally burned out because of this. Grenades destroyed our center for antiwar activities, I can't tell for sure, but I think we were hit on purpose since no other grenades fell in that area. Yesterday when I was talking with Beograd, grenades were falling near my house. Please inform the world about what is happening here.

Friday, 8th May, 15:00

### **Another Conversation with Nada Selimović from Sarajevo. Monday 11 May**

*(Also we have been talking to two other persons in the aim to check some informations. They don't want that their names are mentioned)*

All night long we were in the shelter. Grenades were falling onto the electrical company building, the market center, the sugar storehouse was burned out. They (JNA and Serbian paramilitaries) want to leave the people without any food. They hit a gas-station, which is about 200 meters from my building, it was set on fire, but fortunately the tank was empty. When an attack is stopped, the snippers are re- appearing. The army hospital (JNA) was surrendered yesterday. **Army officers tell lies into our faces, they are denying things which are transparent for everybody.** They erected machine-gun nests in the hospital.

From the army barrack (JNA) Raylovac they have been shooting at the surrounding settlements. The airplanes were bombing the Brijesce settlement, and there are just apartment houses. The building of the Red Cross of BiH in the center of the city is completely destroyed.

The big bus garage, with 120 buses on the parking place was destroyed.

The settlement Hrasnica is totally cut off. A day before yesterday about 80 refugees from Foca and Visegrad had arrived in Hrasnica. They were going over the mountain Igman, it was about 100 kilometers. They told the awful stories about the Serbian terrorists. They (Serbian Terrorists) are killing, beating, raping, pulling out peoples nails, pouring salt in wounds. Refugees said: "The most human are the ones who are directly shooting with bullets".

The Red Cross building was shot at, the whole night long, they have destroyed everything. There were absolutely no army supplies inside. The International Red Cross was also using this building. This is a just the logic of destroying, which came to us from

the worst elements, who came from Serbia. Simply, they want to destroy everything. In the settlement Grbavica there are two tanks, which are the shelter for Arkan's people (a terrorists group who came from Serbia, their leader is Arkan), who are going from door to door **taking away Muslims and Croats. They are robbing everything from the houses and threaten Serbs with stories that Serbs must report themselves for mobilization within 24 hours (otherwise they will be killed).**

In the former building of Army commanding sector II, which has been left by the army two days ago, they found pictures of the famous painter Ismet Mujezinovic on the walls, but cutted up by Bayonets.

Snippers are operating from all sides in Sarajevo, in front of the milk factory, about 700-800 meters from our building, they killed 2 men who were waiting in line for milk. One person may have just 1 liter of milk a day, the line was about 20 meters long, one of the ones who were shot was a famous lawyer, member of the reformistic party; Nijaz Ljubic, a 4 years old girl was also wounded.

Yesterday on a press conference was proclaimed the official number of dead, 1300, 6500 wounded and 1300 disappeared persons in BiH.

It is still impossible to enter Bijeljina, Foca and Visegrad, the facts about Mostar, Livno, Tomoslavgrad are still unknown. Because of this the real number of dead persons is probably 4 or 5 times higher. There are 300.000 registrated refugees, who have escaped from one part of BiH to another.

Mr. Goulding came, walked ambitiously through Sarajevo, and in three sentences criticized us (citizens of Sarajevo) because we were stopping an army convoy, but he mentioned dead persons just in the same line.

**Also a blind man can see what is happening here.** The only power which starts and finnish all of this is Serbia. Foca is yet Vukovar, Kupres is yet Vukovar and tomorrow it may become Mostar and Sarajevo too.

The settlements Sokolovic Kolonija, in which live mostly Muslims is isolated and surrounded by Serbian forces.

People have tried to send a lorry with aid for 5-6 days along with an UNPROFOR escort. The only way was through a Serbian settlement and the commander of the local Serbian HQ seized it in front of the eyes of UNPROFOR soldiers.

There are only a few snippers in our municipality Novo Sarajevo, their leader Draisa Vujaciv, is making the liquidation lists. I am threatened, called a betrayer by those men, they said that I betrayed the Serbian side to the Ustasha and the Turks.

The people are very disappointed because of the agreement between Karadzic and Boban, it is a hit in the back of the Bosnian people. The strong wing inside HDZ brings a big damage. There is not any respect anymore for Boban here.



# Bosnian Baklava a la Cutilheiro

By Dr. Ante Markotic

The so called "Cutilheiro's map" has entered our homes and our hearts, disturbed our spir- its, crowded the newspaper pages, framed our relationship, humiliated our map-makers, satisfied the dangerous, discouraged the wise and disappointed common people. It has, once again, stripped the very last rag from politics, leaving it slimy and dishevelled in the outskirts of the dark and fearful night.

**To make it clear at the very beginning, we are speaking about the map which is a "Colombo's egg" in its own manner and which has been laid much earlier by our local, Bosnian and Herzegovian hen in the worldwide known YU nest.** The chicken has already learnt how to walk, and its patterned dress draws attention wherever it may appear. There are always those who wake it up, those who try to make it go to sleep, or those who undress it in order to redress it. There are those who feed it, those who give it drink and those who bathe it. It has been baptized in the Hague, and so far it has visited many countries and cities. Therefore it would not be in the European style to ascribe this cuckoo egg to Mr Cutilheiro, who is its "European promotor" and if nothing, than by his appearance, a calm peace-making Portuguese seafarer sailing in the hilly waters of this Bermuda triangle. **"His map" - it is us -, stripped naked to the vulgarity which cannot be drawn.**

**What is that this "IBERO-DANAI's" map says and what is that it hides?** Firstly, it is less patterned to leave us those ever more patterned possibilities of its abuse, knowing who is to be blamed in advance: THIS IS WHAT EUROPE SUGGESTS! Secondly the map hides all which might be known about Bosnia by anyone who really knows Bosnia. Let us therefore examine its face, if only superficially, though its backside is more challenging.

Based upon a more stable social organizing principle of the post-socialist European demi-East and East, and in this case, upon constituent units (which are arbitrarily translated and systematized), the B-H triangle adopts a challenging appearance of a somewhat tectonized Bosnian cake-baklava. Following the recipe, you put on the Moslem layer of the Cazin border a somewhat thicker Serbian layer, then again Moslem, then Serbian again, then a Moslem one and finally a layer of a Serbian B-H territory, or vice versa. **Yes, I agree, there are no Croats! It is not enough to let them vote at the referendum! Anyway, they do not know how to make a state - they only know to help the others to make the state by giving their own blood!**

Anyhow, this offered baklava-state (what exotic association, the oriental variant of Central American banana republics) gave the Croats the role of the filling in the making of this Bosnian cake. If the news from Lisabon and Bruxelles are to be trusted, the Croats were not a hard nut anyway, even more, according to the news, they had also been "the easiest

delegation". And there we are, left with a few nuts which are not hard, which led to the sandwich position of the Croats, in between the two co-existing nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In this unbearable uneasiness of simplification, only one, one hundred percent of the Bosnian perilous downslope strictly separated majority from the minority. And everything is settled!? Actually this is the only way to avoid creating an archipelagic state on the European continent. And this is how the famous unsigned "Declaration" has simultaneously become a ratification of three Bosnian and Herzegovinian states for Serbs, a united Bosnia and Herzegovina for Moslems, and for Croats, something "in between". While writing this I am listening to hear "the support from the field"!

In life, actually the reality is significantly different and much more complex than any drawing-book or calligraphy, or at least it is different to that degree to which any individual differs from the photograph in his identity card. Try to imagine the ethnic map of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which no one is willing to show you) without inhabited areas or contemporary municipal borders, as a basic spatial unit of ethnocoloring of the geography of Bosnia and Herzegovina! And these units (administrative and territorial units) have been manipulated with in one way or another(!) for a century prior to modern European "mapmaking" discovery of Bosnia. In other words, their positive role and the service they provide, which is its starting/finishing point, aims at solving the destiny of three fifths of the population in this republic, offering the rest an abundance of hopes.

And finally, it is no wonder, why the Croats who are in the minority, have the thinnest slice in this miracle of democracy of common people and calculations. After having lost parity and proportion they are left with dying in the field and participating in negotiations in metropolies - the question is about whose destiny - as their sole profit. To be more clear about the matter, in about 12% of the Republic's space and 14 + 6 municipalities with a Croatian majority of population, dispersed on four islands from which distant firings can already be heard, there will be (if the good Lord says so) about 310.707 Croats living together with 90 thousand of Moslems, 55 thousand of Serbs and 23 thousand of others who belong to other ethnic groups. There will be about three fifths of them who, not so long ago lived in their own country, and who shall have to live, in the best case, in neighbouring states of United States of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I have to apologize at this point! In the existing (non)conditions, it can be supposed, with somewhat more certainty that each fourth Bosnian and Herzegovinian Croat shall live in his "original" region-state since the clean-up operations have already started

in some regions with the minority of Croatian inhabitants. This implies spatially connected municipalities in the South-East parts of the Republic where there is a majority of three fifths of Croatian inhabitants. Anyway, this is how Croatian Herzeg-Bosna, the ancestral homeland of all the contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovinian states has been reduced to only eight percent of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian continent. It is very unlikely that the additional municipalities with a very narrow majority of Croatian inhabitants will resist this process of ethnomeliorization which is followed by a great variety of "extremely persuasive" methods. Yet, for your consolation, there are others who recognize this sentimental name (to Croatian Herzeg-Bosna) in baptizing the new Bosnian and Herzegovinian states.

However, even by the most favourable "ethnoregionalization" of Bosnia and Herzegovina one seventh of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Croats would stay in the Serbian state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whereas the Moslem constituent unit would contain 335.531 Croats, thus being "the most important Croatian Canton", almost the "flowers of the Moslem people".

The shameless bestiality of the offered model, following a thousand year old sea-voyage in which the seven century old spiritual culture of the Franciscan skeleton was built, should be recognized in a Croatian manner, by stranding the ship (which is their also) onto the shores of the three minute islands of the heritage which has been built for centuries, paid for by human lives, rebuilt in peace and cultivated, an enviable heritage of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Croats along these regions. It is difficult for an ordinary man (which I am myself) to reach this satisfaction of mind, full of stones and rocks in the Southeast, some dust in the distant North and tiny parts of King's Land in the heart of Bosna Argentae, whose gold shines and reflects in even more distant regions. The Croatian "Declaration Map" denies the scarcity of the dioceses, thus denying 15 out of 19 monasteries, not to mention the other matters. The people to whom this all belongs to should be asked for their opinions at least, if I may say so. Because those who desert their own history deserve to be despised, and when the monuments die it is useless for people to live. People can flee, removal of monuments is a different matter.

Perhaps the matter can and must be different!? Any particularism for Croats without Bosnia and Herzegovina as an entity is a suicidal act. The Croats are the oldest witnesses of the existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and they must stay as its keepers as well.

P. S. The others are blamed by those who are not capable themselves. We are not speaking here about Jose the Portuguese, we are speaking about us, our Joses, our Croats.



# CROATIA DEMANDS OIL AND TRADE EMBARGO AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA

*The following is a summarized version of a statement by Croatia's Permanent Representative Dr. Darko Bekić to the CSCE Follow-Up Plenary Session on May 6, 1992 in Helsinki:*

"Just six days ago, the Committee of Senior Officials adopted a declaration... which accused the ex-Yugoslav Army and Serbian paramilitary forces of "gross violations of CSCE commitments, which remain uncorrected." The week following the adoption of this second declaration saw the same violations as those cited in the previous document adopted on April 15. The Serbian-dominated Army, together with its proxy irregulars, further escalated the aggression by violating the authority of the legitimate government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, an act which culminated in the unprecedented terrorist kidnapping and holding hostage of the President of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mr. Alija Izetbegovic. While attention is focused on the dramatic events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the ex-Yugoslav Army, in alliance with Serbian irregulars, is continuing its state terrorism against my own country, the Republic of Croatia. Air raids against purely civilian targets, hospitals, churches and the infrastructure, are creating numerous new victims, thousands of refugees and tremendous material destruction. Two days ago, an internationally prohibited cluster bomb, dropped from a YA combat aircraft, killed sixteen people, including six children, in an underground shelter of a purely civilian apartment house in the Croatian town of Slavonski Brod. Croatia's total population is 4.5 million; its labour force does not exceed two million. At this moment, these two million must sustain an additional million people: 250,000 who have lost their jobs due to

the war; 500,000 Croatian refugees and displaced persons; 250,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The damage sustained [in Croatia] exceeds 20 billion U.S. dollars, inflicted by the Serbian aggression and terror. **What embitters the public in both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is the insensitivity of the international community, particularly the European Community, towards the brutal aggression and massive destruction unfolding in the very heart of Europe, and its apparent willingness to view this human tragedy solely through legalistic eyes, committing itself only to repetition of public appeals and papers, another of which will undoubtedly issue from this respected forum again today.** The aggressor, having ignored all the appeals and deliberations of international fore, CSCE included, persists daily in its forced territorial expansion at the expense of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. **The indecisiveness of the international community regarding the adoption of more effective measures and sanctions actually encourages the continuation of this aggression.** There is something fundamentally wrong with the concept that was internationally adopted towards the war in the territories of the former Yugoslavia based on a presumption that the aggressor must at all costs be kept within the international community, in order to ensure that the lines of communication are maintained and to preserve its participation in the peace process. **On the contrary, the aggressor must be ostracized and punished.** Just 14 months ago, President Bush proudly announced the establishment of the new world order, one in which the international community will act in solidarity against aggression and territorial expansionism. This concept of the new world order seems today a cruel joke to the people of Croatia and Bosnia-

Herzegovina for million of Croatians and Bosnians, the new world order is transforming itself into a nightmare.

Therefore, the Croatian government finds itself unwilling to accept anything less than an immediate suspension of the Belgrade government from the international political decision-making process. Secondly, an immediate ceasefire and a full withdrawal of the ex-Yugoslav People's Army and its proxy irregulars from the territories of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is necessary as well. Furthermore, we feel strongly that a set of firm and effective economic sanctions against the aggressor, for example, an oil and trade embargo should be adopted at this very meeting. The Croatian government appeals for a concrete and urgent financial and humanitarian aid to more than 250,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to more than 750,000 other needy people in our war-devastated country. In addition, the government of Croatia demands that an international criminal court to deal with war crimes, and to take legal sanctions against all those torturing and killing innocent individuals in this bloody war. The government requests convening of an international conference on refugees and displaced persons as soon as possible, and providing help in taking care of them and enabling them to return to their homes. Only by adoption of these measures and sanctions can the international community and the CSCE fulfill their commitments and demonstrate in a concrete manner their dedication to peace, democracy and well-being of all. However, if we produce today simply another piece of paper, those lofty principles and objectives, and that of civilizational unity from Vancouver to Vladivostock will not be worth the paper on which our new declaration would be written.

## COMMENTS ABOUT THE HCA "APPEAL ON THE WAR IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA"\*

By Marko Hren

\*The Helsinki Citizens Assembly drafted an appeal late April. When it was sent out to be signed widely, I reacted with many comments - and of course did not sign it, since I disagreed with most of its contents. Some of my

observations were included in the final document which was then sent to UN, CSCE and EC, but most of my crucial observations were not taken into account. I'm aware of the fact, that we are facing a period of Serbian totali-

tarian state on one hand and international pressure (including sanctions) put on Serbia on the other hand. This is inevitable, as it is inevitable that people in Serbia will suffer both - the regime in power in Serbia and



sanctions. What follows are some highlights from my letter addressed to all signatories of HCA Appeal and some thoughts on sanctions. I would appreciate your reactions on both papers.

Ljubljana, 18. May 1992

## Extracts from the letter to the signatories on HCA Appeal

Out of four points listed in the HCA appeal, the following suggestions for "concerted action" were recommended: /they are reorder and summarise here for the sake of clarity/

**1.-strengthening democratic opposition and local peace/antiwar movements, to mount local initiatives...**

**2.-dissable the isolation ('barricading') of Serbia**

**3.-provide a balance putting pressure on Tudjman and Milosevic**

**4.-to isolate paramilitaries in BiH by giving status to the groups and movements which fight against the polarisation of the society**

**5.-UN protectorates in BiH/ temporarily**

**6.-reject cantonisation of BiH /I might understand the commentaries on cantonisation model wrongly/**

**7.-restoration of the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina**

**8.-monitor the Croatian government in terms of HR respect**

**9.-'soft border' in Istria**

**10.-support areas that live in peace (point 4).**

Suggestions listed here under 2., 3., and 4., deal with the process and 5., 6., 7., deal with concrete solutions. Suggestions under 1., 8., 9., and 10. are of medium or long term importance and do not effect immediate crisis. In introduction of this letter and at several other occasions I mentioned that our role is to work on the process rather than on solutions and this is also why I oppose HCA producing lobby documents (without performing a process to reach agreeable solutions).

To the process (2.,3.,4.,) suggestions I have a couple of comments:

Ad. 2. the decisions concerning the political isolation of Serbia were meant to put pressure on serbian diplomacy to initiate measures towards an end of masacres in BiH. This is an immediate (underlined) need. So, if we reject political isolation of Serbia, what alternative do we have to make pressure (immediate) on Serbian diplomacy? Destruction and exodus in BiH and Croatia is happening daily. Do we have any suggestion for the process which would deal with this immediate, immediate

problem? I have not detected any hint in your appeal, despite of the note which appeals for "concerted action". What concerted action of EC, CSCE and UN (not including political isolation of Serbia) could in your view contribute to immediate solutions?

Ad. 3. I do not think that a balance in putting pressure is necessarily a part of peace process. I would say that applying right pressure for the right thing is crucial. there is no balance anywhere in the Balkans. If there is no balance in powers there is also no balance in counter-powers to deal with powers. And there is no balance whatsoever between the power (behind) Milošević and the power (behind) Tudjman.

Ad. 4. One can not compare (or put on the same level) the many (not only three as mentioned in your appeal) paramilitary troops in BiH. One can simply not discuss in same terms muslim armed groups, which mobilised to protect at least some of the villages, and the groups aggressing them. Serbian paramilitary in BiH can not be isolated in medium term. This will be a long lasting process. The point on giving status to other groups (supposingly peace-building) is of extreme importance for medium term and should be elaborated. Which groups? Who should give them status (when they usually they have no status at home)? What kind of status do we have in mind? When we talk about citizens diplomacy, we should be as concrete as possible.

Myself, I have no answers to above questions, or answers that spring to the mind just remain blocked by the pacifist mind I have. Unfortunately it is all too late for peace solutions. And sooner or later we will have to make peace with that.

Now to suggestions listed under 5., 6., and 7. These are already concrete proposals. Proposal for UN protectorates does not effect immediate destruction. On contrary - serbian troops would even hurry to fulfill their scenario of occupied territories in BiH (that is what they do - hurry - anyway). And before UN will decide on anything and move concretely, the scenario will already be over. UN protectorates should therefore be discussed in the framework of medium term process. Still there is a question, what elements of the process dealing with immediate destruction can we suggest? It is a bit cynical to speak of cease fire and UN troops. First of all we know, that almost no cease fire was respected in Yu-wars, and we know, that fights go on severely in Slavonia despite UN troops. No illusions about UN troops! They are not effective and they are not respected in the region!

The Appeal says that the canton-type model entails the large scale resettlements of population and an inevitable change of the internal borders. What internal borders does it refer to? Which borders are now internal? BiH is de facto a recognised state, however

stupid it might sound now, when it is clear it is falling apart in blood. But its borders are "external" and presently BiH has no "internal" borders. it is also to note that the canton-type model is a reaction to agressions (and resettlements following the aggressions) and not vice versa as the Appeal suggests .

The suggestion concerning autonomy for Vojvodina and Kosovo is in direct contradiction with the proclaimed desire of the appeal (to develop a process...). Autonomy is already a final solution to the problem. But where is the process? How to make Serbian power holders even discuss the issue? How to put it on agenda of international institutions, when Serbia is treated as a state? Do you suggest international community to intervene in internal Serbian affairs? How? Are there any instruments? Is autonomy of Kosovo really the optimal solution? Do albanians want it? Do they want to stay in the same state alone with Serbs? Under what conditions? Under what autonomy? Under what guarantees? For years we have been suggesting internationalisation of albanian question. Not of autonomy of Kosovo but of "the question of albanians in the Balkans (in Serbia, Macedonia and Albania)".

The suggestions (as listed above) are of course crucial for long term: No. 1., 4., 8., and 9. and have no effect on immediate or even short term situation. Despite of that, they were commented in the integral version of the letter, but comments were cut while editing the paper for The Intruder.

The appeal (its first version was evidently drafted by people who do not know war regions and refugee problems) unfortunately does not solve or even approach immediate problems which are hardly or even not at all mentioned. These are simply the following: a) systematic day-to-day destruction of BiH, parts of croatia and danger of spread of violence to Kosova and Sandjak (which do not live in peace - as Macedonia) - particularly Kosovo

b) the refugee problems (cca. 1.250.000 people were displaced in the region).

*Please take this letter as a contribution to both - HCA process and approach towards the crisis in former Yugoslavia. Since many prominent people in Europe have signed the Appeal, I would really appreciate them to answer these responses. The integral version of the letter was sent to the HCA office on April 30th. 1992. It was also put on GreenNet.Yugo.Antiwar Email Conference. The whole discussion can be sent by fax or mail on your request.*



To  
INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS  
From: PEACE INSTITUTE LJUBLJANA, Slovenia

TO BE WIDELY DISTRIBUTED

IMMEDIATE ACTION REQUESTED  
EVALUATION BE SENT TO THE ORIGINATORS OF THE APPEAL

Best used before too late!

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# APPEAL ON INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO\*

*\*This appeal does not (consciously) discuss how to stop massacres in Bosnia and Hercegovina. We are aware that there is no quick non-violent method on disposal to stop the bloodshed after all opportunities to intervene with non-violent means were missed. It does discuss how to use sanctions in positive way, particularly in order to prevent future bloodshed in the pre-war regions.*

## Considering that:

1. Albanians and other inhabitants of non-Serbian nationality (Turks, Croats, Muslims) of Kosovo have recently (24. May 1992) (re)elected their legitimate representatives
2. Kosovo region has no autonomous political status at the moment and finds itself within Serbia, a state which - together with Montenegro, another republic of former Yugoslavia - calls itself The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As of yet, this state is not recognized by the international community. (Since international observers now speak of Serbia and Montenegro, we will also use these names to describe what is sometimes also interpreted as Third Yugoslavia, or Federal Republic of Yugoslavia);
3. Sanctions (both diplomatic and economic) have been (or are about to be) implemented on Serbia and Montenegro because of their involvement in Bosnia and Hercegovina
4. War in BiH is now in a period of inertia, where there are no immediate (nonviolent) solutions to be suggested in order to stop the madness of (para)military involved

## Some explanation to the points 1 to 4:

Ad.1. Kosovo region is populated by Albanian majority. It had a status of Autonomous Province until late 1990, when Belgrade

regime of Milošević abolished their autonomy by unilateral decision. The parliament and all other legal political institutions of Kosovo were dissolved. What followed was cultural and social genocide in autumn 1991 (dismissal of physicians and teachers of Albanian nationality in Kosovo and many other examples approving the use of the word "genocide"). Now the life of Albanians in Kosovo is organized in an entirely out-of-system way, including all levels of education, health care and political activities. There are many records on violations of human rights in Kosovo by numerous international observers, HR NGO's and journalists. The elections on 23. May 1992 had to be performed in illegal way, organised by (outlawed) democratic opposition in Kosovo.

Ad.2. Albanians in Kosovo are people without the right to self-determination - and - proceedingly, people without status. Serbia is a state without a status as well (Serbian diplomacy insists to keep seats in international institutions which previously belonged to former Yugoslavia). This makes the tension even bigger, notably because of a clear will of international community to reconsider Serbian and (or plus) Montenegrin membership in all international institutions (UN, CSCE etc.). The fact, that political status of Serbian and (or plus) Montenegrin state will be reconsidered by international institu-

tions offer a range of opportunities particularly in the field of Human Rights.  
Ad. 3. We are all aware that sanctions (be it diplomatic, be it economic or military) have very little effect when performed in a reactive, after-the-fact way. Diplomatic sanctions (and economic following) have been declared against Serbia and Montenegro because of the crisis in BiH. But, Serbia has already washed their hands concerning BiH (the purge in the federal army leadership split off the army into Serbian and Bosnian-Serbian-territorial army) and there will be no proof that Serbia is involved (as a state) in the war in BiH. Sanctions as a punishment can hardly have any effect. Let's just recall the lesson from the Gulf. The sanctions against Iraq have been declared in order to defend sovereignty, self determination and democracy in Kuwait. Kurds got wings believing that the above stated values are universal. But Kurds were left on the open field and punished even more brutally immediately after "successful" military operation in Kuwait. The analogy is near: Serbia plays a role of Iraq, Bosnia and Hercegovina the role of Kuwait and Kosovo Albanians play the role of Kurds. Sanctions weakening Serbia and Milošević do give wings to Albanians who must be put in the context of international pressure on Serbia. Sanctions as a negotiating item can play some role. In the case of BiH crisis, the supply of



Serbian paramilitary in BiH from Serbia (weapons, munition, oil, etc.) should be prevented and the border between Serbia and BiH controlled by international observers (and maybe also UN troops). Further, the sanctions should include positive elements besides negative ones. I.E. support war resisters in Serbia and Montenegro, not only by strengthening nonviolent NGOs but also by foreign governments to guarantee asylum for deserters and political activists in Serbia and Montenegro.

Ad. 4. Nothing can stop long-ongoing low-intensity warfare in BiH. Military scenarios just went too far already. Cca. 200.000 individuals have been involved in bloodshed in Croatia and BiH only on Serbian side. Not to speak of military hardware present in the region after the withdrawal of Yugoslav army troops from Macedonia, Croatia and Slovenia. The main question is where this destructive power of paramilitary bands and remainders of Yugoslav army will be channeled to (besides continuing low-warfare in Slavonia, Knin region and large parts of BiH). It can be channeled to Sandjak (Serbia), Vojvodina (Serbia), Kosovo (Serbia), possibly leading either to a war with Albania, or to a war within Serbia (in a form of civil war, dictatorial regime or military rule). But most probably it will be channeled to Kosovo, due to historic reasons and well-known recent apartheid policy of Serbia in relation to Kosovo Albanians.

#### Being aware,

1. that there has been very little intellectual effort made by international NG observers to "think" and evaluate the process of change in former Yugoslavia,
2. that international public was unable to understand the power game of new and old elites (including Yugoslav army) in Yugoslavia, (thus interpreting events primarily - or even exclusively - as inter-ethnic and nationalist strifes)
3. that independent as well as governmental observers have been hardly able to cut with their ideas through present forms (until Yugoslavia did fall apart in blood, seldom were those who dared to think UN interventions) thus reaffirming the Governmental logic of reactions to fait-accomplis
4. that in Yugoslavia, several international principles (i.e. equality of the

sovereign states and the principle of non-intervention). were already precedentially overcome - and thus there is no reason to ban another intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state (Serbia and - or plus - Montenegro)

We fear negative effects of military sanctions for a long-term (particularly cultural) continuation of militarisation of western societies. We fear reaffirmation of military logic as was propagated to justify the war in the Gulf. Untill now international community has been seldom able to exercise positive approaches and pre-conflict actions.

#### In order to

do our best to avoid military interventions by international forces in former Yugoslavia, which we understand would only contribute to reaffirmation of militarism and would in a long run be contra-productive and in a short run its functions would be doubtful;

#### We suggest

Local NGOs, scientific circles and movements, to perform quick and extensive lobby for international community in order to act at least once in the period of Yugoslav crisis with positive approach - before a major bloodshed happens - and at least try to stop continuation of war: We are aware of the fact that the opening of Albanian question might speed up a violent reaction in Kosovo case (recalling previous explanation in Ad.3.). At the same time we are of the opinion that quick diplomatic action of international community could play constructive role. On the other hand the opening of Albanian question without clear and quick decisions being made could be traumatic - as it is the case of Bosnia and Hercegovina. We hope that international community has learned enough lessons and did achieve sufficient degree of understanding of the "Yugoslav" problem in order to act in constructive and coordinated way.

MAX ERNST (1937)



**Recalling UN documents on protection of Human rights and recalling the principles of the right of self-determination, the following steps should be performed urgently:**

1. Due to the fact, that Albanian people within Serbia are people without rights in a state without international recognition (see previous explanation Ad. 2.) we suggest that particular national governments and international institutions (UN, CSCE) (re)recognize the legitimate representatives of Kosovo, elected 24. May 1992 as legitimate partners in negotiations (recall the recognition of PLO);
2. Serbian government be requested to enter process of negotiations with legitimate representatives of Kosovo in order to achieve a mutually agreeable solution concerning formal status of Kosovo through peace process under the auspices of UN
3. The international recognition of Serbia and (or plus) Montenegro (or Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) be conditioned by peace process on Albanian question having reached satisfactory level for all parts in negotiations, notably for representatives of Kosovo;
4. Sanctions implied on Serbia be immediately expanded with the context of solving the question of respect of Human Rights in Kosovo and other regions of Serbia with non-serbian population. Sanctions implied being extended with positive sanctions particularly supporting war resistance in Serbia and Montenegro.
5. International observers be immediately sent to Kosovo and remain there until the status of Kosovo is solved.

The attitude towards Milošević regime should be the attitude towards apartheid regime. Stability in calculating the survival of the dictator on the price paid by minorities only prolongues the trauma and suffering. We appeal for quick and coordinated action.

*In solidarity and peace  
we wait for your  
comments, reflection,  
encouragement, criticism...and  
reports on your activities*

Ljubljana,  
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# THE OTHER SIDE OF SERBIA

By Nataša Kandić

PHOTO: ERIC BACHMAN



*Nataša Kandić is sociologist, who is active in research of viewpoints and public opinion. As "free" researcher she most often works for "VREME", weekly magazine. She is one of the authors of the book "Kosovo's knot- to undo or to cut" (published in 1989 as a result of the work of an independent commission formed by Albanian opposition and a group of independent intellectuals from Belgrade).*

The time has passed in which this war has been prepared. There are many who excelled in that. When they started looking at the war as a job that has to be done in the name of creating the Serbian national state. To everyone from the side it looked like the people from Serbia were more inclined to war options, seeing them as the only way to achieve the "one state of all the Serbs". In this matter the opposition did not have a different view. **It looked like everybody agreed that the war was permitted.**

**The picture of unity of national leaders and people willing to conduct the war was disturbed by the news that could not be hidden:** limited patriotism of the warriors and the basic objection by citizens against war best represented by youngsters running and hiding from army recruitment. That minority or alternative public opinion reminds of German humanist intellectual Tomas Mann who had the civil courage in 1937 to say in connection with the creation of Hitler's war machine: "War isn't allowed anymore". Of course I didn't get a place in the public political scene. It has been recognised as objection of Serbian National Program in the name of which war has been fought. It was pushed aside or mentioned sporadically as a kind of news of a body without a soul. **The appropriate place for war objection was found by the citizens of Belgrade.** In front of the building of the Presidency of Serbia, starting from the 8th of October 1991. Every evening, people gathered ready to confront the logic of War with the logic of Peace. One message became outstanding like a symbol: **FOR ALL WHO DIED IN THE WAR... For them who died, for us who live and for Peace 72,560 candles were lit.**

This is the only place where the names of the killed men, women and children were read without any questioning about their nationality.

On other places, deserters and Serbian traitors were discussed, but the fact that

already 100,000 young men ran from the authorities which forced them into war was neglected. **The opposition heightened its voice because of the public proclaiming of deserters. It kept silent about the fact that in November a court trial started against 10,000 young men, because of their attempt to avoid the war.** Also came to our place the ones who were hiding from military recruiters and those who were forcefully mobilized, but luckily stayed alive. Women in Black could be seen, quiet and always staying aside. Because of them, because of us and because of many who felt that this place also belongs to them, the following message was written in white letters on white canvas: **SOLIDARITY WITH ALL REACTIONS AGAINST THE WAR.**

When the authorities and militant groups most intensively talked about war as the only mean of valid protection of Serbs in Croatia, in our place another message was written: **GENERAL MOBILIZATION FOR PEACE.** In the month of December, Bokan, one among the extreme militant leaders of Serbian volunteers, tried to discredit it. Before he succeeded in destroying the canvas, he lost his knife in heavy snow. From then on, he was talked about as a "green horn" who is not able to keep his position.

This place was visited by war reporters from various countries willing to see the phenomenon in Serbia. In this place candles were lit by many who saw in peace-keeping activities a chance for life: Cyrus Vance, ambassadors of USA, France, UK, Canada, Holland, representatives of UN and EC institutions, members of various political and peace organisations and groups...

This kind of daily civil protest against war stopped on the 8th of February 1992. **From this place, another citizen action started: "100,000 signatures for peace".** On the first of November, thanks to BORBA, the

daily newspaper, we informed the general public of the petition for a referendum against the forceful war mobilization of citizens on territories outside the republic of Serbia. We called on the citizens to join us in collecting 100,000 signatures of voters, as much as needed for the Assembly of Serbia to put this citizens' initiative on its agenda. No party nor institution publicly supported our initiative. This can be understood, having in mind that even the opposition parties do not question the responsibility for war in the name of Serbian national interest. This petition mentions

facts directly related to the responsibility of all those who organised the war, while denying its existence. It also mentions political power and opposition. Because of the above mentioned reasons, this initiative stays without important political influence. Its value almost certainly lies in the announcement of citizens' opinion supporting the redefinition of the dominant Serbian national program. The citizens of Serbia publicly proclaim with their signatures that the government forcefully mobilized them for war and that they request the right to decide about their lives. Up to now 55,000 signatures have been collected. For me this amount is enormous. In the situation when the measures of repression are undertaken against the ones who refuse army recruitment calls and when the only propaganda about endangered Serbian nation is heard, the signature of the petition really represents an act of civil courage. Signatures are collected through advertisements in BORBA.

One other place started to function, in connection with the petition. Since ten days, a column under the title "Antiwar citizens campaign" is introduced in BORBA: personal viewpoints against mobilization are published.

Bojan, a student, 19 years old: "For me "ours" and "theirs" don't exist. But "ours" asked forcefully from me to become a warrior. And "their" responsibility best describes the argument visible to all: Serbs in Croatia were defended by the strategy of mining and bombing."

Vuja, plumber: "My grand-father and my father died for this country and now nobody wants it. I hid my son from this war because I don't care what kind of state it will be."

Translation: Melita Rogelj



# KOSOVO: MUTUAL FEAR

**Serbs are being prepared for evacuation,  
the Albanians are making food supplies**

DÜRER "KNIGHT, DEATH AND DEVIL"

**Will Europe's advocacy for "maximum autonomy" of Kosovo open another front on the territory of former Yugoslavia, or will we live in peace with our neighbors? In these times of uncertainty and even panic, these are questions that reasonable people among Serbs and Albanians try to answer.**

Pristina (the capital of Kosovo) has in the past few months become the destination of many foreign diplomats. The recent visit by the American ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmermann, had an unhappy ending. During the opening of an exhibition dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the "Voice of America", probably anticipating Mr. Zimmermann's views on the situation in Kosovo, the Provincial Education Minister, Mr. Djuricic, left the celebration in protest, explaining his anger by the fact that the Ambassador's speech was first translated into Albanian. This little incident might not have attracted so much attention had the public not been shocked by the way Mr. Zimmermann's wife was treated. During her meetings with the representatives of the local medical institutions she was rudely reminded that "her husband shouldn't do what he's been doing" (???). Mr. Zimmermann also met with "the other side". In an interview to a local newspaper, he announced America's support for the "maximum autonomy" of Kosovo. His German colleague, Mr. Hans-Joerg Eiff, said that Serbia should take into serious consideration EC's proposition to provide "special status" for the Albanians of Kosovo. He further explained that it would not necessarily mean changing borders, but would imply that legislation, police, administrative and legal institutions would respect the fact that an ethnic minority is the majority population on this territory. The former governor of the Province rejected any comparison between the political status of the Krajina Serbs and the Albanians in Kosovo, repeating once again that the de-



mand for the Republic of Kosovo represents a military goal, which Serbia will resist by every means that it has at its disposal. Despite the food shortage, Albanian merchants have their hands full: citizens are making supplies and turning their cellars into bomb shelters. A local newspaper commentator concluded that a possible war in Kosovo would be "Serbia's last defeat in the Balkans" and a lost chance to preserve good relations with Albanians.

"The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has a direct impact on Kosovo. We are involved since this conflict was caused by the same forces that annexed Kosovo a few years ago and are still active here. In a way, the war in Bosnia is also a war for Kosovo and other regions. Serbia is keen on proving to the EC that it won't make concessions any longer, and it wants to show the Albanians that they can't have their autonomy without a war", said Mr. Agani, the vice-president of the

Kosovo Democratic Union. "To us Albanians, Serbia has nothing new to say. We're aware of the sacrifice we'll have to make, but we don't intend to give up our claims".

In an article entitled: "Pack your things and wait", the "Jedinstvo" magazine informed of certain groups in Pristina which have under the pretense of working on national defense matters, visited Serbian and Montenegrin families and promised them arms and organized an evacuation in case of an emergency. They have been advised to pack their bags and wait...

Reliable sources said that after the first clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the population of Gracanica (a Serb-populated town near Pristina), asked to be armed. There have also been rumors that certain buildings in Pristina have been marked as targets in case of an air attack and that paramilitary units have been formed. Bearing all this in mind, the old saying "where there's smoke, there's fire" sound very ominous.

There are rumors that the Serbs in Kosovo are living in a state of fear of a massive evacuation and an armed "defense", and their Albanian neighbors in expectation of EC's final word and a possible armed conflict. Since the latter claim that they have nothing to defend themselves with, they all share a common fear which may have very dangerous consequences.

By Violeta Orosi and Seljadin Dzezairi

"Vreme" News Digest Agency  
No. 31, April 27 1992.

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\*The Movement for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence was issuing information abroad from 1984 and has been publishing newsletters in English language from 1985 on: during the years 85, 86, 87 titled **Information Bulletin** of the Peace Movement in Slovenia and during years 88, 89, 90 **The Independent Voices** from Slovenia. In 1991 the meaning of the word "independent" got occupied by the state policy. We had to change the title of our magazine.

The 5th issue of The Intruder represents the beginning of a joint magazine Ljubljana-Zagreb, in cooperation with Anti-War Campaign in Zagreb, which is also publishing a magazine in Croatian **ARK'ZIN**

It can remain in the manifestation, with your help. Please keep in touch, send us a note, feedback, letters, money, love!

# Yugo sla via WAR

Edited by  
**Tonči Kuzmanić & Arno Truger**

Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution Schläining  
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