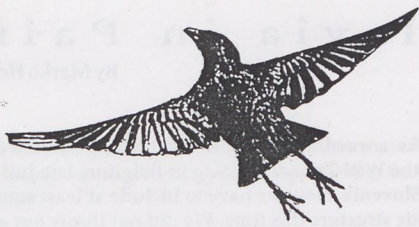


|| 431401



Seminars

- 11 Non-violent conflict resolution: the case of Yugoslavia
- 13 Inter-cultural learning seminar in India
- 24 International peace seminar of teachers in Alpe - Adria region

The Intruder

Year I
No.1.
July 1991

Hot topics

An intruder in Slovenia

- 2 Yugoslavia in pain, by Marko Hren
- 4 Selection of documents (23 June-8. July), issued by the Movement for the Culture of Peace and Non-violence

Inside Yu

- 10 Yugoslavia: the state of affairs, by Tomaž Mastnak
- 12 The disintegration of Yugoslavia, by Tonči Kuzmanić
- 8 A story of a unique opportunity, by Marko Hren
- 14 Owl's intrigue in Slovenia, by Sašo Gazdić
- 15 10 years efforts for recognition of CO in Slovenia, by Janez Doberšek
- 16 Demilitarization of Slovenia and national security, by Anton Grizold
- 18 Social defence project, by Nace Kalin
- 26 An insiding in a labyrinth, by Dominique Cochard
- 17 Information from Maribor
- 9 Opening of a Peace Institute in Ljubljana
- 27 Metelkova network
- 28 Declaration of peace
- 25 Appeal to the citizens of Yugoslavia
- 21 Foundation of the Yugoslav branch of HCA

Openings

- 19 A proposal for operational orientation of pacifistic allies, by Nace Kalin
- 16 Education in the light of modern scientific hypotheses, by Srečko Šorli



19990706266

Yugoslavia in Pain

By Marko Hren

The word Yugoslavia itself in a title nowadays tells everything. As a word "Gulf" did when it was pronounced some months ago. We hurry with the issue of *The Intruder* for the WRI Triennial meeting in Belgium, late July. The issue was ready to be printed before the armed conflict in Slovenia. Now we have to include at least some information on the crisis, and please excuse us for the chaotic structure this time. We did not throw out all articles which were written before, for a very simple reason - for readers to be able to follow our way of thinking before the major crisis happened.

We are not keen to create a thought pattern of "War in Slovenia" or "War in Yugoslavia", or "A little War in Balkans" as Sky News are telling you. Most of the world was speaking about "civil war" which has no ground at all for Slovenia. The very simple reasons are:

1. In Yugoslavia, there are several different levels of conflicts, interrelated but also separated, on local and on global plane, horizontal (between nationalities) and vertical (between old system and new processes). The conflict in Slovenia has completely another dimension and roots as the conflict between Serbs and Croats in Croatia, the question of Bosnia is again another story, not to speak about Kosovo, Albanians, Macedonia, Montenegrin internal conflict (also armed) between Whites and Greens etc. This conflicts manifest in different ways, which can not be simply described with WAR. We should rather use terms which approach reality more closely: terrorism, civil war, hegemonism, military coup etc. In the case of Slovenia, 26. June, we could speak of intervention of the federal state in combination with soft military coup.

2

2. The word War implies that there were two parties (good and bad guys). In the case of Slovenia the "other" party was not defined. Sometimes they called it "occupation army" sometimes "enemy", sometimes simply "Yugoslavia", some people even identified the enemy in "Serbs" in general. It is still not clear, whether the activity against Slovenia was directed by the federal Government or by military itself. The word War implies that there was a beginning and an end. The crisis in Slovenia did not start on 27. and did not end on 7. the July. It is much longer process. And too complicated to be described or understood with generalizations.

3. The word War implies that there is a victory at the end. In Slovenia the development of events is already interpreted as victory of Slovenia, and since the crisis was interpreted as war, the victory is interpreted as victory on military field. This we find false and dangerous. It is not the Slovenian military and police which won, but civil disobedience (several hundred soldiers disobeyed and deserted from the federal troops, several officers in Slovenian territorial defence did not want to obey orders requesting them to attack federal military troops, hundreds of people in Serbia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia objected the mobilisation after the military confrontation escalated etc.), negotiations, and international mediation.

4. Sometimes it seems that Slovenian elites which want to

create a state, needed war, to make a state. Prime minister of Slovenia said during the conflict "we declared the independency, and now we confirmed with blood", president of Slovenian parliament declared "that we have to pay price for the independency" and he noted that "all states until now have been born in wars". East Germany needed no war to separate from Soviet block.

We wont use term War then, regardless the fact that we did use it in our previous documents included in this issue. The problematization of the word War and its importance was discussed during the "war" in the so-called PEACE CIRCLE, a discussion club which was meeting even during the most tough days, when false alarms were driving people in shelters, when military planes were in the air and the roads were empty or filled with military and police.

An armed conflict in Slovenia started during the morning of June 27., the morning after this day of independence and a night of drunk celebration on the streets all over Slovenia. Slovenia declared independence during a session of its parliament exactly six months after a referendum was taking place (26. December 1990) where 92% of citizens of Slovenia voted for independence of the northernmost Yugoslav republic.

The declaration of independence would be an empty phrase without execution of some practical steps. And Slovenian government decided for one practical step that would follow immediately after 26. And this was a question of custom duties and concerning this also a control of international airports located in Slovenia. At the same time they replaced the symbols on the borders of Slovenia (Slovenia is bordering Italy on the West, Austria in the north, Hungary in the East and Croatia in the South). The morning 27., military had sent tanks to a number of border passes and to the airports. What followed was a resistance with largely nonmilitary means. The conflict ended with international involvement of mediators, signing Brioni declaration on 7. July 1991. The Brioni declaration was then confirmed by Yugoslav Presidency and by Slovenian parliament. This was a precondition for the start of talks and for cease fire in Slovenia. Another unpredictable event followed 18. July during a first session of federal presidency, where for the first time after two months period, all members of this supreme body of the federation, were present. The decision is, that federal military will move from Slovenia within the next six months.

The analysis of the conflict in Slovenia will be published in future issues of *The Intruder*. At the moment of editing this

issue, we can only include the most important parts of the documents of the peace movement issued during the days of crisis.

Since armed confrontations and the danger of further escalations are forthcoming throughout Yugoslavia, we will concentrate our efforts in future to be able to present you a wider picture on Yugoslavia. There are anti-war and peace movements arising all over the country. At this time we only include some of the documents from Sarajevo meeting of peace initiatives (20. July) and of initiatives in Belgrade. The whole documentation on peace and antiwar activity will be completed soon.

But for now, here are some useful addresses:

Kninski mirovni pokret, Centar za kulturu i družbena gibanja c/o Dario Seraval,
Tomšičeva 5, 61000 Ljubljana, Slovenia tel. +38-61-215171, fax. +38-61-215855

Center for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence,
Mestni trg 13,
61000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, tel. and fax. +38-61-224666,
fax.(on line) +38-61-328887

GAMA (Citizens Action for Peace), Miladin Životić,
Hotel Metropol, Bul. Revolucije 69
11000 Beograd, Serbia, tel. 011-752244, domicile, Tel.
011-330911, fax. 011-332991

ŽEST - Womens party
Sv. Markovića 4 11000 Beograd, Serbia tel. 011-334706

Center for AntiWar Action,
Zoran Cerović, Vesna Pešić,
Zmaj Jovina 12, 11000 Beograd, Serbia, Tel. 011-624027, Fax. 011-181471

Helsinki Citizens Assembly/Slovenia c.o Sašo Gazdić
Mestni Trg 13, 61000 Ljubljana, Slovenija, tel. and fax.
061-224666

Helsinki Citizens Assembly/ Serbia c.o Sonja Licht
Omladinskih brigada 216/13, Blok 70, 11000 Beograd,
Serbia,
tel. 011-154882, fax. 011332940

Womens Organization, Savka Todorovska
Orce Nikolov 164, Skopje, Macedonia Tel. 091-255261

Djordji Marjanovićm, Ligue for Democracy
Ulica 856 br. 72-6, Skopje, Macedonia Tel. 091-518589

Ibrahim Spahić, Gradjanski forum, Citizens Forum
Dobrovoljačka 11, Sarajevo 71000, Bosnia, Tel. 071-214884, 071-38245, fax. 071-216238

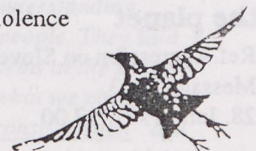
Nermin Butković, Društvo Slobodne Misli, Association of the Freedom of Thought
Dobrovoljačka 11, Sarajevo 71000, Bosnia, Tel. 071-214884, fax. 071-216238

AntiWar Campaign Zelena Akcija
Radnička c. 22, p.p. 876, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia, Tel.
041-610951, Fax. 041-612615

The groups mentioned above did meet on Saturday 20. July in Sarajevo, after the initiative given from coordinating committee of peace and anti war initiatives that was constituted in Ljubljana. Besides the groups given above, also various committees for protection of soldiers serving military service and several other women and parents initiatives were present. At the same time, anti war and peace demonstrations happened in Ljubljana, Maribor and Skopje. A common declaration against war was read during all demonstrations. In Sarajevo, where there was a central meeting, about 30 representatives from all mentioned groups gathered and discussed common project in future. Later during the day, they made a demonstration in the town of Sarajevo, during which a role of 25 meters long paper was unfolded for people to write and draw their feelings and thoughts about the escalated conflict. Several projects were agreed. The basic point we all agree is that we have to say NO to the war and start with civil disobedience. On Tuesday, 23. July, press conferences will take place all over the country and people will be called to join demonstrations on Saturday, 27. July.

The Intruder*
Year I, No. 1., July 1991

Issued by: The Movement for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence
Address: Mestni trg 13, Ljubljana
Edited by: Dominique Cochar
Design: Irena Wölle, Demilitary Publishing
Password: Stop the War



*The Movement for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence is 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. Within the last 15 months there was no issue published, only some circular letters were sent to the friends of the peace movement. We all hope that **The Intruder** will remain in the manifestation. With your help too. Please keep in touch, send us a note, feedback, letters, money, love, money, love, money, love! If the stars will feel OK, the next issue will be out late October.

Selection from the documents issued by The Movement for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence from 23. June 1991

at that time many journalists came to Ljubljana for the day of independence and we started with leaflets in English!

● SLOVENIA WITHOUT AN ARMY

press release, 23. June 1991

In the program for international press, the Government of Slovenia is highlighting the promotion of the Slovenian army. The very fact, that the Government had only chosen to show you the military training center in the village of Ig is proving its militaristic nature. It is true that the life in Slovenia is more and more militarized and because of that we feel obliged to make you know that:

- there is no national consensus on the establishment of Slovenian national army,
- there is a strong political and public awareness and movement requesting the change in security concept of Slovenian state and requesting radical demilitarization, proposing SLOVENIA to become
A STATE WITHOUT AN ARMY.

4 The former wing of political and social thinking in Slovenia is unfortunately not sufficiently promoted by the Government of Slovenia which does not give negotiations with other parts of Yugoslavia as many chances as the idea of the peace zone in Slovenian territory would. In our opinion, the promotion of Slovenian army during the days of celebration of independence is if not against the current state of political discussion in the country at least against peaceful principles that we stand for and is at the same time a meter of bad political taste. We would like Slovenian officials to promote the rich heritage of Slovenian nonviolence and a good will of Slovenian people to continue their nonviolent struggle also after the first victory resulting in parliamentary democracy April 1990. We would like the Slovenian officials to let you know that there is a strong support in Slovenia for nonviolent and peaceful co-existence in the area.

P.S. Basic information about the campaign for Slovenia Without an Army followed

● To all friends of the peace movement on the planet

Ref. Aggression on Slovenia,
Message no. 3,
28. June 1991/ 17.00

Dear friends,

for years we did keep in touch and tried to inform and warn you about the situation in Yugoslavia. First about the violations of human rights, later about state-violence in Kosovo and throughout the past few years about the threats

of the federal state against Slovenian sovereignties.

What everybody feared did happen yesterday.. The federal government had ordered the federal military to invade Slovenia and take the power from the hands of the legitimate Slovenian authorities. The federal military is using all means of aggression including bombing and threats with chemical weapons. Slovenia found itself in a war. Most of the borders are closed. Many people died, soldiers and civilians, including some foreign reporters.

We did never judge the decision of Slovenian people to form their own state. But we did always judge the process, qualities and motivations accompanying this decisions. And again we had criticism of Slovenian behavior. The peace movement in Slovenia had been for years making all its efforts to

-promote peace politics in Slovenia versus the Yugoslav state, specially to maintain good communications with the other Yugoslav republics.

-stimulate foreign policy to engage seriously in Yugoslav crisis and enable mechanisms for nonviolent conflict resolution.

None of the two was successful. We are of the opinion, that Slovenian policy could be much more wise, specially we have criticism of its one sided measures concerning foreign policy and defence policy. We were always of the opinion that military logic and military preparations can never lead to constructive solutions, we did warn Slovenian government that the constitution of the Slovenian army can lead to crisis and we suggested alternative mechanisms. Despite our dissatisfaction we have to underline, that Slovenian policy did not perform any violent measure against any party. Our criticism of Slovenian government does not and can not offer any apologies of the three factors, which in our view contributed largely to the military occupation of Yugoslav state in Slovenia.

1. the militaristic and centralistic policy of the federal state, led by prime minister Mr. Markovič, which did prove in all cases of wide spread conflicts in Yugoslavia, that the federal state is ready to defend Status Quo with the most brutal methods and violations of human rights. Federal Government had ordered the intervention of the federal military and is fully responsible for the casualties and damage done.

2. international politics, which in our view gave full justification to Mr. Markovic to use the military against Slovenia, by supporting the Yugoslav state and not allowing any option for independence of the northern republics. Foreign public did not want to understand, that particular republics in Yugoslavia have constitutional right for self-determination and did not understand, that the rigid socialist power holders in Belgrade want to maintain full

and centralized power over the whole state.

3. the failure of the mechanisms of UN and CSCE to act before the conflict evolves into violent crisis. Even more, Secretary General of the UN De Cuellar did afford himself to make a statement today, expressing his "inability to make any comment on situation in Yugoslavia, since this was an internal problem of Yugoslavia".

International policy with USA and EC bear in our view whole responsibility for the violence of military in Slovenia. The peace movement should be aware of this fact and we are sorry to be drawn in a position to put it in such a hard way. International policy did once again after the Gulf War fail, despite of the fact, that it has been warned so many times about the worsening situation in the country. All the world knew about the possible scenarios in Yugoslavia and it did not find enough consideration to make a serious move to prevent violence. How many people must die for the world to make a stand against the violent and mad regimes?

We ask you to:

- interpret the events in Slovenia as a military intervention in a sovereign state of Slovenia and not as a civil war
- make pressure on your governments to accuse the military intervention of the federal government, request the cease of the fire and initiate negotiations
- request European governments to activate CSCE mechanisms for conflict resolution
- express criticism of the UN and make pressure to the security council to activate its mechanisms for peaceful solution of the conflict, and to initiate a peace conference under the auspices of the UN.

The first step must be to cease fire and freeze all further military activity of Yugoslav and Slovenian authorities. The next step is to provide mechanisms and conditions for negotiations. International politics should not be to judge the form of the state(s) in Balkans, but to insist on fair and nonviolent process of making decisions of the parties involved.

To all friends of the peace movement on the planet to the international public

PEACE PROPOSALS

Ref. Aggression on Slovenia,
Message no. 4, 4. July 1991/ 22.00

Dear friends

Hopefully the cease fire agreed today will last. But as you know, the conflict and tension is not over by ending the armed conflict. We learned a lot from the Gulf war, where the majority of casualties were "after" the war. We have the same fears concerning Yugoslavia. The tensions are extreme, the conflicts are various, militarization of the society in all republics is extreme, the concentration of

weapons also and finally, there was a soft military coup d'etat performed and as it seems a part of federal military leadership does not want to give up their power and does not want to surrender under the control of civil authorities. The variety of conflicts in Yugoslavia (Kosovo, Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia) remain unsolved and will if not approached with most serious considerations re-explode sooner or later. International public should take the war in Slovenia as a most serious warning.

This is why we ask you to pass forward the following demands and recommendations concerning the attitudes of international public and politics:

1. Request immediate cease fire of all parties, freeze of all offensive military operations and preparations, and request immediate start of political negotiations.
2. Recognition of the right for self-determination of the citizens of Slovenia as well as for any nation in Yugoslavia (i.e. Albanians in Kosovo, Serbs in Croatia etc.).
3. Offer good offices, mediations and supervisions using all international mechanisms and instruments available and provide additional legal grounds for international interventions which are according to present agreements not provided (this regards particularly the abstinence of UN in the approach to Yugoslav crisis).
4. Living all options for future political arrangements (confederation, separate states,...) on the territory of Yugoslavia open for negotiations and insist on fair, peaceful and democratic process of negotiations.
5. *Taking into consideration and seek solutions for all conflicts in Yugoslavia at the same time (Kosovo, Serbian regions within Croatia, Bosnian question), not only for the case of Slovenia.
6. Ban of all weapons export to Yugoslavia and envisage the options of demilitarized zones in the areas of conflicts.
7. Demand Yugoslav government and the governments of separate republics to oblige themselves during negotiations to elaborate a plan for social reconciliation and cultural, scientific, economic etc. cooperation to eliminate hatred amongst nations and establish basis for long lasting peace.

We thank you very much for all the help and consideration that you have expressed in the last few days.

P.S.* The point no. 5. made some misunderstanding amongst peace and conflict resolution people. They said that it is not possible to solve "all problems at the same time". It might be a bad phrasing, but what we meant was for all areas of crisis to be "taken into consideration" and that we should "seek solutions" at the same time, which means at once. Of course solutions could be found at different times - step by step.

Herein we include a declaration send to Slovenian authorities.

To the

**Government of Slovenia, Mr. Lojze Petric
Presidency of Slovenia, Mr. Milan Kučan**
Ljubljana, 4. July 1991

We strongly believe that the conflicts can only be solved if approached by wide social reconciliation and conflict resolution measures and by consistent peace politics performed by Slovene authorities.

We appeal Slovenian authorities to put on the agenda of negotiations with parties in conflict during the next days also the following items

- * unilateral peace treaties with the neighboring states
- * multilateral peace treaties with Yugoslav republics
- * multilateral agreement on the freeze of the federal military specially in the light of control over the federal military and its future disintegration.
- * agreement on freeze of any military activity in particular republics
- * establishment of peace and fully demilitarized zones in the areas of conflicts. We propose Slovenian authorities to put on agenda separately the option of Slovenia Without an Army as an expression of good will.
- * obligation of all parties to elaborate a plan for social reconciliation and cultural, scientific, economic etc. cooperation to eliminate hatred amongst nations, strengthen cooperation and understanding and establish basis for long lasting peace.

At the same time we appeal Slovenian authorities

- * to unilaterally declare the resignation of the use of violent means
- * to abstain from any one-sided measure which could be understood as provocation by any party
- * to abstain from the use of offensive language which can hurt the pride of people or representatives of parties involved
- * to elaborate the plan for demilitarization of highly militarized life in Slovenia
- * to demand international help for the above mentioned projects.

to the politicians, diplomats, officers, to the public

ABOUT THE ULTIMATUM

Ref. Aggression on Slovenia
Message No 5/An
6 July 1991 12.00

Friends

In the times of crisis, when it is hard to identify the parties involved, and when these parties did not articulate clearly their interests it is hard to start any fruitful negotiations and it is unproductive to defend particular positions and impose demands amongst opposing parties. The demands are even interpreted as ultimatums and the parties continue to stay in face of each other and not in face of the problem.

In such situation, the following sequence of issues should be negotiated:

- 1. Fixing the rules of the game**
 - identifying the parties in conflict (who is representing whom), clarifying competences,
 - assuring mediators and supervisors, including the agreement on the international assistance
 - identifying the levels of discussion (foreign ministers, presidential level, military, ...)
 - fixing the rules of the game in details (how many delegates, names, basic terminology etc.)
 - timing and place(s) of meetings
- 2. Fixing priorities**
 - cease fire
 - separation of armed troops
 - demilitarization
 - articulation of the interests
 - articulation of starting positions
- 3. Negotiations**
 - about interests
 - about positions
 - about solutions

It is evident that the position of Slovenia to maintain the state of affairs achieved on 26. Jun oppose radically the position of the Yugoslav government and Yugoslav presidency requesting the state of affairs to be restored as it was before the 35. Jun. It is therefore not really productive to start negotiations with the most difficult issue, when there are necessary agreements to be made on less problematic fields. In the times of extreme tension, the smallest agreement is of great value (i.e. cooperation in the field of culture)

The role of international community should also be to request the fulfillment of the first two points

mentioned and to offer good offices and mediators. It is not really productive for international community to declare or decide on any of the solution given by particular party involved in the conflict.

To start negotiations repeating the contradictory positions without having an agreement on the procedure and on rules of the game can easily escalate in a new crisis. It is not as much important what political solution we will arrive to, but it is important that the process will be peaceful and least traumatic and it is important for all interests to be satisfied as much as possible. To satisfy this goal the environment and the conditions must be created in which parties will be allowed to hear each other.

● VOTE FOR PEACE AND NOT FOR THE WAR

Ref. Aggression on Slovenia
Message No 6/An
8 July 1991 17.00

In this message we only appealed Slovenian parliament, to have enough wisdom to accept the terms in Brioni declaration, and to allow themselves to make a step back (restore the state of affairs from 25. June) and make space for negotiations and peaceful process to begin.

The 10. July the Brioni declaration was accepted by all parties - by international observers and mediators, a Troika led by Dutch foreign minister Den Bruk, Yugoslav Government, representatives of the military and Slovenian negotiators. Slovenia became a recognized party in a dialogue and the first condition for negotiations is fulfilled. Lets keep in mind, that Slovenia is just a simple case. It needed an armed conflict to gain recognition. If all future cases that follow will have to go through the same experience, there will be dozens of armed conflicts all over Europe. The damage and casualties will be much bigger than in Slovenia, where the approximate numbers are more than 300 wounded, 65 dead, 2.500 captured (federal troops) and 2B\$ material damage. Only in one day of armed struggles between Serbian terrorists and Croatian police in Slavonia (Croatia), 45 people died just when the conflict in Slovenia was coming to an end. If the virus of military resolution will not be stopped, the large part of Europe will soon suffer very much.

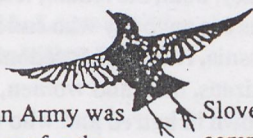
means of defence of Slovenia and moderate diplomacy, both, Slovenian, federal and international. If there is anybody who can stop bloodshed in Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedoni and further, these are citizens, man and women, who will not allow to be drown in hatred and who will disobey any military activity.

Everybody is asking, what will happen in Yugoslavia. Everything is possible is the most usual answer. The situation is extremely tense and hot, the population is under arms, militarization of societies and of politics is extreme. Any moment we can expect new escalations. Vertical conflicts must be controlled by international community, horisontal conflicts are not under control of anybody except of the people themselves. Again, for the peace movement the process and the values and principles accomanying it are important and not the future forms of the state(s). In this light, we still see the project of Slovenia without an army of same relevancy. Slovenia can either become a generator of peace proposals and activities, in open communication with the south, or can become a tampon between Europe and Balkans. Both options it can realize as a separate state or in union with other republics. The quality of relations will be important. The vision is independent Slovenia, with balanced relations to all for directions of the world and with much involvement and investment into the process of nonviolent conflict resolution in Balkans. Yugoslavia can not exist any more in the present form. Those who can't accept this reality, are far from being able to find any solution. Even most orthodox generals accepted the fact, that Slovenia wants to decide on its own (self-determination). At the same time Slovenia can not survive without close links to the South and can not (of course not) simply throw itself into the arms of mother Europe¹² (we should write Europe^{1/2}, which would mean one half (1/2) of Europe). Neither of the following two options should be allowed 1. "Europe" to create its new psychological borders including Slovenia and living the rest out, and 2. to maintain the status quo of old empires. Slovenia is a good case to try and make new independent states a bridge between the two worlds. And in this light the question of demilitarized zones (states without an army) could be negotiated. A Story of Unique Opportunity, which is published later on in this issue and was written on the eve of independence and a day before the armed confrontation, is therefore a relevant story also for the future.

Ljubljana, 21. July 1991

If there is somebody who won the armed conflict in Slovenia, than it is disobedience of federal soldiers and officers, unefitency of the military, non-military

A Story of The Unique Opportunity



8 The idea of Slovenia Without an Army was launched in 1989 by The movement for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence. The movement was of course strongly impressed and encouraged by these fantastic Swiss people, having a referendum on abolition of the army in Switzerland in November 1989 and reaching a hardly believable score of 35.6% of people for the abolition. During the autumn 1989 the idea of Slovenia Without an Army was fully adopted by Liberal Democratic Party, a year later by Green Party of Slovenia, and during this spring also by The Party of Democratic Reform, The Union of Social Democrats, The Party of Grey Panthers and partially by Slovene Socialist Party. The idea for Slovenia Without an Army is supported by more than 80 social groups joining Metelkova Network, the Network, of which the goal is to convert the many military barracks in urban cities for civilian use, mainly for cultural and social activities. The final touch of the campaign was initiated early this spring with the Declaration for peace, which was until now signed by more than 25000 people national-wide. Amongst first signatories of the declaration which we publish herein in a whole, were Dr. Janez Drnovšek, member of presidium of Yugoslavia, four members of Slovenian presidium, Mr. Milan Kučan, Dr. Dušan Plut, Mr. Ciril Zlobec and Mr. Matjaž Kmecl, several ministers of Slovenian government and hundreds of well known figures of several professions and interests.

This is an identity card of the initiative in a nutshell. The question that is asked most often by domestic and international public is, if Slovenia could afford abolition of the army in this times of crisis accompanying the process of independence. How can idea of abolition of the army grow in the atmosphere of tension? Is non-armed option possible in the case of Slovenian independence?

What are the facts?

1. Slovenia decided on the plebiscite, December 1990 for independence and is performing it rapidly. The last event was Jun 26. when independence was formally declared in Slovenia as well as in Croatia.
2. Yugoslav army still controls Slovenian land. Federal Government still controls a series of state functions.
3. As a part of official defence doctrine of Yugoslav total defence, Slovenia had developed a widely structured system of Territorial defence and is now upgrading it in direction of

Slovene national military force. It is based on general conscription as compulsory attribute of male citizenship.

4. International politics does not support independence of particular republics in Yugoslavia.

The idea of the peace movement was, for Slovenia to promote itself by offering to its neighbors a peace zone on its territory. The idea was, to execute all decisions in nonviolent way and in a spirit of consensus with Yugoslav partners. Slovenia has good grounds on which it could base such a strategy - a decade of civilian resistance and social struggle for democracy. It is hard to judge whether the federal institutions were more violent before than they are now. Democracy was won without any repressive force and once achieved, the state decided to defend it with military means. The fact is, that Slovene government did not decide to continue the process of self-determination with nonviolent means.

A further and important fact is that the dialogue in Yugoslavia is hardly possible. Federal institutions do not work, federal presidency (at the same time supreme commander of the Federal military) does not exist any more, there is no frame for the negotiations.

The peace movement suggested several alternative ways for conflict resolution. But the government rejected them. Of course it did, everybody would say. But it was not so obvious for us here in Slovenia. We did grow hopes that the garniture which came into power from "our circles" would be much more brave and decisive and would draw a different line, based on tradition of nonviolent social struggle throughout 80-ies. But this did unfortunately not happen. The peace movement and all political groups, who joined the idea had made a lot to draw the line of the government in the direction of qualities described above, but were not successful. The biggest opportunity was missed by The Green Party of Slovenia, which is a part of the Governmental coalition. They had a chance to block the appearance of the Slovenian Army, but their parliamentarians did not use the chance. They rather voted for repressive measures. The Greens in Slovenia had unique chance to play a decisive role during the process of initiation of the state. But they got lost in uniformity of governing coalition.

The opportunity to abolish the army with a political decision is gone for a time. And so is lost the opportunity for Slovenia to promote itself with the qualities of demilitarization, democracy and human rights. And so is lost the opportunity for Slovenia to contribute a large share of peaceful input into the solution of Yugoslav crisis. On contrary, military lobby is constituted in Slovenia, military mentality is built after the idea of the honorable Slovenian soldier was lunched and promoted, the conflict with Yugoslavia remained unsolved and creates stress and crisis each now and then, and finally, Slovenia promotes its independence by showing muscles, uniforms and new border check points (with the republic of Croatia). The result is (and will perpetuate) in more military mentality, in more violence on streets and in violent nationalism which penetrated in the character of Slovenians. Slovenians are becoming more and more close minded, racist and violent.

The peace movement did its best to change the course. It was of the opinion, that strict loyalty to the idea of nonviolent struggle would enable Slovenia to satisfy its goals. Slovenian government did not buy

How can idea of abolition of the army grow in the atmosphere of tension? Is non-armed option possible in the case of Slovenian independence?

the idea regardless the fact, that quite

some friends from the democratic opposition came into most crucial power positions (inner minister, Mr. Bavčar, was a head of Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, defence minister, Mr. Janša, was collaborating with the Peace Movements throughout 80-ies, foreign minister, Mr. Rupel, was active in oppositional revue Nova Revija and in other intellectual and cultural movements, etc., all contributing to the publication of the peace movement, that you have been receiving throughout 80-ies - Independent Voices from Slovenia). many of the measures Slovenian government decided for were passed on the basis of one-sided decision, and particularly the issue of the Slovenian army created lots of tension with the federal state. The peace movement was of the opinion that patience and strict insistence on democratic procedures and negotiations could lead to more peaceful results.

The international politics did not help much the nonviolent conflict resolution. Its united reaction "that they (USA, EC, particular states) would not support the independence of particular republics in Yugoslavia, does not help much. International politics did once again lose a chance, to request and assist the process of nonviolent conflict resolution and negotiation. It did not sufficiently offer the services, offices and knowledge for such process and it did not use its powers for Yugoslav republics to sit and negotiate. International politics did fall again. It issued its position instead of giving its assistance into a process of negotiations.

So, everybody actually failed again and

the result will be bad. There will be a series of long-on-going low-intensity conflicts on the land of Yugoslavia (Serbs in Croatia, Albanians in Serbia.), manifesting in terrorism of Northern Ireland type and in large militarization of societies. The peace movement in Slovenia will insist on the abolition of the army in Slovenia, since it believes, that in this way, Slovenia could invest (time, energy, money) into social, political, environmental, cultural etc. sanation of military thinking and military hardware. But at the same time the peace movement is aware, that we will have to deal with much more day-to-day violence, both, state and subversive terrorism, racist nationalisms and reviving of patriarchal structures. This is the reason why we hurry building structures for work which is inevitably in front of us. Structures for peace in a scheme of the Active Global Peace Policy, which includes scientific centres (peace research), education programs (peace education), community organizing (movements), political lobby and relations to state diplomacy.

Since the abolition of military (thinking and hardware) did unfortunately not become a domain of the official policy, the work will have to be done by people themselves. There is an option for direct democracy (referendum requested from below) in Slovenian constitution and we are getting ready to use this option and ask the people to abolish the army by themselves.

By Marko Hren

June 26th 1991



MIROVNI INŠTITUT - PEACE INSTITUTE

Opening of a Peace Institute in Ljubljana

The Movement for the culture of Peace and Non-violence has just founded an independant research centre, privately funded and non-profit institution.

Its activities will be the following:

1. Research

- in phenomena of violence in the widest sense i.e. civil society/ state, inter-states violence, economy, environment, family, men/ women, children, etc...
- conflict, conflict resolution
- non-violent methods of security and defence system
- peace education
- conversion of military economy for civilian purposes

2. Education

- of post-graduate students for the above stated fields

3. Cooperation

- with the research centres and universities elsewhere in the world
- with international institutions dealing with peace, education, security and development

We offer cooperation in collaborative studies in the fields of transition in central Europe, the role of civil society, ethnical minorities and national questions and conflicts.

Yugoslavia: The State of affairs

Instability in the Balkans has not always remained confined to that region. Thus the concern of the political forces East and West to keep what appears to them to be destructive and disestablishing developments in Yugoslavian politics within tolerable limits is understandable. Yugoslavia continues to threaten peace and security in the region. However, the international community's lack of understanding of what is happening there, has contributed to the crisis rather than eased tensions.

Peace and security, for the international community, primarily means stability; for the people actually living in Yugoslavia, it is principally the question of democracy. Far too often stability has been given priority over democracy. Yet, we still have not learnt the lesson that democracy, with all its weaknesses and disorders, represents in the long run a much more firm guarantee of peace and security than any false order preserved in the interest of the geo-political status-quo.

In our case, the greater part of the international community has understood stability to depend on the preservation of an unitary Yugoslavian state. The claims of the representatives of the democratically elected governments of the Northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia that sovereign Yugoslavian nation-states should renegotiate a possible new Yugoslavian union, have so far failed to gain any real international support.

The preservation of Yugoslavia, as advocated by the international community, rests on two major misconceptions. The first is that the political forces in the country who opt for a unique state are actually advocating a federation of free and equal nations. These forces have an idiosyncratic understanding of who constitutes a "nation" in Yugoslavia and may, consequently, have any say in the creation of a future settlement. Albanians, for example, the third strongest ethnic community in the country, are denied this status. The aim of such "Yugoslavism" is to secure the hegemony of one's nation in the future unitary state (which often comes very close to the idea of serbian administrative and military domination) or to strengthen one's position in the expected partition of the country in order to occupy a larger territory (the claims, for example, that all territories populated with Serbs should join the great Serbian state).

The second misconception is that a unitary Yugoslavian state still exists. In fact there are no functioning federal institutions. They have

ceased to exist (the Yugoslavian communist Party and its replicates); or become powerless (the federal government); or sided with one of the particular forces (the Yugoslavian army with the Serbian-led antireformist forces); or been captured, in their Belgrade's offices, by the serbian coalition under Milošević. The Yugoslavian constitution is not respected and there is no effective Yugoslavian legislation. Moreover, as a leading sloven commentator Ervin Hladnik Milharčič has pointed out, there is not even one single all-Yugoslavian conflict. Indeed, all the conflicts are of local nature and have local consequences. **Yugoslavia is nothing but the common denominator of a number of conflicts that have nothing else in common. Yugoslavia is a state of affairs rather than a state.**

International support for a politically nonexistent state is self-defeating. Greater support for the so-called secessionist policy of the Northern republics is not necessary a wiser course. The policy of "secession" is primarily the way these republics, based on ideological schemes and public emotion rather than on real interests. These policies are an integral part of the present Yugoslavian reality and would, in their current form, hardly survive the final disintegration of the state. In this respect, they are illusionary policies. Should secession actually occur, it would be, at this time, an act of despair with unpredictable consequences. What should be prevented, of course, is not secession but despair.

There is no simple solution for the Yugoslavian crisis yet the principled answer is simple: democracy. However, it remains undecided whether the preservation or destruction of the present Yugoslavia is more likely to promote democratic developments.

The mere perpetuation of Yugoslavia would be utterly detrimental to democracy. The preservation of Yugoslavia can only be the result, not the precondition, of democratization. The possible democratization of Serbia would be of decisive importance in this respect. Without it, there are no prospect for a future Yugoslavian "common home".

I am not a great admirer of the post-communist governments of Slovenia and Croatia. In the sloven case, the new rulers to have irresponsibly wasted the democratic capital accumulated in more than a decade of independent social struggles. What they have created instead of an open and tolerant society is a regime best described as nationalistic democracy. Yet one cannot deny that this is basically a democratic system. A "democratic revolution" has also happened in Croatia. Serbia, on the contrary, has escaped a democratic turmoil. It remains the undemocratic Yugoslavian republic. That is why the recent demonstrations in Belgrade not only attracted so much attention but were also invested with great hopes. There are no firm reasons yet to believe that these demonstrations represent a "democratic turn" in Serbia.

Serbian authorities under Milošević have demonstrated that their praised "democracy" is nothing but "bludgeoning of the people by the people for the people". They and their servile medias hastened to accuse the discontented on the streets of splitting the unity of the serbian nation. While I am far from supporting the nationalist opposition leader Drašković, he has to be credited with trying to assert an irreconcilable political division in Serbia. The division between the communists in power and anti-communist may well be a primitive one yet it represents,

Yugoslavia is nothing but the common denominator of a number of conflicts that have nothing else in common. Yugoslavia is a state of affairs rather than a state.

nonetheless, elementary political

pluralism. Students, on the other hand, who for some days occupied the central square in Belgrade, declared themselves apolitical and beyond political parties and divisions. The language they spoke was the language of youth and non corrupt. Democracy rests on discussing political differences. The language of youth and virtue is not a distinctive democratic language. On the contrary, it contains a frightening undemocratic potential.

It is significant that Milošević chose students(not Drašković) as his dialogue partner. This time, students did not applaud Milošević. The meeting between them, however, this mutual recognition and legitimation, symbolically healed the wound afflicted to the national body by the violent demonstrations.

This conclusion might be considered speculative. However, there is a standard by which the degree of democratization in Serbia may be precisely determined: the attitudes of Serbs to the ethnic Albanians in the ex-autonomous region of Kosovo.

The Kosovo question was not discussed during the Belgrade events. This is of major significance for at least two reasons. First, Belgrade students have on more than one occasion gone onto the streets to demand the imposition of martial law on Kosovo or, much simpler, arms to go to

Kosovo themselves and settle accounts

with Albanians. During the recent demonstrations, the students did not indicate that they were reconsidering their attitude towards Kosovo.

Kosovo is (which is the second, more general reason) the place where the human rights and civil liberties of the Albanian majority population are violated and denied to a degree unknown today anywhere else in Europe. The Serbian democratic Party, the strongest democratic group in opposition, seems to be aware of the problem yet has decided to deal with it after the Serbia itself is democratized. This logic of "two phases" (so well known in the communist eastern Europe) has all too often proved to be deceiving. There is never the right time for the second "phase" to begin; and it is difficult to imagine a democratic order being built without grasping with the most undemocratic reality as its heart. Democratization in Serbia is not possible unless human rights abuses end in Kosovo. No political force in Serbia which does not strive to stop the genocide policy against Albanians in Kosovo and to abolish the apartheid-like structures in the region can call itself democratic. Democratic development in Serbia (which could open the prospect of a democratic reconstruction of Yugoslavia) has from the start to include democracy for Kosovo Albanians. If the international community desires peace and security in the region it has to understand this point.

By Tomaz Mastnak

London, Maj 1991

11

S E M I N A R

NON-VIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION : THE CASE OF YUGOSLAVIA

LJUBLJANA, 26-27-28 SEPTEMBER

This seminar, initiated by the new-born Peace Institute in Ljubljana, will constitute the first session, the opening of a longer-term exchange concerning the non-violent conflict in Yugoslavia.

The Ljubljana's meeting, as a starting point, will attempt to portray of the conflicts situation in Yugoslavia (religious, national, social...). 40 to 45 participants from all over Yugoslavia, novelists, professors, researchers in sociology, politics, philosophy..., will gather and define a common methodology. (how to build up a conflict resolution strategy)

A book has to be published by Tonči Kuzmanić, presenting the conclusions of this reflection, a translation in English will follow.

The 2nd session due to take place in Austria in November 91 should consist in the presentation of the above conclusions to 25 experts from all over the world, this being followed by a discussion, an exchange of experiences. The contact should be kept afterwards.

The 3rd session will be to elaborate proposals for non-violent resolution of the Yugoslav conflict.

At the 4th session opportunity will be given to this assembly of scientists to face politicians of all Yugoslavia, and present the proposals of the 3rd session

At the 5th session, the final proposals in terms of resolution of the conflict should be written, and a new book published in several languages.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia

The problems which Yugoslavia faces seem to be numerous. Looking from the outside everything seems so unpredictable. More often this is the reason why people withdraw from their attempt to understand it. And yet there are some quite stable features which make it possible to grasp this relatively complex situation. First, what has to be done in order to understand Yugoslavia's disintegration processes is to abandon existing ideological oversimplifications (either in Yugoslavia or abroad) about the "First" (1918-1941) and "Second" (1943-) Yugoslavias, about good and bad Yugoslavias. In communist terms, the "first" Yugoslavia was the bad one (bourgeois, exploitation, "prison of the nation" ...), and the second was the good one (self-management, the end of exploitation, freedom for all people and nations...). A mirror picture of events comes from the anti-communist point of view and is merely an inverted communist.

1-

In the case of Yugoslavia the present day disintegration chiefly tends to reinstate the situation of 1918. (The exception is Slovenia because Slovenes mostly prefer separation from Belgrade). The crucial point of 1918 is that the so called "First Yugoslavia" had not been born at that time at all! An empirically verifiable fact is that in 1918, two states were created, but none of them was Yugoslavia. "The first was the state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs" (SCS). In today's confrontations the experience of this state is the most important point for Croatia and in part for Slovenia. The borders of that "SCS-state" were roughly the borders of the western part of today's Yugoslavia. The eastern borders were on the river Drina, which made the border between Austro-hungary and Serbia before the First World War (for orientation, at that border the First World War started after the assassination in Sarajevo in 1914!). The SCS was the state of those nations which for centuries had tried to survive inside the Austro-hungarian empire under the mythological and ideological umbrella of so-called "Yugoslavhood" (the name Yugoslavia means the state of the South Slavs). At the moment, when the Austro-Hungarian empire collapsed, Slovenes, Croats, Istrians, Dalmatians, Bosnians and those Serbs who lived inside the Austro-Hungarian empire built up their own state with capital in Zagreb. But this state (without an army...) endured only a month. In the very moment of the new state's development (1918), Italy started to call in the

promises which it had got from the First World War allies to occupy parts of the Adriatic coast.

2-

Consequently, the SCS-state was forced to look for army protection. The Serbian kingdom was that force (and a part of Allies too) which gave its army. The result of this armed participation was not Yugoslavia, but a new kind of state. Again SCS, but in the name of the "new-new" state, Slovenes were now replaced in precedence by Serbs. The "new-new" state was named as the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes". The first SCS state, which was intended to be liberal-democratic parliamentary, multicultural and multinational, was replaced by monarchy with the exclusive rule of the Serbian royal house. To put it briefly, in order to preserve their territory, the western part of the today's Yugoslavia had joined the Serbian Kingdom together with Serbs and Montenegrins to form a state. But the incompatibility between at least two different political, cultural, national and religious... structures resulted in Serbian dictatorship. In 1929 the Serbian king declared a "direct relationship" between himself and the "people", abolished parliament and the constitution and announced a "new state": the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Hence, Yugoslavia was born as a monarchy, as a dictatorship of the Serbian Kingdom in 1929 and not before! The first task for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was building the "yugoslav nation". But the second world war came too fast.

In 1941, Yugoslavia was occupied and divided by several neighboring countries (Germany, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria...). The goal was to destroy the state. Inside each nation appeared a division between collaborators with the occupational forces and the "People's liberation movement" (Tito's partisans). Fratricides lasted five years, quisling structures set up. According to some estimates, 60% of the population was killed in struggles inside a single nation or between nations, and only 40% in battles against the occupying forces. The number of people killed was between one, and, one and half a million. The country was completely destroyed.

The winners of the Second World War in Yugoslavia seemed to be the Communists. However, as a result of the war and so-called social(ist) revolution, the only winner was that force which used violence, the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA). Ypa was and still is an Army of the Communist Party, in spite of the fact that, the old Communist Party formally no longer exists. (Last year, army officers, almost all old generals, built a new Communist Party in order to stand in Federal elections. The main point of the party's program was the "integrity of the state").

3-

There are two main differences between Yugoslav and Soviet Communism (the split between them took place in 1948). At the national level Tito's Yugoslavia became a federal community of equal nations and nationalities as a result of the separate resistance of Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, and Macedonian people against German, and Italian occupation. They were equal in the meaning of equality before the law of the Communist party. The leading role of the Serbian Kingdom and also of the Serbian People in such a period of monarchy was replaced by communist ideology and the ideology

of the Yugoslavhood (in this discontinuity lie most of the frustrations in today's Serbia). Secondly, Tito's concept of communism also had some features of "anarchism". It was less ascetic and more enjoyable in comparison with the soviet type. During the first two post-war decades, economic development in Yugoslavia was strong, even in comparison with certain western societies and industries.

But in the seventies and especially in the eighties the communist machine start to get tired. The system built from one marble slab started to crack, first between nations and religions and also between relatively developed and underdeveloped parts of the state. After Tito's death the communist system continued, headless, to work. It has become clear that Tito as a person was in fact an integral part of the system and that his death was at the same time the death of the self-management system as a whole. Radicalization of the innumerable differences and conflicts has led to the present situation. On one side there are trends to build nation-state constitutions (in every single part of Yugoslavia) and on the

By Tonči Kuzmanić

The crucial point of 1918 is that the so called "First Yugoslavia" had not been born at that time at all! An empirically verifiable fact is that in 1918, two states were created, but none of them was Yugoslavia.

other side stands the supranational ideology and power of the Yugoslav People's Army.

4-

It is obvious that today's Yugoslavia tends to split into pieces. It may split into those pieces which constituted the first SCS state in 1918, the state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, and also into new states which have appeared in the meantime: Bosnians (so-called "Muslims"), Albanians, Macedonians. Moreover, it is necessary to add numerous postmodern drives for regionalisation (Istria, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, Voivodina, Sandjak...). Of course, all these processes of disintegration are going on without liberalization on the level of the individual, and slow development of a distinction between the state and civil society. Whilst the mythological and ideological oppositions among nation-states are exaggerated, differences and conflicts inside each nation-state are completely trodden down. Concentrated social tensions are waiting for "better times". But it is not impossible that strikes and other forms of social dissatisfaction will increase. This is only a question of time.

Ljubljana, May 1991

13

S E M I N A R

INTER-CULTURAL LEARNING SEMINAR IN INDIA

(21th February-13th March)

The Center for the culture of peace and non-violence in Ljubljana is initiating a two weeks seminar together with Landnun University, gathering 15 to 25 participants from our part.

The aim is to learn about non-violence tradition in India, current problems in this country as well as their way of resolution. The program is planned until now to be the following:

- Jain religion, *historical view*
- Jain Visha Bharati, *presentation*
- Anuvrat movement, *presentation*
- Preksha meditation, *presentation and practice (if wanted)*
- Science of living
- Additional lectures (*peace education,*

Gandhi's heritage, buddism and other religions in India, Communalism, Women-issues, ...)

Being invited by Landnun University, the accomodation and full board will be free of charge. The only cost for each participant will therefore be the travel expenses (estimated around 1000 DM).

For the third week (following the seminar), we are offered to split in three groups travelling each in a different part of India, re-assembling in New-Delhi to have an evaluation.

As the group is not totally constituted yet, you are welcome to join. All further informations available from the centre.

There is certainly not a large number of people in Slovenia who met an owl in their life, and in this matter they are surely not an exception in Europe. But, they are strongly affected by its power than anywhere else at the moment. Not just by the owl from Tween Peaks, which is (except a war on horizon) the most popular theme in everyday debates for last couple of weeks. Or, maybe just by this one, if there is some truth in Agent Cooper's famous words, "Owls are not what they seem."



On the bottom stayed its creators signatures. It was variegated association where Marko Hren's, Tomaž Mastnak's and Janez Janša's signatures were friendly linked. Janša became defense ministry after elections and the way

he fulfilled these demands is more than interesting. With (ministers and DEMOSs) common exertions new and sovereign state started to import arm weapons, likely to fulfill a demand for suspension of military trading. All other demands were accomplished on similar way as well. Instead of international political marketing of DEMILITARIZED AREA in Slovenia new government is establishing national army, instead of military dismantling all Slovenians are conscripted etc.

However, peace movement didn't loose all expectations from new authorities. On 14th of October 1990 we submit new project called SLOVENIAN PEACE OPTION, to Slovenian presidency. We stood for peaceful conflict solution in Balkan area. At that time Slovenian state establishment was to busy with creating its own power. National problem we mentioned seemed too marginal and they didn't have enough money to buy 3 or 4 plane tickets for conflict resolution experts which offered us their assistance. Not later than few months after, when nations in Yugoslavia started to slaughter each other, Slovenian representative in Yugoslavian presidency, mr. Drnovšek, invited conflict resolution group of experts from Harvard and it seems that he did it without Slovenian authorities having been acknowledged.

Finally we realized that Slovenian state (as any other, we should know that before) cannot be our partner. That's why we initiated new action. Until today, more than 20.000 signatures (Slovenia has less than 2.000.000 citizens) were collected under the PEACE DECLARATION. According to some public opinion surveys more than 40% of people supports the main demand which is; "In new constitution there must be formulation - Republic

Slovenia is demilitarized state." and about 30% are not resolved yet. New constitution is to be adopted very soon and if politicians cannot make a consensus, (there is a large gap between parties which support demilitarization and others which effort for strong Slovenian army), then the citizens should be consulted. The least authorities must do in such circumstances is to ordinance referendum about this issue.

But even if this owls trial would not succeed (government pays high expenses for advertising campaign in favour of Slovenian army) it's obvious that its intrigue struck roots too deep into national subconsciousness and fruits will come sooner or later.

By Sašo Gazdič

SOVA

(the slovene abbreviation for Slovenija=Slovenia, Odpravi=Abolish, Vojaški=Military, Aparat=Apparatus) what means THE OWL, was born in early eighties out of hippie, punk and anarchistic atmosphere in Slovenia. At that time it was deep in illegal waters. Later, when the movement becomes stronger, large number of oppositional thinkers ideologically supported it. In 1989, on Youth organization congress, which became an umbrella for social movements, one of owl's initiatives was officially presented for the first time.

INITIATIVE FOR SLOVENIA, DEMILITARIZED COUNTRY, put some demands which became central impetuses towards the big changes in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Its first demand was foundation of independent commission in Slovenian parliament for closely examination of areas and consequences of militarization. After the elections (in spring 1990), when the foundation was achieved but all questions (about industry, research institutions, cadres, expenses, cadres etc. involvement in militarization) stayed without answers according to merits of new an "democratic" governmental coalition members in this commission, which also prohibited to ask further questions.

All further demands as, for example, one for foundation of working group which aim ought to be preparation of so called "Universal Security Concept" instead of military security, or introduction of peace education in schools instead of military education, had same fate as the previous one. They were frozen in winter which came right after wonderful "Slovenian spring". Ironically, protagonists in both are the same.

How strong the initiative was, is evident from another important document which was created on 22nd of march 1990, just before the elections. It is supraparty INITIATIVE FOR DEMILITARIZED SLOVENIA. According to this document almost all parties (and most of partners which became governmental coalition called DEMOS after elections) respected demilitarization as a topic in their programs.

SOVA

(the slovene abbreviation for Slovenija=Slovenia, Odpravi=Abolish, Vojaški=Military, Aparat=Apparatus)

what means THE OWL, was born in early eighties out of hippie, punk and anarchistic atmosphere in Slovenia.

10 years efforts for recognition CO in Slovenia

The peace movement "Gibanje za kulturo miru in nenasilja" (Movement for peace culture and nonviolence) from Ljubljana has been recognized for social assertion of human rights, for rights of peace in all levels of human being.

Issued from the general declaration, prepared by the Commission of the United Nations about Human rights (article 18), from the Resolution of European parliament (October 1989_ and from the International agreement about civilian and political rights (article 18), we oriented our energy in offering support to all persons, whose personal conscience was in opposite with the constitution.

It was not possible to prevent objectors not to be imprisoned but after the elections the Right of conscientious objectors in Slovenia were affirmed to that point, where we now can make effort and decision about this on legal level.

Issued from our point of view, peace movement prepared the proposals for the new Slovenian constitution and Slovenian law where the status of CO are treated in cooperation with the new Slovenian government. We considered experiences of conscientious objectors and the most progressive legislation in that countries where the draft compulsory is. The solutions are in direct connection of the nature of military service which will be defined in the new Slovenian constitution (expected in first quarter of 1992).

Our effort was straighted in direction where effort CO will be threatened as person who refuse handling weapons and who refuse collaboration in any activities which are in connection with military goals or institutions. Peace movement emphasizes that Republic of Slovenia has to find the solutions for all derivations of CO.:

1. for non-armed military service
 2. for civil service, which is an alternative for those who refuse military service
 3. for total CO who refuse military and civil service-draft could be nonsense
- The acceptance of civil service is depending on the solutions like:
- .the way of recognition and checking the validation of CO
 - .the way of punishment
 - .duration of civil service
 - .term of the work and possibilities of

Our effort was straighted in direction where effort CO will be threatened as person who refuse handling weapons and who refuse collaboration in any activities which are in connection with military goals or institutions.

choosing the most suitable work in civil institutions
It is very important to consider the following:

- .that no commission or court of justice can declare the consciences of any individual.
- .the personal declaration is sufficient to get the status of CO

CO is personal belief of civil person and only civil institutions are able to decide about consequences of CO. For refusing military service are valid all motives, from ethnical, philosophical, religious, moral to political and ideological. Nobody can't force somebody to make something what is in opposite of his objection.

On 19th of April, 1991 the Parliament of Republic Slovenia accepted the new law about military compulsory. The duration of civil and military service are equalized. But civil service is not regulated with civil law-it is under military control, and it's coordinated with ministry of defence.

Our standpoint is: CO can not be treated on the same way as military obligation; CO can not be under military control and punishment policy.

We can not agree with that article where the validation of CO is checked by special commission, constituted by sociologists, psychologists, doctors, members of military and internal ministry.

In this law the problem of total objectors is mentioned only in the article which defines the punishment policy.

Our proposal was that total objector could get the opportunity to pay one or two monthly salary and his problem would be solved for ever.

We don't agree that civil service is available only in Slovenia. Objectors could help in international humanitarian actions.

Also our remark is that in the law there is no article which would regulate the possibilities for CO to declare themselves as such during military serving.

On the other hand it is well known that every free person has a right to change his own personal decision.

by Janez Doberšek

Demilitarization of Slovenia and national security

In May 1991, the Scientific and Publishing Center in Ljubljana is going to publish a new book: "The demilitarization of Slovenia and national security" (edited by Anton Grizold and Ljubica Jelušič from Security Studies Department, Faculty for Sociology, Political Science and Journalism in Ljubljana). The main purpose of publishing the proceedings on such topic is to intervene in public debate about future national security system in Slovenia, especially by scientific and analytic approach. It means also a special contribution to the political decisions in Slovenia to become more professional and more fact oriented. The editors hope that the proceedings will help the option of Slovenia's demilitarization to be the one of the same political value in comparison with the option of slovenian army as a core of slovenian national security system in the future.

The proceedings "Demilitarization of Slovenia and National Security" concludes two main, rounded up wholes. The first one is named Words, Notions and Things. It consists of all those contributions defining Demilitarization and the boundary phenomena as well as those analyzing the processes and the phenomena within Demilitarization itself. The second whole is placed into space and Time. In this part of the book are associated the views upon the possibilities of Demilitarization in Slovenia in the space (in Europe, Yugoslavia, Slovenia) and in time.

Notions, Words, Things

In this part of the proceedings, the Demilitarization is defined as the opposite process of militarization. However the following problems are also being placed here: the relationship between the process of Demilitarization and the state of demilitarism; the relation towards Demilitarization; political violence and the use of force in the international relations and human conscience; the relationship towards civil defence; the processes of peace and military education as a direction of development of new values; the main dilemmas in connection with conversion of military industry and in connection with the statistics of warfare.

Anton Grizold explains the modern approaches towards the conception of militarization and militarism and faces these with the conception of Demilitarization. He states that the process of Demilitarization itself does not represent a model of national security system but it has to be its primary element. Nowadays, the process of Demilitarization will be able to have the actual perspective only in connection with the mechanism for security assurance in the modern period and in connection with the responding changes in international relations.

Darko Lubi defines Demilitarization from the aspect of etymology and semantics as well as the presence of a qualitative and quantitative aspect in the process of Demilitarization itself. In setting the relationship between Demilitarization and disarmament he states that the disarmament is a part of the process of Demilitarization but not in the sense of strengthening the civil values and standards. The presence of actual disarmament is the term for the evaluation that Demilitarization is really going on. Disarmament in the sense of permanent absence of all kinds of arms overcomes the state of demilitarism in terms of the elimination of all kinds of specialized means for performing physical violence forever.

Ramses A. Wessel speaks about the necessity for overcoming the political violence in the international organization. He states that the attention must be redirected from the states and war towards other manifestations or political violence which grow outside the states and must therefore be mastered on the supranational or interstate level.

Jelena Leonidovna Dubko also deals with the problem of political violence, but she, as a doctor of philosophy, sees it more in the ethical sense. In her contribution, she comes out of incompatibility of violence with humanity. She defines the ethics of violence as ethics of the evil non resistance.

Marjan Malešič introduces into discussion on Demilitarization a new notion, civil defence. It is interesting that the civil defence can be a part of the security concept with army as well as without it. In both cases it has to be structurally accommodated. There is a stronger belief that the transfer of the center of national security to the system of civil defence will lead much sooner to the Demilitarization of the society than this shall happen simply with army abolition.

Ljubica Jelušič defines the processes of political socialization from the view of the role of the army and school. The process of accommodation of army and army profession to democratic changes in the society can be understood, as a specific form of Demilitarization. On the other hand the school would (with the introduction of peace education as a subject, as the educational principle and one of the characteristics of the entire school structure) mostly contribute to the socialization of non-military values.

Vojko Kuzma represents the technological views of Demilitarization and he states that conversion as redirection of purpose of some industry is continuously going on. He finds the arguments for this in the competitiveness of cost reduction per unit, productivity and quality increase. At demand for conversion of military industry and technology, it is actually the change of their purpose in question.

Ivan Lah tries to prove the relativity of belief that there will be no war anymore in the world. This thesis is based on the war statistics and some internationally known models of foreseeing the irregular happenings.

Borut Pahor thinks about the use of violence in international relations, about mechanism for its restrictions and about the role of Slovenian foreign policy in the security-defence matters. He points out that the national security of Slovenia depends on the developments and capability of diplomacy and not on the generals and their armies.

Space and time

The second part of the proceedings is devoted to Demilitarization analysis as an option in the Slovenian political space as well as to the presentation of some other models. Some author represent the activity of Gruppe Schweiz ohne Armees which is an ideal of the success of political activism in civil society in the form of peace movement.

Anton Bebler analyses the geopolitical geo-strategical state of Slovenia in Europe. In this respect, the idea of Demilitarization can be placed into the context of European security.

France Vreg starts from the thesis that the mankind is being endangered today by the militaristic and repressive logic of national and global conflict's solutions. The concept of Demilitarization in Slovenia is being placed in the Yugoslavian space. He also warns that the military-industrial complex cannot be the only object of Demilitarization. This must be also the gigantic state machinery for special war, for para-diplomatic activity and, of course the repressive machinery.

Ivo Fabinc warns against the notion of Demilitarization when it is excluded from the social happenings and comes to a top value itself. In this way it becomes the emancipated, even militant goal to which all other things

are inferior. He warns also against the danger on new militarism in the new societies built upon the waves of nationalism.

Zorica Bukinac performs the entire analysis of the programs of those parties, organizations, movements, and their public appearances which connected their political identity with the idea of Demilitarization of Slovenia. She states that this idea in the relationship between position and opposition has a status of negotiating subject.

Mojca Pešec-Vengust shows and explains the results of different public opinion polls in Slovenia where the respondents were in favour of Demilitarization.

Marko Hren introduces us to the historical overview of Slovenian peace movement's activities, its initiatives, actions and public presentations. Gregor Tomc in his postscript to this chronology pleads for Demilitarization now which enables freedom before organized violence, but with no pressure towards it.

Tonči Kuzmanič deals with the problem of relationship between peacefulness and Demilitarization in the Slovenian peace movement. With the help of analysis of this split he proves why some past initiators of Demilitarization as an idea became its opposers in the practice.

Teodor Geršak shows the conscientious objection and the civil military service in different countries as a specific form of Demilitarization of society.

Fitzgerald Crain in his contribution criticizes the Swiss defence-security system and the so-called hedgehog mentality which is a value express of total defence strategy. He gives warning to the fatal interlacement and linking-up the national states when insuring the peace in the world community.

Andreas Gross and **Dieter Kinkelbur** think about the existence of political state and cultural views of Demilitarization. They speak for elimination of the war culture on the national and world level.

By Anton Grizold

INFORMATION FROM MARIBOR

While we were spreading our petition "declaration for peace" (included in this issue of The Intruder), we got a new contact person in Maribor (second important town in Slovenia), Arpaid Treiber: he actually managed to collect more than 1000 signatures.

Arpaid Treiber is now planning to open a peace centre in Maribor.
To be followed.....

One of the important part of the political processes in Slovenia was becoming the question of the national security system. According to the trend in Yugoslavia -enormous militarization and armament of all nations(with the exception of the albanian nation in Kosovo, which still persists non-violently), the sloven government brought the decision to ensure its security with the military forces. The militarization of the sloven nation(establishing of the military facilities, purchasing of weapons, military laws...) was made in the silence, and we have to admit this, professionally. With this act, Slovenia interrupted its tradition of the non-violent and peaceful struggle for the democratization and lost its leading role in the cultural and social changes in the Balkans. More than our deep convictions, Slovenia with this act, also lost a lot of its power in the Yugoslav crisis and started to communicate with the others, when they were stronger.

Despite that, the final decision about the integral national security system of Slovenia was formerly not brought. A lot of doubts exist in Slovenia, regarding the military security system. Therefore we decided to establish an international working group for the new security system of Slovenia. The results of this working group should also serve the other Yugoslav republics. We invited some of the leading world experts for the non-violent defence to participate in this group. It rather brought a lot of interest but, because of the lack of money, the first meeting planned for the 29th of April was cancelled. The member of the "Movement for peace", alone, elaborated for the presidency of Slovenia the draft "Active Global Peace Security System"(read below the terminology). This draft now represents the ideological concept for the further work on the non-military security concept. The idea of an international working group is still. We believe that the interest of the people and the government will increase in the near future and that we would be able to continue our work.

Active Global Peace Security System: terminology

Here follows an extract of the AGPSS draft, written by Marko Hren and Nace Kalin(Center for the culture of peace and non-violence)

Active

The AGPSS is based on the new approach to the solutions of conflicts. The great part of the attention is devoted to the prevention, cooperation before the conflict can occur,

elimination of the grounds for the conflicts and to the early phase of the conflict. while the old military concept is the reactive one(it is preparing the reaction in the war), the AGPSS is the active one(it prevents the aggression to happen).

Global

The means in the AGPSS goes far beyond the repressive apparatus and include also: individuals, civil population, city, national, state, regional, international and global level. GLOBAL also means the interdisciplinary and the extend of the idea of the security, which in the first plan put the ecological, social, political, mental, ideological and other threats.

Peace

AGPSS is based on the holiness of the life of the beings on earth, on the holiness of man, even if it is the man, with whom we are in the conflict. From there on, all attention is directed to the non-violent techniques of the conflict solutions, which tend to the peaceful coexistence of beings on earth.

Security

the concept reacts on the sources of the dangers and restore the mechanisms for the protection of the people and other natural beings from these sources of danger. Definition of the national security is:
The national security is the democratically expressed will of the people for planning and making the measures, which prevent, ensure and develop their values in the present time and for the future.

System

The AGPSS is not based on the blind faith, but on a well planned politic. We could say that the military concept is today the one, which is based on the blind faith that the army can ensure the security, even if the whole history shows, that the armies are self-destructive and long-term unsuccessful. It is necessary to develop the non-violent techniques with the researches, analyses and training of the civilian population. Therefore we need additional institutions and mechanisms, which are the part of the whole system.

The complete article on AGPSS is available from the Center for the culture of peace and non-violence

By Nace Kalin

May 1991

A proposal for operational orientation of pacifistic allies

The basis for the Pacifistic alliance in the sanctuary of life not only human life, but any other being. This constitute the main difference between the usual pacifistic programmes and the present one. Although the rules(34 points) are not flexible at all, they don't intend to produce ideological, psychological, or any other kind of repression.

If these aims for which Pacifistic Alliance strives for, are the right ones, they can be achieved in freedom, tolerance, and understanding.

- 1) A pacifistic ally can be anyone who is at least 20 years old, who accepts operational orientation of the Pacifist Association and who applies to the conditions, defined in the following paragraphs of this text.
- 2) The basic purpose of the Pacifistic association is to bring about and enhance those processes which reduce and eliminate violence towards people and other sensitive beings; republic, state, bloc and continental borders do not represent any boundaries to the realm of the activities of Pacifistic Allies.
- 3) The basic method of work of Pacifistic Allies is represented by the rule that one cannot consent to any killing, injury or infliction of physical pain, and to the constriction of freedom of movement of any human being, mammal, bird, reptile or amphibian, be it in the name of a group of people or an individual. Pacifistic Allies also strive to minimize destruction among other living beings.
The Pacifistic Association also declines support to all political standpoints and decisions which are opposed to this rule.
- 4) Pacifistic Allies unconditionally abstain from any killing of people, any infliction of physical injuries and pain and any physical harassment of people. They also deny any support to the above mentioned activities. In conflict situations, they apply instead different non-violent methods of the neutralization of the violence of the opposing party. In extreme situation when non-violent neutralization is not possible, they use some method of non-violent resistance, in the name of which someone rather withdraws from trying to prevent from being killed than to cooperate with the perpetrator in any violent, betraying of oppressing act.

- 5) Pacifistic Allies do not use any objects, purportedly made as weapons, and unconditionally decline any cooperation in their trading.
- 6) Pacifistic Allies unconditionally renounce from eating meat of mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians, from wearing fur of killed animals, and from hunting the zoo.
- 7) Pacifistic Allies renounce from all sexual activity that could eventually end with abortion. They also strive for the elimination of all social, indoctrinating and other circumstances, conducive for women to abortion.
- 8) Past violations of 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th paragraph of this text do not represent any hindrance for the membership in the Pacifistic Association; however, the members of the Pacifistic Association renounce to any breaking of the above defined rules in the future.
- 9) Pacifistic Allies strive for an immediate and complete abolition of death penalty in all state units where they live, and at the same time, strive to do their best for the abolition of death penalty in all other country.
- 10) The Pacifistic Association strive for immediate legalization and affirmation of objection of conscience against any act which someone would be coerced to perform against his conscience, and for immediate release of all who are imprisoned for such reasons.
- 11) The Pacifistic Association strives for the immediate ban on the export and import of weapons and trading with weapons.
- 12) Pacifistic Allies strive for a complete reorientation of weapon industry in their country to the production of products with no killing purpose (at least as far as the process of production is concerned, if all the possibilities for a later murderous abuse of peaceful products can not be eliminated in advance). In the process, the Pacifistic Association will take up fundamental standpoint excluding any support in the production or selling of any singular gun or rifle.
- 13) Pacifistic Allies strive for complete demilitariza-

tion of state units where they live, and for the substitution of armed exercises with the learning about and affirmation of the non-violent methods of the neutralization of the opposing party's violence. In extremely critical circumstances where one is being coerced by the oppressor to cooperate in acts of violence, betrayal or oppression and no other form of non-violent neutralization is possible, among these methods also the withdrawal from trying to prevent from being killed is used rather than submitting to coercion and subduing to the oppressor.

14) The Pacifistic Association endeavors in the name of the protection of the right to live, which should apply also to animals, for the spreading of vegetarianism and for the reorientation of food production from cattle-breeding to agriculture. In it, the Pacifistic Association will stand on the stand-point which excludes any support to the activities causing death to any mammal, bird, reptile or amphibians.

15) Pacifistic Allies strive for immediate prohibition of hunting on all mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians living on the territories of their states units or passing them.

16) Pacifistic Allies strive for a complete abolition of all the zoos. Furthermore, they strive for the prohibition of the closing-up of wild animals for circus performances, scientific or other purposes.

17) Pacifistic Allies strive for the prohibition of all scientific experiments on animals.

18) Pacifistic Allies strive for the enactment of the law protecting every mammal, bird, reptile or amphibians against intentional killing, deprivation of freedom of movement and loosing of their biological environment.

19) Pacifistic Allies will cooperate with home and international organizations in those work projects which are definitely oriented towards the protection of biological environment and life or living beings which are part of the nature, i.e. the protection of ozone layer, the protection of plants, animals, waters and air against pollution, protection of endangered animal and plant species against extinction, ban on "dirty technology".

20) Pacifistic Allies strive for the cancellation of all trading and production projects which, outside their

state units, support unacceptable levels of social, ecological and political oppression and violence, especially in the third-world countries; for example, tearing down of tropical forests for coffee plantation or lumber; buying of raw materials, ore and products, produced in socially unacceptable working conditions, etc..

21) Pacifistic Allies support the introduction, development and mutual connections of those production processes, which are opposed to any exploitation of the killing of vertebrates and the use of those part products and raw materials which are produced at cost of unacceptable level of social and political oppression. For this area of its activities, the Pacifistic Association will need numerous experts for most different production fields from agronomy and food industry to metallurgy and chemical industry.

22) The Pacifistic Association will encourage the setting-up of complex production chains which in the whole process -from the acquisition of every composing raw material to final products- will be opposed to violence against people and animals as defined in paragraph 21 of this text. Pacifistic Allies will set up a committee which will issue certificates to products, the whole process of production of which will comply with the requirements of non-violence against people and animals, claiming that they were produced without cruelty. In it, Pacifistic Allies will closely cooperate with some organizations with important international experience, like Animal Liberation, Lega per i dritti degli animali, some "green" parties etc. Undoubtedly, the Pacifistic Association will also need the cooperation of several journalists and lawyers.

23) Pacifistic Allies renounce from any profit from shares of organizations, supporting unacceptable levels of social, ecological, political oppression and oppression between species, and violence, as defined in the paragraphs of the present Proposal for Operational Orientation. Pacifistic Allies will set up a committee which will assess the acceptability of shares in the frames of the above specifications.

24) Pacifistic Allies strive for the abolition of compulsory psychiatric institutions and treatment, as psychiatry has often been abused for political purposes and for the persecution of people with different opinions. Besides confinement and isolation, some other proceedings in these institutions, like compulsory pharmacological treatment and electroconvulsive therapy, represent a straightforward crime for man's

mind and body.

25) Pacifistic Allies will cooperate in civil control of the work of police organs and in revealing of inhuman proceedings of police organizations. They will strive for the abolition of military intelligence services.

26) Pacifistic Allies strive for the setting-up of socially financed asylums for battered women and children who cannot escape violent behavior of their close or distant relatives, neighbors and other perpetrators. Furthermore, they strive for the setting-up of socially financed refugees for socially endangered classes of population where not only food and shelter will be available, but also some resocialization therapy.

27) Pacifistic Allies strive for the rights of prisoners and juvenile offenders to be protected against cruelty on the part of the prison itself and prison personal, the prohibition of contacts with the people and world outside the prison walls and against other forms of physical and mental torture. They will not cooperate in the process of humanization of the laws concerning the prison system, because they in principle deny the consensus to the institution of prison; however, they will endeavor for radical broadening of precisely legalized unconditional human rights which should never be violated, not even in cases of the most strict penalization.

28) Pacifistic Allies never equal violence carried out by members of some nation, religion or race with their national, religious or race membership. Therefore, with all their strength they are opposed to denigration or criminalization of any nation, religion or race, regardless of the violence, perpetuated by members of these communities. In cases of international or religious disputes, Pacifistic Allies apply this rule to all concerned parties and therefore deny support to any political measure which would discriminate members of any nation or religion and deny their equality with members of other nations or religions. Pacifistic Allies strive with all their strength for the greatest possible

solidarity with all the victims of national, religious and race chauvinism. Allies who belong to enemy national, religious or race groups, sign peace contracts among them.

29) Pacifistic Allies renounce from telling any chauvinistic jokes and way of talking with discriminates or denigrates any man or group of people on the basis of national, religious or race membership.

30) Pacifistic Allies endeavor for the most effective protection of all national minorities, for legislation which would prevent their disappearance, and for greater support of school, pedagogical, artistic, cultural and political activities in their languages.

31) In order to enable the children of migrants from different language territories to attend most of the classes in their mother tongue, Pacifistic Allies strives for the introduction of elementary and secondary schooling in these languages, wherever interest is present.

32) Pacifistic Allies renounce from all measures of psychological or any other violence against those who used to be members of the Pacifistic Association but broke its rules and from one or other reason resigned.

33) Pacifistic Allies are strongly opposed to penalizing with jail or even stricter punishment the trespassers of the association's rules.

34) Pacifistic Allies are strongly opposed to any deprecating or insulting attitude towards people who act in contradiction with the Pacifistic Association. They will try hard in the sense that social changes brought about by the activities of the Pacifistic Association will be as little painful as possible for the people who depend on the activities which are in contradiction with its rules.

By Nace Kalin

21

Foundation of the Yugoslav branch of Helsinki Citizens Assembly

In May, there has been the first meeting in Sarajevo to found the Yugoslav branch of HCA, which will coordinate projects in the different republics, such as:

- Peace politics
- Social, cultural minorities
- nationalism...

Their first task is now to gather all skilled people in Yugoslavia to work on these subjects. A representative at the European level should be chosen among the people constituting the Yugoslav branch.

Education in the light of modern scientific hypotheses

Introduction

Various interpretations of general laws of nature and universe have resulted in the following two principal concepts: a) mechanistic concept, which regards evolution as a fortuitous process, and b) non-mechanistic view according to which the process of self organization of the matter, from the appearance of galaxies, solar systems and first living forms, to the beginning of mankind, is a cosmic process conditioned by some "specific physical properties" of the universe. **The leading representative of this non-mechanistic theory is the English physicist David Bohm, who denotes "specific physical properties" of the universe there are different levels of highly organized energies with the smallest radius shorter than Planck's distance (10-35m). For Bohm the highest level of energy implies sunyata of Buddhists, which can be translated as God.** Thus, evolution on the Earth represents an integral part of a uniform process in progress all over the universe, a process during which living forms come into existence whose increasing complexity is converging in "implicate order", sunyata, or God. The non-mechanistic concept is gradually gaining ground; computer stimulation of a living cell proved that its high degree of development and its complexity cannot be accidental. On the other hand, no definitive evidence of "specific physical properties" of the universe has yet been provided, which means that the non-mechanistic theory has not been verified in the empirical sense. Yet, considering the results of our research and observations of non-mechanistic scientists in general, we believe that evidence of "specific physical properties" of the universe and of the existence of "implicate order" will be made known in three years' time at the latest. therefore, it is time to begin to look at education in the light of this non-mechanistic scientific paradigm.

Mechanistic concept and its impact on education

The doctrine of mechanism liberated man from medieval superstitions and magic and irrational interpretation of the universe. Mechanics claim they can understand everything and they label as "unscientific" and unworthy of critical analysis anything they cannot understand.

Favorable effects of mechanistic concept on education include the "scientific approach to life", which enables man to plan one's spiritual and material development according to some generally accepted social norms. **"Mechanistic" education forms young people in the spirit of "production", both intellectual and material.** The goal it pursues is to produce people capable to work and make their living as well as to ensure survival of the society they belong to. A child whose developing personality tends to diverge from this standard direction, is labelled as "deviant". Negative sides of mechanistic education thus include over-emphasizing the role of intellect and of the left side of the brain on the one hand, and neglecting all latent qualities of the right brain, such as intuition, emotions and wish for ecstasy, on the other. In the realm of mechanistic education there is no place for a "nonproductive" type of a young person, who rather than being interested in specific and concrete things, takes interest in everything in general, the one who is intrigued by the sense of life, God and non-European experience of the universe. Thus, mechanistic education does not show favour to children with a great "mental potential", which, as a rule, implies also a great intellectual power. **Generally speaking, the product of education based on mechanistic principles is an "intellectual" with a developed left hemisphere, who knows nothing about "immediate" experience and perception of the world, and is, in a way, neurotic, like the whole Western Civilization is.**

Education in the light of non-mechanistic theory

A non-mechanistic scientific paradigm regards the whole cosmic evolution as one continuous process of self-organization of matter, which started with the appearance of galaxies and continued with the development of solar systems and planets, with the appearance of life on planets and the development of primitive social organisms, which through the process of evolution evolved in a highly developed being called homo-sapiens. **The non-mechanistic scientific paradigm thus introduced a cosmological approach interpreting all processes on the Earth on cosmic processes.** So, the development of social organism is regarded as one of the cosmic processes, as well. Hence, the human society is an organized subsystem A, which developed in the course of a cosmic evolutionary process in system X (universe).

A question can be raised as to what regulations should be adopted for the society to develop in the direction of maximal negantropy, which converges in constant order of system X, or, in other words, in God. Before attempting to answer this fundamental sociological question, which in a simplified form runs somewhat like: how to create a paradise on Earth, how to create a just human society, with each of its members being given full scope for spiritual and material growth?, let me outline the key ideas of the non-mechanistic view.

1- Universe and nature are in a state of constant dynamic equilibrium. Order is an immanent feature of the universe and nature, and evolution on the Earth is a process converging in immanent order. This immanent order implies higher levels of energies constituting

David Bohm's "implicate universe" ("enfolded universe"), which are superior to the energy level of human mental process. These higher levels include "Energy of love" and "energy of cosmic consciousness".

From the point of view of evolution, civilization on the Earth has reached a certain point of transition from the "intellectual" to higher levels of Bohm's "implicate universe". "I think therefore I am" is being changed into "I experience therefore I am", or as Aurobindo would say: civilization of the Earth is passing over from the intellectual collectivism into existential individualism.

2- Universe is "biologically homogeneous", and evolution which is in progress on the Earth is an integral element of the uniform cosmic process. The above mentioned cosmological theory of evolution goes far beyond the limits of the anthropocentric concept: man is no longer the crown of nature, but only its component part, its subsystem. Nature constitute a subsystem of the universe (system X). Thus, man is no longer measure for all things, on the contrary, the world is measure for man. He must finally realize that evolution is not a fortuitous process, and that his intellect is not the supreme achievement of this accidental evolution, but only a developmental stage in a much longer cosmic process.

3- Man is a subsystem of nature and universe and they are closely connected by all levels constituting Bohm's "implicate universe". The concept according to which the "subject"(the observer) is separated from the object(the one that is observed), and man is separated from the world and nature, is a result of purely intellectual approach to his own self and the world, ignoring that man and universe form a single whole. In the lights of this concepts, our question about how to regulate the society to accelerate its development in a negantropic direction, could be answered in the following way: ethical potential of a social organism is a sum of ethical potentials of its members; therefore, it is necessary to adopt such regulations that would enable each individual to reach higher levels of "implicate universe" within the shortest time as possible and within the range of one's psychophysical makeup. In other words, legislative bodies of the social organism should give full support to education promoting spiritual growth of our children. There is another question that needs to be answered: what kind of educational system would foster free spiritual development of the child?

The non-mechanistic scientific paradigm regards man as a biologic, social and cosmic being, and stresses the following three aspects of education:

Ecological aspect

Education must emphasize the dynamic equilibrium as the

basic law of cosmos and nature, illustrating it by the example of biological equilibrium (biocenoses and biotopes), physical equilibrium (the third Newton's law), and equilibrium in astronomy (the motion of the planets around the sun, the motion of the sun around Pleiades). Every high school graduate should know that order is an immanent feature of the universe, and that man, instead of trying to create order in nature, should contribute to the maintenance of the existing cosmic order by taking utmost care not to disturb its dynamic equilibrium by his interventions.

Planetary aspect

Education should put a special emphasis on the scientific fact that evolution of mankind is an Earth-wide process, and that all inhabitants of this planet are biologically related to each other. This planetary notion is essential to the neutralization of outbursts of national, ethnic and religious tensions and conflicts in the world. From the scientific viewpoint, we are all inhabitants of the same planet. Education is still "national" instead of being planetary: we must not forget that nations developed as a result of a common market required by liberal capitalism. Regional identity (a Styrian, a Bavarian, a Slavonian) precedes the national one. National and religious identities are liable to political manipulation and there is historical evidence (fascism, islamism) that it invariably leads to entropy of social organisms and of the whole civilization on Earth.

The fast technological progress characteristic of the past fifty years requires an individual who would place this ethical principles above its commitments to the society and religion- an individual immune to social and religious manipulations. The aim of education based on this planetary principles is to form a cosmopolitan, responsible only to this ethical code. Although this goal is not regarded with favour by the state apparatus, it is clear that it means the only way leading to a better human society.

Individual aspect

This aspect is an essential part of integral education, which aims at developing both the left and the right brain, the factual and the emotional hemisphere, and thus create a man as a social as well as cosmic being. In order to promote both the intellectual and the emotional development of children, education should give them opportunity to learn some relaxation and meditation techniques and the basic principles of psychologic self-help, thus helping them to become more psychically more flexible, more relaxed and less inhibited, and able to express their feelings more freely. Special training

courses in teaching relaxation and meditation techniques should be given to teachers of sociology, psychology and gym. The basic principle of "planetary education", which involves all the above mentioned aspects, is, in the first place, to bring up a child able to love himself, and only then an intelligent child. According to the hypothesis of "implicate universe", the energy level of love is superior to that of mind: love implies intellect, but intellect does not imply love. A child capable of loving will be intelligent too, while a child possessing only intellectual capacities can be an unhappy child.

Bibliography

- David Bohm, Wholeness and the implicate order,
Routledge, London, 1980
Renee Weber, Dialogues with Scientists and Sages,
Routledge, London, 1986
Osho Rajneesh, The New Man: the only hope for the
future, the Rebel Publishing House, Koeln, 1987

By Srečko Šorli *

* NESBIM Institute for Non-ionizing Radiation and Biometrics
Kvedrova 10 61000 LJUBLJANA, YU

S E M I N A R

INTERNATIONAL PEACE SEMINAR OF TEACHERS IN ALPE-ADRIA REGION

TOLMIN 17-21 AUGUST

Program

- Main problems of the peace education (reports from Italy, Austria and Slovenia)
 - non-violent conflict resolution: ideas, games, exercises...
 - intercultural education
 - exchange of the materials
 - ecology
 - children garden

The main aim of the seminar is to establish good personal relations between the teachers in the Alpe-Adria region for further work on peace education. Therefore the seminar is combined with everyday's excursions into the nice surroundings of Tolmin(the valley of river Soca), one of the nicest valley in the world.

We warmly invite everyone to come and to participate in this seminar. The complete price(accomodation, food, tourist tax) for the 5 days seminar is 155 DM, and 30DM/day for other members of the family. A children-garden will be organized.



Predsednik Saveta
Prof. dr. Miladin Životić
(tel. 011/764-090)

GRADANSKA AKCIJA ZA MIR
• CITIZENS' ACTION FOR PEACE •
G A M A

Koordinator Izvršnog odbora
Dejan Đurković
(tel: 011/752-244)

Inicijativni odbor
Dejan Đurković
Branislav Tapušковиć
Miladin Životić
Ivan Ivanović

Branislav Jojić
Milosav Jovanović
Vladimir Lazić

Miladin Sevarlić
Rastko Zakić
Đorđe Lebović

Mihailo Radojičić
Zoraan Pavlović
Milan Smiljanić

Velimir Mitrović
Vuk Stambolović
Zdravko Grebo

Slavica Krmeta
Zdenka Višnjić
Vladimir Cizelj

Slavka Lučić
Zagorka Aleksić
Mirjana Stefanović

Jovan Ćirilov
Mirjana Todorović
Dušan Todorović

Božidar Zečević
Gajo Petrović
Rudi Supek

Duro Raonić
Radmila Herрман
Vera Petrović

Jasminka Hasanbegović
Olga Ilić
Ilija Moljković

Mirosljub Jevtović
Isidora Jovanović
Dušanka Jovanović

Mičo Bošnjak
Neda Marić
Mirjana Kostić

Dula Hasambegović
Zlatko Petović
Branimir Dimitrijević

Dušan Stošić
Nadežda Četković
Nina Vlahović

Lidija Posavec-Basta
Andreja Bajić
Miladin Isailović

Miloš Petrović
Pavle Bujanja
Milić Dejan

Ljubida Đidić
Branko Baletić
Biljana Jurić

Predrag Vranicki

Kolektivni članovi
Socijaldemokratska radnička
partija Jugoslavije
Stranka Jugoslovena

APPEAL TO THE CITIZENS OF YUGOSLAVIA

We have decided to take citizens action for peace which should be carried on as long as we live in war and psychosis of war.

Citizens action for Peace is an action aiming at a democratic and peaceful resolution of Yugoslav crisis. We deem indispensable that all Initiatives, all movements, organizations and individuals striving against the war unite for such a resolution to be democratic and peaceful.

Only a vigorous citizens action for peace could prevent further armament and creation of party militias, the turning of present armed conflicts into a mass bloodshed and create conditions for sensible talks about new forms and relations between our peoples.

Although we do not deem the existing governments and parliaments, dominated by single-party monopolies, capable of deciding about our destinies, we are prepared to give support to anyone striving against war. We wish to live as civilized people do, regardless of the outcome of the talks on the further relations though we want to influence them.

Today bellicose national leaders, false messiahs predominate in the public life, and we must not let ourselves be their hostages, passive accomplices, prisoners in the spreading of evil, dissemination of hatred, spreading of fear and of threats to all those striving for peace as traitors to their nations.

Those who offer salvation to their peoples by military victories over other peoples are taking us into a future that would mean reinforcement of their autocracy. Chauvinism and revanchism spread by them leads to a total eclipse of a policy established on reason, into disappearance of possibilities to live in a society of guaranteed civil rights and liberties. "Salvation" from actual crisis and from armed forces can only lead us into collective suicide and to new forms of totalitarian societies in which we would become slavishly obedient subjects of new war victors.

The actual conflicts between republics have arisen as conflicts institutionalized and sanctioned by the present Constitution. We are left with the legacy of the results of the politics of autocracy, the policy of setting peoples against each other for the sake of aspirations of dictatorial arbitration by which a power that has thrown into these abysses of poverty hunger, fear, and hatred has supported itself for over half a century.

Many present leaders continue pursuing that policy. It can be opposed by democratic forces of citizens action for peace, and action in which no person regardless of its religion, nationality and political beliefs should remain passive because its basic civil rights are endangered, because its very survival is threatened.

All democratic media of public opinion should be used to bring to light, to brand and to thwart the terror perpetrated by state authorities, by militant political organizations, groups and individuals in order to preserve peace and with it a possibility of living in a rationally organized society.

The citizens action for peace is organizing itself to demand a peaceful and democratic resolution of Yugoslav crisis from the present authorities. Should such a demand not be met the action will demand that the principal protagonists of the crisis resign from their state and political positions. Should even that fail the action would do its best to ensure that they are relieved from office and to answer for their insane and criminal policy to the citizens of their country.

An insiding in a Labyrinth

Step into the unknown since you desire it as well as you dread it. Enter the labyrinth, as the greek hero trying to kill the monster, as a detective looking for the key of the enigma, as a player lead by chance and destiny. Will you find the way out, whoever you decided to be?

May 1991, arrival in Ljubljana.

(Defenitely impossible to pronounce for your french-educated voice's organ).

Even though, in an introverted and vain attempt to discover yourself, you wonder WHY you came for a one-year volunteering - pathological symptom? Very healthy and never fulfilled curiosity? Corto Maltese's syndrom?- you, nevertheless, never thought of preparing yourself to face the permanent quiz of your new slovenian social environment. Explaining to them that the reasons of your choice were various and mixed with chance, you can easily read disappointment on your interlocutors faces.

Are they expecting you to draw the french conception of Slovenia, are they believing you are doing a bad deal, or, are they simply concerned about the unsafe situation in which your decision projected you?

Soon forgotten your inability to explain your presence as expected, **you are little by little discovering the Peace Movement from the inside.**

Your first impressions, likely emphasized by your blind enthousiasm of the new'ness, are those of a totally open free space, enabling all kinds of ideas to be born, all kinds of projects to take place, possessing a real possibility to be heard by both society and government. The opposition with your previous experiences either in France or in England strikes you. You are maybe discovering a new world of possibilities. In this context, you find it a complete logical consequence that any accomplishment of work is based on emotional and spontaneous reactions. For a while, your wish to get rid of the western conception of efficiency is flattered. (By the way, couldn't it be a part of the answer to the 1st paragraph's question). But, still strongly rooted, your cartesian mind is visited by annoying wonderings: isn't the lack of organized internal communications, and precise attributions of tasks eroding, or even disrupting the creativity generated by the people's enthusiasm? Should you conclude

that both aspects cannot co-exist, that the existence of an organized structure would kill the joy?

Caught by your duty of "international coordinator", you leave aside the internal issues to focus on re-instauring regular communications with foreign countries by the mean of the present newspaper.

At this very moment, the predictable though unexpected (please tick the box of your choice) war events battle armed conflict bloodsheds surgical intervention crash into your reality. Then you begin to work in permanent emergency, while living in obsessional contemplation of the (put the word you ticked above). As you have no distance from the situation, no real analysis is possible. Besides, the lack of time, informations, knowledge... makes it difficult to communicate properly with the outside, or to find the appropriate action at the right moment.

You are simply confused.

You know you should not look backwards, but the temptation is big to wonder if it was the right method to put much effort in trying to influence the authorities decisions. What about raising more awareness among people. When observing today's slovenians reactions, you recognize the traditional ideology, according to which suffering is not only necessary and pre-condition to any improvement, but also represents a value. Slovenians transcend their suffering into pride, by their existence being acknowledged (even through pity); the attack having been directed against Slovenia as such justify the idea of belonging to the same community and make appear the common assurance to be on the right side against "the bad": the partisans of the federation, then the serbs, and quickly anyone who is not slovenian. These common beliefs are undoubtfully building a principle of exclusion in the slovenian society and bringing up the idea that becoming slovenian should be deserved. You are just afraid you recognize too well this discrimination pattern, already so present in the french society.

Looking forward, you are trying to convert your sensations into more rational considerations. The recent experience should enlighten your activities with new perspectives; you have to redefine the lines of your actions consequently to the changes in the population's mind in one hand, in the authorities positions (strengthened, legitimated) in another hand. The departure of the federal troops from Slovenia, as a positive consequence, might well transform Metelkova's dream into reality. Finally you face an incredible need to redefine words commonly accepted as obvious such as "peace" or "war", reconstruct strategies of actions, and cooperate with people working abroad.

Don't know if you found the way out in the laby'inth.....

By Dominique Cochard

M E T E L K O V A N E T W O R K

How to introduce METELKOVA NETWORK?

First it was only the idea, today it is the real project.

Metelkova is an association, which includes about seventy known and unknown groups and over two hundred fifty individuals. Our members are painters, musicians, designers, the people who are working in different socialization/ education groups, photographers, dancers, actors...

The main aim of Metelkova network is to acquire the army building on Metelkova street in Ljubljana for our intentions, which are:

□
that many artists, social movements, alternative groups, that have not places for their work now at last get them

□
to connect, organize and represent culture in Ljubljana

□
to contribute by a larger demilitarisation activities in Slovenia

□
change a black and dull building such as barracks on Metelkova street in a colourful centre of culture. This centre will be a reflection of Slovene culture and subculture today and tomorrow.

27

We are working from September 1990, formally formed at 22.12.1990. At that time we organized ourselves in eleven sections:

social-education section, New age section, musical section, paint sections, photo sections, section for dance, film, theatre, section of gainfully activity...

Each section has its own representative in working groups. which are occupied with different problems on many fields (public relation, economy, internal organization, political lobby...)

On the way to get that barracks we want that people in Ljubljana, Slovenija and other countries know what we are struggling for, who we are and what we are doing. So, we perform the members and our project with happenings, the catalogue pictures of our artists, video-project and also with publishing our own magazine - M-ZIN.

Nobody knows, how long the way to our culture centre will takes, because the circumstances in Yugoslavia are very complicated, but anyway our country will be richer with METELKOVA NETWORK then without it.

So wish us luck!

Thank you!

Contact: Mreža za Metelkovo, Mestni trg 13, Ljubljana. tel 06122466.

The Declaration of Peace

Armament does not bring about security. The most recent events in the world and in Yugoslavia only affirm this. Investments in the military complex is a blind alley which decreases the possibility of non-violent solutions of political disputes. Within the individual states, this signifies a permanent threat to democracy. Armament is a bottomless pit which, for less developed states in a development crisis, poses an intolerable burden to their economy. We are convinced that a state with its inhabitants and all its neighbors can secure safety only on the basis of safety policies founded on human rights, political freedom and social and environmental safety. In respect to the neighboring states and people, this includes intensive social and diplomatic measures for a non-violent solution and settlement of disputes with those states with which the disputes or tensions exist.

The Republic of Slovenia has a special opportunity for deciding in favour of such concept.

As a state still in the process of formation, it must newly define its system and politics, and the military is one of the basic dilemmas of its development.

Even if the Republic of Slovenia finds a strong army, it still cannot be a match for its neighboring states. Besides this, military conflicts on Slovene territory would mean a disaster for Slovenia.

The establishment of Slovenia's own armed forces would dramatically threaten the already modest accumulation of the Slovene economy and its inhabitants, while the release of the funds aimed for the armed forces before, would signify a strong incentive for development during the most critical moment of restructuring the economy. The Republic of Slovenia spends more for military purposes than it does for education, more than it gives for health care, and ten times as much as it gives for culture, social care and employment. Slovenia is situated in a region where the possibility of conflict is a constant reality, or at least on its perimeters, thus through the abolishment of the armed force and the development of institutions for the peaceful solution of disputes as also through the implementation of peace policies, Slovenia could substantially contribute to a peaceful outcome of the situation in Yugoslavia and elsewhere. Presenting itself to the world in the framework of its efforts for international recognition as a state of good will, Slovenia strives for the achievement of global peace, peace which cannot be achieved through national military and defence concepts.

The Republic of Slovenia has a professional and well organized units of civil defence.

Last but not least, Slovenia has a strong historical tradition in striving to achieve the peaceful establishment of political democracy and state sovereignty.

THE DECLARATION OF PEACE:

We stand for:

- * A sovereign Slovenia, a peaceful state which actively contributes to global peace; a Slovenia without armed forces or military industry.
- * An article on peace in the new Slovene constitution which is to be worked as follows: "The Republic of Slovenia is a demilitarized state. The transitory period required for demilitarization is to be regulated by constitutional laws"
- * A transitory period until the achievement of total demilitarization, during which the police force and the existing units of territorial defence will care for the security of the borders of the Republic of Slovenia.
- * A cessation of the sending of service men from Slovenia to compulsory military service in the Yugoslav People's Army as a composite part of the realization of the Plebiscite (referendum).
- * The termination of further armament in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia.
- * The beginning of negotiations with the federation concerning the withdrawal of the forces and institutions of the YPA from Slovenia.
- * The elaboration of a peace means of resolving the Yugoslav crisis.
- * The introduction of a culture of peaceful and non-violent values into the system of education and upbringing and the establishment of institutions for peace, which shall study and create a new system of security on the foundations of good international relations.

In Slovenia, independence, demilitarization and the implementation of peaceful policies for safety are to proceed simultaneously.

Name and Surname	Address	Signature

All signatures to be sent to the Center for the culture of Peace and non-violence, Mestni trg 13, 61000 Ljubljana, Yugoslavia.