
Uvodnik

Številka revije Varstvoslovje, ki je pred vami, je nekaj posebnega. Uredništvo je tokrat opustilo navado objavljanja zgolj znanstvenih in strokovnih prispevkov ter revijo v celoti namenilo eni sami temi: dvajseti obletnici policijske akcije »Sever«, ki je 1. decembra 1989 preprečila organizacijo in izvedbo t. i. »mitinga resnice« v Ljubljani. Skrajne nacionalistične struje iz vrst srbske in črnogorske proMiloševićeve populistične politike so z mitingom želele preizkusiti trdnost in enotnost tedaj deloma že pluralnega slovenskega političnega telesa ter milice in organov za notranje zadeve; ti so s strokovnim, zakonitim in predvsem legitimnim delovanjem operativno preprečili izvedbo mitinga. Številka, ki je pred vami, prinaša analitične prispevke ter nekatere poglede, razprave in govore takratnih najvidnejših predstavnikov slovenske milice in organov za notranje zadeve, pa tudi zgodovinarjev, politikov, takratnih in današnjih, ter predstavnikov slovenskih železnic.

Na začetku nam Božo Repe v zgodovinski analizi predstavi politične in druge okoliščine, ki so zaznamovale drugo polovico osemdesetih let 20. stoletja v Jugoslaviji, in še posebej tiste, ki so botrovale napovedanemu mitingu v Ljubljani in njegovi prepovedi. Branimir Bračko analizira delovanje organov za notranje zadeve v spreminjajoči se slovenski družbi, dostikrat težavne odnose z jugoslovansko armado in prizadevanja organov za notranje zadeve, da bi imeli vsi ukrepi in postopki v zvezi s preprečitvijo mitinga ustrezno pravno podlago.

Tomaž Čas v te zgodovinske politično-varnostne okoliščine vnese opis vloge in delovanja milice, predvsem v smislu njenega prilagajanja razmeram v federaciji in odzivanja na centralistične težnje na vseh področjih, še posebej varnostnem. V okviru tega prikaže tudi načrtovanje in izvedbo akcije »Sever« ne kot začetek, ampak kot logični vrhunec dotedanjih predosamosvojitvenih ukrepov milice in organov za notranje zadeve. Avtor v nadaljevanju organizacijo in vodenje akcije »Sever« na državni ravni osvetli v soavtorstvu z Dragom Kupnikom. Analizo operativnega vidika akcije »Sever« zaokrožujeta prispevka Mihe Molana in Boruta Likarja, ki predstavita organizacijo in delovanje milice na pokrajinski in lokalni ravni, in sicer na primeru uprav za notranje zadeve Krško in Novo mesto, ki sta bili takrat najbolj izpostavljeni.

Sklop analitičnih prispevkov zaključujeta Pavle Čelik in Miran Potrč, ki podata nekakšno sklepno oceno tako operativnopolicijskega kot političnopravnega dela akcije »Sever«. Pavle Čelik v razpravi opozori na evolucijo prizadevanj za zakonitost in legitimnost delovanja slovenske milice. Zаметke teh prizadevanj

je mogoče prepoznati že v petdesetih in šestdesetih leta 20. stoletja, toda najvišja stopnja legitimnega in hkrati zakonitega delovanja milice se je pokazala prav ob pripravah na akcijo »Sever« in ob njeni izvedbi v letu 1989. Podobna pozitivna ocena veje tudi iz prispevka Mirana Potrča, ki analizira tudi širše politične razmere in pravne okoliščine v takratni Jugoslaviji v času pred napovedanim mitingom in med njim, tudi ob upoštevanju prvih »osamosvojitvenih« ustavnih amandmajev k slovenski ustavi. Omenjeni prispevek je zanimiv tudi zato, ker avtor kot pomemben predstavnik takratne in današnje politične elite izpostavlja pomen korektne analize ter ocene dogodkov in dejanj, ki niso bili storjeni v času po demokratičnih spremembah v Sloveniji, a so bili vseeno zelo pomembni in so olajšali nadaljevanje demokratičnih sprememb po mirni poti.

Pričujoča številka revije prinaša tudi različne poglede, razprave in govore, predstavljene na strokovnem posvetu o akciji »Sever«, ki je potekal 24. novembra 2009 v Državnem svetu Republike Slovenije. Janez Piber je tako osvetlil po navadi v tančico skrivnosti zavite dejavnosti, analize in ocene takratne Službe državne varnosti v zvezi z napovedanim mitingom. Svoje misli, poglede in osebne izkušnje sta predstavila tudi ključna politična akterja v času akcije »Sever«, predsednik predsedstva Socialistične republike Slovenije Janez Stanovnik in sekretar za notranje zadeve Tomaž Ertl. Nekdanji član posloводства slovenskih železnic Edmund Škerbec in takratni predsednik sindikata strojevodij Slavko Kmetič sta opozorila, da tudi nekateri v gospodarstvu in civilni družbi niso stali križem rok in so po svojih močeh poskušali preprečiti prihod mitingašev v Ljubljano. In ne nazadnje, izrečene misli ministrice za notranje zadeve Katarine Kresal in predsednika Državnega sveta Republike Slovenije Blaža Kavčiča lepo zaokrožujejo analizo zgodovinskih, političnih, pravnih, varnostnih, operativnih in drugih vidikov akcije »Sever« ter hkrati podeljujejo udeležencem dogodkov tudi določeno politično priznanje in zahvalo sodobne slovenske države.

Na koncu bi se rada še posebej zahvalila Nataši Knap, Nuški Tavčar, Marjanu Antončiču in Antonu Pozveku, ki so pomagali pri pripravi te tematske številke revije Varstvoslovje.

dr. Andrej Sotlar in dr. Tomaž Čas,
gostujoča urednika

Editorial

The issue of the Journal of Criminal Justice and Security (*Varstvoslovje*) in front of you is something special. Namely, for this issue the editorial board has abandoned the practice of publishing only scientific contributions and has dedicated the entire journal to the theme of the police operation code-named (in Slovenian) »Sever« (i.e. Operation »North«), on the occasion of its 20th anniversary, which prevented the organisation and holding of so called »the rally of truth« on 1st December 1989 in Ljubljana. This rally, which the extreme nationalist movement from the Serbian and Montenegrin forces supporting the pro-Milošević populist politics wished to organize, represented a test of the strength and unity of the Slovenian, partially already pluralistic, political body, as well as of the professional, legal, and particularly legitimate functioning of the then police force and the internal affairs bodies whose operation prevented the nationalists from holding the rally. The issue contains analytical contributions, and, in addition, also some views, considerations, and discussions voiced by the then most visible representatives of the Slovene police force and internal affairs bodies, as well as by historians, politicians of that and the current era, and former representatives of Slovenian Railways.

First, Božo Repe presents, through a historical analysis, the political and other circumstances which marked the second half of the 1980s in Yugoslavia, and particularly those that were the reason for the announced rally in Ljubljana and for its prohibition. Branimir Bračko deals with an analysis of the functioning of the internal affairs bodies in the changing Slovenian society, with the often difficult relationship with the Yugoslav Army and the efforts of the internal affairs bodies to provide the relevant legal basis for all measures and procedures in connection with the prevention of the rally.

Into these historical, political, and security circumstances, Tomaž Čas introduces the role and functioning of the police force, mainly in view of its adaptation to the conditions in the Yugoslav federation and its response to the centralistic tendencies in all areas, but in particular in the field of security. In this context, also the planning and implementation of Operation »Sever« is presented not as the beginning but as the logical culmination of the previous pre-independence measures by the police force and internal affairs bodies. Later on, in co-authorship with Drago Kupnik, Čas elucidates the organisation and conduct of Operation »Sever« at the state level. The analysis of the operational aspect of Operation »Sever« is completed with the contributions of Miha Molan and Borut Likar, who present the organisation and the functioning of the police force at the regional and local level, namely, by

focusing on internal affairs administrations of Krško and Novo mesto as the most exposed units.

The set of analytical contributions is concluded by authors who provide some sort of closing evaluation of both the operational-police part and the political-legal part of Operation »Sever«. Pavle Čelik, in his discussion on the efforts to ensure the lawfulness and legitimacy of the functioning of the police force, draws attention to the evolution of these efforts. Their origin might be found already in the fifties and sixties of the 20th century; however, the highest level of the legitimate and at the same time lawful functioning of the police force was shown during the preparation and the implementation of Operation »Sever« in 1989. A similar positive assessment is apparent in the contribution by Miran Potrč, who also analyses the broader political conditions and legal circumstances present before and during the announced rally in the then Yugoslavia, also in the light of the first "pro-independence" amendments to the Slovenian Constitution. The contribution by Potrč, an important representative of the political elite at that time as well as currently, is interesting also because it points out the significance of the correct analysis and assessments of these events and actions, which were not carried out in the period following the democratic changes in Slovenia, but which nevertheless were very important and facilitated the peaceful continuation of democratic change.

The issue continues and concludes with various views, considerations, and discussions presented at the consultative meeting on Operation »Sever« held on 24th November 2009 in the National Council of the Republic of Slovenia. Janez Piber thus explained the usually surreptitious activities, analyses, and evaluations of the then State Security Service in connection with the announced rally. The key political protagonists during Operation »Sever« also presented their thoughts, views, and personal experiences: i.e. the then President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Janez Stanovnik, and the then Secretary for Internal Affairs, Tomaž Ertl. Former member of Slovenian Railways Management, Edmund Škerbec, and the then President of the Trade Union of Engine Drivers, Slavko Kmetič, draw attention to the fact that also some people from the economic sector and civil society did not just sit with their arms crossed, but rather tried, to the best of their abilities, to prevent the rally participants from coming to Ljubljana. Last but not least, the thoughts expressed by the current Minister of the Interior, Katarina Kresal, and the President of the National Council of the Republic of Slovenia, Blaž Kavčič, nicely round off the analysis of the historical, political, legal, security, operational, and other aspects of Operation »Sever«, at the same time presenting the protagonists of the events with a certain degree of political recognition and the appreciation of the contemporary Slovenian State.

Finally, we would like to express our special thanks to Nataša Knap, Nuška Tavčar, Marjan Antončič, and Anton Pozvek, all of whom assisted in the preparation of this special issue of the Journal of Criminal Justice and Security.

Dr Andrej Sotlar and Dr Tomaž Čas
Guest Editors