

The Antiwar Campaign, 1991-2011



**The Untold
Story**

The Antiwar Campaign 1991–2011

The Untold Story

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Active
citizens fund

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Documenta – Centre for Dealing with the Past

Zagreb, 2011

Abbreviations

ARK Antiwar Campaign
ARKH Antiwar Campaign of Croatia

BPT Balkan Peace Team

CCHR Civic Committee for Human Rights, Croatia
CESI Centre for Education and Counselling of Women
CŽŽR Centre for Women War Victims

FRY Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

HCA Helsinki Citizens' Assembly
HDZ Croatian Democratic Union
HHO Croatian Helsinki Committee
HINA Croatian News Agency
HNS Croatian People's Party
HRT Croatian Radiotelevision
HSLS Croatian Social Liberal Party
HV Croatian Army
HVO Croatian Defence Council, Bosnia-Herzegovina

ICTY International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IFOR International Fellowship of Reconciliation

JNA Yugoslav People's Army

KLA Kosovo Liberation Army
KIC Culture Information Centre, Zagreb
KFOR Kosovo Force

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO non-governmental organisation

OARKH Committee of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia

RSK Republic of Serbian Krajina

SAO Serbian Autonomous Region
SDA Party of Democratic Action, Bosnia-Herzegovina
SDP Social Democratic Party, Croatia
SDS Serb Democratic Party, Bosnia-Herzegovina
SFRY Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SIV Federal Executive Council (government)

UJDI Association for the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative
UNPA United Nations Protected Area
UNTAES United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium

WRI War Resisters' International

ZAPO Zagreb Anarcho-Pacifist Organisation

Personalities and media mentioned in the book

Arkan, actually Željko Ražnatović, Serbian underworld figure and paramilitary commander

B92, radio station in Belgrade (since 2000 also TV)

Danas, daily newspaper published in Belgrade

Feral Tribune, political weekly based in Split

Galbraith, Peter, US diplomat and first ambassador to Croatia

Globus, weekly news magazine published in Zagreb

Gotovac, Vlado, Croatian poet and liberal politician

Ivkošić, Milan, Croatian journalist

Izetbegović, Alija, politician and first president of independent Bosnia-Herzegovina

Janša, Janez, Slovenian dissident and later politician

Josipović, Ivo, Croatian professor of law at the University of Zagreb, social-democratic politician and President of Croatia 2010–15

Jutarnji list, daily newspaper published in Zagreb

Kadijević, Veljko, the last defence minister of the SFRY, Yugoslav/Serbian general

Karadžić, Radovan, Bosnian Serb politician and first president of Republika Srpska

Kramarić, Zlatko, Croatian liberal politician and mayor of Osijek

Lang, Slobodan, Croatian scientist and human rights activist
Lokar, Sonja, Slovenian sociologist and feminist activist

Mihailović, Draža, Yugoslav/Serbian paramilitary (Chetnik) leader and politician during WWII
Milanović, Zoran, social-democratic politician who served as Prime Minister of Croatia from 2011 to 2016 and has been President of Croatia since 2020
Milošević, Slobodan, leading Yugoslav/Serbian politician from 1986 to 2000

Novi list, daily newspaper published in Rijeka, oldest Croatian daily newspaper

Politika, daily newspaper published in Belgrade
Puhovski, Žarko, Croatian professor of philosophy at the University of Zagreb, human rights expert and activist, and political analyst

Pupovac, Milorad, professor of linguistics, civil society activist and politician from the Serb minority in Croatia

Pusić, Zoran, Croatian civil rights and peace activist

Radio 101, independent radio station in Zagreb
Raos, Predrag, Croatian satirist and science-fiction writer

Slobodna Dalmacija, daily newspaper published in Split

Slobodni tjednik, Croatian tabloid, 1990–93

Soros, George, US magnate and philanthropist

Šeks, Vladimir, Croatian lawyer and politician (HDZ)

Šušak, Gojko, Croatian minister of defence during the War of Independence

Tuđman, Franjo, historian and politician, President of Croatia 1990–99

Večernji list, daily newspaper published in Zagreb

Vjesnik, daily newspaper published in Zagreb, 1940–2012

Vrhovec, Josip, Croatian/Yugoslav Communist politician

Note on the pronunciation of names

We have maintained the original spelling of names and proper nouns. The vowels are pronounced roughly as in Italian. The consonants are pronounced as follows:

c = ts, as in *bits*

č = ch

ć = similar to č, like the t in *future*

dž = g, as in *general*

đ = similar to dž

h = h as in *hot*; as the ch in *loch* before another consonant

j = y, as in *yellow*

r = trilled as in Scottish; sometimes used as a vowel, e.g. “Brčko”, roughly “Birch-ko”

š = sh

ž = like the s in *pleasure*

“The Black Cloud is the name I use to describe the atmosphere of depression and despair caused by the collective horrors of war. The Black Cloud can be driven away by the united work of local initiatives, such as the [Osijek] Centre for Peace and a political leadership which supports a culture of non-violence.”

— Adam Curle⁰¹

01 The original gives this as a quote from Curle’s book *The Fragile Voice of Love*, but we were unable to find it. Since there are several similar passages, we suspect Curle may simply have been paraphrasing himself. [trans.]

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Foreword to the English edition

The first book about the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia was published in 2011, 30 years after its foundation. The publication of the book was preceded by a series of activities that tried to bring the Antiwar Campaign out of oblivion and actualize the significance of that network, which greatly contributed to the development of civil society in Croatia in general, and in particular to the establishment and popularization of peace-making and anti-war culture, as well as the protection of human rights in Croatia.

It was a considerable undertaking to contact all the individuals whose destinies took them in different directions over the course of 30 years. Some have been active since the 80s, quite a number of them are still active today. Reuniting these people inevitably brought about the awakening of a series of emotions associated with that time, as well as with all the frustrations, traumas and challenges that were once part of everyday life. The 1990s were a difficult time for people who wanted to preserve civility, non-violence and a sense of human rights in a war-torn country, while the network itself was a very complex organism involving many people with their specific mobilizing motives, conceptions and feelings.

The process also included “digging” through the original documentation that the network, its organizations and projects produced during their work, as well as organizing that material. It is impossible to overemphasize how important it seemed to us that such a marginalized topic becomes a legitimate and equal part of the heritage of Croatian society, and the achievement of that goal was based on extensive documenting and turning the piles of paper from dusty boxes into a readable and accessible archival fond. In 2011, we organized three round tables where the key protagonists discussed their experiences and views of that period.

A great effort was also put into contacting foreign volunteers who cooperated with Antiwar Campaign, especially through the Volunteer Project Pakrac, which started in the summer of 1993, demonstrating how open Antiwar Campaign was to cooperation with the rest of Europe and the world, beyond the national borders of the society

that was rapidly closing and over time became more and more isolated in the political, social and cultural sense. The book was finally published and promoted in autumn 2011.

Many things have changed since then. The legacy of Antiwar Campaign has become an integral part of informal, and sometimes formal, education; preservation and transmission of knowledge to new generations is ensured, at least partially. A number of master’s degrees, doctoral theses and books have been published on the subject. Since 2013, “Delfin” has been organizing regular gatherings of volunteers and local activists almost every summer in Pakrac. It is equally important to note that this legacy lives on today through the many organizations that have sprung up under the umbrella of Antiwar Campaign network.

The openness of Antiwar Campaign – in the ideological, organizational and cultural sense – was one of the essential points of its foundation and self-understanding. Among other things, it manifested itself in the interplay between local needs and communication with the wider regional, European and world context. However, the language of our book was what ultimately limited it to only the first dimension. Thanks to the efforts of former Antiwar Campaign collaborator Will Firth, after more than ten years, the book is now ready to take on a life of its own in this wider context with messages and knowledge contained therein.

The work on this book coincided with the Russian invasion and the start of the war in Ukraine. This tragic armed conflict gave rise to a series of doubts, interpretations and fractures, some of which also reflect the problems faced by Antiwar Campaign in the early 1990s. Therefore, this book comes at the right time. Its value lies in the fact that it asks questions and provides possible suggestions for achieving the important task of today - building long-term and sustainable peace.

Vesna Janković
Nikola Mokrović
Vesna Teršelić
Zagreb, October 2022

Foreword

Local ARK activists and local activists from Serbia, Bosnia and other parts of the region showed enormous heroism in taking a stand in that atmosphere of fear, lawlessness and violence. I'll always have huge respect for them. It would be nice if eventually their own nations could honour the bravery and vision of these once-despised people.

— Nick Wilson Young

As we were finishing this book, the exhibition “The Homeland War”⁰¹ was being shown at the Croatian Historical Museum. The prologue of the exhibition was titled “The Homeland War 20 years on”, and it was intended to mirror the war in everyday life “by presenting a selection of the daily press and memories of those involved”. But those reflections on the war in everyday life do not contain any newspaper articles from *ARKzin* or *Feral Tribune*, nor are memories of people included who were involved in the war in different ways – not as soldiers, but fighting for the establishment of the rule of law, for the protection and advancement of human rights, and for media freedoms. They are people who worked for reconciliation and the adoption of dialogue, people who, despite condemning all war crimes, advocated taking responsibility for the crimes committed in the name of their own state, and who are still proponents of dealing with the past today.

The intention of this book is to chart that other, hushed-up and disputed history of the antiwar, women’s and human rights initiatives. The silence about these initiatives comes as no surprise because we were already a disruptive factor back then. We challenged the dominant narratives, pointed out injustices and tried to build a better, more equitable society amidst the chaos of war. The nationalist founding myth of the Croatian state was established twenty years ago based on the contradictory rhetoric of victim and victor, and on the idea of the good citizen, who is a man, a soldier and Catholic. The myth clearly names the victim and the aggressor. Black and white. There is no room for any shades of grey, and red, yellow and green can only be colours of “enemies and foreign mercenaries”.

But much has changed since then. Other, primarily economic and social issues are on the agenda. The ruinous consequences of clientelistic and corrupt practices, which originated in wartime, force Croatian society to deal with part of the negative legacy of the 90s. But the jargon of the political elites is still rife with the old divisions into “Reds” and “Blacks”,⁰² and there is much less willingness to confront the authoritarian weft that pervades both institutions and overall social reality. Yet, unlike in the 90s, the NGOs that arose from civic activism have become firmly established. A public space – albeit small – is open for their voice, so it is fair to say there are indications of the social antagonisms of the nineties gradually being overcome through open argument and the struggle of the citizens against the emerging state.

However, only a handful of news portals covered the central event we organised to mark the inception of ARK, a roundtable discussion “The Antiwar Campaign 1991–2011: twenty years ahead of its time” held in the House of Human Rights on 4 July. Unlike in Slovenia and Serbia, neither the academic nor the activist community in Croatia have shown any great interest in recording and analysing civic activism. All the breaks and discontinuities in the flux of generations of activists, and the social problems that preoccupy them and the paths to their resolution have often meant that what was before recedes into a past hardly anyone remembers and from which no one will learn anything. That often meant that the survival of all the documents,

⁰¹ The Homeland War (*Domovinski rat*) is a term used in official contexts in Croatia to refer to the war of 1991–95. It has rather nationalist connotations, and we prefer to call it the Croatian War of Independence. [trans.]

⁰² Black is associated with clerical, nationalistic and fascist movements. [trans.]

the “paper trail” of those processes, also depended on the goodwill of individuals and the amount of space in their flats and garages. In terms of the documentation of the Antiwar Campaign, which emerged from just one such garage several years ago, we are striving to order and preserve it. This book originated partly as a product of that process of structuring the archival material and our desire to stimulate the process of social learning.

The marking of the twentieth anniversary began on 14 February 2011 with an invitation sent out by Documenta, the Centre for Peace Studies and the MIRamiDA Centre to individuals who took part in ARK’s activities. It was agreed at the preparatory meeting that the twentieth anniversary of the launch of ARK be marked with a public event on 4 July and the publication of a book. Aware of how scant the existing written testimony of our activities is, and also conscious of the need for systematic research, we conceived the book as a crossover of the subjective and the factographical – of personal memories and documentary material. In order to fulfil that task, the book is conceived so that the different approaches better portray the structure and development of ARK as well as the scattered nature of ARK’s human, material and intellectual legacy.

Instead of relying on the individual memories of participants of that period recorded in interviews or autobiographical notes, we decided to undertake an experiment in collective remembering in the form of a facilitated group discussion. Although a discussion only seemingly gives everyone an equal chance to speak and can easily conceal, rather than reveal, the full diversity of views, we decided on this form because it corresponds with the method of participatory democracy that we used (and still use) in our work. Following this approach, two cycles of discussions among the founders of ARK were held on 9 May and 29 June in the House of Human Rights in Zagreb. Unfortunately, part of the people who were invited to the discussion did not respond and several important voices are therefore absent in the transcripts published in this book. Many activists from outside of Zagreb also did not take part for financial and organisational reasons, so the work of ARK as a network at national level is not presented sufficiently well. Activist experience from small towns and villages, where the activists often operated under very difficult conditions, therefore also remains unrecorded.

The process initiated by the invitation to the common remembering sessions, i.e. the creation of a specific kind of collective memory of the events two decades earlier, brought various emotional layers to the surface for the participants. Those emotions are partly connected with the social and political context of the 90s, with being reminded of mental and physical burnout after passionate activism, but also with unresolved organisational arguments within ARK itself. Therefore we are grateful to all who mustered the courage to embark on the adventure of confronting and critically reflecting on the legacy of their work.

The legacy of ARK today consists of numerous and largely professionalised civil society organisations. This book does not analyse the developmental processes of civic initiatives and their institutionalisation over the last twenty years, but the individual statements of the discussion participants, the included documents and the chronology make it possible to reconstruct at least part of the lively discussions that accompanied the development of ARK: from an ad hoc campaign against the war and a fluid transnational network to an activist core torn between the need for a streamlined organisational structure and the urge to react to the many social problems. It set up a network of organisations at the national level that brought forth a multitude of projects and organisations. ARK established the principles of *grassroots* activity, which until then were insufficiently known and practised in Croatian society. We injected new concepts into the public discourse, such as non-violence, peacebuilding and women’s human rights, and it was largely to our credit that new symbolic dates were marked in the calendar, such as 10 December, the International Human Rights Day.

In a time thick with external events and social problems, to which we tried to react and propose solutions, the Antiwar Campaign, as **Howard Clark** aptly notes, was in a position to constantly reinvent itself. The story of ARK would not be complete if we did not include the memories of our friends from abroad who lived and worked with us, supported us and learned together with us. Their reflections collected in this book show up some of the topics that are only touched on in the founders' discussions. In fact, the chosen form of a written questionnaire gave more space for speaking about activism as a transformative experience, about burnout and the inadequacies of peace work, but it also created space for an evaluation of our mutual experiences, which have become part of the heritage of the global peace movement.

We are aware that memory, including collective memory, cannot be uncritically accepted as an accurate account of a period, and that as such it is of necessity inadequate in a historiographical sense. Therefore we have supplemented the transcripts with a chronology of ARK contextualised by a general chronology of the 1990s, as well as selected documents, programmatic texts, press releases, etc., whose task is to trace and complement the information in the chronologies and the statements of the speakers. Due to a lack of money and time needed for a more comprehensive study, the general chronology and that of ARK are neither fully consistent nor complete, and we would like to take this opportunity to apologise to all activists whose activities are not adequately covered. We should emphasise that ARK's chronology is also the result of collective efforts. Activists complemented and corrected the initial draft, and the process was not without dispute. But the final version is the result of good intentions and the desire to make it easier for future researchers to get their bearings in the abundance of information, developmental lines and networks woven over time.

Obviously one book cannot encompass everything that occurred in and around ARK in the last twenty years. Every organisation that was member of the network deserves a study of its own. Every aspect of the antiwar activity – from the production of our own media, peace education, psychosocial aid, regional and international cooperation, to the protection of human rights and peacebuilding – calls for more in-depth analysis. Although we are aware that that cannot be accomplished by this book, partly because it was written by the participants of those events themselves, we hope it will create space for critical reflection on the antiwar activism of the 90s. In this respect we are glad that the book concludes with an analytical study by the young sociologist **Bojan Bilić**, the first person in this region to devote himself to systematic academic research into the phenomenon of post-Yugoslav antiwar activism.

Although what we consider history is always an act of historiographical violence through selection, we are nevertheless in a position to supplement that history and add new meanings to it. The greatest danger of a privilege thus gained is that it be poorly utilised. Although the intention was to present as broad and representative a picture of ARK as possible, the end-product inevitably contains a certain degree of arbitrariness that the people who created it over several months were unable to avoid. This arbitrariness results largely from the archive at our disposal – incomplete and poorly ordered as it is – and also from the fact that the people involved in the implementation of the project performed the task on a completely voluntary basis alongside their other commitments. Therefore, we should bear in mind that the version of history on these pages is only an in-progress and interim one – one of many possible readings. It is more of a contribution to beginning a dialogue about what remains of ARK. The most that can be expected is that it show up one part of history, enliven it and let it speak by connecting dead paper with living memory – that it point to change but also to continuity.

Vesna Janković and Nikola Mokrović
Zagreb, December 2011

1060S. 17A.





Faces of activism

Many of the people who initiated, ran or worked on projects or in organisations mentioned in the book are named in ARK's chronology. Individuals are extremely important because activist work is a struggle against defeatism and passivity. Not a single programme, activity or organisation could have been created without the initiative and efforts of the individual activists who are sometimes also called social entrepreneurs. People are the carriers of both war and antiwar initiatives and it is for this reason that the naming of civic participants is crucial for the acknowledgement of the value of civic engagement and resistance to evil. And good, like evil, does not occur independently of us but is always reproduced by individuals. The naming of the persons who took part in antiwar activities throughout the 1990s is all the more important given that it was a small number of people who had the courage, craziness or both to struggle for these "unpopular" topics.

The following names do not in any way constitute a comprehensive list of the people who took part in the organisations and projects of ARK. It is simply our attempt to give a personal name to the events mentioned in the book. We plan to continue work on the systematic documentation of antiwar activities and we call on all readers to help us complement the list and record the names of everyone involved.

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 Biserka Milošević, Osijek
 Biserka Momčinović, Poreč
 Biserka Tompak, Zagreb
 Blaženko Karešin Karo, Zagreb
 Boris Bakal, Zagreb
 Boris Buden, Zagreb/Berlin
 Boris Buklijaš, Poreč
 Boris Rašeta, Zagreb
 Boris Trupčević, Zagreb
 Borjanka Metikoš, Bilje/Zagreb
 Branimir Krištofić, Zagreb
 Branka Anđukić, Zagreb
 Branka Drabek, Osijek
 Branka Herljević, Zagreb
 Branka Juran, Zagreb
 Branka Kaselj, Osijek
 Branka Sladović, Zagreb
 Čani Hasipi, Poreč
 Danijela Babić, Zagreb
 Darko Pavičić, Zagreb
 Davor Jambor, Zagreb
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 Dejan Kršić, Zagreb
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 Dragica Aleksa, Berak
 Drago Hedl, Osijek
 Dražen Nikolić, Zagreb
 Dražen Šimleša, Zagreb
 Dražena Peranić, Sarajevo/Zagreb
 Draženka Dobrić, Zagreb
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 Duška Pribičević Gelb, Zagreb
 Đurđa Knežević, Zagreb/Nerežišća

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 Goran Božičević, Zagreb, Grožnjan
 Goran Flauder, Osijek
 Gordana Bosanac, Zagreb
 Gordana Forčić, Zagreb
 Gordana Obradović-Dragišić, Zagreb
 Gordana Stojanović, Bilje, Osijek
 Igor Blažević, Sarajevo/Prague
 Igor Galo, Pula
 Igor Marković, Zagreb
 Ivan Ožić, Pula
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 Ivana Kesić, Zagreb
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 Lidija Obad, Osijek
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 Maja Mamula, Zagreb
 Maja Uzelac, Zagreb
 Marija Kosor, Zagreb
 Marijana Mitrović, Osijek
 Marina Cee, Osijek
 Marina Škrabalo, Zagreb
 Marko Strpić, Zagreb
 Marko Vuković, Zagreb
 Martin Kovačević, Osijek
 Martina Belić, Zagreb

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Mile Sokolić, Karlovac
Milena Bader, Zagreb
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Milivoj Đilas, Zagreb
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Mirjana Herzeg, Osijek
Mirjana Radaković, Zagreb
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Nina Pečnik, Zagreb
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Roza Roje, Split
Ružica Gajić Guljašević, Zagreb

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Sandra Vinkerlić, Poreč
Sanja Cesar, Zagreb
Sanja Sarnavka, Zagreb
Sara Petra Mihaljević, Zagreb
Silva Sumić, Split
Silvija Tomčik, Zagreb
Silvija Žufić, Poreč
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Srđan Dvornik, Zagreb
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Tonči Majić, Split
Toni Gabrić, Zagreb
Toni Vidan, Zagreb
Vanja Goldberg, Zagreb
Vanja Nikolić, Osijek/Zagreb
Vedran Antonijević, Split
Veljko Danilović†, Zagreb
Veronika Rešković, Zagreb
Veselinka Kastratović, Osijek
Vesna Janković, Zagreb
Vesna Kesić†, Zagreb
Vesna Podlipec, Split
Vesna Pupavac, Zagreb
Vesna Roller, Zagreb
Vesna Teršelić, Zagreb
Vida Tučan†, Split
Vladimir Desnica, Zagreb
Vlado Ratko Aleksić, Poreč
Vojko Ivica, Split
Zehrudin Isaković, Sarajevo
Zlatko Pejić, Zagreb
Zoran Arbutina Risch, Zagreb/Frankfurt
Zoran Oštrić, Zagreb





TERROR

Ahead of its time?⁰¹

The Charter of the Antiwar Campaign articulated exactly what we felt was vitally important at the time from the immediate experience of war: we as citizens wanted to know what to do and how to act there and then, in the midst of the war, because a time would come when we would build peace. The Antiwar Campaign was far ahead of its time in terms of posing questions and laying the foundations for how to build a civil state and lasting peace.

01 Transcript of the roundtable discussion “The Antiwar Campaign 1991–2011: twenty years ahead of its time” held on 4 July 2011 in the House of Human Rights, Zagreb. Speakers: Mirjana Bilopavlović, Goran Božičević, Dejan Jović, Katarina Kruhonja, Vesna Teršelič.

Vesna Teršelič: Hello everyone! We began talking at the beginning of this year how we wanted to mark this anniversary, the 20th anniversary of the Antiwar Campaign. It was a participatory process, and we tried to involve as many of our friends as possible, especially those who met at the Zagorka bar in the early evening of 4 July 1991 when we agreed to launch the Antiwar Campaign. Some got involved, others didn't. Some will come to the party tonight that starts at 8pm at Green Action (Zelena akcija). Green Action was a very significant place for the Antiwar Campaign because it was launched after a meeting at the Green Action office. There was a synchrony between Green Action and the Society for the Improvement of the Quality of Life (Društvo za unapređenje kvaliteta života). There was also a synchrony with the thoughts and initiatives of our friends such as Šura Dumanić in Rijeka, or Biserka and Mladen Momčinović, who would start up an initiative when they moved from Zagreb to Poreč.

I'd say that the first impulse was to affirm non-violence at a time when a wave of violence had just swept over Croatia. Josip Reihl-Kir was killed on 1 July '91, and I'd even say we were late, although we'd discussed what could happen a year earlier, and in the years before that. What would happen with the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) when political control was gone. We expected and anticipated that there would be someone, or some people, be it the authorities or academic institutions, who would conduct negotiations and have some idea of what to do in this and other conflicts. But it turned out that no negotiations were conducted, and the ideas about what to do in a conflict situation, especially a conflict between Serbia and Croatia, were very rudimentary – as they were among those of us who launched the Antiwar Campaign, I'd say. And maybe our strength was just that

we said to ourselves very clearly that we don't really know what should be done in this situation either, but we were prepared to explore and learn, we were inquisitive. We started from scratch in terms of understanding and managing conflicts, with help from our friends in Croatia, neighbouring Slovenia and all over the world. At a planning meeting in August that year, '91, which we held in Kumrovec,⁰¹ we took heart and began fashioning some of the most important programmes of the Antiwar Campaign – starting with advocacy for conscientious objection. We'd picked out conscientious objection as a central issue back in the eighties, in the context of Svarun,⁰² because as early as '88 we considered it unacceptable that it wasn't recognised in Yugoslavia at the time, and we advocated alternative civilian service. That was the beginning of our peace activism because we already knew a bit about conscientious objection, about civilian service as an alternative to serving in the Yugoslav People's Army, and we'd leafleted and gained some experience, which proved useful in our organisational work. So there was our advocacy for conscientious objection, but we realised straight away that there would be hardly any information about us also being for non-violence and tolerance, so we'd need a newsletter or journal, a fanzine, *ARKzin*. Its pilot issue was published in Zagreb in September '91. We knew instinctively that the protection of human rights would be a problem, so in the pilot issue we published the short text "Do you know what a war crime is?", which was issued simultaneously by the Centre for Antiwar Action in Belgrade. It was clear that things would come to a head in the next few months. A third strand of our activities was linked to understanding and managing conflicts, and we began to organise workshops with the help of our friends from War Resisters' International and a number of organisations from that

02 A village 40 km northwest of Zagreb, the birthplace of Josip Broz Tito; also home to a large educational centre (initially a Party school), which has since fallen into disrepair. [trans.]

03 See footnote 11 (page 235) on the history and significance of this group. [trans.]

network who came from Germany and Britain to support us. The series of activities connected to education was further articulated later through the activities of A Small Step (Mali korak), and then through those of the Centre for Peace Studies, and it developed into a whole range of educational projects. I'd say it was particularly carefully fostered at the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek. A fourth series of activities was to do with the advancement and protection of human rights. These four chief areas of activity were constants of our work in the first years of the Antiwar Campaign. There was also a constant string of new events to affirm conscientious objection, which we managed to propose in a public hearing on the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia in 1990, and fortunately it was included in the constitution. Another continuity was *ARKzin* and a third strand – the direct protection of human rights, where we began by translating the Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International reports on the crimes in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. And if anyone says the information wasn't available in Croatia, those books – one about Croatia, the other about Bosnia-Herzegovina – came out in '93. When I leafed through them again, I was really surprised how much was known about the war crimes in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mirjana Bilopavlović: Hello to my friends and fellow activists here, whom I got to know back in the nineties when the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia took a big stride and came to the area of so-called Western Slavonia. I know Slavonia is one, so dividing it into an eastern and a western part is problematic for me.

What should I say about the Antiwar Campaign at that time in Pakrac? It was something new. I think even for the people who made up the core of the Antiwar Campaign

of Croatia it was something of a journey into the unknown. They came to a war zone with no organisation to rely on like NGOs can today when they go to regions that interest them for this or that reason. They had pure will and the desire to try and do something – to put everything they advocated in their activities in Zagreb or Osijek into practice in the war-affected and devastated areas, where there were major divisions along ethnic, national and religious lines.

What the Antiwar Campaign did phenomenally well was the Volunteer Project Pakrac, which was the first attempt at peace work in what was then Yugoslavia. It was the first attempt to address peacebuilding in a different way in the war-divided region. To illustrate what that meant at that time in Pakrac, I have to mention several phases. What happened to Pakrac and Lipik with the arrival of the volunteers – some from Croatia and some from abroad – caused incredulity and shock. "What gives someone the right to come and tell us what we should do? We were there during the war, so what gives them the right to tell us how we should resolve the war."

The next phase was the locals' distrust towards everyone who came with a pure heart and the desire to help. How could they help? The assumption was that they didn't know themselves in the beginning but that it developed along with the situation. The locals thought they were a bunch of adventure-seekers who wanted to be in a war zone so they could later tell their friends how cool they were. They were in a war, nothing happened to them, and that was another point in their CV, and possibly a stepping stone in their career.

What the Antiwar Campaign did through the Volunteer Project Pakrac is invaluable, in my opinion. It was the creation of social contacts. We mustn't forget that we're still talking about the period of the war in Croa-

The volunteers – some of them domestic, others from abroad – began to teach us how important it is to work on the creation of social contacts in a divided community. How important it is to discover the modicum of humanity left in us. To try not to blame others a priori, because that's the attitude of official politics, but to take a real look – however hard it was to be realistic in those moments, in those years of madness, war and everything. Especially if you've lost someone near and dear like a family member.



Što je ratni zločin?

Po međunarodnom ratnom pravu, ratni zločin je

- nasilje nad životom, zdravljem, fizičkim i mentalnim blagostanjem ljudi, naročito **UBISTVO I OKRUTNO POSTUPANJE** kao što su **MUČENJE, SAKAĆENJE** ili **BILO KOJI OBLIK TEL-ESNE KAZNE**

- kolektivne kazne
- pljačka
- uzimanje talaca
- akti terorizma
- vrijeđanje ljudskog dostojanstva, naročito **PONIŽAVAJUĆI I DEGRADIRAJUĆI POSTUPCI, SI-LOVANJE, PRINUDNA PROSTITUCIJA I SVAKI OBLIK NEDOLIČNOG NAPA-DA**

- prijetnja izvršenjem bilo kojeg od gore spomenutih djela i da u borbi neće biti preživjelih.



"What is a war crime?" ARKzin pilot issue

ZAŠTO JE UHAPŠEN PREVODILAC UNPROFOR-a?

ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA HRVATSKA
KAMP MEĐUNARODNIH VOLONTERA
Pakrac, 4. 9. 1993.

Hrvatskom Helsinškom odboru

Poštovani,

želimo vas obavijestiti da je u srijedu, 1. rujna 1993. oko 17h uhićen g. Simo Zjalić (UNOV/UNDP Interpreter/assistant reconstruction officer) od strane hrvatske policije. Tu je večer odveden u Bjelovarski zatvor. Po saznanjima UNCIVPOL-a odveden je zatim u novogradiški zatvor. Za cijelo to vrijeme nije omogućen kontakt službenim osobama UN. Trenutno je g. Simo Zjalić u Zagrebu. Najvjerojatnije u vojnom zatvoru. Kako saznajemo podignuta je optužnica. Čini se da ga se tereti za sudjelovanje u oružanoj pobuni protiv RH ili slično. Možda vi više znate o tome. A i mediji su javljali.

G. Zjalić je radio kao prevodilac za UNCIVPOL od lipnja 1992. U ožujku 1993. je prešao u UNOV/UNDP Social Reconstruction Project (Sector West). I ima ugovor s njima do prosinca 1993. G. Zjalić živi u Okučanima.

Ono što znamo je da je upućen službeni protest UNPROFOR-u i hrvatskoj Vladi od strane g. Michael Platzer, Special Assistant of the General Director, UNOV. Također znam da je Ured UN-New York upoznat. Cijeli slučaj je izazvao dodatnu napetost ovdje.

ARK surađuje s UNOV/UNDP uredom u Pakracu na projektu društvene obnove te smo tako svakodnevno surađivali s g. Zjalićem. Jako smo zabrinuti zbog cijelog slučaja. Radi se o osobi s UN imunitetom. To je mlad dečko vrlo dobro prihvaćen na obje strane linije razgraničenja. Bio je jako potresen kad je uhićen, a zbog nemogućnosti kontaktiranja s njim pretpostavljamo da je u još lošijem mentalnom stanju. Bit ćemo vam vrlo zahvalni ako na bilo koji način možete pomoći.

S poštovanjem,
Goran Božićević

Voditelj kampa međunarodnih dobrovoljaca ARK

"Why was an UNPROFOR translator arrested?" ARKzin no. 5,
4 September 1993

tia, and we're talking about the area that suffered the worst destruction after Vukovar – both in terms of infrastructure and human losses. We're talking about the area where the conflict began that later generated the war. It all began in Pakrac in March '91. That's just a reminder for the younger ones among you; I'm not proud that the war began in Pakrac.

But the creation of social contacts ushered in a valuable process. In war you always have “us” and “them”, friends and enemies. How do you talk with friends and enemies when we'd all been friends until recently? The Antiwar Campaign made it possible for us to cross the border the first few times. Not in public, of course, but secretly, via the UNPA zone, which was in front of the municipal offices. The Antiwar Campaign allowed the reunion of families that had been separated by sheer chance, overnight, because of an event that had long been planned and was expected at some point, but most of us didn't believe would really happen. I'll speak just about the part of Pakrac under Croatian jurisdiction because I know very little about what was done on the other side of the border. Aid was organised for families who offered for volunteers to come and help in the house. Why do I say “offered”? At first, no one came to the office of the Volunteer Project Pakrac, knocked on the door and said: “Hey, come over to my place.” So the volunteers went and offered themselves. They established the initial social contacts and helped us reach a different “clienteles”. The volunteers – some of them domestic, others from abroad – began to teach us how important it is to work on the creation of social contacts in a divided community. How important it is to discover the modicum of humanity left in us. To try not to blame others *a priori*, because that's the attitude of official politics, but to take a real look – however hard it was to be realistic in those moments, in

those years of madness, war and everything. Especially if you've lost someone near and dear like a family member. Workshops were held. The volunteers spoke to the children first because children are easier to approach. They don't bear grudges like adults do, and via the children it was possible to reach their parents. After the workshops for children there were ones for a broad section of the population, but please take that “broad section of the population” with a grain of salt: it was mainly men who weren't subject to conscription and women who stayed in their homes, ruined or badly damaged as they were, who were involved in what were called work brigades. It was very pleasing to see that it was the volunteers who initiated tea sessions, what I now call “hen parties”, with us women, with coffee. The mood was very good. Katarina and her friends, some of whom are unfortunately no longer with us, like Kruno, left an indelible mark on the lives of people of Pakrac and Lipik. They tried to talk with us about peacebuilding, the need for non-violence and transformation of the conflict. All of that is logical to me now, but back then it was one big chaotic nightmare. I had the opportunity later to speak with many people when Goran was preparing his book *U dosluhu i neposluhu* (*Collusion and disobedience*), and to see that even today a lot of people haven't embraced the concept of non-violence and the creation of peace, but they accepted what the activists had to offer because it was important to be able to say: “Even in wartime we have to think about peace, and how we're going to implement peace afterwards.”

The next very significant step in the work of the Antiwar Campaign through the Volunteer Project Pakrac was the strengthening of civil society. Not only the strengthening of the organisations that operated through the Antiwar Campaign, but of civil society organisati-

When we invited women from the former Yugoslavia, and women from Croatia, some of whom are here today, to come and speak about peacebuilding. We mentioned for the first time, albeit indirectly, how significant the gender dimension is in peacebuilding, although we didn't know how to articulate that at the time. It's been women who've spoken about peace in all the military conflicts, by force of circumstance, because it's been necessary for their families

ons in all of Croatia, and indirectly also in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I'll never forget '94, Goran Božičević, Martina Belić and Vesna Kesić, who helped me privately so we could do a project financed by the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation; it was about "Women in War and Peace", when we invited women from the former Yugoslavia, and women from Croatia, some of whom are here today, to come and speak about peacebuilding. We mentioned for the first time, albeit indirectly, how significant the gender dimension is in peacebuilding, although we didn't know how to articulate that at the time. It's been women who've spoken about peace in all the military conflicts, by force of circumstance, because it's been necessary for their families, primarily for the children. And on the other hand so that there be peace, so that their husbands not become cannon fodder for some future enemies, be they real or imaginary. I can't talk about the Antiwar Campaign without mentioning the first five basic MIRamiDA workshops in Pakrac. That was something new, not only for civil society organisations in Croatia, but also further afield. I think the MIRamiDA projects had a profound influence on peacebuilding in the region. New ideas were born, new approaches. It actually motivated some people who today are distinguished activists in the region of the former Yugoslavia to adopt the work and show that, if there's but a little understanding, if we step beyond warmongering politics, we might arrive at what we'd call peacebuilding, and which today we call peacebuilding through dealing with the past. We didn't think at that time how much the war that occurred in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina actually had its roots in the wars and events before '91.

I'll never forget my friends Ranka Jindra and Jelena Maras from Osijek, who showed me for the first time what the difference is between

the language of the snake and the language of the giraffe in peacebuilding. They came to talk with us about communication, about how much it takes to set up communication, how much it takes two to communicate, and how much communication has noises we have to recognise. Sometimes it was hilarious. I remember there were jokes for months afterwards: "Ah, you're a snake, you're a giraffe but your neck is kinda short."

Speaking about the Antiwar Campaign in Pakrac, it was very hard at the beginning. Do you know why? Because the prefix "anti" was in it, and "war" as well. In fact, all the people who felt it was directed against the newly formed state are still convinced of that today; not even 20 years were enough for them to admit that the Antiwar Campaign brought a new and different world to the war-divided community. It's a shame they didn't change their attitudes, but on the other hand I'm exceptionally glad that the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia attracted a huge number of people, directly or indirectly, regardless of ethnicity, religion, age or even race. A body of people was created who thought differently about the wars in the former Yugoslavia and had a right to think differently.

Goran Božičević: Only now, sitting here, have I realised why I found it so hard to prepare for this speech. I spoke about the Antiwar Campaign heaps of times to people who had no idea what it was, especially in the nineties. It's a terrific feeling to be able to talk about a range of exceptional people who did incredible things in difficult circumstances, who struggled both against themselves and their environment, and I can tell you I felt terribly proud in those situations. But to speak to someone who knows what the Antiwar Campaign was, who helped create it or at least identified with it, is a big problem for me. To help, I jotted

down the three phases I went through with the Antiwar Campaign. The first was animosity. I'd come across mentions of peace activists in the papers in '91 and '92, and an "Antiwar Campaign" – they were up to something, muckraking and protesting, so there was always a mention or two in the news of their troublemaking. Peaceniks were too much for me to fathom, to tell the truth – I didn't know what they could want in those hard times. The only thing that didn't fit into that mindset was that I knew Vesna Teršelič was involved, and we'd been friends since '83 at uni. Then I summoned up the strength and went along to listen to Greg Payton from Vietnam Veterans Against the War, sometime in '92. He spoke for an hour or two in Tkalčičeva Street. So I wasn't in the Antiwar Campaign. I went along with a friend, a neighbour who was in the army, and hearing Payton talk was like a punch in the guts. He spoke as a veteran about the line he crossed when he killed a person for the first time, about the hell that awaited him after that – the hell of drugs he got sucked into – and after that about antiwar activism. Yeah, and then in '93 I decided to join the Antiwar Campaign after all. I sat down with Vesna and the first thing I told her was: "I'm not going to go out on the streets and shout: 'Stop the war in Croatia!'" She laughed and said: "We don't do that. We don't go onto the streets and shout: 'Stop the war in Croatia.' We have a whole range of different programmes," and so we agreed about Pakrac.

My second phase, after that animosity, was respect. When I looked at the Antiwar Campaign's correspondence in Tkalčičeva Street, and the archive from '91 and '92, i.e. from when I was in that phase of animosity – what copious correspondence it was, with state bodies and a wide range of international factors, and how systematically it was all done! What a level of seriousness, dedication and

understanding in time, something I later called "collusion but also disobedience". "Wow, and you did all this in two years!" I said.

The third phase, with which I'll finish, although there's definitely more that could be said, was that of identification. I began to identify with the Antiwar Campaign after I'd been in Pakrac for two months and I could even establish the hour when it happened. I told myself that my task there was to take care of the volunteers, to make sure nothing happened to them and we did no harm. Basically I had no truck with human rights, conscientious objection, and a range of other things the Antiwar Campaign is into. But then Simo Zjalić (28) got arrested. He was a guy from Okučani, "on the other side", as Mirjana said, in the Republic of Serbian Krajina (SAO Krajina). The problem was that he had UN status, as an interpreter. And then our volunteers said: "The Croatian police have arrested Simo. He's a member of the UN personnel and no one can say anything. He disappeared just like that. What kind of state are we living in where someone who works for the United Nations can simply vanish and no one knows what's going on?" And I said: "Alright, it's a shame about Simo, but someone will sort it out." I ruminated in our office for two or maybe three hours: "But who will react and help Simo?" None of all my fellow activists from the Antiwar Campaign knew Simo had been arrested. Then I realised: "I have to react because I know something's happened to him." But then I said: "I can't react and help Simo because I don't deal with human rights, I'm here to work with volunteers." And then I flipped: "But I've come from the Antiwar Campaign. I can't work with volunteers and do fuzzy peace stuff – and then a guy disappears and I do nothing?" I said to myself: "So, Goran, either you sod off to Zagreb and bleat 'I can't do that,' or you can do something to try and help the guy – howe-

The real danger of working with the Antiwar Campaign wasn't so much that we could be abducted and bumped off but that we'd become a fig leaf, a democratic fig leaf for the regime of the time.

Graktanje crnih vrana

DUBRAVKO HORVATić

Pročitavši »Arkzin«, ne mogu se oteti dojmu da je riječ o kratici za – Arkanov magazin

Pišući prije otprilike pola godine člančić o Frankopanovoj pjesmi »Pozvanje na voj-sku«, spomenuo sam uzgred i to da u nas »dižu glavu petokolonaši pod krinkom antiratne kampanje, koja u napadanoj i napadnutoj zemlji ne znači ništa drugo nego poziv na predaju i poziv »dreknuce od pradje-dova...« ga tla koje je zapo-sjeo neprijatelj». Imao sam tada u vidu »Arkzin, fanzin Antiratne kampanje Zagreb«, koja je u međuvremenu promijenila naziv u »Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske«.

Ne odriču se ovi miroborci srcu im prirasloga genitiva, ne zatajuju Hrvatsku kao zemljopisni naziv. Štoviše, oni se rodoljubno trude obogatiti hrvatski jezik, kako sami vele. Naime, njihovo se glasillo sada zove »Arkzin, fanzin antiratne kampanje Hrvatske«. Što je to fanzin, tumači nam u uvodniku glavnica i odgovorna urednica Vesna Janković: »Riječ fanzin dolazi iz rock & roll subkulture... i dalje ćemo zadržati to ime, ne samo zato da bismo hrvatski jezik obogatili jedno ovom riječju, nego zato što smo niknuli odozdo, što jesmo alternativa ne samo dominantnom vrijednosnom sistemu nego i dominantnom novinarstvu...« Urednica u svom uvodniku »obogaćuje« hrvatski jezik ne samo anglicizmima, nego i srbizimima (»snisnobljiv«, »nadmena«, »prevazilazi«), a slično »obogaćivanje« zamjećujemo i u člancima drugih autora. Međutim, nije mi nakana pisati o nemuštom jeziku ovoga lista, nego o njegovim, najblaže rečeno, nemuštim stavovima.

Nijedno pero, nego strojevi

Oni su prisutni i u spomenutom uvodniku, ironično intoniranom, gdje prva rečenica glasi: »Zahvaljujući mudrosti i istrajnosti našeg Vrhovništva u borbi protiv zagađivačke pučke svijesti, sve više kvalitetnih novinara ostaje bez novi-

na...« Pa sad, kad je već po »Arkzinu« tako, onda im on pruža gostoprimstvo. Međutim, osobno ne nalazim u njemu nijedno veliko novinarsko pero, ali zato nalazim novinarske strojeve koji su i u jugoboljševizmu proizvodili protuhrvatske pamflete. Taj naboj posjeduje i uvodnik koji se okomio na »retoriku žrtve«. Vjerojatno zato da bi žrtvu sveo na »specijalan način gledanja na« zbilju (što glavna urednica u uvodniku ističe kao »ideal lista«). »Arkzin« se nesebično skrbi za radna mjesta i stanove Srba, za njihove domovnice (iako je općepoznato da se izdaju šakom i kapom, pa i onima koji su se vratili iz redova »oslobodilaca«), piše o humanosti srpskih zatvora, te napada HTV što donosi izjave onih koji svjedoče o užasima tih zatvora i koncologora, jer to je »manipuliranje javnošću«, donosi izvratke iz engleskih novina koje citiraju Ivana Zvonimira Čička i Žarka Puhovskoga s njihovim usjećanjem za »srpske patnje« i traženjem da se sudski gone Hrvati koji su zločinjavali jadne, ugrožene Srbe, izruguje zatim Hrvatski populacijski pokret, kojemu je na čelu don Anto Baković, ali zato, po načelu »specijalnoga načina gledanja na zbilju«, brine se za prava homoseksualaca i lezbijki.

»Arkzin« donosi i intervjue s dvojicom politikanata s područja bivše SFRJ: to su Muhamed Filipović i Milorad Pupovac. Ne treba nam prepričavati za što se zalažu. Nomen est omen. Potonjega intervjuiira Srdan Dvornik (jedan od čelnika Socijalno demokratske unije Hrvatske druga Branka Horvata), koji ima u ovom broju još jedan prilog, pa je tako uz zelenoga Zorana Oštrića (ne u muslimanskom, nego u pseudoekološkom smislu) i nekog Gorana Flaudera najplodniji au-

tor u ovom broju »Arkzina«. No, »Arkzinov« raspon pljuvanja po državi u kojoj izlazi, po njezinu narodu i po njezinim institucijama znatno je širi. Osobito su na udaru Hrvatska vojska i Hrvatsko vijeće obrane. Gojko Marinković, koji plaće za Končarevom ulicom, te usputice Milu Budaka naziva »takozvanim« književnikom«, tvrdi da je Hrvatska vojska preuzela »nazivlje ustaške vojske«. Treba li polemizirati s takvima i dokazivati im da nazivlje Hrvatske vojske potječe iz Hrvatskog domobranstva, koje je utemeljeno 1868. godine, preuzevši staro hrvatsko ratno i vojno nazivlje, te ga obogaćujući, osobito u vrijeme kada mu je na čelu bio podmaršal Đuro Čanić (1849-1911). Marinković tvrdi i da su »imena hrvatskim postrojbama dana po nekadašnjim ustaškim glavešinama i koljačima«. Zar su knez Domagoj, i kraljevi Tomislav i Petar Krešimir, i ban Krsto Frankopan ustaške glavešine i koljači? To su za njega, očito, i poratni hrvatski nacionalni djelatnici, primjerice, Bruno Bušić. (Znam samo za bojnu HVO »Jure Francetić« u središnjoj Bosni; kakav je pak Francetić bio »koljač« svjedoči činjenica da je, oslobodivši u proljeće 1942. Goražde od četničke rulje, podijelio hranu svim žiteljima bez obzira na narodnost. Kada su Hrvati i Muslimani prosvjedovali da se tako nagrađuju i oni goradžanski Srbi koji su ih za vrijeme četničke strahovlade zlostavljali, te zahtijevali da ih Francetić kazni, taj domobranski general i ustaški pukovnik odgovorio im je da to spada u djelokrug redarstva, koje će stići nakon njegove postrojbe.)

Reportaža za duet

No, dok Marinković uglavnom teoretizira, novi-

narka Aida (tako se potpisuje ta novinarska zvijezda koja je vjerojatno također »ostala bez novina«) opisuje svoj razgovor s Terminatorom, hrvatskim vojnim policajcem, koji je radi stana »sredio« šestoricu, a »koji sad plivaju Savom za Beograd«. Ta reportaža od kartice i pol zasigurno će dobro doći duetu Čičak – Puhovski u njihovu širenju istine o etničkom čišćenju koje provode hrvatske vlasti. U tom smislu dobro će im doći i članak Zehrudin (Isakovića) koji donosi »djelić krpnjeg mozaika istine« o hrvatskim zločinima i zločincima. Sve to spomenutoj novinarskoj zvijezdi »Arkzina« pričaju mostar-ski Muhamedanci K.M., A.B. i F.T. Iz njihova pričanja saznajemo da Radio Mostar pod hrvatskim nadzorom širi same laži, da su zatvori HVO-a mučilišta nedužnih ljudi, da su postrojbe HVO-a temeljito razorile Mostar, pa su tako srušili i jednu džamiju »staru preko 600 godina« (a Turci su se u Bosni prvi put pojavili godine 1415, da bi Bosna pala pod njih 1463, a Hercegovina 1482), te da su Hrvati spremni baciti muslimansko dijete s balkona, ako im se ne da po nekoliko stotina maraka! Sve te »istine«, kojima će se ubudeći vjerojatno koristiti i drugi »mirovni aktivisti«, a ne samo spomenuti duet, podsjećaju me na Senoinu povjesticu »Kakvu Hrvati djecu jedu?«, a istodobno mi prizivaju i njegove stihove iz pjesme »Klevetnikom Hrvatske«: »Ni riječi više! Već ste dosta/Nagraktale se, crne vrane!«

U impresumu »Arkzina« stoji i ovo: »Zahvaljujemo Zakladi Otvoreno društvo koja nam je pomogla u izdavanju ovoga broja.«

Dvojim da bi Zaklada Otvoreno društvo, koja podupire demokratske pothvate i projekte, pripomogla izdavanje »Arkzina« da je imala uvid u njegov izrazito protuhrvatski sadržaj. Naime, pročitavši »Arkzin« ne mogu se oteti dojmu da je riječ o kratici za – Arkanov magazin!

ver hard it is for you, and you know people on the street will glare at you and snarl: 'You reported to Zagreb that he disappeared. Shame on you.'"

I phoned ARK and had Srđan on the line again, and he said: "You know what? I'm about to leave on a trip, but here's the number of the Croatian Helsinki Committee, Žarko Puhovski is there. He should be able to help." I talked with Professor Puhovski, and he asked me to send a fax. We sent a fax, and the next day we found out where Simo Zjalić was. The UN found out two days later, and they said to us: "Wow, you guys from the Antiwar Campaign found out what's up with Simo two days before the UN system!" *ARKzin* published the entire correspondence, and then I realised you can't just tinker if you want to work for social change. You have to go the whole hog.

I was in Skopje for ten days or so on a working holiday and wrote down a few things when I had the inspiration to prepare, and I'd like to share those notes with you. For example, regarding the title of this discussion. My question is, if we were 20 years ahead in the nineties, where are we now? Are we, who think we have some antiwar legacy, now in 2031? Or have we gone back in time? Or have we perhaps only arrived in '94 now? I don't know where we are. Then I thought of the whole infrastructure that Vesna spoke about and Mirjana also touched on, which functioned. We're talking about ZaMir – an internet pioneer when Croatia was in the pre-digital dark ages. We had a crucial meeting in Pakrac in October '93. I was very nervous because I realised we weren't preparing for that meeting at all. It was on the next day. Then I realised I was the only one who wasn't involved in all the correspondence via the ZaMir network and that a whole number of people had been preparing the meeting for a month. So the internet hooked us up, as they say, with the whole world in 1993.

In fact, all the people who felt it was directed against the newly formed state are still convinced of that today; not even 20 years were enough for them to admit that the Antiwar Campaign brought a new and different world to the war-divided community. It's a shame they didn't change their attitudes, but on the other hand I'm exceptionally glad that the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia attracted a huge number of people, directly or indirectly, regardless of ethnicity, religion, age or even race.

There was psychological care for women war victims, and the Centre for Women War Victims was the biggest of its kind when the major crises occurred in Bosnia. There was the work with children in the camps and the whole business with Suncokret (Sunflower), which sent volunteers to Pakrac. At one point they were so decent as to tell us: "We can't send you volunteers any more because we can't be involved in Pakrac as well, there's war in Bosnia, with the Muslims, and we're working with displaced people from there. That's politically sensitive. Pakrac is just too much." Work in Osijek, a city on the very front line, etc.

The system was against us at that time, I wrote. That's been gnawing at me these days.

The Antiwar Campaign was a fantastic period for me. Like a discovery that rejuvenates you, as Mirjana says. Light at the end of the tunnel. But so much was dark and grim in those years for all who wanted to see what was happening. People's mood was against us. When old schoolmates saw me they'd say, like: "What are you up to, Božo? Why are you in Pakrac?" There's an anecdote: we were in Gajeva Street, a friend from high school saw me as I was leaving the ARK office, and she came up and said: "Goran? Are you with *them*?"

The newspapers had us in their sights, as did various good little Croatians. We didn't think about it much at the time: the real danger of working with the Antiwar Campaign wasn't so much that we could be abducted and bumped off but that we'd become a fig leaf, a democratic fig leaf for the regime of the time. It was sickening – many of us felt that way. A fig leaf for Tuđman's Croatia. I can still see Gojko Šušak taking out the pamphlet of Unija 47 (Union 47) about conscientious objection when the delegation of the Council of Europe asked him: "What are you doing in terms of the constitutional rights of your citizens to conscientious objection?" He took out

the pamphlet of the Antiwar Campaign and said: "Look, I've got this."

Nenad Zakošek: Goran, Tuđman signed the Antiwar charter.

Goran Božičević: How would things be now if we hadn't been around? Recently I did an interview. My counterpart told me, through a series of interviews about dealing with the past, that I revealed a terrible... not inconsistency, but lack of carry-over, of continuity. You talk to twenty people about dealing with the past, and everyone has an utterly different take on things. And he asks: "Where's the continuity?" I'm not saying there's none. I just ask myself how things would be if we hadn't been around? Maybe they'd be better, I don't know. A lot for little money. There was never much money, but we had all the human resources you could wish for. **Adam Curle** was with us, especially with the people of Osijek. He nominated Vesna and Katarina, and they won that prize in Sweden. When I was in Bradford, where there's the biggest peace studies programme, I spoke with the PhD students and mentioned Adam in passing, and they said: "You know Adam? Did you know we're in the Adam Curle Library? He founded this faculty!" Yes, I know him, he was with us here at the first general meeting of the Antiwar Campaign in '93, in the House of the Red Cross on Medvednica Mountain overlooking Zagreb. Greg Payton, Kay Ericson, Diana Francis, Clay McCartney, Roberta Bačić... The Triennial Conference of the War Resisters in Poreč. I think there's rarely such a concentration of peace activists on this planet. But the official institutions made a concerted effort and managed to ignore us. It's not easy, but it can be done.

If we were the Antiwar Campaign, what kind of war was it? That's a question that intrigues me: if it was a stitch-up between Milo-

šević and Tuđman, to what extent was it agreed? I want to know if it was 40% or 90%. Or maybe 56%, I don't know.

And I have another question for discussion. We keep saying we advocated an alternative. What kind of alternative?! We were advocating the pure mainstream. We simply advocated a kind of sanity or humanity: that people not hate each other, so that the worst not come out of each of us. It doesn't have to be with a gun or war at all, it can be just in your block, with your neighbours. It's simply about being humane to one another.

To finish off, it seems to me that the Antiwar Campaign was, firstly, a truly religious movement, and secondly a markedly state-forming movement. Why do I think it's a religious movement? Look and see: non-violence, peace, resistance to injustice, protection of the weak, respect for life, respect for diversity, respect for human dignity, truth, against hypocrisy, the affiliation of people across all manner of borders. If that's not a religious concept, I must have missed something at school. And if it wasn't us who built up the state, I don't know who did. I mean, we saw the system was dysfunctional, we saw constitutional principles, values and principles being bypassed, we saw them being abused and manipulated. And if we didn't speak warnings, we simply said: "The state should serve all its citizens. It should function. But ours here is no good – it needs to be changed." So it was pure statebuilding, in my opinion. Others then stole the concept of statehood from us, but that's a different story.

Dejan Jović: Since we've already spoken about the war period, I'd like to say a thing or two about the pre-war period and the kind of elements that the coalition, or group, was made up of. Just so as to show that, although it didn't form until '91, there had been a pre-

history of activism, especially in the eighties. Then of course I'd like to say a few words about the lessons and the importance of the Antiwar Campaign for us today. I'll start with the latter. If you read Croatian newspapers, there's a story about war in them almost every day, be it the war in the nineties or the one in the forties. And it's not like that just in Croatia. Take the Serbian newspapers, for example, and you'll see that the exhumation of the remains of Draža Mihailović is the main topic, and discussions about the nineties in one form or another. It seems to me that in the eighties we were simply inundated by a wave of reminiscences about the war, which didn't lead to peace but to further conflict. Remembering the Second World War in the eighties was the overture to a new conflict. And in that sense, however much I think dealing with the past is significant and absolutely necessary, I'd always emphasise that the question is *how* we deal with the past. With what goal? Is it an activity that's innately antiwar, one that aims for peace, cooperation and a normal life? Or is it a remembering that leads to new conflicts? We speak a lot about the past today, too, and we interpret our history from the dominant mainstream discourse as a history of conflict and war, but it often seems to me that in the process we erase memories of peace, cooperation and a normal life. It's as if that mainstream discourse makes us feel war is our destiny. Unavoidable. Therefore I think it's all the more important to emphasise this antiwar activity. It doesn't avoid dealing with the past but at the same time is directed towards peacebuilding. Not towards remembering the past so as to organise new acts of revenge or new conflicts in future.

Let me say a little about my pre-war activities – in the eighties, when I first got to know some people of my generation and a little older who were active in the civil society

scene. I mean above all Svarun, an organisation from the mid-80s that attempted to set a new public agenda. In part, it was about environmentally oriented and antimilitarist politics. I think the aspect of antimilitarism is very significant. It creates a continuity of action from Svarun and the activist groups of the eighties, via the war years, through until today. Especially in the eighties and earlier, we lived in a society that considered a good citizen to be a man, and above all one who served in the army. All the others were just associates of that good citizen, or sisters of a soldier or potential soldier. "All of us are the army", the slogan went, and the concept of "people's defence" actually militarised society rather than demilitarising it. It extended the sphere of defence and war to the entire society. Women, in that sense, were mainly wives, mothers or daughters of soldiers, who were the real citizens. That discourse continued through the war. And after the war, too, through linking this image of the militant state and its good citizens exclusively to those who fought with rifle in hand and participated in the creation of the state that way. As if all the others, who were on the antiwar side, had an ongoing interest in peace and didn't want to be part of that military machinery were not citizens – or at least not good ones.

Apart from them, there were also various feminist groups and even what we in retrospect could call the beginnings of LGBT groups. Principally in urban settings, but also elsewhere. The Greens emerged, too, who we should remember are hardly marginal. I reread some issues of *Danas* from 1990 the other day and came across a text by the political commentator and analyst Slaven Letica, who predicted on the eve of the elections that the results would be 40% for the Blues,⁰⁴ 30% for the Reds and 30% for the Greens! But the whole thing wasn't marginal because it al-

If we were the Antiwar Campaign, what kind of war was it? That's a question that intrigues me: if it was a stitch-up between Milošević and Tuđman, to what extent was it agreed? I want to know if it was 40% or 90%. Or maybe 56%, I don't know.

TEMA BROJA: TREBA LI HRVATSKOJ ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA?

SRBI, LJEVIČARI, FEMINISTKINJE I HOMOSEKSUALCI VODE RAT PROTIV RATA?

Takozvana Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske, građanska inicijativa upitnog cilja i zadaće, indikativno je, rodila se u Hrvatskoj i pozvala na odbacivanja oružja upravo u vrijeme kada je ista ta Hrvatska napadnuta. Oko svojeg službenog glasila koje zovu fanzinom okupila je uglavnom komunističke, ljevičarske i (ili) jugoslavenske novinare i druge autore, kojima se nije sviđela promjena režima u Hrvatskoj i koji još uvijek uporno plaću za komunizmom i Jugoslavijom, koji smatraju da je mirovništvo boriti se protiv vlasti i izmišljati izlike dezterterima, očekujući da će Hrvatsku osloboditi »netko treći« ili je, pak, nitko neće osloboditi

DUBRAVKO GRAKALIĆ

Rat na Balkanu - kako američke tv-mreže vole nazvati ovašnja zbivanja - pokazao je, uz sve besmislenosti i gluposti, i to što danas znači mirovni pokret, kako u svijetu, tako i na Balkanu. Za pravo, pokazalo se da mirovni pokreti nemaju apsolutnu nikakvu ulogu u političkim zbivanjima, kako se čak ni zapadna javnost, poznata po svojoj osjetljivosti na mučenje životinja, ne obazire previše na njihovu djelatnost, ali da ih se zato može instrumentalizirati na domaćoj sceni, gdje su osnovani kako bi dovodili u dvogub hrvatske ratne napore za oslobađanje cjelokupnog državnog teritorija.

Činjenice su, naime, posve jasne. Na međunarodnom je planu bez (pre)velike buke propao plan o putu talijanskih mirovnjaka u Sarajevo, jer je i najvećem političkom analfabetu jasno kako glavni grad Bosne mogu spasiti jedino NATO-zrakoplovi, a ne gomila dobro raspo-

Prve hrvatske mirovne skupine počele su se organizirati uoči prvih slobodnih izbora 1990. godine, a cilj im uglavnom nije bio lupetanje parolama o tome kako valja »dati šansu miru«, nego kako prijeći u demokraciju i slobodnu državu mirnim putem. Jedna od takvih skupina bio je *Hrvatski mirovni pokret* iz Splita, koji je bio organiziran kao politička stranka. Nakon toga, izbijanjem rata, »mirovnjaci« gotovo posve nestaju s hrvatske javne pozornice, a tamo im tada ni nije bilo mjesto. No, uspostavljanjem primirja, potom i krhokog mira, u javnosti se sve agresivnije pojavljuju

takozvana Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske, građanska pobuda upitnog cilja i zadaće.

Naravno, Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske nije jedina takva udruga u Ljepoj našoj. U Zagrebu postoji i, primjenice, *Zagrebačka anarho-pacifička organizacija*, dok u Rijeci djeluje *Mirovni pokret »Suncoke«*. Riječ je poglavito o marginalnim organizacijama lokalnog značaja, čija djelatnost nije osobito zanimljiva. To se ne bi moglo reći za Antiratna kampanju, čije je sjedište u Zagrebu, i koja predstavlja »hrvatski oblik« srpskog *Centra na anitratna akciju*, sa sjedištem u Beogradu. *Zagrebačku »središnjicu«* i beogradsku »centralu« »aniratinu« akcija ne povezuju samo zajednički međunarodni financijeri, poput zaklade

mu u Hrvatskoj, i tome slično. Dakle, hrvatska se Antiratna kampanja zasniva na parolama prepisanim iz stranih listova (poput »*Ako se tvoja savjest protivi vojnoj službi - pošuj savjest!*«), te na spisateljskoj djelatnosti ljevičara, feministkinja, homoseksualaca, hrvatskih Srba i, da ne zaboravimo, prokušanih »boraca za ljudska prava« poput *Žarka Puhovskog*.

Dakako, šaroliko društvo »kampanjaca« ne krije marginalnost svojih životnih opredjeljenja pa tako *Vesna Janković*, urednica *ARKZina*, piše u jednom uvodniku: »*Za nas, doduše, zalaganje za mir i ljudska prava, traženje solucija izvan zadanih koordinata nikad nije bilo marginalno. Mada nam je jasno da u situaciji kada je retorika žrive opepririh*

vor savjesti, »kampanjici« kao da nisu zadovoljni tom činjenicom, pa govore o »međunarodno-pravnom poretku«, konstatirajući kako je »*Hrvatska članica međunarodne zajednice?*«? Nije, naravno, teško zamisliti dreku koja bi se digla da Hrvatska ne poštuje pravo prigovora savjesti, za što bi novozemni sponzori zacijelo namakli još novca.

Usput budi rečeno, današnji djelatnici SSOH, poput *Zorana Oštrića*, prije se nisu osobito isticali mirovništvo i borbom protiv vlasti - prije bi se moglo reći da su bili militantni ekolozi, koji su živjeli u sistemu, a ne na margini. Očito, rat protiv Hrvatske probudio je u njima nove sklonosti, koje možda i nisu tako marginalne kako izgledaju.

BEOGRAD, AH, BEOGRAD

ADKH je elektronskom poštom (e-mail) u sklopu Bulletin Board sustava koji financiraju europski mirovnjaci preko Beča povezan s Beogradom. To je vjerojatno veza preko koje ARKzinu redovito stižu članci autora iz Srbije i Crne Gore koje taj fanzin (valida jedini fanzin Tako je, primjerice, u broju iz srpnja '93, uz tekst *Mitice i Mitice* o beogradskom *Radiju B92* (koji također dobiva lovu od Sorosovih istaknutih izjava jednog od osnivača rečenog radija Verana Matića, koja u prijevodu na hrvatski *»Tako je, ARKzin, kako se miruje i oslobađa«*, *Srpski mirni savez u Hrvatskoj, ali mi zbog toga, ono što bismo, očekujući istu namenu, od njih stalno ponajam kako, čitajući Hrvatskoj sva rade za istu stvar, nemaju disonantnih tonova.*

Otvoreno društvo Georgesa Sorosa, nego i »alternativna informativna mreža«, a o idealima da i ne govorimo.

Danas je zagrebačka Antiratna kampanja vrlo glasna organizacija. ARKH izdaje *ARKzin* - »oporbeni« mjesečni fanzin, gdje uglavnom objavljuju komunistički, ljevičarski i (ili) jugoslavenski novinari i drugi autori, kojima se nije sviđela promjena režima u Hrvatskoj. Njihov dobar propagandni potez bio je i nedavna svađa *Zorana Oštrića*, pripadnika Antiratne kampanje, s dužnosnikom HDZ-a *Dragom Krpinićem* na jednoj javnoj tribini u Zagrebu na kojoj se razgovaralo o Bosni. Tom je prigodom, tvrdi »kampanjici«, *Krpina* prijetio *Oštriću* odlaskom na bojišnicu i »metkom u potiljak«, što on demantira, poručujući »mirovnjaku« da pati zbog prosti Jugoslavije. Cijela afera će, navodno, završiti na sudu, iako je to suđenje nevažno. Važno je bilo pokazati kako je Antiratna kampanja u oštom sukobu s vlašću i razglasiti to u svim medijima, što su uspjeli, iako vlast dosad nije upućevala na djelatnost te »nevladine organizacije«. Doduše, imenovanjem *Krpine* na mjesto načelnika Političke uprave Ministarstva obrane, moglo bi doći do nastavka »prepućavanja« Antiratne kampanje s državnim organima.

Glavna djelatnost Antiratne kampanje svakako je antiratna propaganda, koja se u slučaju tih mirovotvoraca zasniva na nagovaranju ljudi da ne idu u vojsku. U spomenutom fanzinu koji »kampanjici« tiskaju uz *Sorosovu* pomoć, nema teksto-va o uzrocima i povodima rata, poput domovinskog rata, ili nečeg sličnog, ali se, uz političke komentare *Gojke Marinkovića*, objavljuju priče *Dubravke Ugrešić*, feministički zapisi *Vesne Kešić*, tekstovi o homoseksualcima i udružuju *UGMA* koje okuplja pedere i lezbijke, razmišljanja o srpskom proble-

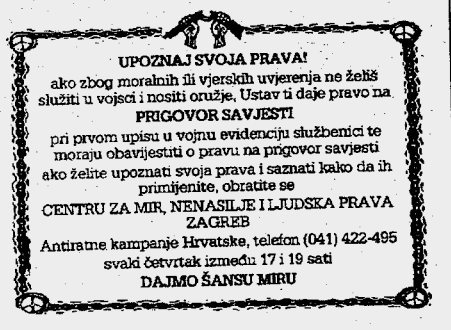


NASLOVNICA FANZINA ARKzin: PISAC DUBRAVKO HORVATIĆ ZAPISAO JE I KAKO SE NE MOŽE OTETI DOJMU DA JE ZAPRAVO RIJEČ O KRATICI ZA »ARKANOV MAGAZIN«

vačena, a stalno podgrijevanje rata vezuje ruke i začepljuje usta, većina pučanstva ne može i ne želi vidjeti naš izbor kao odluku da se bude neovisan i svoj. Odluku da se bude *prvo Čovjek*, a tek potom Hrvat, pripadnik ove ili one stranke, *triva*.

Već smo napomenuli da je osnovna djelatnost Antiratne kampanje izdavanje kojekakvih tekstova, koji se, osim u *ARKzinu*, mogu pročitati u brošurama, poput primjerice one besmislenog naslova »*Obrana bez nasilja: kako do civilne službe*«. Tu se objašnjava regularnost prava na prigovor savjesti. Iako hrvatsko zakonodavstvo priznaje pravo na prigo-

lako barataju velikim riječima o tome kako treba biti »Čovjek«, »kampanjici« izgleda nisu svjesni što to znači biti Hrvat i braniti svoj dom u sadašnjem trenutku. Do tog će zaključka, prije ili kasnije, zasigurno sami doći, možda kada napokon zadovolje svoje financiјere. A bez obzira na svu marginalnost Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske, a posebno njezinih zagovornika, ipak se treba zapitati čemu služi njezina kapitalnatska djelatnost u jednoj napadnutoj i dobrim dijelom okupiranoj zemlji? Borbi za ljudska prava zasigurno ne.



MIROVNJACI SU POZVALI NA SLAMANJE PUŠKE. PITANJE JE SAMO ZAŠTO TO ČINE SADA I ČIJU ONI PUŠKU ZAPRAVO ŽELE VIDJETI SLOMLJENU?

KUMROVAC, AH, KUMROVAC...

Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske osnovana je u srpnju 1991. godine na sastanku predstavnika različitih mirovnih, zelenih, feminističkih i inih alternativnih grupa održanom u Kumrovcu kao nevladina, neprofitna i nestranačka organizacija. Nakon što je dio osnivača otpao ili istupio iz ARKH, i to prvenstveno zbog ideoloških razloga (primjerice - zagrebačka *Ženska pomoć sada* raspala se na pitanju pristupanja ARKH jer je dio članica tvrdilo kako je pristupanje ARKH nepatriotski čin) ARKH se danas sastoji od desetak grupa i organizacija među kojima su i *Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava u Osijeku i Zagrebu*, *Mirovni pokret Rijeka*, *Dalmatinski odbor solidarnosti*, *Zagrebačka mirovna grupa*, *Centar za žene žrtve rata*, a važniji financiјeri ARKH su SWISSAID i Soros Foundation.

„Serbs, leftists, feminists and homosexuals waging war against war?“ *Slavonski magazin*, 19 August 1993

so began to penetrate the official institutions. Perhaps you remember that the question of nuclear energy was raised at the Party youth congresses in '86. That was a marginal voice, but still an integral part of the system, in a way. It happened in Slovenia even more. The main issues that the congress of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia split over were nuclear energy and demilitarisation. Yes, those issues. The relationship to the Yugoslav People's Army at the time, the relationship to civil society and all of that. And now, as Vesna says in her interview⁰⁵ about the history of those initiatives, the official institutions themselves, e.g. the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia in Zagreb or Croatia, showed fractures on the issue of how to treat Svarun and how to act towards the Greens. Should they be allocated some premises, should they be accepted and assisted in some way to try and incorporate them, or should they be treated as enemies? The Slovenian establishment aided those organisations more. I even think that's a reason why the movement was more significant there – it had the support of the state, which tolerated and mostly protected it, and to a large extent even encouraged it. That antiofficial discourse partly stirred in Serbia, too, but from a completely different position. It took off mainly in a nationalist direction, but partly also towards the protection of human rights. Jasna Dragović-Soso describes this well in her book *Saviours of the Nation* (*Spasitelji nacije*), where she analyses the break-up of civil society in Serbia into nationalist and anti-nationalist wings, which remained a characteristic of the nineties. We mustn't forget that a very powerful movement appeared in Serbia at the beginning of the war – a draft resisters' movement. If you now read Veljko Kadijević and his explanation of the break-up of Yugoslavia, he'll say: "That was the main reason we couldn't do anything. Hundreds

of thousands of people effectively dodged the draft and in that sense actually functioned like an antiwar movement." Although they were not active in any group.

And then we come to 1990. We had elections and then of course the dilemma of how to keep on working in future. It was a quandary not only for antiwar activists and related groups but also for the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (UJDI), for example, an organisation that was forming and didn't want to become a party. It didn't aim to seize state power. I think it's vital here to think over what the character of those changes in the former Yugoslavia was from '89 till '91. And the whole of Eastern Europe as well. I think we oversimplify things when we say it was a victory of liberalism over communism or socialism. In our region, '89 was a victory of conservatism over socialism. That can be seen in the way all the fundamental liberal ideas such as human rights, autonomy and even freedom at a basic individual level – which aren't in the category of collective freedom of the people, popular self-determination and self-definition – were sidelined and considered politically incorrect. The very concept of autonomy, which was acceptable under socialism, was supplanted and became a bogey. A whole series of typical conservative instruments were introduced through the renewal of tradition, through the importance of the church and family, through a particular type of community-building, through the use of the concept of community that crops up in the names of political parties elsewhere, too, and indicates their conservative character, which again brings with it the army and militarisation as an integral part and essence of that new community. A good citizen is once again a soldier, and all others are just his extensions. And if they're not soldiers they're traitors and as such can't be considered good citizens.

05 Vidović, D. (2010).

Džepovi otpora. Intervju s Vesnom Janković [Pockets of resistance. An interview with Vesna Janković].

The question is what could we have achieved? Could we have achieved more? I fear it wasn't possible to achieve much more, for the following reason: I was never convinced that a majority of people in Croatia or any other country wanted war, but you don't need a majority for a war. You just need a sufficient number of armed people whom no one prevents from starting a war. Our problem in that period was the break-up of the state. It wasn't in a position to do anything. Even worse, certain other states – above all Serbia – shifted to the side of war, not of peace. There was a much stronger antiwar campaign in Sarajevo the day the war began. Accordingly, nothing could be done. In that sense I think the chief lesson, and I'll finish with this, is that lasting peace can only be achieved in combination, in a triangle. On the one hand there's the non-governmental sector, which is absolutely crucial for this, maybe even central. Secondly, there's the state on the side of peace, which prevents war and conflicts, which is a factor in creating peace and doesn't say "We don't care" but "We're an organisation for peace, against war". And thirdly, there's international organisations, or more exactly the international community. The situation in '91 was that only the civil sector – only one part of the triangle – tried to avert the war. We mustn't forget that there were those in the civil sector who were very much in favour of the war. The state was also overwhelmingly in favour of the war, or it was absent, and the international organisations didn't care. They didn't care about antiwar activities either. We saw how they function: they began to speak with the new states, but not with us.

At the same time it was of course extremely important that we develop an active culture of peace. We saw that there could be war, a war that looked like a phantasy and a film to other people in Europe, but for everyone who

went through it in this region it was neither a phantasy nor a film. In '89 we were all convinced it couldn't happen, but it did in '91. Take Tone Branga's book and film *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way*. Or rather, the film is called *We Are All Neighbours*, where two neighbours begin a story in '89. "There will never be war. The two of us at war?!" Both of the women, Kata and Fata, live in Bosnia. But then, after the war, the discourse is: "We were never able to live as neighbours." So those things can change drastically, and we know of that experience from everyone else. It can work the other way round. But it's essential that the state, international organisations and the civil sector work towards peace. And be institutions of peace.

Katarina Kruhonja: I feel one of the characteristics of my activism is that it's still in the "urgent and emergency" phase and I haven't had enough time for a break and reflection. When I try to talk about it now, I realise how much inner turmoil is there. Especially when I remember that Krsto Sukić could be with us today. He'd probably say there's one thing he doesn't quite agree with: the hypothesis in the title of this meeting, 20 years ahead of its time. "What does that mean?" he'd probably say, and it's also my key reflection on the title, that the Antiwar Campaign was behind in its antiwar race, but at that time it was just what was needed.

When the Antiwar Campaign just started to gain visibility, the antiwar battle had been lost. But for us in Osijek, on the very front line, who began to gather for civic peace efforts, the discovery that an Antiwar Campaign existed was just what we needed. We didn't know each other from before. Only when we became conscious that the war was a reality did a burning need emerge to do something for peace. We read an article about ARK in *Danas*.

I think we oversimplify things when we say it was a victory of liberalism over communism or socialism. In our region, '89 was a victory of conservatism over socialism. That can be seen in the way all the fundamental liberal ideas such as human rights, autonomy and even freedom at a basic individual level – which aren't in the category of collective freedom of the people, popular self-determination and self-definition – were sidelined and considered politically incorrect. The very concept of autonomy, which was acceptable under socialism, was supplanted and became a bogey.

The Charter of the Antiwar Campaign articulated exactly what we felt was vitally important at the time from the immediate experience of war: we wanted to know what to do and how to act, in the middle of the war, because a time would come when we would build peace. That was a real, palpable question that provided the basis for us to deliberate and act in the wartime environment and under pressures from our own community. The mildest reproach from the community was: "You say you're for peace – do you think we're for war? We're not." The Antiwar Campaign was far ahead of its time in terms of posing questions and laying foundations for how to build a civil state and lasting peace. As Goran said, we were "statebuilders" but we hardly get any credit for it.

For us at the Centre for Peace in Osijek, the connectedness with people and organisations devoted to peace activism and the articulation of peace politics sustained and supported us through the years. That connectedness became enduring, and was also formalised: the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek formed as a branch of the Antiwar Campaign, and later we registered as an independent organisation and became part of the network. We connected and networked with the peace movement in the region and around the world via the Antiwar Campaign. In our efforts on the ground, where the armed clashes were taking place, and in post-war peacebuilding, that connectedness and that network strengthened and enriched us, both in personnel terms and every other respect imaginable.

But one of the vital questions we asked ourselves in the Antiwar Campaign at the same time was that of identity. Who was actually the Antiwar Campaign? Was it the office in Zagreb? Was it all of us? Was it the network? We had a dual identity – we as individuals (or

individual organisations) and we as a network.

I'd like to add to Vesna's introduction that peacebuilding was a significant field of the Antiwar Campaign's work. That was in Pakrac, and it was a major common endeavour. I intentionally say "an endeavour", which we prepared and implemented for the peaceful integration of Eastern Slavonia. The Coordination of Peace Organisations for Eastern Slavonia (1995–98) functioned before peaceful integration was politically agreed, before the Dayton Agreement. We're talking about a dozen organisations that were mostly members of the Antiwar Campaign. We worked to open up communications and cooperate with peace organisations in Serbia on a potential return of displaced residents in peaceful conditions. We broached the issue of peaceful return much earlier, at the "Days of non-violence" public meeting in Osijek in May 1992. The Coordination of Peace Organisations for Eastern Slavonia acted jointly and worked to prepare for peaceful return, holding meetings of citizens across the front line, in Hungary, and afterwards to implement peaceful integration. But I don't think we ever became a movement.

I'd like to finish off with two questions. When I came here, I wondered how I'd be if it weren't for the Antiwar Campaign, how I'd be if it weren't for that vision, that meaning and that connectedness? I think one's own personal level is important in addition to the societal level.

A question I'd like us to find an answer to together today, and also in a process that began with celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Antiwar Campaign, is: where are we today? And can we and should we – in the sense that Dejan Jović spoke about – reflect on strategies and the strengthening of our influence in building a culture of peace?

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»Optužen sam bez dokaza«

ZAGREB – Pod predsjedanjem suca Emila Havkića, u četvrtak je u Općinskom sudu odgođena glavna rasprava u povodu privatne tužbe koju je Tomislav Merčep (zastupan po odvjetniku Damiru Marcziusu) podnio protiv lista »Arkzin« i novinara Gojka Marinkovića, te zbog povrijeđene časti i ugleda traži naknadu štete od 900.000 kuna. Naime, tuženici nisu pristupili raspravi, a niti njihova odvjetnica Orhideja Martinović, premda je sud ustanovio da je poziv na raspravu uredno dostavljen.

Odvjetnik privatnog tužitelja predložio je da se tužitelj sasluša izvanraspravno, jer zbog svojih obveza u Saboru i funkcije koju obavlja nije u mogućnosti da svaki put bude nazočan na raspravi, što je sudac prihvatio, napomenuvši da će morati biti saslušan i na sljedećoj raspravi ako to tuženici budu tražili.

Povod tužbi je članak u listu »Arkzin« objavljen u siječnju ove godine pod naslovom »Žrtvovanje lauffera«. U članku novinar Marinković citira i komentira tekstove iz tjednika »Danas« od 7. siječnja 1992. godine te tekstove i intervjue objavljene u »Globusu«, »ST«, »Nedjeljnoj Dalmaciji«, »Slobodnoj Dalmaciji«, »Vjesniku«, »Večernjem listu«, »Novom listu« i »Feral tribuneu«.

Tužba navodi da »iako se suarnano poziva na te izvore, iz

Rasprava je odgođena, a izvanraspravno je saslušan tužitelj Merčep, koji je među ostalim rekao: »Mi smo po padu vojarne u Gospiću zarobili 750 oficira i vojnika jugovojске. Mladi vojnici pušteni su kućama, a kasnije i oficiri. Što se tiče tvrdnje da je u Gospiću nestalo 150 ljudi, mogu reći da u devet dana, koliko sam bio u Gospiću, nisam ni vidio toliki broj civila u gradu«.

cjeline teksta čitateljima se nameće zaključak da je tužitelj bio organizator pljački kuća i novca, uzurpator vlasti u Vukovaru te počinitelj ratnih zločina«, a »sugerira se da su snajperisti otkriveni na području Gospića u stvari svi nestali 'lojalni' Srbi s tog područja stavljanjem u kontekst izjava samog tužitelja i pomoćnika ministra unutarnjih poslova Smiljana Reljića«.

Sudac je donio rješenje o izvanraspravnom saslušanju privatnog tužitelja, i Merčep je u svom iskazu rekao: »Posebno me vrijeđa što sam u članku predstavljen kao ratni zločinac, što utječe na moju sigurnost i sigurnost moje djece. Tim napisima spriječeno je i moje daljnje napredovanje, možete zamisliti kako je kad vas netko optuži bez dokaza, a taj gospodin koji je to napisao, trebao bi doći na sud i svoje navode dokazati«, kazao je Merčep.

Na pitanje suca što je s navodima o 150 otkrivenih snajperista u Gospiću, tužitelj je odgovorio: »Otkriveno ih je i više. Mi smo po padu vojarne zarobili 750 oficira i vojnika jugovojске i svi su oni popisani i snimljeni, tako da se sve može provjeriti. Mladi vojnici pušteni su kućama, a kasnije i oficiri. Što se tiče tvrdnje da je u Gospiću nestalo 150 ljudi, mogu reći da u devet dana, koliko sam bio u Gospiću, nisam ni vidio toliki broj civila u gradu«.

Govoreći o posljedicama zbog napisanog članka, Merčep je rekao da mu je poslije tih napisa preminuo otac zbog srčanog udara i da se osjeća napestost u njegovoj kući. »Nakon tih napisa, moja su braća doživjela prijetnje preko telefona«, kazao je Merčep. Sljedeća rasprava zakazana je u studenom.

DAVOR KRISTIĆ

Vesna Teršelič: I'd like to add that I feel very strongly that we're still developing our work now. Methodologically we're still very often in a pilot phase like in '90 or '91. In terms of Goran's question re 20 years ahead of our time, my reaction is also that I think we as the Antiwar Campaign saw ourselves in a timeless, universalist space, especially by advocating the values of non-violence, tolerance and solidarity. That was underpinned by the hope we experienced as civic initiatives, like Svarun and some others, in the late eighties, when an authoritarian order was collapsing. A field of freedom was within our grasp, a space where there would be room for creativity, both in an artistic sense and for social innovation. We felt we were heading for really big opportunities. Instead, what we arrived at was war. But I remember that when we were trying to learn from the experience of others how to build peace, in '91, we realised that some others had experience, but not a lot. We realised it wasn't articulated very clearly and especially that there wasn't much in a pragmatic sense, like we needed in Osijek and Pakrac. We needed a lot of answers to specific questions like: "How are we going to communicate with people? And how with the local authorities?" We realised that even in a global context some answers are still emerging, and that we were forever in the situation of having to improvise and come up with new methodologies, and our rushing from project to project and crisis to crisis meant we didn't leave ourselves enough time for reflection.

We're constantly caught up in unfinished business. I was called this morning by Vjera Solar, who was woken today with a summons for investigation proceedings to be held in Osijek next week. They're calling her as a witness today in connection with the murder of her daughter, Ljubica Solar, in September '91. Some things are coming full circle and she'll

have to go to Osijek next week, where the investigation of the war crime is finally underway. Some things simply happen with a huge delay. The values we advocated, which are, as Goran said, the bottom line of normality, still haven't taken hold. Human rights and human dignity are trampled underfoot, and I don't see a situation coming in the next 5 or 10 years where they'll be consummately respected. Here is really the vital relevance both of the Antiwar Campaign and the initiatives we're still pursuing.

Tin Gazivoda: I didn't plan to say anything, but I was prompted by the question of where we are now? You know, I'd agree with the theory that 20 years later it seems a whole number of current events are coming full circle. But at the same time, this country still hasn't become a country of human rights. We have a rather long way to go. It seems to me that, in the field of education, too, we've only now reached an end point of sorts. I'm talking about primary and secondary schools and will leave the universities aside for the moment. We all know what was said and taught in primary and secondary schools in the nineties, and it took a long while for the worst, most inflammatory things to be thrown out of the textbooks. I think there's research that shows that it has largely been done. But if the bad things have been thrown out, the question remains how now to introduce positive content?

A step forward has been made just recently, in the last few months, albeit on paper. We've finally made it to the stage that the subject "Civil rights education" has been included in the core national curriculum for primary and secondary schools. But I'm not sure if all the experience presented here today will be translated to that curriculum. There will be a bit about human rights, a bit about tolerance, non-violence and peace. There's a coalition

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of civil society organisations that are strong and stubborn and have succeeded in achieving a step forward with the documents. But I feel we still lack the capacity to relay this experience to the educational programmes to be implemented. Is there potential, in the context of the twentieth anniversary, for us to think about whether, apart from the coalition of civil society organisations that exists, something new could take shape – a new initiative that would involve your experience and that of the Antiwar Campaign, and which would serve as a vehicle for conveying it to our primary and secondary schools? I think there's a need for that.

Iva Zenzerović: I wanted to say something along the lines of what Tin has mentioned. It would be important to link the "Curriculum on civil rights and democracy" with the experience of the Antiwar Campaign. The specialists hardly considered the concepts of peace and peace education when they were working on that document, although they're such serious issues. The discourse on human rights, political participation and political education – all that was reflected in the programme. But we have to fight hard for that "peace". What is recognised is the level of skill: the transformation of conflicts. But all we've heard about today – a whole lot of other segments, values, stances and experience – shows that they're simply not recognised as significant enough in our society to enter education in any systematic way.

For the future, it's essential that we work to reach a broad audience. Active, lasting peace and peacebuilding are vague and unfamiliar concepts in our society. I truly hope we'll be able to create capacities to portray the ideas better and more systematically so that they attain a relevant place in both education and society.

Katarina Kruhonja: I'd like to add that we have experience of how difficult the processes of confronting the negative legacy of the war are, and to what extent they hinder peacebuilding. In my opinion, that's why we have to revitalise and consolidate our antiwar position. The delegitimation of war, as opposed to its glorification, as part of building an active culture of peace? What is an active culture of peace? What should the state do, which policies should it change and what should those measures be like for us to see the state taking an active, transparent position for peace? I think that's very topical. We had no capacity to wield influence during the discussions about Croatia joining NATO and whether a referendum should be held, etc. That question currently goes far beyond Croatia. I think we need to work persistently towards the delegitimation of war and at the same time build and strengthen the elements of an active culture of peace.

Vesna Teršelič: The reactions to the judgement of the Hague tribunal of 15 April perhaps made it clearer than ever before how far we still have to go to shake off the negative legacy of Tuđman. And how vital it is to draw a line and affirm what the tradition of the Antiwar Campaign is, emphasising respect, solidarity, cooperation and tolerance. As opposed to the legacy of exclusiveness, and we saw what that led to during the war. I think we're still just a step or two past square one, in a political sense. We missed the chance to distance ourselves from that legacy in public and still have a lot of work to do.

Nenad Zakošek: I feel the discussion has gone off in an esoteric direction. Above all, I'd like to mention a paradox. As Dejan rightly said, and he knows better, there's more retrospective reflection on the history of both the pe-

ace movement and some civil society organisations in Serbia and Slovenia today. Why is it paradoxical that it doesn't exist in Croatia, but it does in Slovenia and Serbia? Because it seems to me that we actually had a high level of reflection at the time the Antiwar Campaign was founded and we were so active. We were constantly deliberating and discussing because we had *ARKzin* and because, as we've heard, we were in ongoing contact with top representatives of the international peace movement. Croatia had a war on its own territory, and there were very different positions on it. People were against it, but they had different positions. That's what we've said at these meetings to remember our history. Sometimes we were asked accusingly: "Why don't you call on people to desert?" The Antiwar Campaign never called for desertion, as far as I know. In that sense, it was wholly statebuilding, but not in the way that influential circles in Croatia wanted. It accepted the establishment of the state, together with its machinery of power, but of course as an ordered state that would guarantee human rights, etc.

In terms of building a culture of peace, I wanted to say as a joke that Croatia does a tremendous job of advancing the culture of peace by having a large number of soldiers on peace missions all over the world, from Africa to Afghanistan... You might laugh, but in the nineties I wished we had soldiers like that, not those completely incompetent UN troops. That type of activity is perfectly legitimate. I think today, where we have a mass of conflicts in the world where various gangs and criminal groups employ violence, it's a legitimate kind of work, which is now performed by those young men, and now women as well. We can't say no – we have to work now just on developing a culture of peace. From today's perspective, now that the bloc conflict is gone, we have completely different polemics along cul-

tural lines. I think we have to speak differently at that level. But to come back to the topic, if we have a well-ordered army and police force, where people who work in those institutions will be educated about human rights and peace... That can also be a contribution to peace.

In terms of the current situation in Croatia, in connection with 15 April, i.e. the judgement in The Hague, we have to put what happened in Croatia in the overall context and see where the catch-22 is. The Institute for Social Research in Zagreb and an institute from Belgrade conducted a project in the late nineties that analysed the language of the newspapers in Serbia and Croatia in '91. That was very illuminating because it turned out there was no hegemonic narrative in Croatia in early '91. The Croatian nationalists didn't yet know for sure how far they could go. Perhaps they had their maximum goals, but Tuđman didn't believe he could attain Croatian independence in early '91 and still argued for a confederation. Their opponents were not yet branded in the media as subhumans, Serb communists and Chetniks. They were referred to as rebellious hotheads. So it can be demonstrated that the narrative changed completely in the course of '91 following the real escalation of violence. That shows that the primitive, aggressive and repressive nationalism was established in a chaotic way, and its subsequent imposition on the media wasn't swift and smooth. It could even be shown that Croatian television wasn't fully brought into line until '92, and *Vjesnik* managed to publish divergent views for a while longer.

Finally, our experience shows that there were people in the state machinery who we could liaise with for a long time. The conclusive turning point was '95. The discourse emerged then: "Yes, there was a war, but we're the winners." We also had a President of the Supreme Court, Milan Vuković, who went on re-

I'd like to add that we have experience of how difficult the processes of confronting the negative legacy of the war are, and to what extent they hinder peacebuilding. In my opinion, that's why we have to revitalise and consolidate our antiwar position. The delegitimation of war, as opposed to its glorification, as part of building an active culture of peace?

cord as saying there could be no war crimes in a defensive war. Things later became much more complicated because the Hague tribunal started up, and it turned out that war crimes could very well be committed in such a war. Do you remember that the Croatian Party of Rights had an initiative and collected over 400,000 signatures for a referendum that a victorious army couldn't be tried because that's how it was after the Second World War? So a new discourse and a new narrative were established, and I can say that the reaction to the sentencing of the generals in The Hague showed that the narrative had finally become all-embracing and mainstream in Croatia. After the generals were sentenced, there was no relevant political force that challenged the reactions to the verdicts. Neither Ivo Josipović, Zoran Milanović nor anyone else said: "Wait a minute, let's talk about the victims. Wasn't there that Brioni meeting, what happened there?"⁰⁶ In other words, a hegemonic narrative was established. It annoys me severely that we live in a society that aspires to be normal and European, yet we have a founding myth steeped in nationalism. Here I come to another element that's fundamentalist in a way because it still assumes people can be labelled according to some quasi-ascriptive pedigree. That's what we've had to contend with since the early nineties. "Aha, you're peace activists. We know, your fathers are Yugoslav officers, your mothers are Serbs, this person is Slovenian," etc. In other words, they have a completely ascriptive discourse, where there's no room for choice and everything is predefined. That still applies today. I went to a meeting with some ultra-conservative Croatian intellectuals. Their opinion was that it was good and right for all Croatians to be Catholics. I spoke up: "Sorry, I'm Croatian but not a Catholic." And they said: "We'll pray for your soul." Isn't that grotesque?

I'd like us to be aware of the situation. We can talk about educational programmes, and that's very much required. But hey, we have a constitutive myth that rears its head in relation to The Hague, which is fundamentally nationalistic. And that again is specifically Croatian. Slovenia has dynamics of its own. Serbia is divided. They lost the war, after all, and now they have various revanchist discourses, including one that says they're victims – both to do with Kosovo and the NATO bombardment, which to us seems absurd. In fact, we think we were the victims. But we're also victors, right? That narrative is contradictory, and I think a resolution of this dilemma is a precondition for the development of peace education in school curricula. Until now, it was introduced in line with EU and other recommendations, but it will remain as a genuine Croatian problem. Not even intellectuals have faced up to it, and I certainly don't think we can expect the political elites to. It plays into their cards. Our current president is no exception, and he obviously can't escape that dominant discourse. The task is therefore one of the whole of society attempting again, as we did in the nineties, to discuss the elements of the narrative, which doesn't mean there's no need to deal with the real traumas Croatian society went through, but we must deconstruct the nationalist myth.

And just at the end, to do with what Katarina said: "We were a network, not a movement." People, there were movements all over the place! The HDZ was a movement, all of Serbia was a movement. In that sense, we perhaps weren't 20 years ahead, but at least 10. We saw we were a network, and the network allowed a wide range of activities to take root and people with very different positions to come together. I've never been a pacifist, but I still felt comfortable in the Antiwar Campaign, although there were many convinced pacifi-

06 An EU-mediated meeting of representatives of Slovenia, Croatia and Yugoslavia in July 1991, which resulted in the Brioni Agreement. [trans.]

sts who thought it was wrong to ever take up arms. That's why we were a network and not a movement.

Dejan Jović: The whole bit about the victor in the Croatian case is actually unique because the aspect of the victor is combined with that of the victim. And that combination runs into problems as soon as there's any attempt at reform. Especially reforms that, to put it mildly, are proposed abroad; if you're a victor you don't have to accept them, and if you're a victim even less so. When you then have the Hague tribunal and all that, it's a lot harder to respond from the constitutive narrative or fundamental myth. That doesn't exist in any other former Yugoslav state, except perhaps Kosovo. **Mieczysław Boduszyński** and **Victor Peskin** accurately portray this idea of the Croatian constitutive myth after '90, victor plus victim, which is unique and defines everything else. Take, for example, the value of the kuna. "Why should we devalue it when we defended ourselves so successfully, after such sacrifice? We don't have to bow to external influences." You find versions of that stance in every field.

I also think the struggle that's now being waged is partly one for the interpretation of the nineties, the interpretation of the past. There's a powerful political message we hear every now and then: "We won't let anyone else write our history." I don't mind if everyone writes history. Politicians, too, if they want. Churchill was perfectly good when he sat down and wrote his history of the Second World War. Slovenia and Serbia are also much better when it comes to main players' memoirs than Croatia. We don't actually have main players, so they didn't leave memoirs. Even those in Croatia who had dealings with the Hague tribunal weren't interviewed, as Milošević was, for example. That's ultimately the greatest value of the Hague tribunal – its documents will provide us with a much mo-

re balanced picture of the past than would otherwise be the case. But I think we in Croatia still have a lot to do.

Vesna Janković: I really disagree that we weren't a movement. We *were*, and my criticism of the NGO-isation of the scene is precisely that activism was in the foreground in the nineties, and, especially after 2000, with institutionalisation, that movement dimension was lost. A network is just one of the organisational forms a movement can take.

Nenad Zakošek: I agree with Vesna. I know the activist element was alive, and certainly a lot has changed since 2000. But the difference between Croatia, and Serbia and Slovenia – I don't know about Bosnia and the other republics – is that we never aimed for or achieved any mass events. When Janez Janša was in prison, the Slovenians rallied I don't know how many thousands of people. The Serbs partly succeeded with the movement against Milošević – they had their October Revolution. I think we had activism. You couldn't do without it in the nineties. But we were aware of our marginal position in society because we didn't aim to be a mass movement.

Vesna Teršelič: When the Antiwar Campaign was in its heyday in the nineties, we weren't a mass movement, but in February 2001, for example, when it was questionable whether all war crimes would be brought to justice, we had the "My voice for a legal state" demonstration, which drew around 10,000 people. When it was really important to show there were people here, I'd say we had the ability to generate a groundswell, and that was a very clear message. I believe we'll again be capable of bringing together more than twenty people, if necessary, as we were in '91, when it was crystal clear that most people saw us as traitors.

In fact, we think we were the victims. But we're also victors, right? That narrative is contradictory, and I think a resolution of this dilemma is a precondition for the development of peace education in school curricula. Until now, it was introduced in line with EU and other recommendations, but it will remain as a genuine Croatian problem. Not even intellectuals have faced up to it, and I certainly don't think we can expect the political elites to.





(transcript of the roundtable discussion among
the founders on 9 May 2011)

Journey into the unknown

Transcript of the discussion among the founders of the Antiwar Campaign on 9 May 2011 in the House of Human Rights, Zagreb. The discussion was moderated by Tihomir Ponoš and Kruno Kardov.

Participants: Miroslav Ambruš Kiš, Ognjen Tus, Vesna Janković, Milena Beader, Nenad Zakošek, Zlatko Pejić, Boris Bakal, Svemir Vranko, Aida Bagić, Nela Pamuković, Vesna Teršelič, Katarina Kruhonja

Nikola Mokrović: Hello! I'm glad so many have been able to make it and I wish us an engaging discussion. I'm sure many of you have something to say and I trust we'll get into a good mode for recollecting what brought us together.

Tihomir Ponoš: Just a few remarks about the running of this discussion: Kruno and I will ask some questions, but we mainly want to extract as many facts, figures and anecdotes as possible about the first year of the Antiwar Campaign: how it worked, what it did, why, with whom, what it all looked like from the inside, etc.

Ognjen Tus: Maybe it's best if we get straight into it!

Tihomir Ponoš: Just at the beginning, there's something that's always been done in peace initiatives, as far as I know – the famous round where everyone says their name, what they do today and how they came to be involved in the Antiwar Campaign.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: My name is Miroslav Ambruš Kiš, I've been a journalist all my life, and all sorts of other things too. I came to the Antiwar Campaign from Green Action, which I'd covered as a journalist, more as a supporter and an activist. Now I'm no longer a journalist – since 1 January I've no longer been employed by any paper – but you never really stop being a journalist.

Nenad Zakošek: I joined the Antiwar Campaign in the summer or autumn of '91 as a political scientist. I was already employed as a junior assistant at the university, at the Faculty of Political Science, and I stayed on there. If I try to reconstruct, it seems I'm the only one who came via people I knew on a purely private basis. On the other hand, my experience in the first months and years of pluralism was politi-

cally connected with UJDI. Later I saw people from that circle entering party politics, and that repulsed me. That wasn't the type of political activism that attracts me. So I don't remember the exact moment I joined, but I think it was tied to my conviction that this type of involvement in civil society made much more sense than party politics in those conditions, when it really did seem the HDZ would be in power for the next 30 years. Today I'm a lecturer at the Faculty of Political Science.

Vesna Janković: I joined the Antiwar Campaign in the middle of July. I heard from a friend that the formation of the Antiwar Campaign was underway. The charter had already been written, and I found out there would be a meeting in what is today the Makronova Centre, in 72 Ilica, the next Monday. I came to the Antiwar Campaign after several years' activity in Svarun, and my motivation was actually similar to why I was involved in Svarun. While I was studying sociology I became interested in the new social movements, and that energy and that whole idea saw me into the Antiwar Campaign. Today I work at the Sociology Department of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and Naval Architecture.

Milena Beader: I don't remember either when exactly I began to be active in the Antiwar Campaign, but when others of you here started to speak about 72 Ilica, Green Action and other venues or events I realized I was basically in the Antiwar Campaign from the very beginning. I knew individual people from the Antiwar Campaign, like Vesna J., Vesna T., Toni G. and some others from when I started studying and being involved in Svarun and other initiatives in the 80s, so it seemed logical to me to continue my involvement in civic initiatives. The development of those initiatives that originated in the ARK took place in a spe-

cific period, unfortunately one of war. Today I'm taking Amnesty International Croatia before the Labour Tribunal due to a wrongful dismissal, i.e. I'm taking legal action against an organisation I myself initiated within the Antiwar Campaign, so you could say it's a labour dispute against part of the legacy of the Antiwar Campaign. Some of you are witnesses at the proceedings. Thank you all for your support.

Ognjen Tus: I also don't know when I joined. I know that Vesna and Biljana, the mother of my children, did a lot together at the time. My activist phase went roughly from the 60s through to the 70s, in various social contexts. I didn't really plan to get involved, but in that tangle just before the war I felt it was important to contribute where I could. Basically, I think I joined the Antiwar Campaign when it was founded because I drove Biljana there and linked up with the people. But I didn't think of getting seriously involved, and it seems to me that the whole time – in the Antiwar Campaign and afterwards – I wasn't involved in the same way as others whose formative phase fell within that period. I always felt somewhat distant, but I wasn't sidelined. Aida and I were involved in finding an office space for the Antiwar Campaign – and the second one too – and they always took me along because I was slightly older and lent an air of seriousness.

Zlatko Pejić: My beginnings go back to various international contexts in the late 70s and the 80s, the War Resisters' League and other organisations. Then I became engrossed in alternative lifestyles, macrobiotics, ecology and the like. The formation of the Society for the Improvement of the Quality of Life in '88 finally determined the trajectory. After that, in '89, I was on a kind of small speaking tour in America, in Congress, where I declared there would

be war in Yugoslavia. I tried to point out in the Citizen Democracy Corporation and other organisations that a bloody war was coming, but mostly the idea was ridiculed, unfortunately. I came back and kind of went into hibernation, and then things started here... and I'm really glad we've come together here to recall those days! What do I do today? All of what I did back then – alternative stuff, macrobiotics, environmentalism in a different sense, and my own personal development.

Boris Bakal: I really don't remember the exact date, like many of us. I'm a film producer, actor and intermedia artist, and my projects back then involved a lot of travel between Belgrade, Zagreb and Podgorica, and several times I was actually on the receiving end of what was going on. I was attacked in Podgorica, for example. **Borut Šeparović, Ivana Popović** and I went to a festival there in '91 as initiators of three projects, precisely to show that not everyone from Croatia is an Ustashi, and we were almost killed, right in front of the Budućnost stadium! That was still unusual at the time, of course, and the police turned up and made a report. The performance we went to Podgorica for and were supposed to take to Belgrade that autumn, to the BITEF Festival, fell apart, and people fled the country. One to Paris, another to Amsterdam, a third to Vienna. Those are all people you probably know: **Željko Serdarević, Darko Fric, Jasen Jakić...** They all disappeared within a few days. I remember ten or fifteen days before the death of one of my maybe best friends, **Gordan Lederer**, he and I were sitting in the cafe Argentina in Tkalčićeva Street, and he told me what was happening at the front. If he wasn't killed by the Chetniks he'd be killed by the Ustashi for what he'd seen and what he knew, he said. I think I came to the Antiwar Campaign via Zlatko or Svemir. We were hanging out a

When the barricades started going up in 1990, I had the feeling that someone in Croatia was bound to be negotiating and to know what was to be done, and that it was crucial to negotiate in such situations.

lot around then and talking about the quality of life and a new future, which we felt was the only way out – organic nutrition and macro-biotics. I'm still basically an intermedia artist. But I guess my art had a very individual flavour until '91 – “art art”. Actually, ARK almost made me give up art at some point in '92 and '93, almost until '94 – it was a period of *tabula rasa* in the sense of my art, and I was more into activism through *ARKzin*, and writing. All of that has come back, in a way, through a different kind of art, where the projects are “art for social change”, I guess.

Svemir Vranko: At the time the Antiwar Campaign was established I was studying to be a teacher and was also involved in the Komaja Society for the Development of Love and Consciousness, whose centre was right near 72 Ilica, in number 68. I was living there, and when the Makronova Centre started we were drawn to that idea. We came to the Centre, so we got to know Zlatko. There was a meeting where the main ideas were presented. I know that Zoran Oštrić had just arrived from Bosnia and said it was a powder keg that was going to explode, and that there would be great bloodshed. I have to say how interesting it is that, even ten years earlier, a lot of us in Komaja dreamed that war was coming, the war in the former Yugoslavia – I'll call it mystical precognition – and I know our teacher always said: don't get into conflicts, there will be big trouble, and war. Many people from Komaja even intentionally left Croatia and Yugoslavia to live and work in other countries. That meeting brought out a strong social and antiwar focus, the aspect of the affiliation of different non-governmental organisations and, since I came from the “spiritual scene”, the aspect of the connecting up of spiritual groups. I currently manage the Sun Centre, where I work as a therapist, and I also run the association EUFIN, for cooperation on European projects.

Aida Bagić: When I listen to and watch you all, I remember various moments very vividly – particular gatherings and our meetings together. I came to the Antiwar Campaign as an activist of Women's Aid Now (*Ženska pomoć sada*), which we described as a feminist current within ARK. The founding of ARK in the summer of '91 was preceded by a series of events that we from Women's Aid Now organised – some of them on the streets, and we were visited by some Italian women who called themselves...

Nela Pamuković: Women in Black!

Aida Bagić: No, no, they weren't Women in Black, they were from the Greens, from environmentalist associations. The key person for me was Ivana Radić Nana. She was in Women's Aid Now but a member of Green Action at the same time. She spoke about it being a good idea that we as an organisation affiliate with the Antiwar Campaign. I remember her mentioning some antiwar hotline that summer. I must admit I was very sceptical. It wasn't at all clear to me what kind of antiwar hotline it was; big events were happening, things were in nosedive, so how was some hotline going to make any difference? We in Women's Aid Now had a very intensive period of socialising and discussion about the current developments. I remember we watched the demonstrations together in Belgrade, in March 1990. We met up and discussed, and those contacts with women's organisations, primarily in Belgrade but also in Ljubljana, were important for us. And that was the context in which we as a collective decided to join and sign ARK's charter.

Then everything took a different turn, but I won't go into the details about how Women's Aid Now split up. I finished my degree in philosophy and general linguistics in the spring

of '91, and when all of that happened I was in fact looking what to do next, workwise. But then I was drawn to activism, and very soon, during the autumn, I became part of the team that ran the ARK office. At the moment, for the last eighteen months, I've been working as an advisor for an EU project that deals with the development of civil society organisations, and I write poetry and do yoga. Headstands and all!

Nela Pamuković: Aida and I were in the feminist current, Biljana too... Actually, I began in '87 when I joined the Trešnjevka Women's Group, and I see it as a branch through which we got involved. First of all we set up SOS Telefon, then Women's Aid Now, and in '90 we squatted a shelter. SOS Telefon was in 45 Gajeva Street, so it was all sort of interwoven. I don't know when exactly we moved from one room to the other, but in any case I also remember **Nana Radić, Mirjana Čupić, Biljana Kašić** and even **Jasenka Kodrnja**, who has since died, and the other women who were interested in founding the Antiwar Campaign, although they later went over to the other side. I was always more involved in women's organisations when I was in the Antiwar Campaign. The premises ARK moved into in 45 Gajeva Street were a partly hostile environment because we were squatting an apartment that belonged to the Parliament of Youth or the Croatian Falcons, or whatever it was called then, in Teslina Street, so, in coming to the Antiwar Campaign, we were also coming to the premises of an organisation we had a court wrangle with and which brought the police down on us. It was a weird situation. Our shelter operated at that address for 16 years. We then set up the Centre for Women War Victims within the Antiwar Campaign as a link between the peace and the feminist currents, where I still work today, and I'm a member of six or so other organisations.

Tihomir Ponoš: So the Centre still exists?

Nela Pamuković: Yes, and we're involved with similar things again.

Vesna Teršelič: I guess I came to the Antiwar Campaign from Svarun, and Green Action, so I see several currents that led to the creation of the Antiwar Campaign. The evening of 4 July, when we agreed to launch it was significant, yes, but the evenings before were also important, beginning back in '90, and perhaps also at some point in '89 when we discussed what could be done about the increasingly violent conflicts. When the barricades started going up in 1990,⁰¹ I had the feeling that someone in Croatia was bound to be negotiating and to know what was to be done, and that it was crucial to negotiate in such situations. It turned out in the months that followed that there was practically no one who could negotiate, apart from our friends who later went well and truly into political waters, like **Milorad Pupovac**. Anyway, after the Green Action meeting that evening, **Dražen Nikolić, Zoran Oštrić, Vladimir Lay** and I sat at a table in the small Zagorka tavern on the corner of Proleterskih Brigada Street (now Vukovar Avenue) and Držićeva Street, and we'd also spoken with **Zlatko Pejić** that day. We decided we weren't going to wait for anybody else – politicians or intellectuals – to get things going because the war had actually started, and we were going to do something about it. The following day, Zoran Oštrić drafted the Charter of the Antiwar Campaign, so we signed it first in the name of Green Action and the Society for the Improvement of the Quality of Life. Then we asked our friends and others to sign, and we did a few events to get others to sign. I remember we handed out the charter to people on Ban Jelačić Square, and the response was really good. Wherever we took to

01 A reference to the "Log Revolution", a year of tension and skirmishes in Croatia involving road blockades by Serbs in the Serb-majority parts of Croatia that eventually escalated into war. [trans.]

the streets in those days and talked to people about the charter, whose core values are non-violence and human rights, the reactions were great, because it still looked as if there was room for negotiations. That changed later, in the course of the autumn.

Tihomir Ponoš: What do you do today?

Vesna Teršelič: Today I run Documenta – Centre for Dealing with the Past, and one of the things we do is preserve the archival records of human rights organisations, including that of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia. Which also led to this discussion and the importance of preserving the memory of the Antiwar Campaign.

Tihomir Ponoš: What happened after that? The war was already upon us. Did you lobby anyone, as we'd say today, and if so whom? Or did you just hand out leaflets? What did you plan to do, and was there any awareness that your work at that time was probably pretty unpopular?

Vesna Teršelič: No, I think it was actually well accepted in the beginning, and our first step was to search for like-minded people, not only in Zagreb, and we were soon in touch with Šura Dumančić from Rijeka, and later with Osijek. The first reactions were: "Oh yes, yes, non-violence is definitely the way to go" – really positive reactions.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: It must have been on that wave that started somewhere in '87, with its feelings of freedom... Various social movements sprang up, UJDI, political parties, the Society for Yugoslav-European Cooperation, a bit like Milan Ivkošić and Vlado Gotovac together, right? And me too! We thought of starting a newspaper. There was a new atmosphere in the 80s when people thought positively

and ran around in all directions, a positive atmosphere, as if to say "here's our freedom", "now we can speak"!

Tihomir Ponoš: OK, you weren't so unpopular then, but you still had to sort out some organisational things and deal with banal problems like renting a space, official documents, registration, articles of incorporation, planning, money and so on.

Vesna Janković: I'd like to look back at another aspect. I remember that summer most vividly. The period of July and August, sometime before the meeting in Kumrovec, was still a brainstorming period. Various people met at the office in Ilica – I remember Slobodan Lang, among others. We didn't go in for big public actions at the time, which was all still in planning. At the time, when the government's official policy, at least as far as I remember, was "we're for peace" and mass prayers for peace were organised in the streets and squares, the Antiwar Campaign was part of that chorus. The situation started to change abruptly sometime in early September, with the attack on Vukovar.

Tihomir Ponoš: The situation started to change in September, you say. Did it perhaps begin to change for those of you in that initial circle when the Government of Democratic Unity was formed and there were dramatic sessions of the Croatian parliament, demands that martial law be declared in Croatia, etc.? Or did it take the intense fighting of August for people to come to their senses, as it were?

Aida Bagić: In terms of when the change came, I don't recall it being a drastic but a gradual one, and it was most visible in early September. I think what happened in the women's organisations was a good example.

Kareta, which later became known as a rather nationalist feminist women's organisation, had a lot of peace messages in the first issue of its magazine in March '91, along with articles about the tradition of pacifism in Croatia, women as an important factor for peace, etc. And that was reflected in Kareta's activities at that point. All of us took part in peace events within the organisation we were in together – SOS Telefon, or rather Women's Aid Now – roughly until the autumn, just before the establishment of the Antiwar Campaign, even together with someone like **Dafinka Večerina**. I see the change as being connected with a feeling of immediate danger when the alerts started throughout Croatia in September, and I think that's when there was an aggravation, when emotions ran high and changes occurred here in relation to the idea of the Antiwar Campaign. Differences emerged among the founders of the Antiwar Campaign in terms of what it really means to work for peace.

One of the people who came to the office at that time was Predrag Raos. It's a curious anecdote: he proposed we send a letter to Serbian soldiers. I don't remember exactly what we wrote...

Nela Pamuković: A heap of letters!

Aida Bagić: Yes, a heap of letters to ordinary soldiers, ordinary citizens, in which we told them "the whole truth". Then we had an interesting discussion: outwardly it looked like a straightforward action, but then we began reflecting that any letter sent from Croatia would automatically be interpreted there as coming from the Ustashi, the "Tuđmanites" – as an attempt to destabilise the Serbian state, or something like that.

So a change occurred sometime in early September, and I think it was to do with that

feeling of immediate danger. And then the whole fuss began about the point of an antiwar campaign in a country that was under attack. That question kept coming back for years.

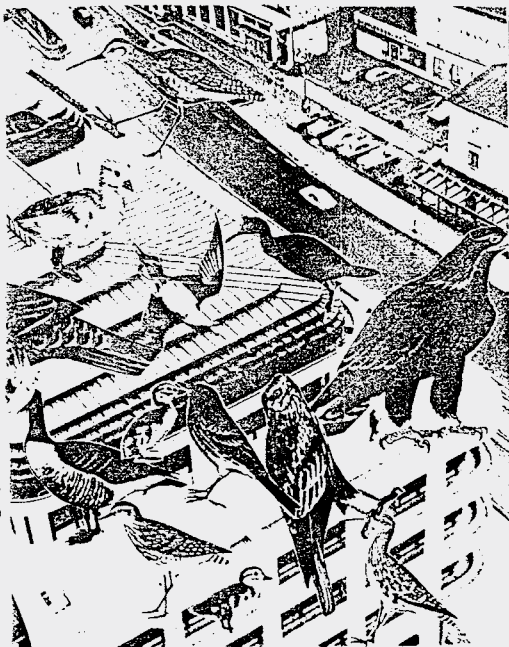
Boris Bakal: I agree that a wave of freedom was felt at some point in '86–'87. It actually took a long time for Tito's death to become real... I remember sitting in a restaurant in the Upper City in 1985 and listening to a journalist interviewing schoolchildren. He asked them: "What message would you like to send to Comrade Tito?" In '85, do you follow me?⁰² It was a crazy time in '87, when **Josip Vrhovec** brought the Eurokaz theatre festival and the Summer Universiade to Zagreb, when the city saw a crazy boom in culture, art and sport. As a friend of mine says – an activist from Zagreb who now works in Kosovo, we felt the sky was the limit! And we thought that way almost through until September or October that year. True, there were a few personal factors. Like I say, **Gordan Lederer's** death was a blow for me personally, and also a major turning point, because I realised at some point there was an issue at the beginning of the Antiwar Campaign that divided us into men and women. After every meeting, we guys who were subject to conscription had to decide how to deal with that. I think I'd already been mobilised at that time and at one point I was given a National Guard uniform, which is still in its wrapping up in the attic today, because I deserted, I wasn't in the war. I remember those discussions – we guys stayed on longer after the meetings because we needed to talk about the options and agree what to do. "Great, we'll do this and that; but what if you and I have to go and fight tomorrow? I mean, what if the call-up comes?" On the other hand, we'd say: "Croatia is under attack. But hang on, does that mean we'd be defending Tuđman? We can't defend

When the government's official policy, at least as far as I remember, was "we're for peace" and mass prayers for peace were organised in the streets and squares, the Antiwar Campaign was part of that chorus. The situation started to change abruptly sometime in early September, with the attack on Vukovar.

⁰² Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito died in 1980. [trans.]

tko vodi "specijalni rat"

Sveučilišna konferencija SSOH Zagreb | Trg žrtava fašizma 13
SVARUN - radna grupa za ekološke, mirovne, feminističke i duhovne inicijative



svarun 1988 | 3

Who is waging a "special war", Svarun 1988

Pridruži se kampanji protiv rata!

Odbor antiratne kampanje je neformalno udruženje organizacija i pojedinaca iz cijele Jugoslavije, koji žele pridonijeti zaustavljanju onužanih sukoba. Kolektivni i individualni članovi/članice upisuju se popunjavanjem pristupnice, čime izjavljuju da su suglasni sa ovom Poveljom. Odbor nema izvršne organe i služi za koordinaciju djelovanja na nivou grada, regije, republike ili Jugoslavije.

Informativni centar antiratne kampanje nalazi se u Zagrebu. Prema mogućnostima, kasnije će se osnovati informativni centri u raznim gradovima.

POVELJA ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE

Kako god budu riješeni današnji sukobi, ljudi će na ovim područjima nastaviti živjeti zajedno. Svima nam je potreban mir, svi moramo raditi na razvoju demokracije i postizanju ekonomskog, socijalnog i ekološkog blagostanja. Interesi su nam isti, rat i nasilje svima donose štetu.

Gradani svih republika i pripadnici svih naroda moraju, bez obzira na sve teškoće, održati i razvijati međusobnu komunikaciju i suradnju na obostrano korisnim projektima. Dio smo suvremene Evrope u kojoj državne granice sve više spajaju, a ne razdvajaju pojedince i narode. Vlade i druga državna tijela imaju ograničenu funkciju i domet. Oni ne mogu biti ekskluzivni zastupnik naših interesa.

MI, građani naših republika, građani Evrope i svijeta, odlučno odbacujemo nasilje i rat. Komunicirati ćemo i surađivati bez obzira na razlike u političkim opredjeljenjima i bez obzira na to kako budu riješeni odnosi među republikama. Svaki za sebe i svi zajedno, na lokalnom, regionalnom ili globalnom nivou, suprotstavljati ćemo se onima koji pozivaju u rat i zalagati se za slobodu, pravdu i blagostanje za sve.

PRISTUPNICA ODBORU ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE - ORGANIZACIJE I POJEDINCI

Naziv organizacije ili ime i prezime

pošt. broj grad republika

adresa osoba za kontakt

fax. žig

Pristupnicu (sa naznakom "za antirratnu kampanju") poslati na adresu:

ZELENA AKCIJA ZAGREB
41000 Zagreb, Radnička c. 22, p.p. 876
tel. 041/610 951 fax. 041/612 615

DRUŠTVO ZA UNAPREĐIVANJE
KVALITETE ŽIVOTA
41000 Zagreb, Illica 72, p.p. 117
tel. 041/426 352 fax. 041/428 771

Odbor antiratne kampanje

Uto, 30. Srp.1991.

Upravi HPT -a
Uredništvu telefonskih govornih
automata HPT -a

Predmet : Molba za otvaranje telefonskog govornog automata -
" Antiratnog telefona "

Nekoliko organizacija civilnoga društva, koje u svojem djelovanju polaze od nenasilne paradigme, iniciralo je osnivanje Odbora antiratne kampanje kao neformalnog udruženja organizacija i pojedinaca koji žele mir. Akcije Odbora provoditi će se kad god to bude moguće paralelno u svim republikama i inozemstvu, pri čemu sve članice odbora mogu djelovati i samostalno.

U akcijama koje poduzima Odbor sudjelovat će prije svega nevladine organizacije civilnoga društva i pojedinci, uz striktnu odsutnost bilo kakvih stranačkih obilježja .

Odboru antiratne kampanje do sada su pristupili:

Zelena akcija Zagreb
Društvo za unapređivanje kvalitete života, Zagreb
Ženska pomoć sada, Zagreb
Društvo za waldorfsku pedagogiju, Zagreb
Sri Chinmoy centar, Zagreb i Beograd
Sveučilišno udruženje "Ekološka javnost", Zagreb
Društvo hrvatsko-srpskog prijateljstva, Zagreb
Liječnici za prevenciju rata , Zagreb
Hrvatsko žrtvoslovno društvo , Zagreb
Jugoslavensko mreža zdravih gradova , Zagreb
POMAK - Pokret mladih katolika , Zagreb
Hrvatski pokret za život i obitelj, Zagreb
Cetinjsko ekološko društvo, Cetinje
Građanski odbor za mir , Titograd
Ekološko društvo "Biserka", Pljevlja
Dviženje na ekologistite na Makedonija, Skopje
Organizacija na ženite Makedonija, Skopje
Sojuz na srednjoškolicite na Makedonija , Titov Veles
Ekološko društvo "So ljubav kon Dojranskoto ezero",
Novi Dojran
Kninski mirovni pokret (pri SDP Slovenije) ,Ljubljana
Mreža za Metelkovo , Ljubljana
Univerzitetni inštitut za zdravstveno varstvo , Ljubljana
Gibanje za kulturo miru in nenasilja, Ljubljana
Ženska frakcija SDP Slovenije , Ljubljana
Ženska stranka - ŽEST , Beograd
Građanska akcija za mir - GAMA , Beograd
Evropski pokret u Jugoslaviji, Beograd

Charter of the Antiwar Campaign with membership application slip

Letter requesting establishment of a hotline, 30 July 1991

Tuđman, no way!” That everyday schizophrenia in our heads was terrible.

Svemir and I organised the Doors of Peace (Vrata mira) event and wove kind of webs through the park, and people pegged messages on them. It was wonderful! Soldiers came, too, and wrote messages. The only negative situation I can remember is when the owner of one of the nearby pubs came past with a five-year-old boy and said: “I don’t give a shit, I’m into gun-running anyway,” and walked to his Jeep Cherokee (one of the few Jeep Cherokee at that time). We were shocked. I remember Svemir linking up with the Hare Krishnas via Komaja, and we had that big procession through the whole city.

In other words, that was a turning point. It was a time where there was still hope that we could avert what was looming, but then the moment came when we saw we could no longer stop it, and we began smuggling people across the border who didn’t want to be in the war.

I also remember the seminars, which we had a lot of at the time, with people from Germany, San Salvador and all sorts of places. Do you remember? We had mediation courses and peace events in the streets, held by people from other crisis zones, and they taught us in practical terms.

Tihomir Ponoš: It might be nice if someone would start by reflecting on the trip to Kumrovec, and how it was financed. There was a Croatian Army training centre there. Why Kumrovec, of all places? Why not Trakošćan or somewhere else? And how were contacts made, as Boris just mentioned, because when you take the whole archive, which we had a look at to help us prepare, it’s clear that there were a lot of foreign contacts from the beginning, contacts in both directions?

There was an issue at the beginning of the Antiwar Campaign that divided us into men and women. After every meeting, we guys who were subject to conscription had to decide how to deal with that. I think I’d already been mobilised at that time and at one point I was given a National Guard uniform, which is still in its wrapping up in the attic today, because I deserted, I wasn’t in the war. I remember those discussions – we guys stayed on longer after the meetings because we needed to talk about the options and agree what to do. “Great, we’ll do this and that; but what if you and I have to go and fight tomorrow? I mean, what if the call-up comes?”

Neša Pamuković: When we talk about this we see that so many things were going on. So much happened in one month that it’s hard to recapitulate. Our antiwar politics were unelaborated and unarticulated at the beginning, there was just a vague desire for peace, and then the reality check came, the first air-raid alarm, and then the fear of being mobilised and, ultimately, in terms of actual events, the blockading of JNA barracks. As Aida said, we noticed that at SOS Telefon because we had a very well-attended signing of the charter, and also because differences emerged after the first alarm. We spent the whole autumn and winter in big discussions, crying, at meetings in shelters, through until May ’92, I don’t know, when we separated completely. That shows what the attitude was towards the Antiwar Campaign. From something very abstract, which everyone could embrace, to these particular things. In connection with what Boris said, conscientious objection was one of the Antiwar Campaign’s first practical activities, and also the last. Because the ARK’s last office was in Gajeva Street, and only the conscientious objection project was left there. All the others had separated off into specialised organisations.

Zlatko Pejić: I’d like to “reset” the bit about the beginning because I don’t think it’s quite true that we didn’t know what we wanted to do.

Tihomir Ponoš: You said you’ve got the beginning deeply engraved?

Zlatko Pejić: I have. This is what happened. The real occasion and an actual portent of what was to follow came that morning. The BBC announced that jets were flying low over the Krško nuclear power plant and bombing the motorway. I called Mikašinović, maybe you

remember him, and said: “Listen, we’re driving there now, and we’re going to see what’s going on.” We headed off, arrived in Krško, saw the power plant, came across tanks and ran into Slovenian Territorial Defence men in entrenched positions. Then we had to take cover because gunfire began, then a bombardment, and we started to tremble with fear and realised it was war! We returned to 72 Ilica and called a meeting of the Society’s programme committee, and people came together straight away because the Croatian morning news hadn’t yet reported on the events in Slovenia. We agreed that we had to do something, we had to ring Green Action. At that instant Oštrić called me and said: “Hey, you know what? We’ve got a draft of a peace charter, or something like that, I’ll send it to you. You can see what you think, and we can coordinate.” One of the initial ideas was certainly fantastic but hard to achieve: to create a network of organisations in all of Yugoslavia, which should grow strong and try to create new and different conditions. It was idealistic, of course, but then we had a very colourful gathering, and all those people sincerely had peace in mind. That was a time when people still believed change was possible although signals of war were in the air. Then, after a whole string of meetings, we affirmed the idea of taking the charter to **Tuđman** and **Milošević** and getting them to sign. Going to see Tuđman was pleasant, and he even signed the charter.

Tihomir Ponoš: One of the “founders”!

Zlatko Pejić: That was the worst moment in my life because you’re expected to shake hands in formal situations. And the photograph of me shaking hands with Tuđman came out in the papers, which utterly destroyed my dignity. Everyone remembers the photograph, not the occasion. Another team travelled to

Belgrade at the same time to get Slobodan to sign the charter, but he didn’t even receive the delegation.

(Interjection: Of course not!)

Zlatko Pejić: Tuđman felt humiliated and offended at that moment because we’d drawn him into a gesture that made him look like a wimp instead of a tough guy. It was certainly a good endeavour, which from today’s perspective was naive in every respect, but also emotional and powerful. It developed out of a true wish for change. Incredible things were happening at that time, people from all over the world got in touch and said they wanted to come. I remember the Italians, a whole mob of Italians, and we asked them to stay away...

(laughter, murmurs, an interjection: war tourism)

Zlatko Pejić: There were a lot of “tourists” like that, but, on the other hand, we felt we were getting in touch with the world in that way, no matter how absurd it might all have been. And then the event in Kumrovec came along. A seminar had been organised there a year earlier by the Society for the Improvement of the Quality of Life, as a regular event at that school, a classical seminar about lifestyle, ecology, macrobiotics, etc.

The seminar was attended by around 180 people – supporters of the Antiwar Campaign plus people from all parts of Yugoslavia. Those who came from Serbia had trouble getting there, as expected. The seven-day programme included the gathering per se and two days for the Antiwar Campaign. The atmosphere was stimulating because there were young people from all parts of Yugoslavia, plus the Antiwar Campaign, which tried to articulate a kind of movement idea. But it soon became clear that the Antiwar Campaign couldn’t be a co-

alition of non-governmental organisations in the whole of Yugoslavia but that a real organisation would have to be formed. Which obviously took time.

Milena Beader: For those of us who were young in the eighties, that time of opening up played a vital role in our passion for activism, even though we were shadowed by the Yugoslav secret services. That was the starting point for some of us: Svarun and various other alternative initiatives like TTB (the Train Toilet Band). I know that even Radio 101 kind of “stole” or appropriated our activities later. It was something in between “rebel art” and civic activism. I remember we planned and did various happenings, e.g. the “mute demonstrations” that began on what was then Republic Square, today Ban Jelačić Square. Some people took very good artistic photographs of those demos, which we found later when we had a public meeting at the Student Centre in Savska Road – in piles of stuff discarded in the corners of the French Pavilion. If one of you has them now, it would be great to collect them. I consider that to also be kind of the prehistory of the Antiwar Campaign.

Svemir Vranko: We covered various topics at the meeting in 72 Ilica, all of them to do with aspects of activism. It’s interesting that some spiritual communities started to come together. Robert Schwartz from the Sri Chinmoy group was also involved, and he and I came up with the idea of doing a project together – the first real, agitational project of the Antiwar Campaign. It was Doors of Peace in Tkalčićeva Street. We decided that an old, medieval city gate would be a passageway to the area where we held concerts for peace once a week.

We began the regular Doors of Peace concerts in about mid-August 1991, and members of various spiritual groups performed at the

first public event of the Antiwar Campaign: Sri Chinmoy, Komaja, the Sai Baba singing group, Christian music groups, the Gaudeamus choir from Križevci and others. After the air-raid alarms began, the Doors of Peace concerts continued in the enclosed space of St Martin’s in 35 Vlaška Street in Zagreb.

Part of the Doors of Peace project was the writing of messages of peace. We called on people, our friends, to come and write messages. Zlatko coordinated the international flank of that project, where we asked global leaders to send us messages of peace. So it was that we received a message from the Dalai Lama and several others prominent figures, and at the end we imagined having those messages engraved in marble slabs and setting them next to the Doors of Peace. Somehow we got sidetracked, and I can never forgive myself for not engraving those messages and setting the slabs in the pavement there, although we had a stonemason lined up and obtained all the necessary permits from the city administration. Maybe we’ll still get round to it!

Nenad Zakošek: I was largely involved in international activities, and I’m trying to reconstruct which of those activities were related to the Antiwar Campaign. Since I had a German connection because of my studies there earlier, and I was in touch with many peace activists in Germany. The Germans had a terrific peace scene, with a movement against the deployment of Pershing missiles in the 80s, and the Greens experienced a great upswing. I don’t remember exactly which groups of peace activists got in touch with us, but **Christine Schweitzer** was among those early contacts. Some came from religious groups, others were secular activists. They invited a delegation from Croatia to come on a speaking tour about the situation in Yugoslavia at the time – to Frankfurt, Berlin and several other citi-

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es. It was in May '91, during the Croatian independence referendum on 19 May, if I'm not mistaken. It was fascinating because on the one hand we had German support, but on the other the Serbs living in Germany perceived us as Croatian separatists. I took part in the tour together with Mira Ljubić Lorgier and Nikola Visković.

Tihomir Ponoš: Visković was a member of the Croatian parliament!

Nenad Zakošek: He was, for Green Action.

Miroslav A. Kiš: Fifty-fifty, because he was jointly nominated by Green Action and the SDP!

Nenad Zakošek: The contacts with German peace activists on the other hand and that unpleasant experience with the Serbs on the other were interesting. Although, as far as I remember, we were attacked by Croatian nationalists, too, particularly in Berlin where both sides had it out for us!

Secondly, I'd like to ask a question regarding the dynamics. Obviously the Antiwar Campaign originated initially with the charter as a network idea. I didn't know that the Dalai Lama sent a peace message, and I didn't know that Tuđman signed, but the main thing was that we got signatures of individuals and organisations from throughout Yugoslavia.

Vesna Teršelič: And Europe!

Nenad Zakošek: We were the "Antiwar Campaign" from the beginning, and at one point we added the H for Croatia, I don't remember when. So we went from ARK to ARKH.

Aida Bagić: It was October.

Nenad Zakošek: OK, so there was that change. The addition was simply inevitable because the previous state had obviously collapsed.

In terms of Slovenia and its bearing on events in Croatia, it's easy to forget what a shock the Slovenian period was. Although the Plitvice Lakes incident had already occurred, and then Borovo Selo, they were perceived as incidents provoked by a few local Chetniks, so to speak. The Yugoslav People's Army's intervention in Slovenia was the first phase of outright war. I remember looking at the images and thinking, "the poor Slovenians", without knowing what was in store for us. The Slovenian war was obviously the immediate reason for the signing of the charter.

Sometimes subsequent memories can displace earlier ones, therefore it's very important to keep things in order. We didn't know in May what would happen in August, and in August we didn't know what would happen in September. The perspective changed frighteningly fast.

Concerning the general atmosphere of pacifism, I took part in a joint Serbian-Croatian research project in the late the 90s. We took *Politika* and *Vjesnik* from '91 and did a very detailed content analysis. The study was later published in both Zagreb and Belgrade, in English and Croatian, or rather Serbian. As far as the Croatian media are concerned, it turned out that '91 fell into three distinct periods. The first ended with the Plitvice Lakes incident, where Croatia was all about a peaceful solution; it was a full-fledged discourse, and the Croatians were peaceloving in this stage. After Plitvice, and then Borovo Selo and so on, there was a period lasting until September where the victim discourse came out: Croatia was a victim, and we were at risk. I think Tuđman was awfully afraid, and he was against any greater involvement. You could see that in the names that were in use; there wasn't yet any

This was a later analytical enquiry, which shows that in '91, the perspective changed with frightening speed, and that it was determined by external events. This is significant because the common hypothesis was that the media were warmongering. I think the media in Serbia probably played a fatal role in politics, in reality, but the Croatian media actually lagged behind, at least until September. After that, the role played by *Globus*, but also HTV, was entirely different.

talk of “Serb Chetniks”, but rather of “opponents”, and the radical nationalist discourse didn’t begin until September.

In other words, there was a total about-face, and suddenly there was no mention of peace and reconciliation in papers like *Vjesnik* any more; now the opponent was completely dehumanised, and only stereotypes were used.

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Tihomir Ponoš: We mustn’t forget those basic things: it’s always an important question where the money came from, how you communicated, etc. One of the meetings of the Committee tabled a travel plan for November and December. There were a lot of trips, meaning there were a whole number of activities.

Vesna Teršelič: I’d like to look back at some pivotal moments, although partly with the benefit of hindsight. I think a significant moment was when Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence. That same day we had a visit from European Green parliamentarians, and I remember them asking me what was going to happen. I remember vividly where I was sitting, what the light was like and that I began to think what I expected, and the void that opened up... After the event, it turned out that everything went in the direction of intense military conflict. And twenty days later –

no, earlier – two weeks later we had the charter and we began to organise.

I’d also like to say a few words about continuity and discontinuity, about us having advocated conscientious objection back in the Svarun days, about us knowing, even in 1990, before we launched the Antiwar Campaign, that there would be a need for us to further advocate conscientious objection, about us sending a confident proposal that the right to conscientious objection be included in the Croatian constitution when it was being drawn up, since we’d demanded the creation of an opportunity for alternative civilian service back in the JNA days. Then Vladimir Šeks and others in the working group that drafted the constitution generously adopted the proposal and inserted the right to conscientious objection into Article 47. The group Unija 47 was later named after it. We always cited that article and said that the right to conscientious objection is guaranteed in Croatia. For a long time that was all we had, so we committed the article to memory, because it meant life.

Tihomir Ponoš: You appealed to the constitutional court as early as ’91?

Vesna Teršelič: That’s right. We actively participated in the debate about the constitution in 1990 and our proposal was adopted. In 1991 we protested whenever attempts were made to curtail that right. We were permanently fighting that battle and insisted it couldn’t be curtailed. Because later ordinances curtailed it with the formulation “the right to conscientious objection will be recognised by such and such a date”. Our argument was very simple: the right to conscientious objection can’t be curtailed just because someone has been slow to find out about it. That’s why we appealed to the constitutional court.

The continuity of the relationship with peace initiatives in Slovenia, with the Peace Institute there and with Marko Hren, meant a lot to us. Friends from Slovenia attended the meeting in Kumrovec, an activist from Novi Sad was able to come, and also from Bosnia, but the cooperation with the initiatives in Slovenia really meant a lot to us, plus they were an open door to worldwide peace networks. War Resisters’ International, for example, immediately obliged after Kumrovec because we used the magic words “non-violent conflict resolution” when we articulated what we needed.

Miroslav A. Kiš: It's interesting that we defined a lot of that in the electoral programme of the European Greens. I warmly recommend having a look at all those documents!

Vesna Teršelič: The continuity of the relationship with peace initiatives in Slovenia, with the Peace Institute there and with **Marko Hren**, meant a lot to us. Friends from Slovenia attended the meeting in Kumrovec, an activist from Novi Sad was able to come, and also from Bosnia, but the cooperation with the initiatives in Slovenia really meant a lot to us, plus they were an open door to worldwide peace networks. War Resisters' International, for example, immediately obliged after Kumrovec because we used the magic words "non-violent conflict resolution" when we articulated what we needed.

Tihomir Ponoš: Did you talk about any kind of strategic planning?

Vesna Teršelič: Absolutely! It wasn't called that back then, but we...

Tihomir Ponoš: Of course it wasn't called that!

Vesna Teršelič: ...but we articulated things well: *ARKzin*, the direct protection of human rights and non-violent conflict resolution. We then wrote to the War Resisters and said: "Please send us someone to explain to us what non-violent conflict resolution is!" They replied quickly that **Christine Schweitzer** and **Kurt Südmersen** would be coming. Christine and Kurt Südmersen then sent us a letter detailing in twenty points or so what we might need and suggesting that we now tell them what we actually needed. Let's say: mediation, negotiation skills, non-violent communication... They laid that out on a page, and we just needed to reply: "We need all of that!" We sim-

ply didn't know at all what they were asking us. It was like having to learn a new alphabet. They came and held a first workshop, and after them many other people came.

Tihomir Ponoš: OK, you weren't seasoned activists!

Vesna Teršelič: We weren't seasoned activists. Except with conscientious objection! As far as money was concerned, the Greens – meaning Green EU parliamentarians from different countries – knew what was happening. They sort of watched us, looked on and asked. Greens from Italy came to Kumrovec, as well as **Paolo Bergamaschi**, who's still active today.

Tihomir Ponoš: Weren't those the Italians you asked NOT to come?

Vesna Teršelič: No, there are such different people! Some were well informed, but others were sort of lost in space. The Italian Greens soon brought us our first computer, that all went really fast. They were very "hands on" – them, the Quakers, the Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie...

I'd say the peace activists understood that we'd needed some particular things in a hurry. I think the first issue of *ARKzin* or the pilot issue was laid out using that computer. It wasn't? Correct me if I'm wrong.

Vesna Janković: The first issue of *ARKzin* was laid out in the *Globus* editorial office, where Miroslav was working at the time.

Nela Pamuković: I wonder what we would've done in '91, seen from today's perspective.

Kruno Kardov: What were the points of disagreement? Someone mentioned that it was September when either some organisations left the initiative or new ones came. What were the points of disagreement in the period of the launch, when the initiative, as I saw it, encompassed roughly three segments: Green, feminist or women's organisations, and spiritual ones? Also, did the peace focus arise from those different main currents or did it exist as an independent initiative alongside those three? And what were the points of divergence that made some organisations vanish: were there any fundamental changes in the dynamics of that first year that affected all those initiatives?

Boris Bakal: All through the development of the Antiwar Campaign we were surreptitiously cutting films at the Andrija Štampar School of Popular Health. That was the secret film laboratory of all the artists in Zagreb because we could use the facilities for free – some of our best-known young editors worked there and we were allowed to cut after hours. At that time, footage taken by Lederer and others was coming from the front. It was impossible for that material to be shown on television. The news was pure spin. It was the same here and in Serbia – blood wasn't being spilt left, right and centre, but there was blood, and corresponding footage came. It told of a war that was evidently different to the one we had in Zagreb. That war didn't exist in Zagreb. In terms of financing, you need to realise that many things were done informally – we all went on trips, through our own channels. I was invited to the Steirischer Herbst Festival, the biggest art festival in Austria and took the footage we weren't allowed to show in Croatia, I showed it and held a well-attended lecture, where I was attacked by both Croatian and Serbian nationalists! A report about that was published in the second issue of *ARKzin*. If you

read all the issues of *ARKzin*, all those things are there.

As far as the divergences are concerned, like I said, I felt there was a difference from the very beginning between those who could invoke conscientious objection and only joined the army later, and those who couldn't. I was a "gun commander", although I never saw one piece of artillery in the army! I couldn't file for conscientious objection when I had already been under arms. There were differences like that. I also know what happened to those who relied on Article 47, and what happened to them at the front. It was a different matter with organisations that didn't want to cooperate with Serbs and Bosnians any more, which then led to conflict.

Aida Bagić: I'd like to talk about the points of disagreement. I'd say the key point of disagreement among those who joined the antiwar scene together and then split up was the issue of responsibility. That most of all. Firstly, who is responsible for the other side – that saw us diverge within women's organisations. Some of us considered that women, feminists, couldn't be made responsible for the politics of the Milošević regime, while the others considered that they should also bear part of the responsibility, whatever they did, and it would never be enough. And then there was the issue of the responsibility of one's own side. Where did the homogenisation line run? We had enemies, but our enemies then weren't the Serbs but Tuđman's politics, and the cohesion of our groups was also based on having a common enemy. The split appeared because some of us considered that Croatian politics also bore a share of the responsibility for the war, while others considered it was not in Croatia's power to influence the course of the war in any other way.

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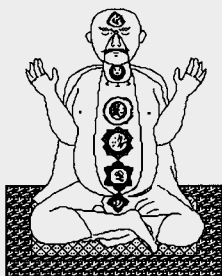
Odbor antiratne kampanje

POZIV NA DRUŽENJE

Dragi prijatelji!

U nedjelju, 25. kolovoza/avgusta u 12.00 sati naći ćemo se u parku ispred prolaza iz Tkalićeve ulice na Kaptol. Ostaviti ćemo prve antiratne poruke na ZIDU MIRA, a jedna od zagrebačkih duhovnih grupa održati će meditaciju za mir.

Sve koji žele duh mira i nenasilja osjetiti i podijeliti sa drugima, pozivamo da nam se pridruže!



Invitation to the Doors of Peace gathering, 25 August 1991

ODBOR ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE/HRVATSKA

41000 ZAGREB, ILICA 72, P.P. 117
TEL. 041/426 352 ILI 610 951, FAX 041/428 771 ILI 610 951

Projektna grupa

PRIGOVOR SAVJESTI

Bilješke sa sastanka 5.11.1991.

Sastanku su prisustvovali: Ina Druter, Srđan Dvornik, Biljana Kašić, Zoran Oštrić, Tomislav Žerjavić.

Za ovu temu vlada veliko zanimanje, kako građana koji često nazivaju i raspituju se, tako i organizacija i grupa iz inozemstva. Posebno je važna pojava masovnog bjezanja od mobilizacije i dezertiranja u Srbiji. Situacija u Hrvatskoj: u nedavno donesenom Zakonu o obrani, pravo na prigovor savjesti predviđa se samo za nove regrute. Predviđena je prekršajna kazna za neodazivanje na mobilizaciju do dva mjeseca zatvora, odnosno novčana kazna 10.000 do 100.000 dinara. To znači da se obveznika može zvati nekoliko puta uzastopce i svaki put kazniti.

Idemo na mogućnost zamjenske službe (civilna zaštita, radna obaveza, humanitarni poslovi - npr. u staračkim domovima isl.).

1.) Inicijativa Ustavnom sudu da se ispita ustavnost ovih odredbi Zakona o obrani. (Srđan)

2.) Veza sa nekim advokatima koji bi zastupali ljude u ovakvim sporovima, kao i dali pravne savjete o raznim mogućnostima izvrđavanja i proceduri u slučaju građanske neposlušnosti (npr. mogu ga privesti samo policajci, ne i vojnici) (Silvije Degen - Biljana, Nikola Muslim - Zoran).

3.) Tražiti prijem kod ministra obrane i pokušati isposlovati razumni odnos, koji uredbom ministarstva. (Nakon što bude obavljeno 1. i 2.).

4.) Pomoć onima koji žele emigrirati da pređu granicu i budu prihvaćeni u drugim zemljama.

5.) Poslati jedno informativno pismo o situaciji kod nas raznim organizacijama i grupama u svijetu koje se time bave. (Srđan)

6.) Organizirati konferenciju za tisak.

Što se tiče rizika koji se privlači na sebe javnim eksponiranjem, Srđan je primjetio da se, naprotiv, čovjek time štiti pred organima vlasti. Druga su stvar moguće prijetnje od strane ekstremista.

Bilješke sastavio:

Zoran Oštrić

Minutes of the Conscientious objection project meeting,
5 November 1991



Predsjedniku Tuđmanu Vasvija Orešćanin, predstavnica Pokreta za mir, zahvalila je na potpisivanju povelje

JADRAN MIMICA

Povelja za mir

ŽELJKO PERATOVIĆ

U subotu u podne u Banskim dvorima, predsjednik Republike Hrvatske dr. Franjo Tuđman primio je delegaciju Narodnog mirovnog pokreta za Jugoslaviju sa sjedištem u Bosanskoj Dubici. Nakon primanja dr. Tuđman potpisao je Povelju mira ovog pokreta u kojoj se od predsjednika Hrvatske i Srbije traži da učine sve što je u njihovim mogućnostima, kako bi se prekinuli ratni sukobi i deblokirala sredstva informiranja u zemlji.

Povelju je u subotu trebao potpisati i predsjednik Srbije Slobodan Milošević koji to, kako saznajemo,

nije učinio. Naime, u isto vrijeme iz Bosanske Dubice, osim za Zagreb, jedna delegacija pokreta otišla je i za Beograd. S delegacijom u Zagreb došlo je i sedamdesetak sudionika Marša mira koji su na Trgu bana Josipa Jelačića održali skup za mir. Sudionici marša su nas obavijestili da bi ih došlo još više, da im netko nije ukrao dvije već kupljene cisterne benzina za autobuse. Inače, kažu, u Bosanskoj Dubici stalno su izloženi prijetnjama - »preporuča» im se da se okane takvih inicijativa.

Koordinator inicijativnog odbora Pokreta za mir - koji okuplja tridesetak mirovnih organizacija iz različitih krajeva - Vasvija Orešćanin, nakon potpisivanja povelje izjavila je: »Zadovoljni smo pri-

manjem kod gospodina Tuđmana i time što je potpisao povelju. Predsjedniku smo rekli da narod ne želi ginuti, a da je to kako će Jugoslavija izgledati, stvar političara. Obavijestili smo ga o tome da mirovne organizacije žele okupljati sve ljude kako bi se spriječilo dalje prolijevanje krvi. On nam je obećao suradnju i dodao da je Hrvatska za mir, ali ne pod cijenu gubitka bilo kog dijela svog teritorija».

Predstavnica Mirovnog pokreta Srbije koja je prisustvovala primanju Slavka Ljubić smatra da je ovim učinjen korak k miru. Također je naglasila da je njihov pokret na nedavnom primanju kod potpredsjednika SFRJ Branka Kostića osudio njegov posjet Borovom Selu, zbog jednostranog gledanja na situaciju.

“A charter for peace”,
Ujesnik, 18 August 1991

There were also other factors within women's organisations that led to us diverging, and I should add that they had nothing to do with ideology. Not just within women's groups, but also due to generational differences... All sorts of things...

As far as the finances are concerned, I think we relied on various private and semi-private connections. For example, Vesna J. and I were invited to Germany on a fundraising tour. We spoke, and money was collected to support the work of the Antiwar Campaign. As Boris said, that was based partly on private connections, but that wasn't all – it also had something to do with Zagreb and Mainz having been twin cities, for ages, don't ask me how long.

Milena Beader: As far as I can remember, the relationship with Mainz was a Green-Svarun connection, and some of us went there before the war, in the second half of the 80s. Did you also go to Mainz before the war?

Aida Bagić: Yes. Ivana Nana Radić knew **Christian Paul**. I was on a scholarship in Mainz in '89, so those were all kind of private connections, though not exclusively private.

Vesna Teršelič: It was normal before the war, i.e. before 1990, during the Svarun period or the time of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, that we either hitchhiked or paid the ticket out of our own pocket whenever we went to an international event, like a conference in Budapest or Vienna. I clearly remember the first time someone invited us as Green Action. It was in 1990. They invited us to a conference after the fall of the Iron Curtain first to Vienna, then to Budapest, and later to London. We didn't reply. In the end, a guy I'd never heard of phoned and asked: "Why haven't you got back to us? We invited you." And I said:

"We can't. We won't be able to pay", and he: "But we'll cover all your costs." What a shock! I mean, to think that possibility existed at all. It was something I heard of then for the first time.

That became more common afterwards. In terms of the peace initiatives, with which we didn't have many contacts previously, it went very fast because we'd advocated conscientious objection, and we entered the global War Resisters' International network. They had connections and organisations that decided to help us. The *Gruppe für eine Schweiz ohne Armee* (Group for a Switzerland without an army), for example, recognised a like-minded initiative in us and began to invest in our work. They felt we were significant because we opposed the war. Then they visited, sent us the money they collected and invited us to fundraising events. It was a combination of friendly contacts and recognition of common values.

I'd say our circle definitely shrank in September, October and November. As the fall of Vukovar drew near, we fell to a very small number, and it was as clear as day that we were getting ourselves into the role of traitors. That's when the splits occurred, I'd say, both among the women's organisations and within Green Action.

We went to Gajeva Street in the new year. That time was fraught with tension because some people on Green Action's steering committee were for the Antiwar Campaign, while others were against us. Arguments intensified, we became a problem, and some of us then left with the Antiwar Campaign. I myself remained connected with Green Action, but they were like two separate identities. During the day I was at the Antiwar Campaign, and then in the evening I'd sometimes drop in at Green Action, but there was still the suspicion that our activities were traitorous because we

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didn't advocate armed struggle. We didn't say: "Croatia has no right to defend itself," but we said that non-violence was essential and that there had to be room for the non-violent path, along with the armed option.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: Can I just ask when we moved to Tkalčićeva Street?

Aida Bagić: It was in '92, in the spring.

Vesna Janković: As far as points of contention are concerned, there were several. One of the disputes that autumn was to do with human rights activism. That was when problems began for the tenants of flats belonging to the former Yugoslav People's Army. The question was raised whether we as a peace initiative should get involved in that because human rights basically lead into the issue Aida mentioned: that of the Croatian state's responsibility towards its own citizens.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: And for military operations!

Vesna Janković: I remember how we were turfed out of the Green Action office. I went to Green Action one day after the first or second issue of *ARKzin*. Nana Radić was at the computer browsing the articles that had come in for the next issue. I went up to her and she said: "What's a text by an UJDI member doing here?" It was a piece by Srđan Dvornik. That sparked off the question of relations with Yugoslavia and what later dogged ARK, and also *ARKzin* – the whole Yugo-nostalgia business.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: You mean the label?

Vesna Janković: The label of Yugo-nostalgia, but also heavier stuff like Branimir Glavaš's diatribe when he wrote that *ARKzin* was an

acronym for "Arkan's bulletin board". There was another point of conflict, which I find interesting from a sociological angle: the friction between "professionals" and volunteers. At a meeting in May 1992, part of the people who participated in the activities on a voluntary basis considered that paying wages ought to be abolished. Several of us who worked at the office every day, for which we received a fee, said – in order to prove our activist devotion – that we'd work without money. This led to chaos in the office. On the other hand, raising the question of payment is illustrative of the initial phase of institutionalisation of what is today called civil society – typical of conflicts that were to do with a hazy vision of the direction we should go.

Milena Beader: One of the reasons was probably the non-existence of any tradition of civil society organisations in the shape and form in which they exist in certain other countries. To be sure, none of us alleged "money-grubbers" received any pay. We worked there 24 hours a day and didn't have health or old-age pension insurance – all of us were in fact volunteers. They were very modest honorariums. But some people who were maybe "well off" probably received low pay or none at all at the time because of the war, so maybe they therefore considered it a problem of sorts. I think that has to do with a type of intellectual activism of the 70s and 80s in Yugoslavia, and in Croatia. Part of those intellectuals had comfortable positions in institutes and the like. You can argue that wasn't quite the case, but most of them had enough free time to be able to meet and engage in debates in their free time, without having to ask for any "pocket money" for it. Perhaps some of them therefore considered it a sacrilege for anyone to be paid for doing activist tasks, although it was clear that someone performed the tasks neces-

sary to keep things running and had to do that work well and professionally. That's usually no longer an issue today.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: So, the conflict Milena and Vesna are talking about – it was actually a different group demanding that people manifestly renounce money to prove adherence to a certain orthodoxy. We weren't all in the same boat, of course, in purely existential terms.

Milena Beader: Vesna J. recently sent round the minutes from the meeting in the House of the Red Cross to do with the discussion of this "conflict". Nenad was the person who had a super attitude towards it. I think you said at one stage: "Those who 'work', in inverted commas, should just sit down, discuss the matter, propose a solution to the problem, and bring the proposal to us in the Council." In other words, maybe we "money-grubbers" also didn't want to resolve the problem, or didn't know how to, or didn't have time because of all the everyday tasks in the office and one delegation arriving after another.

Svemir Vranko: I'd like to reflect on the topic of conscientious objection. A public discussion was held at KIC, in Preradovićeve Street, with representatives of the Ministry of Administration, Marko Hren from Slovenia and representatives of the Antiwar Campaign, where the idea of conscientious objection was presented to the public. Afterwards, the Ministry of Administration decided it would extend the possibility of conscientious objection to men who'd already done compulsory service in the Yugoslav People's Army, with their application to be lodged within one month. The Antiwar Campaign sent the news right away to Radio 101, which broadcast it, but that was the first and last mention on air because the gover-

nement phoned immediately and banned any repetition of it. I was fortunate to be at the source of the information, so **Srdan Dvornik** and I filed applications, and we were the first conscientious objectors in this region. After five generations, which is how far family memory goes back on my father's side, and who were all in some war or other, I was the first to say: "I'm not going to fight!" After a while I had to submit some additional documents for the application, and in the end I received word, black on white, that I was on civilian service in the Croatian Army. But the military administration in Križevci, where I was registered, didn't know what to do with the information – they never called me up for military service.

Milena Beader: Yes, I remember we discussed that – how could there be civilian service in the Croatian Army? Either someone was on civilian service or they were in the army, but civilian service in the army – how absurd!

Ognjen Tus: Maybe it's too late and the discussion has now gone off in quite a different direction. I just want to say it would be good to know the sums of money we received in those early days. I remember when we got the first thousand deutschmarks and gave 500 to Šura, I think, because she always made calls from her private phone – it was to do with refugee aid. What mattered at the time was to establish connections with international organisations and institutions because no one here would listen to us, but when that came from abroad it became important. That was a very good tactic. Everyone today has a million topics of their own, like for example I think I'm the second conscientious objector, not the third, (*laughter*). Who got paid, in what way, is also an interesting issue. But for me it was important to help in an area where I could, and whe-

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PROJEKT
VRATA MIRA

Akcija duhovnih grupa Odbora antiratne kampanje

Početkom kolovoza u Zagrebu su se počeli sastajati predstavnici zagrebačkih duhovnih grupa. Tim sastancima prisustvovali su: Društvo za unapređenje kvalitete života, Sri Chinmoy centar, Ananda marga, Komaja - društvo za razvoj ljubavi i svijesti, Sai Baba centar, Društvo za cjeloviti razvoj čovjeka, predstavnici Hare Krišne, Društvo za uwaldforsku pedagogiju te nekoliko pojedinaca zainteresiranih za duhovni razvoj.

Ideja o postavljanju poruka mira na jedan zid u Zagrebu, a zatim i postavljanje poruka mira na slične zidove u drugim gradovima Hrvatske i ostalih republika, došla je od draVuka Stambolovića iz Beograda.

Za nas rat nisu samo fizika razaranja, poginuli ljudi, razrušeni domovi i izbjeglo stanovništvo. Za nas je rat i sukob onih snaga koje donose duhovno svjetlo, mir, ljubav i radost življenja sa snagama mržnje, podmičnosti i okrutnosti koje svojim mutnim sjajem zaslijepljuju svakog tko padne pod njihov utjecaj. Zato mi, duhovne grupe i pojedinci osjećamo i znamo da na temu rata moramo odgovoriti svjetlom duha, pozivom na mir i razumijevanje među ljudima.

Naša prva akcija, postavljanje poruka mira na Vratima mira ima za cilj produbljivanje svijesti stanovnika naših republika, stanovnika Evrope i svijeta o ratnim strahotama i prednostima mira.

Odabrana vrata nalaze se na zapadnom kaptolskom zidu, a spajaju Opatovinu i Tkalićevu ulicu. Iza kuće br. 56 u Tkalićevoj ulici nalaze se stepenice koje vode na javno šetalište i park na Opatovini. Ovaj zid i prostor oko njega odabrani su iz više razloga:

1.) Vrata mira nalaze se na prometnom, ali ipak mirnom mjestu
2.) prostor oko Vrata mira i u parku može se iskoristiti za različite vrste duhovnih i umjetničkih zbivanja kao što su koncerti, kazališne prestave, pjesne izvedbe i večeri pozije.

3.) park koji postoji kod Vrata mirnogao bi se lijepo uređiti i pripremiti kao mjesto za različita mirovna događanja.

Poruke mira koje se prikupljaju u Društvu za unapređenje kvalitete života poruke su različitih duhovnih inspiratora iz naših republika, iz Evrope i svijeta kao što su Michio Kushi (jedan od učitelja makrobiotike), Dalaj Lama, Nelson Mandela, papa Ivan Pavao II i drugi. U prikupljanju Poruka mira pomoći će nam mreža mirovnih, ekoloških i duhovnih organizacija koja u svijetu već funkcionira, a kod nas je u osnivanju.

U prvoj fazi postavljanja poruka mira to će se raditi pisanjem bojom po platnima koja će biti postavljena pored Vrata mira, a kasnije bi se poruke mira duhovnih grupa i velikih duhovnih inspiratora čovječanstva urezivale u kamene ploče koje bi na Vratima mira ostale kao trajan spomenik. Ureživanjem poruka mira u kamene ploče pretvorila bi se jedna od bivših gradskih polukula iz 15. st. u mjesto na kojem će biti koncentrirane misli, težnje i zahtjevi pozitivnih snaga današnjice za životom u miru, harmoniji i ljepoti. Vrata mira su zamišljena kao vrata kroz koja Hrvatska govori svijetu i svijet Hrvatskoj.

Za sve informacije u vezi Vrata mira možete se obratiti Žarku Plavšiću, tel. 433-810, ili u Zelenu akciju Zagreb, tel. 610 951.

Sremir

DVA PISMA MINISTRU OBRANE

Sri, 26. Vel.1992.

• Ministarstvu obrane Republike Hrvatske

PREDMET: Zahtjev za izmjenu Pravilnika o izvršavanju vojne obveze i civilne službe

Poštovani!

Pravilnikom o izvršavanju vojne obveze i civilne službe (Narodne novine br. 63/1991), članak 105, starijim vojnim obveznicima dat je rok do 1. ožujka 1992. da podnesu zahtjev za civilno služenje. Šira javnost nije upoznata s ovim pravom, a stari vojni obveznici nisu izričito obavješteni o svojem pravu na civilnu službu. Podsjećamo da je člankom 43 Pravilnika ovlašten ured za obranu obavezan upozoriti novake na to njihovo pravo.

Zahtijevamo:

1) Produljenje roka za podnošenje zahtjeva za civilnu službu do 1. lipnja 1992. godine.

2) Da ministarstvo obrane u svim sredstvima javnog informiranja obavijesti vojne obveznike o tom njihovom pravu.

Molimo da, zbog aktualnosti teme, na ovo pismo odgovorite u najkraćem mogućem roku.

Čet. 27. Vel.1992.

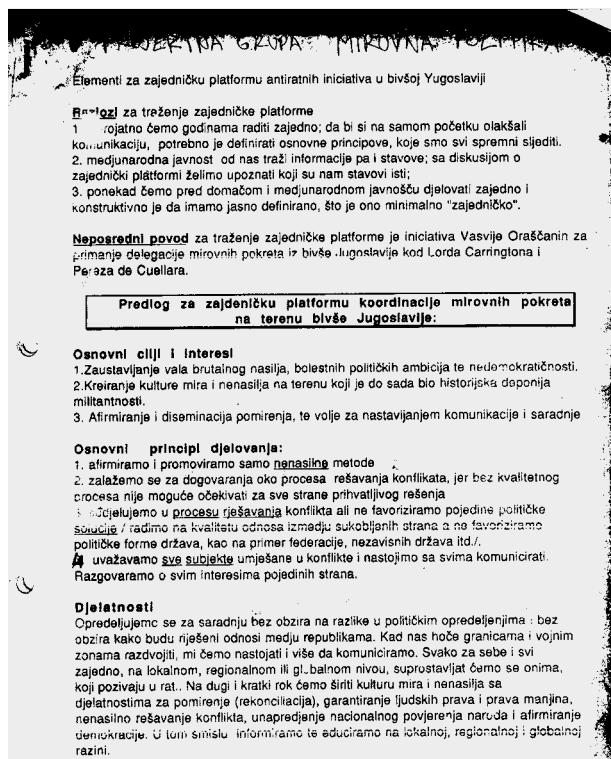
• Ministru obrane Republike Hrvatske

Poštovani g. Šušak!

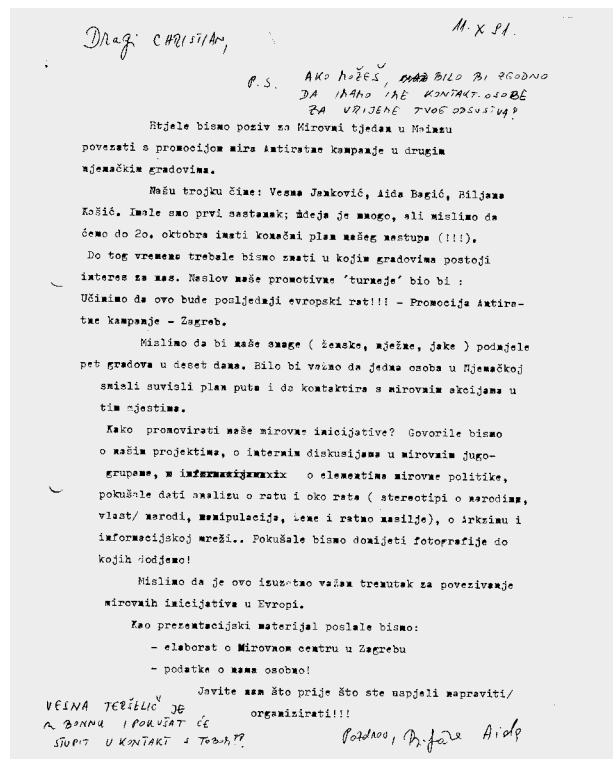
Odbor antiratne kampanje zastupa stav da je u situaciji kada je Republika Hrvatska vojno napadnuta sudjelovanje u obrani dužnost svakog državljanina, ali to ne mora nužno značiti i obavezu sudjelovanja u vojnoj i oružanoj obrani. U skladu s tim načelom zastupamo dosljedno priznavanje prava na prigovore savjesti, kao što smo istakli u našim dopisima Vašem ministarstvu od 10. rujna i 27. studenog 1991. te 26. veljače 1992. godine.

Ovom prilikom obraćamo vam se zbog jednog drugog problema na koji su nam skrenuli pažnju, koji je u vezi s činjenicom da se obrani zemlje može doprinijeti i na druge načine. Dio vojnih obveznika, raspoređenih u oružane snage, zbog rane ili bolesti privremeno je oslobođen obaveza. Neki od njih dobrovoljno se prijavljuju za rat u civilnoj zaštiti, ali ih to odbijaju jer im je ratni raspored u oružanim snagama. Tako ljudi sposobni i voljni za rad bivaju osuđeni na neaktivnost.

Description of the Doors of Peace project



Two letters to the Ministry of Defence, 26 and 27 February 1992



“Proposal for a joint platform to coordinate the peace movements of ex-Yugoslavia” submitted to the Politics of peace project meeting, 5 November 1991, from Marko Hren

Organisational letter to a contact in Germany, 11 October 1991

ther I'd be paid or not wasn't important to me at that moment, nor was it for anyone. Survival was what mattered. I want to say that those were such minimal things; in the end, when you look when **George Soros** came, how much money did the Antiwar Campaign get? Unlike the institutions he organised and the NGO sector he created through local confidants, the Antiwar Campaign was always de facto trailing behind the rest because we developed spontaneously – we organised out of an inner need of our own. My approach to that, and the reason I joined, was that I felt like a madman. Everyone around me thought one way, and I was the only one who thought that was wrong. And then I found three more who said: "Maybe that's not the only way, that nationalism, that 'Kill the bastards'. Maybe there's another option. It's simply 'I'm not mad!'"

Nela Pamuković: All this is interesting for analysing the development of civil society in general because I think at the moment we're still in a pre-organisational state. When you look at theories of organisational development, what we had were just the rudiments, and naturally there were a lot of painful issues. This branch of the women's organisations received a lot more money. You're right, the Antiwar Campaign never got very much. And when those Swiss women turned up for the first time with a mass of things, a room full of chocolate, I think it was you, Vesna, who said: "They're activists, but not like the poor peace Samaritans who come with scarcely a penny!" (*murmurs, laughter*) But in '92 we founded the Centre for Women War Victims within the scope of ARK, which branched off very soon. The first budget **Martina Belić** and I drew up was of 250,000 marks, for three years.

(Shout: What year? What year?)

We developed spontaneously – we organised out of an inner need of our own. My approach to that, and the reason I joined, was that I felt like a madman. Everyone around me thought one way, and I was the only one who thought that was wrong.

Nela Pamuković: '92.

Milena Beader: I found a figure that the Antiwar Campaign had around 30,000 marks overall in 1992, but not all the projects defined at the time were allocated the same means.

Nela Pamuković: That's interesting to know. We worked on a voluntary basis for years until then. In 1999, with the Kosovo crisis, the situation was similar. People called us from all over the world and asked: "Who in Kosovo can we give money to?" That's basically how it came to a development like that in Croatia, and it was disconcerting for us as well. As far as the differences between us feminists are concerned, you, Aida, said first that they stemmed from the idea that there was no place for the Antiwar Campaign in Croatia, but that criticism and everything wasn't yet articulated... Recently I spoke with Lepa from Belgrade. The other side, meaning Kareta, Nona and the other groups that were nationalistic, so to speak, were linked to **Catherine MacKinnon**, the legal theorist from the USA who prosecuted **Karadžić**. She met Lepa and several other women activists from Belgrade at the UN Conference on Human Rights in '93. They wanted to speak with her, but she said: "Where are you from? Serbia? No, I don't want to talk to you. The only good Serb is a dead Serb!" So one current didn't want to speak with activists from Serbia at all. We then had a gathering, which was supposed to be the 5th Yugoslav feminist gathering in '92. One activist, who was involved in the student movement and was otherwise half from Zagreb, half from Belgrade, tried to speak at that gathering, but **Gordana Cerjan Letica** and **Katarina Vidović** came and started screaming: "How can she speak here? She has no right to!" And she wanted to say that there still existed some resistance to Milošević. That's how

they behaved. Or when we invited women representatives from DEŠA⁰³ to a meeting with women from abroad at the Antiwar Campaign. I think **Jenny Hansel** was there, along with several other people, and the women started spouting over-the-top stuff about massacres, and it was impossible to speak with them! It wasn't possible to begin any kind of dialogue.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: Just a few quick words. I remember the phenomenon that **Zoran Oštrić**, of all people, a dyed-in-the-wool peacenik, Green and so on, was declared a Croatian nationalist! That's how he was perceived in the West because he dared to say Croatia had a right to defend itself. Those were stupid misapprehensions, but...

Aida Bagić: I'd like to add something to what Nela said. I think more money came for certain things because it was easier to show that it was about victims, and direct care for them. It was about humanitarian aid, and it could be demonstrated that the victims were refugees, displaced people, raped women, children, etc. More money came for that, while there was hardly anything for conscientious objection. Now, looking back, I think conscientious objection was the most prominent peace current within the Antiwar Campaign.

I think the decision about payment was partly an aspect of generational conflict. Roughly in the spring of '91 I was finishing my degree and living from coaching English and German; I was hanging around, and then I realised I was spending too much time at the ARK office and was actually living at my parents' expense. Those were the real transitions! When you look at who ended up being paid, we were actually of that generation or later, and some people did lose jobs elsewhere. I don't remember it being so dramatic, but I do recall there being a generation gap of a

different kind. We were visited by people from the Croatian League for Peace who were interested in some form of cooperation. It was an interesting meeting, but it didn't suit us to cooperate with them at the time because they were too nationally oriented. Perhaps there are some minutes of the meeting. It would be interesting to see why an organisation called the Antiwar Campaign didn't want to cooperate with the League for Peace.

Vesna Teršelić: They didn't do much more than talk. That was my impression.

Aida Bagić: I remember them coming to see us; they were publishing those *Declarations by Intellectuals* books full of statements against the war, for peace, for truth in Croatia, and stuff like that. Yes, and the whole business with money really caught us unprepared, without any infrastructure. Nenad remembers a seminar on non-violent conflict resolution at the Centre for Social Work that **Nina Pečnik** and I presented for a fee of 50 marks each, if that's not an exaggeration. That was our time of innocence. I remember we went out for a pizza with them, and we paid for it ourselves. Later we found out what massive fees American psychologists got to come to the Balkans.

Tihomir Ponoš: It was a risk zone.

Aida Bagić: A risk zone! All those things about money... But it's a fact that it was very easy to get approval for civilian service. If I remember well, a fax came for Zvonimir...

Milena Beader: That's right, Zvonimir Orešković.

Aida Bagić: A fax came for him at the Antiwar Campaign saying his application for civilian service had been approved. That was so-

⁰³ A civic association in Dubrovnik. [trans.]

metimes a problem for us, for example, when we “appeared” in public with peace activists from Serbia, when we talked about this kind of thing in Germany (it wasn’t ’91, but ’92), because it would look as if we were defending the Croatian state. In other words, we’d announce some fact, and it would look as if we weren’t sufficiently antiwar, pro-peace and critically minded...

(Interjection: Because we achieved something, right?)

Aida Bagić: It’s not a question now of whether we achieved something. I think the state was in such confusion that it just let the approvals go through. There was trouble later. These guys happened to get it, they had it black on white.

Nela Pamuković: I’d just like to mention another statement that illustrates the stance of some women in the feminist movement, for example, who published a statement in *Vjesnik* in ’95 saying they don’t work together with this and that organisation because it didn’t distance itself from the “Serb Chetnik aggressor”. That was one of the accusations.

Vesna Teršelič: As it is now!

Kruno Kardov: I’m interested in a different aspect, which we can maybe add on to later: I read in the Minutes that 15 training sessions for mediation, non-violent conflict resolution, etc. were held by the middle of ’92. There was discussion, among other things, about the reintegration of veterans and psychosocial assistance. It struck me that it was relatively early to be talking about the reintegration of veterans at that moment. I don’t know if that was maybe input from abroad or if it was truly an issue like conscientious objection, demilitarisation and a few others that were already on the agenda.

When you look at theories of organisational development, what we had were just the rudiments, and naturally there were a lot of painful issues. This branch of the women’s organisations received a lot more money. You’re right, the Antiwar Campaign never got very much.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: No, the thing was just that some of us saw people really rush en masse into the destruction of war, unaware of what was going to happen. I wrote a short essay in the first of second issue of *AR-Kzin* on the human right to fear. My point was that everyone has a right to run away in fear, to flee from this madness, and that they shouldn’t suffer any consequences. It’s simply another fundamental human right! So I tried through what I know – writing. I dedicated those non-existent images to the war veterans and invalids, who are abandoned by every state after a war because it doesn’t need them any more. And that feeling, PTSD, which we called “Vietnam syndrome”. Some of us were aware that those scenes alone made it absurd to go to war.

Kruno Kardov: Do you mean there was no influence from activists who came?

Vesna Teršelič: No, our friends had brothers and relatives who were killed. Friends of ours were killed too! When we talked with them it immediately became clear that it would reverberate for the rest of our lives. So it was very useful that activists from abroad already had some experience, and we had **Greg Payton** visiting at the time.

Vesna Janković: It was towards the end of ’92 or in the second half of the year.

Vesna Teršelič: That’s right. And it was far too early then. To be sure, the coverage by HTV provided us a bit more visibility, but the reaction of everyone Greg met at the time – including soldiers and veterans – was: “Yes, yes, you had problems with Vietnam syndrome, but that will never happen to us”. There was no danger of that, they said, so there was no need to take any particular steps, let’s say to ask men who returned from the battlefield

how they were and tell them a bit about what they could expect – what sort of reaction they could expect of themselves and their families. Greg told us all that, as did **Adam Curle**, our friend from England, who founded the Bradford Peace Studies programme. He spoke about there having been a programme for demobilised officers in England after the Second World War. Participation was voluntary, but with those who wished to take part it was perfectly normal to look at what kind of reaction they could expect. That was 1945! In late '92, we went with Greg to a meeting with veterans in Varaždinske Toplice. **Saša Kosanović** recently found the HTV broadcast for me, where the reaction among the guys who'd lost their legs or arms was one of denial: "No, that can't happen to us!" We sat with them and it was as clear as day that they had problems. They all drank, their hands trembled, you could tell they were tired of life, and they certainly had problems at home.

Boris Bakal: They threw themselves to the floor every time there was a loud noise!

Vesna Teršelič: You could see they had problems, but they said: "No, that can't happen to us!" I don't know how many years had to pass for veterans themselves to as much as accept the possibility of there being a problem. Although we were in touch with our friends who were still on the battlefield or had returned...

Boris Bakal: Or who fled the battlefield because of what they saw there. That happened all the time! I don't know, I think we had an infallible intuition at that moment, a feeling that those things would have to be resolved.

Tihomir Ponoš: If I may, here's one more memory to do with Vietnam syndrome. I remember

well the Croatian media of the time – as early as '92 – saying that Croatian veterans wouldn't suffer from Vietnam syndrome, firstly because they didn't fight in Vietnam, and secondly because it was a defensive war, so obviously nothing like that would happen to them.

Katarina Kruhonja: I think those who've been exposed to the violence of war come to realise that their behaviour is abnormal. For example, once a month my nephew and I went from the war zone to Samobor for a weekend, where the rest of our family had fled. I noticed we found it hard, almost impossible, to speak with them. We lived in a kind of world of our own, of tolerating violence, but also of courage, solidarity and togetherness, and we considered that those who hadn't been in the war zone couldn't understand us. And we weren't soldiers, but civilians in a war zone. We had our own mindset, expressions, jokes, etc., and we were almost glad to get back to Osijek. Isn't that incredible? Just a month or two earlier, it was therapeutic for me to meet **Kruno Sukić**, who looked on violence as a deviant phenomenon, as I did, and we were angry at our parents and teachers for not telling us what war really was, and how it affects people and relationships.

It was a real shock for me to see people growing apart, and the growth of distrust, fear and hatred, through to physical violence and the readiness to annihilate "others". You don't see those things when you've got a nationalist mindset – you're blinkered and thick-skinned.

As a doctor, I took part in the congress of the World Association of Croatian Physicians in Osijek in '93 or '94. The minister of health at the time, **Andrija Hebrang**, gave a talk in which he stated that the War of Independence had no negative influence on the health of the population, and in fact the rates of illness,

I think more money came for certain things because it was easier to show that it was about victims, and direct care for them. It was about humanitarian aid, and it could be demonstrated that the victims were refugees, displaced people, raped women, children, etc. More money came for that, while there was hardly anything for conscientious objection.

infectious diseases and cancers were down – he presented it graphically! Short-term effects of stress like that are possible, of course, due to adrenaline stimulation, positive stress and/or temporarily reduced access to the doctors, but it's mad to disregard and deny the likely negative effects in the foreseeable future. Unlike the minister of health, one commissioned officer of the Croatian Army in quite a senior position here in Osijek, Ante Kokeza, supported programmes for soldiers affected by PTSD and peace initiatives. "Keep up the good work," he said. "In a few years we'll have Croatian soldiers and those who fought on the other side, and they'll fight together to be given a decent pension."

Nela Pamuković: We live in a Monty Python state.

Vesna Janković: Regarding conscientious objection, there's another story I remember to do with the state's relationship to the Antiwar Campaign. At some point in early '92, ARK printed a small pamphlet about the right to conscientious objection, which was produced by Biljana and Srđan. I remember that a Council of Europe delegation came to ARK, I think in '93, which beforehand had visited Tuđman, or someone else high up in the government. In our conversation, we told them what we did and showed them the pamphlet on conscientious objection, and they said: "Yes, yes, we know about that, they showed us the pamphlet when we were in parliament with representatives of the government." ARK, in fact, served as a kind of legitimisation for the government when dealing with international institutions, a demonstration of how democratic and open it was.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: Someone gave them the prompt that it could be useful.

No, the thing was just that some of us saw people really rush en masse into the destruction of war, unaware of what was going to happen. I wrote a short essay in the first of second issue of *ARKzin* on the human right to fear. My point was that everyone has a right to run away in fear, to flee from this madness, and that they shouldn't suffer any consequences. It's simply another fundamental human right!

Nela Pamuković: OK, so Tuđman signed the charter and distributed the pamphlet on conscientious objection. What's the point?

Vesna Janković: That our phones were tapped, we were followed and they kept files kept on us!

Katarina Kruhonja: I think the situation was actually to our advantage – the fact that they praised us. Croatia *was* open because it wanted international recognition, and that openness allowed peace activists and observers to come, and that protected us in a way and gave us space to work. Unlike Serbia, which was under embargo and in self-isolation.

Since I don't know how long this is going to go and when the sequel will be, do you want me to say how the Centre for Peace became a member of the Antiwar Campaign?

(Everyone: Yes!)

Katarina Kruhonja: I'll start with meeting the late Kruno Sukić. Kruno had been active in intellectual circles in Osijek before the war. They were harbingers of the civic scene. I was neither politically nor socially active. It took the war to shake me up and make me aware; I began to think about my part of the responsibility. My reaction was to encourage or support antiwar activities: when I heard that captive policemen were wounded and dying in Tenja, I went to the barracks; I joined the mothers who went to Belgrade to demand that their sons be released from service in the Yugoslav People's Army so they wouldn't have to fight in the war; I was with the first Libertas convoy to Dubrovnik; I tried to assemble a team of doctors and nurses to go past the barricades to the nearby villages. Everything happened fast, but all those activities were a great crash course in non-violence.

I met Kruno at a meeting organised by Professor Ante Lauc about what we intellectuals who remained in Osijek could do for the city. It was the middle of November, and heavy guns were drumming around Osijek every day. It was clear to us that we couldn't influence the course of the war or help to end it, but after days of talking in the air-raid shelter we kept coming back to the question of whether we could do anything at all for peace. When Kruno read in the weekly *Danas* that there was an Antiwar Campaign, it was as if we saw the light. Here's someone else, we thought. You'd already gone through the initial phase of coming together and forming a platform that we felt was logical and a good strategy to preserve at least a minimum of communication between the warring sides for the sake of peacebuilding in future. And then – I remember it as clearly as if it was yesterday – I went to Gajeva Street one weekend. It must have been in January, it was the workshop of Catherine Sanders, I sat in a little and listened.

I found it stirring and healing. That was also the case at the workshops where we brought together the peace group and later when working with people in the community. As long as you're stuck in the logic of war, beneath great pressure from abroad, especially if you're someone who isn't well informed or a political analyst, it's hard for you to understand what's going on, in which direction and with what dynamics the conflict is developing, how it escalates, and how it can be stopped. It's outright salutary for your mental and spiritual health when you begin to better understand events and yourself – your own behaviour and that of your environment. Then I told Catherine Sanders that there were some of us in Osijek who wanted to work for peace, and we arranged for her to come.

Once a month my nephew and I went from the war zone to Samobor for a weekend, where the rest of our family had fled. I noticed we found it hard, almost impossible, to speak with them. We lived in a kind of world of our own, of tolerating violence, but also of courage, solidarity and togetherness, and we considered that those who hadn't been in the war zone couldn't understand us.

The next time I was in Zagreb, I met up with Vesna in Ilica, in a health-food restaurant, and we ate and talked. I can't recall the details any more, but it was vital for us that it be known that we, in the war zone in Osijek, wanted to work for peace and needed support. We didn't know exactly what we wanted to do, or how. I remember that you, Vesna, conveyed the news to Adam Curle at the gathering of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly in Bratislava.

Vesna Teršelič: Yes, in Bratislava. I asked those I met there, and they were good people, whether they'd go to Osijek, to a meeting of such a group, and say a little about their experience.

Katarina Kruhonja: Then a group of five peace activists from Britain was assembled by Adam Curle, a Quaker. Seeing as I'm a doctor, Nick Lewer from the organisation *Médecins sans frontières* also came.

Aida Bagić: Katarina, didn't Traude Rebmann visit in March, when you still had shelling and sirens?

Katarina Kruhonja: That's right, March '92.

Aida Bagić: But this was in May, a few days after the last of the shelling, but we didn't yet know it was really over.

Katarina Kruhonja: Yes, the last serious shelling was in early May.

When Traude Rebmann came in March, Kruno and I acted as organisers and invited people to the workshop. The workshop was for people who were exposed to war or secondary war through working with refugees or the wounded. Recently I met a woman who participated in the workshop, and she said it changed her life – she went from confusion and despair to hope for peace and recovery.

By May '92, the initiative had grown and we established the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights. We held the founding meeting on 13 May, and on 14 May the Antiwar Campaign decided that the Centre be an Osijek branch of ARK. But we didn't settle our legal status until a year later, in December '93, when we received the document confirming that we were a branch of ARK. Later, in 1996, we registered as an independent organisation but remained a member of ARK's network. We received some very modest, early financial assistance during our first major event in Osijek – the “Days of non-violence” in May '92 – with international guests and you from ARK. One of the topics was the peaceful return of displaced people, though most people couldn't imagine that anything of the sort would be possible.

Boris Bakal: It's terribly important to remember that those things were immediately obvious to us all. When they took down the road signs on the motorway to Belgrade, we laughed because we knew they'd be put back up. As if those towns and cities would disappear, as if that other country would disappear. It was so ridiculous!

Katarina Kruhonja: I must stress once again how significant it was for us that the Antiwar Campaign existed. Its values, moral support and practical aid encouraged and assisted us. Without you directing people to us and helping us yourselves, we definitely wouldn't have been able to go on, let alone develop the way we did. Secondly, conscientious objection was at the heart of our organisation because both Kruno and I were refuseniks – he for political and me for religious reasons. That tied us to ARK.

As long as you're stuck in the logic of war, beneath great pressure from abroad, especially if you're someone who isn't well informed or a political analyst, it's hard for you to understand what's going on, in which direction and with what dynamics the conflict is developing, how it escalates, and how it can be stopped. It's outright salutary for your mental and spiritual health when you begin to better understand events and yourself – your own behaviour and that of your environment.

Thirdly, I think it was quite significant that we began working directly to protect human rights in Osijek, a war zone. We didn't actually plan to work on human rights. We were more focused on ending the conflict with a peaceful solution, and we were interested in peaceful return, education in non-violence, and human rights and democracy. We weren't really prepared for any of the things in store for us. As soon as we published the news that we'd set up the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights, people began calling us who'd been thrown out of their flats and exposed to violence. We were forced to make a decision, as you were too. We decided to take up the challenge.

Svemir Vranko: I just want to mention two theories. One is that the Antiwar Campaign, from the very beginning, was like humus – fertile soil in a big jar, from which various flowers of different non-governmental organisations sprang. It was simply amazing to watch and be part of. The second aspect was that we presented a lot of ideas through music. One part of that was when I went with Aida to Austria, to Salzburg, I don't remember the names of...

Aida Bagić: I noted them down at some point.

Svemir Vranko: ...the Canadian and the Austrian, and I mentioned that I'd recorded a song and wanted to make a peace video with it. A month later, Aida called me and said: “The money has arrived for you at ARK, so you can work on the music.” I got together young people in Križevci and we set up the group *Cri-siensis Pax Aid* (*Crisium* being the Latin name of Križevci), with musicians from the Križevci area, **Sandro** and **Nino Giovanni** and the *Gaudeamus* vocal group, and we held concerts. We had a peace concert in Križevci in the mid-

dle of the war! The mayor came, and representatives of the army – it was a unique mood for a small city. Two of my friends and a dozen other young men from Križevci had been killed around that time, so the peace concert amounted to a requiem for those soldiers.

Vesna Teršelič: Back to what Katarina said, it was very important for us that the whole cycle of advocating non-violence and the direct protection of human rights was initiated in Osijek. You put yourselves on the line when people turned to you because of the evictions, and you went to sit with them and offer non-violent resistance, and I think your situation was truly precarious. Although **Zlatko Kramarić** was formally mayor, the city was actually in the hands of **Branimir Glavaš**. Later you pressed charges against **Petar Kljajić**, Chair of the Army Housing Commission, a member of the Crisis Coordination Team and president of the Osijek District Court.

Now I remember how little faith we initially had in what we could achieve. For example, when I was learning about mediation, maybe not until 2006, working on conflict resolution with police and judges, I saw something in practice that Christine Schweitzer told us about in '91. Then I remembered, you see: the practical skill Christine Schweitzer showed us back then finally became something that the police officer and the judge could utilise in their everyday work, in the courthouse and at the police station. That cycle of practical application lasts a very long time, but we ourselves sowed a seed when we were learning back in '91. Some things got put into practice much later. Becoming institutionalised was a very demanding process, and it took a long time for some of our activities to become institutionalised in civil society organisations.

But what was most important at the beginning really were the values, us standing to-

gether and saying: "Now is war, but we won't give up non-violence, nor will we give up communicating with our friends in Belgrade, Montenegro or wherever." And whenever we worked directly together with people who'd suffered, specifically in connection with Osijek, I'd mention the first contacts with **Štefica Krstić** and the families who were searching for missing loved ones. Ideologically they were all rock-solid Tuđman supporters, but they also knew that if they wanted to find out anything they had to get in touch with Women in Black and be open to travelling to Serbia via Mohács in Hungary, because they could maybe find out something.

Perhaps we're now entering a cycle where we, too, will bear responsibility for sharing information with someone in a different country. What I mean is, the commitment to non-violence was important for us but we were constantly learning from international experiences, as others can now learn from us. Nothing can be transferred directly – it's not like a practice you can just transplant from one framework to another and it automatically flourishes and grows. When the Volunteer Project Pakrac was starting up, we received crucial information about a series of suicides in Pakrac in '94. It was we as the Volunteer Project Pakrac who wrote to the ministry and said: "Did you know people are killing themselves? It's clinical depression, it's a huge problem." I think it's scandalous that we had to report that to them and go and tell them that systematic measures ought to be taken to encourage, support and work with those people. We were constantly in the situation of hearing about a problem, and then having to come up with a definition, articulate what was happening – with the very modest resources we had, both in terms of awareness and expertise – and then also of finding the best possible solutions and offering them im-

The workshop was for people who were exposed to war or secondary war through working with refugees or the wounded. Recently I met a woman who participated in the workshop, and she said it changed her life – she went from confusion and despair to hope for peace and recovery.

mediately. So that they might perhaps be applied, albeit usually years and years after our first proposal.

Just to think back to our meeting with **Ljubomir Antić** in the Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights in order to speak with him about the evictions. He sat there coolly in his opulent office as a member of the Croatian parliament and told us that those were teething troubles of democracy and unfortunately there was nothing he could do – and people were being thrown out of their flats! The trouble was that in that phase he was genuinely the only representative of any state institution we could reach because no one else wanted to see us. And it was like that for quite a while. The first judgements in disputes to do with evictions and the first returns of people to their flats were shortly after the year 2000, i.e. 10 years after the people had been thrown out. Ten more years had to pass for *Večernji list* to publish a series of articles on the topic, four or five months ago, and that was inconclusive. So the time is still to come when someone will be able to say in public: “You know, that was a criminal practice – part of a criminal practice supported by people in state institutions, and here are their names...” Some things are possibly going to happen. I see my present work at Documenta as part of the heritage of ARK, or actually the heritage of a simple decision of a small group of people with very different orientations, from completely different backgrounds, with different personal histories, that there simply must be an alternative to violence.

Katarina Kruhonja: I think it's important to be aware that both the Antiwar Campaign and the Centre for Peace as part of the Antiwar Campaign developed spontaneously, by themselves. Perhaps we didn't have much in the way of skills, but I know that we from the

Centre for Peace persevered and insisted on non-violence from the very beginning. We made a big effort to knock on every door, sought discussion and dialogue, conducted informal mediation sessions in war-ravaged local communities, wrote letters to various institutions and offered non-violent resistance when families were being ejected from their flats. Our members who were displaced people wrote letters to Baranja, which was occupied, and in '93 we began the meetings in Hungary. We did our best to work inclusively and through dialogue. If we hadn't done it that way, I don't think we would have had any influence at all, nor been able to survive.

In terms of the disputes to do with our activities... We were exposed to criticism, or rather pejorative labelling, primarily by those we warned were committing human rights violations or war crimes, for example Kljajić and Glavaš. In some phases that labelling took on the dimension of a media campaign. I'm not sure we could have prevented or lessened that by choosing a different approach.

Tihomir Ponoš: There are still some important things we should talk about, in my opinion. We haven't heard what happened in the first half of '92, when the war broke out in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Did disputes erupt, and if so, what kind? Were there divisions? We still haven't talked about what caused the disputes in connection with our advocacy for human rights, and what was known, and when, about the war crimes committed in Croatia. I assume, on the one hand, that we didn't find out in real time, and how could we have? But one of the issues of *ARKzin*, as far back as early '92, contains quite a long and serious text about the events in Sisak, which are still hushed-up today.

Vesna Janković: Oh, we knew. We started to translate the Amnesty International reports in October '91, and the crimes were mentioned.

Milena Beder: Not only that, but researchers from Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch came to visit the Antiwar Campaign because we'd begun working with them before the war. They talked with us about human rights violations, and some of our people even guided them around Bosnia.

Nela Pamuković: But do we also want to make a self-critical assessment? That's lacking, in my opinion. What could we have done differently? I get the impression that we dissipated our energies on too many issues. That was simply the reality at the time, but today I think we didn't focus enough on the essential problems.

Katarina Kruhonja: I think we still need to define the disputes and the lessons learned. One of the contentious questions is how we got into the situation where we could no longer agree, for example about statements. You know how hard we had to argue, let's say about the statement after Operation Storm.

Aida Bagić: With all the different skills we learned, how can we not have applied them to ourselves?

Nela Pamuković: And still don't apply them today!

Aida Bagić: Because there's a border there, and those skills have a certain reach. But that's a different topic.

Vesna Janković: To me it's also a question of what it means to respect peace/antiwar justice. We mentioned that there was also a humanitarian dimension, through Suncokret and the Centre for Women War Victims..

Nela Pamuković: Our thrust was entirely different – it wasn't humanitarian work.

Vesna Janković: ...but, in any case, I consider it important to be aware of the spectrum of peace and antiwar activities, which went from radical political criticism, of nationalism above all, to these psychosocial skills, to...

Katarina Kruhonja: We started off as an antiwar campaign, and now we insist on dealing with the past in the sense of culpability for war crimes and a recognition of all the victims, but there's no critique of war.

Kruno Kardov: Why was it an "antiwar" campaign at all, instead of a peace campaign?

Katarina Kruhonja: I can say it was the Antiwar Campaign because here, in Zagreb, you started from the idea of ending the war. Whereas we in Osijek recognised straight away that it was too late for that, and we spoke of peacebuilding.

Vesna Teršelič: The Antiwar Campaign arose as an ad hoc campaign. We wanted to stop the war!

Nela Pamuković: How should I say? Completely immature. Where was our role? What did we neglect? That's what bothers me. What can we still do today? Because we live in virtu-

Now I remember how little faith we initially had in what we could achieve But what was most important at the beginning really were the values, us standing together and saying: "Now is war, but we won't give up non-violence, nor will we give up communicating with our friends in Belgrade, Montenegro or wherever."

ally the same state as we did in '92. And where is our responsibility here? What didn't we do? That needs to be examined. What can we still do?

Vesna Janković: I'd like to reflect on the heritage of ARK, not only in the sense of the organisations that have survived but also in the sense of what Katarina said. One workshop changed a woman's life! The Antiwar Campaign changed my life, too, because the decision to get involved opened up entirely new horizons.

Milena Beader: Same here.

We were constantly in the situation of hearing about a problem, and then having to come up with a definition, articulate what was happening – with the very modest resources we had, both in terms of awareness and expertise – and then also of finding the best possible solutions and offering them immediately. So that they might perhaps be applied, albeit usually years and years after our first proposal.





(transcript of the discussion among the founders
on 29 June 2011)

Enquiry, contention, transformation

Transcript of the discussion among the founders of the Antiwar Campaign held on 29 June 2011 in the House of Human Rights, Zagreb. The discussion was moderated by Tihomir Ponoš.

Participants: Miroslav Ambruš Kiš, Milena Beader, Srđan Dvornik, Vesna Janković, Nela Pamuković, Duška Pribičević Gelb, Vesna Teršelič, Ognjen Tus, Nenad Zakošek

Tihomir Ponoš: We left off in autumn '91. Today we need to get to the middle of '92. It seems to me that three things can perhaps best reflect the relations within ARK. The first was Vukovar in the middle of November. The second – the truce and to what extent the halting of the war, at least temporarily, influenced the work of ARK. Was there a slump or some change in the ways of working? The third question is that of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The issue of Croatia and its role in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina would go beyond the scope of our session today, although I assume it was on ARK's agenda, too, if not as much as in '93 or early '94, but we'll look at what your peace position was in that context, and that is: should one call for the bombing of the Serb positions around Sarajevo so the whole war could be ended earlier, or is that contrary to a pro-peace position?

Duška Pribičević Gelb: In September I will have been working for the Ministry of the Interior for 35 years! (*laughter*) I always remember the first days I began to go to ARK. It was in '93. It was more by chance, but seeing as I stayed on I guess I was in ARK because of my convictions after all. I'm joking. For the first part, I'd just add something to do with Svarun. I don't know if you recall, but I was an aspiring "teach" at the Police Academy in '89. I gathered a few of my students and brought them along in the scope of the courses I taught. That was in Gajeva Street if I remember correctly.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: 45 Gajeva Street, second floor.

Duška Pribičević Gelb: I know that some of the people there talked with my students and we were given leaflets. I think I've still got them filed away somewhere, and it was a sensation and a novelty for my boys to see the-

re are other ways of organising young people. Because at that time our students at the Academy were still pressured: you're adults now, you're in Year 11, so you can join the Party, etc. The Municipality of Maksimir had the highest number of newly admitted Party members year after year. That was apropos the beginnings.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: I'd like to go back a bit further to some earlier things. In '89 and '90 I was writing for *Večernji list* and covered various new movements, so among others I also ran into Green Action. I was at their office as an activist and was always helping whomever I could, on the sly. But I left *Večernji list* for the simple reason that no one cared in the slightest what I knew about technology, although it would prove to be essential and has transformed the whole printing process and print journalism. I switched to *Globus*, which originated at that time as a public-private partnership, as they say today. Ninoslav Pačić and the *Vjesnik* magazine started *Globus*. It was a completely new experience for me to watch something develop from scratch. So I reported on Green Action, ARK and all the rest, I was part of it all, and I must admit that I personally found these polemics about the moral status of an activist ridiculous – whether an activist can be a professional, a professional revolutionary! And then some say they can – they can't. We've had that before in history.

Tihomir Ponoš: We'll come to *ARKzin* as a separate important topic, but let's now return to those first divisions and huge challenges.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: If only **Zoran Oštrić** were here! He bellyached to me that he had big problems as a Green because the European Greens perceived him as an ultra-nationalist. We went to Kostajnica and Jasenovac together

But I think those conversations with our friends from abroad were productive and provocative in the sense that they were an occasion for discussion because we didn't give ourselves the opportunity to clarify things together very often. But when they said something that provoked us we'd engage in long arguments, and through that we then realised what our position was. They and their stance of total pacifism made us speak about that, and we reached the conclusion that non-violence is alright, but we also saw situations where defence is necessary.

to sniff out the terrain, we travelled down the sniper alley there, we went to Bosanska Dubica, Hrvatska Dubica and Kostajnica, and after that Lederer was killed.

Tihomir Ponoš: So we're in the autumn of '91. We have that climax with Vukovar in mid-November, one section of the founders has left, and after that, at least with some people, a new phase of reflection sets in on the role of the Antiwar Campaign regarding the overall situation in the society.

Vesna Janković: One of the answers to that question is in the text Nenad wrote just at that time. I don't remember the exact title, but I think it was "Between pacifism and patriotism". In any case, those were the two key words in the title. I think the text originated immediately after Vukovar, so maybe Nenad can say something about it.

Nenad Zakošek: I'm still trying to reconstruct my memory of things. I can't remember all that, not only the text but even the time. I don't know if we had arguments about it. I just remember disputes with my German friends, but that was earlier still – the war hadn't yet begun. They thought war could be prevented by large-scale passive protest. Unlikely. We debated that with **Christine Schweitzer**, too, I also had some friends, and they were amazed we could be so unrealistic. There was even the idea that the presence of peace activists from abroad could stop the Yugoslav People's Army.

Tihomir Ponoš: You mean those tourists?

Nela Pamuković: There were those peace caravans!

Vesna Teršelič: People can be very different. Take **Christine Schweitzer**, who's been dedicated to non-violence all her life. That's what she does, and studies, and in the meantime she's also written a lot about it. So she knows the methodology and also practises it. She and **Kurt Südmersen** ran our first workshop on non-violent conflict resolution. I think she really bears witness to what it means to live a non-violent life, so when she advocates non-violence it's impressive in its integrity because it pervades everything she does. It's something different when you practice a bit of non-violence on the weekend and go on a tour of Croatia or Bosnia, for example. So the Caravan is one thing, and the work of people from War Resisters' International is another. Her and Kurt Südmersen, for example, and Marko Hren was linked to them.

Vesna Janković: Eric Bachman came in September '91 and held a workshop on non-violent action. Not on conflict but on non-violence.

Nela Pamuković: Which was the first workshop?

Vesna Teršelič: The first was the one **Christine Schweitzer** and **Kurt Südmersen** held on non-violent conflict resolution.

Vesna Janković: I remember Christine and **Eric Bachman** coming. There's an interview in the first or second issue of ARKzin. It was in late September – the first workshop in Gajeva Street. We held the workshop, and then **Banski Dvori**⁰¹ were bombed. Can anyone recollect when exactly that was?

Tihomir Ponoš: 7 October '91.

01 The Croatian parliament building (literally: the Viceroy's Courts). [trans.]

Vesna Teršelič: Christine was here the first time with Kurt, then worked again with Eric. Yes, that was the second workshop, and a different topic – non-violence. But I think those conversations with our friends from abroad were productive and provocative in the sense that they were an occasion for discussion because we didn't give ourselves the opportunity to clarify things together very often. But when they said something that provoked us we'd engage in long arguments, and through that we then realised what our position was. They and their stance of total pacifism made us speak about that, and we reached the conclusion that non-violence is alright, but we also saw situations where defence is necessary.

Tihomir Ponoš: Did you have splits and quarrels between factions – the non-violent ones on the one hand, and the advocates of the right to defence on the other? And another fracture line between what we could colloquially call leftists and nationalists? Within the circle of people who were in the Antiwar Campaign or close to it? With the people you communicated with outside of Zagreb, but also in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia?

Nela Pamuković: It wasn't within the Antiwar Campaign. The discussion took place at SOS Telefon, not within the Antiwar Campaign.

Vesna Janković: But it's true that the Antiwar Campaign was the cause of a kind of split in the women's scene. Or rather, the cause was more the issue of who was the victim and who the aggressor, and did Croatia have the right to wage a defensive war. ARK was branded as being pro-Yugoslav, as far as I recall.

Nela Pamuković: Yes, but at the same time there were also discussions abroad about the

war. The Italian women I mentioned organised several meetings of women from Belgrade and Croatia to debate feminist ways of seeing the war, and then misunderstandings began at those meetings. They were held in Trieste, Rome and a few other cities.

Nenad Zakošek: Between Croatian and Serbian women, or between Italian women and...

Nela Pamuković: No, no, misunderstandings arose between Zagreb and Belgrade women. **Nadežda Radović** wrote a bit about it in her autobiography. Those encounters abroad allowed feminists to meet, and it emerged that their understanding of reality was pretty different. Then that rubbed off on the rest of us in the group. So one circle of women from SOS Telefon didn't want to talk with women from Serbia at all. We others, of course, wanted to continue the dialogue. September '91 was the Rubicon where the rift began – after Zagreb was threatened for the first time.

Tihomir Ponoš: What about Zagreb's cooperation with the periphery, figuratively speaking? Katarina said a lot of interesting things last time about a certain Zagreb academicism, figuratively speaking again, as opposed to the realism in Osijek, which was on the front line. It was mentioned that there were attempts by people from Rijeka and other parts of Croatia to set up a network of peace activists, right?

Vesna Teršelič: Yes, Šura Dumanić began in Rijeka at the same time. She too felt a need to do something against the war and she organised events similar to the Doors of Peace. When the Square of the Victims of Fascism (Trg žrtava fašizma) was renamed, a group of people came together and immediately demanded that the name be restored. **Zoran Pusić** formed the Civic Committee for Human Ri-

Since I was in Zagreb I could afford to be a pacifist; if I'd been somewhere else in Croatia, it probably would've been different. I think each of us had his own position on that.

ghts in 1992. A group in Karlovac tried to work with us to solve the problems of conscientious objectors because mobilisation was underway and men were getting call-up notices, and if they refused to bear arms they were rounded up, or they went into hiding somewhere. One of them was **Ratko Dojčinović**, who was beaten up by the police and then made to dig trenches at the front line. Together we tried to work out what to do next. And by warning about his case we managed to bring him back safe and sound. But it was clear to us that an intervention like that might work in Zagreb or nearby Karlovac, but that people elsewhere in Croatia didn't know about us and didn't know what they could refer to – they had no idea that the right to conscientious objection is guaranteed in the constitution. A group around **Biljana Kašić** and **Zoran Oštrić** gathered material for a first pamphlet about conscientious objection. Apart from that, we produced basic leaflets with information about how to fill in the form with the justification for conscientious objection. We placed advertisements as proposed by the War Resisters. A quarrel ignited around the focus of the ads. The War Resisters had an idea and told us what people had done in other countries. We replied that we didn't think we should put it quite like that because we didn't want it to sound like: "Guys, whatever you do, don't resort to weapons!" Our dilemma was: do we want to declare ourselves pacifists – pure, non-violent pacifists? If not, how should we phrase it? That was one of the discussions that was held. We have notes on it somewhere.

Ognjen Tus: The ads were to do with conscientious objection. And only *Novi list*, *Feral Tribune* and *ARKzin* were prepared to run them. I didn't take part in many discussions of substance, like were we for or against the war? Zagreb was pretty well protected and no powerplant or

factory was rocketed. I think we were quite safe. I don't remember us conducting any heated, principled discussions about pacifism. As I saw it, since I was in Zagreb I could afford to be a pacifist; if I'd been somewhere else in Croatia, it probably would've been different. I think each of us had his own position on that. As we were losing our jobs, the army was the only place you could earn an income. A lot of my friends consciously decided to join the army. My God, what a trend! And a way of surviving, too, it seemed. So I think there were much fewer principled stances and a lot more of the "I don't want to fight, don't want to kill my friends and don't want to be killed myself." I don't remember us ever making an issue of it and opposing people's right to enlist. At the end of the day, we insisted that everyone had to decide for themselves. There were no attempts at persuasion, and the hateful claims that we were Yugo-nostalgics just stemmed from the system's need to produce an internal enemy. That was the attitude of the government, or rather the ruling circle. It needed an internal enemy. Since talking about exterminating Serbs was unseemly, they found others who spoke out. That's what I remember. I know that.

I was in Frankfurt to see **Christian Paul** around the time Vukovar fell. It was to do with some annual peace event. I gave a speech of sorts there, and it was hard to comprehend that even as a peace-lover you could be attacked from one side and another in that mass of people with all those different Yugoslavs. Like: "How can you say that when it's like this?" I was just saying what I saw and what happened, I wasn't theorising at all. For me, at least, I think that was the basic stance – we were into practical everyday activism, not theory. But it added up to the same thing: we didn't want there to be war.

At the end of the day, we insisted that everyone had to decide for themselves. There were no attempts at persuasion, and the hateful claims that we were Yugo-nostalgics just stemmed from the system's need to produce an internal enemy.

Čet, 26. Pro, 1991.

• Hrvatskoj ligi za mir
Nenada Vukman, fax 534 432
Tatjana Holjevac, fax 450 250

PREDMET: Obavijest o Božićnom karavanu za mir

Drage prijateljice i prijatelji!

U subotu, 28. prosinca, u Zagreb stižu sudionici Božićnog karavana za mir i humanitarnu pomoć civilima i nevinim žrtvama rata. Ovaj Karavan organizira Helsinški parlament građana (HCA - Helsinki Citizens Assembly) regije Montpellier (Francuska), u suradnji sa HCA drugih francuskih regija, Barcelone, Švicarske, Italije itd. Sudionici Karavana žele obići sve republike bivše federacije. Karavan u petak 27. prosinca boravi u Ljubljani, a nakon nekoliko sati boravka u Zagrebu produžava kroz Mađarsku za Beograd te zatim u Sarajevu, gdje će dočekati novu godinu. Nakon toga predviđen je i posjet Titogradu. Riječ je dakle o istoj koncepciji kao i kod Karavane mira krajem rujna, na koju smo mi imali primjedbi, ali u cjelini naravno podrčavamo sve koji žele pomoći. Osim toga ovoga puta dovoze i određenu humanitarnu pomoć.

Dolazak oko 50 sudionika predviđen je u subotu u podne, a biti će dočekan ispred "kockice", Savište 14. Tu će biti preuzet i jedan kamion sa prikolicom humanitarne pomoći za izbjeglice (lijeкови, hrana, odjeća), koja će po dogovoru sa Odborom antiratne kampanje, koji je domaćin Karavane u Zagrebu, biti upućen u Kutinu kao pomoć za izbjeglice iz Pakraca.

Od 12.00 do 14.00 u "kockici" će se održati okrugli stol u kojem će sudjelovati sudionici antiratnog pokreta. Razgovarati će se o koordinaciji djelovanja pokreta u Hrvatskoj, bivšoj Jugoslaviji i Evropi, te o odnosu antiratnog pokreta kao građanske inicijative i političkih koncepcija. Nakon ručka, odlazak je predviđen u 15.00.

Molimo vas da u ovim razgovorima sudjelujete.
Srdačan pozdrav,

za OARKH:

Zoran Oštrić

(P.S. Žao mi je što obavijest šaljem tek sada, ali sve je išlo na brzinu.)

Pet, 10. Tra, 1992.

Draga Šura!

Nakon razgovora u Rijeci prošlog tjedna, odlučili smo ti napisati nekoliko riječi.

Nije neobično da među ljudima koji rade u društvenim inicijativama dolazi do konflikata, čak i u mirovnom pokretu. Nažalost, kod obe rivalske grupe primjetili smo netrpeljivost i nespremnost da se sporovi normalnim putem rješavaju. Njihov ton i nastup zaista su bili agresivni i ostavili su nelagodan utisak. Osim toga, čini nam se neprihvatljivo da je Pokret za mir samo jedna od sekcija (ili čak podsekcija?) jedne druge organizacije. Mirovni pokret bi ipak morao nastupati potpuno nezavisno. Ipak, čini nam se isto tako nelogično tvoje odbijanje da se s njima susretnes. Osim toga, mislimo da odnosi unutar tvoje grupe nisu dovoljno jasni. Npr. stvar sa Plamencem, koji očito nema ni najblažu predodžbu što su mirovne inicijative. Unutrašnja demokracija i grupna dinamika presudno su važne stvari za uspjeh ovakvih inicijativa.

Osobito nas je neugodno dojmilo što je glavni predmet sporova novac, sa međusobnim otpužbama u koje ovdje ne želimo ulaziti. Mislimo da je temeljna greška što od početka odnosi u tom smislu nisu bili jasni. Sve financijske stvari moraju su otvoreno iznijeti na grupi i donijeti odluke. Novac koji je dobiven namjenski za neke projekte mora se za te projekte i potrošiti.

U svakom slučaju, ako ovi sporovi dospiju u širu javnost u Hrvatskoj, ili u mirovnjake krugove u Evropi, svi ćemo imati golemu štetu. Sporovi se moraju riješiti unutar nas.

Vi ćete se osnovati kao nezavisna organizacija, a oni će djelovati i dalje u okviru Demokratskog fronta. To je O.K. Pluralizam je dobra stvar. Ali smatramo nužnim da se sastanete i razgovarate. Mi ćemo rado doći da pokušamo posredovati, čim zakažete sastanak i pozovete nas. U tom smislu pisali smo i njima.

Srdačan pozdrav,



za OARKH

Zoran Oštrić

Letter to the Croatian League for Peace with information about the Christmas Peace Caravan, 26 December 1991

Letter to activist Šura Dumanić, 10 April 1992

PONIŠTITE ODLUKU!

Odlukom koja je sigurno donesena na najvišem nivou Republike Hrvatske, preimenovan je Trg žrtava fašizma u Trg hrvatskih velikana. 27. studenoga 1990. skinute su stare ploče i stavljene ploče s novim imenom trga.

Smatramo

- DA IME TRGA NIJE VRIJEDALO NIČIJE OSJEĆAJE I U MORU POSLUJERATNIH PROMJENA IMENA, KOJA SU ČESTO BILA MEŠAVINA IDEOLOŠKOG SLJEPILA, UDVORNOSTI I LOŠEG UKUSA, IME TRGA ŽRTAVA FAŠIZMA STOJI KAO JEDNA OD IZJENJAKA.
- DA JE PROMJENA IMENA TRGA ŽRTAVA FAŠIZMA ISTO TAKVA POGREŠKA I PRIMJER BAHATOSTI SPRAM HRVATSKE POVIJESTI KAO ŠTO JE BILU SVOJEVREMENO MICAJE SPOMENIKA BANU JELAČIĆU.
- DA NITKO NEMA MORALNO PRAVO OBEZVRIJEDITI SJEĆANJE NA SVE ONE, NAJČEŠĆE BEZIMENE ŽRTVE MRAKA I TRAJANJE.
- DA JE ODLUKA O PROMJENI IMENA TRGA ISHITRENA I ŠTETNA ZA RAZVOJ DEMOKRACIJE U HRVATSKOJ.

Tatjana Aparac-Gazivoda,
Sofija Bakić,
Mirko Banjeglav,
Tatjana Bican,
Katica Biljaković,
Marko Blažević,
Marija Boc,
Vinko Brešić,
Ines Cokarić,
Ljubo Cokarić,
Veljko Cvjetičanin,
Ivan Zvonimir-Čičak,
Zoran Daskalović,
Duško Dautović,
Ankica Dumić,
Miljenka Fischer,
Eugen Franković,
Grđo Gamulin,
Gordana Grbić,
Ivan Grdešić,
Mirko Grgec,
Nada Grujić,
Dragica Hanjžić,
Janja Herceg,
Ljiljana Higy,
Ljiljana Horvat-Strašek,

Radovan Ivančević,
Ivan Jurković,
Krunoslav Kamenar,
Barbara Kereta,
Dean Kleinhappel,
Sandra Kljačić,
Radule Knežević,
Branka Koražija,
Branislav Korošić,
Vlasta Korošić,
Vladimir Kušević,
Mladen Lazić,
Marija Lončarić-Planić,
Devorka Lukas,
Ivan Magdalenić,
Branimir Majorinc,
Zvonko Maković,
Jagoda Marković,
Luka Marković,
Predrag Matvejević,
Bogumil Mejovšek,
Mirjana Mesic,
Mate Meštrović,
Darinka Mihajlović,
Drago Milanović,

Ksenija Miše,
Sida Mušicki-Cujak,
Pero Nasakanda,
Luka Neralić,
Aleksandra Novačić,
Zoran Oštrić,
Dunja Palčok,
Zoran Palčok,
Adela Pavičić,
Katica Pavlek,
Tomislav Petković,
Branko Podgornik,
Nica Podgorski,
Milan Polić,
Kajica Popović,
Mirjana Popović,
Vaso Prodanović,
Vlado Puljiz,
Eugen Pusić,
Ljuban Radanović,
Stipo Radanović,
Radovan Radovinović,
Branko Rajhvajn,

Ivanka Raić,
Cvijko Rajić,
Vera Rašeta,
Ivanka Reberski,
Milan Ribić,
Mira Rogić,
Drago Roksandić,
Zlatko Rukavina,
Frane Rušinović,
Mirjana Sabol,
Dragica Sekulić,
Miliwoj Solar,
Jurček Strašek,
Bernarda Šurila,
Marko Šarić,
Suzana Šarić,
Boris Šprgm,
Branimir Šverko,
Vlasta Turko,
Zdravko Vincek,
Velimir Vasković,
Bijana Vuksan,
Lordan Zafranović,
Paula Zarić,
Đuro Zatezalo,
Ante Zimolo.

Danas je 24. prosinac, katolički badnjak, dan vezan uz jedno legendarno rođenje i razvoj velikih duhovnih vrijednosti naše civilizacije. Želimo vjerovati da smo danas, svim porodačnim mukama unatoč, svjedoci i sudionici rađanja demokracije u našoj domovini. Želimo da tradicionalne vrijednosti, kao što su mir, tolerancija i poštovanje i uvažavanje svojih bližnjih, koje mnogi građani Hrvatske povezuju s Božićem, budu zvijezda vodilja na tom putu. Neka su naši postupci nadahnuti tom željom i vođeni tim idejama!

za Trg žrtava fašizma

Inicijativna grupa akcije

Ako se želite svojim potpisom pridružiti protestu protiv promjene imena Trga žrtava fašizma, javite se na telefon: 421-347 ili na adresu: Praška 6/III.

(R 5000)

"Annul the decision", advert published in the daily press on 24 December 1990 after the Square of the Victims of Fascism was renamed

Milena Bader: Just for the record, Ognjen, I don't think it's correct what you said about no bombs falling on Zagreb and us feeling safe. My memory is of the everyday uncertainty: hours and hours spent sitting in shelters, including at 45 Gajeva Street; good friends from Zagreb going off to the army, although that was a quandary because of the political madness, which for some of them was harder to bear than the shells; creepy guys walking about the city in various uniforms, although they really belonged elsewhere. I think a person can be a pacifist even when they're directly exposed to rocket attacks every day – I don't think the circumstances are decisive for that choice. I have a few other mental images to do with everyday life of going to ARK. For example, I remember I fell asleep, fortunately, the morning those cluster bombs were dropped that are banned by international law. I'd often go that way to the office in Tkalčićeva Street. So that was a big shock for me, especially because a woman was killed who'd come from Sarajevo... I don't remember what year it was.

Tihomir Ponoš: That was after Operation Flash in '95.

Nenad Zakošek: The bombing of Banski Dvori! My children went to the kindergarten up in Demetera Street, and it was out of use for months. I think we were aware when we spoke with people from Osijek that it was a different world, but this was also impressive. When something like that happens to you... I don't think any of us disputed the right of Croatia to defend itself, of people to enlist in the army voluntarily, and I think all of us knew someone who'd joined.

Vesna Teršelič: Absolutely!

Nenad Zakošek: And then some dogmatic pacifists said: "In Serbia the peace movement calls on people to desert, but you don't say anything of the sort." I found that so absurd! It was evident that the war had come to Croatia and I respected the stance of those who said: "We're going to defend the country." Another level is that there were practical problems in the sense that we saw all sorts of horrible things were happening in Croatia, for which the authorities were to blame, a bad system, but Croatia had a right to be independent, and to defend its independence. It needed to meet certain standards. What we should advocate and promote is that we have a normal state with a normal army, a normal police force, etc.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: With people who don't want to join the army!

Nenad Zakošek: That was part of it. That even functioned then, if you say we have a constitution with an article that allows conscientious objection, but many other things were much more important, like the protection of human rights when people began to be thrown out of their flats or thrown out of work. A third level is the feeling of pressure created by the atmosphere of nationalism. All of us were suspect, from a substantialist mode of thinking, according to which all Croats are Catholics, have their roots in Herzegovina, central Dalmatia and I don't know where else... I felt we were all suspect, when seen from that angle. Zakošek and a Slovenian or two are "scheming". I think we then agreed not to permit that kind of discourse and we protested: "Hang on, what are you talking about? There are Serbs in the Croatian army too – fighting for Croatia!"

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: There wasn't much of that spirit in the media.

What separated us was that we consciously made different choices. But it wasn't just about drifting apart; our choice of non-violence brought us together with people – other people.

Nenad Zakošek: We were against the stifling fundamentalism that claimed: “We know who you are!” That’s how they saw us: “They’re all children of Yugoslav officers.”

Vesna Janković: I wanted to pick up on what Ognjen said: that most of us got involved in the beginning out of a gut reaction, without clear peace or pacifist agendas. Therefore I’m interested in the personal growth and development of a non-violence or pacifist discourse, which happened with me personally, but I also saw it happening with the people around me. Partly through the activism itself, partly through being in touch with foreign peace activists, and partly through all the discussions, some of which were imposed on us, while others originated of their own accord. Me in ’91 and me today are not the same person. And, parallel to those personal developments, I think the Antiwar Campaign itself went through a process of transformation. From the name itself, which aptly encapsulated our initial position – an ad hoc campaign against the war – to an organisation that spawned a multitude of NGOs that still exist today, and, even more importantly, created a tradition of civic activism.

Vesna Teršelič: I’d like to speak about people’s motivations, about some of my friends being called up and deciding to go to fight, people close to me deciding to get their rifles and go even before they were called up, and the discussions we had being very difficult. Our paths really did separate, not least because we spent days and weeks in different places doing entirely different things. And when the brother of a friend of mine was killed, our worlds separated to such an extent that years passed before we began to communicate again in anything more than sporadically, and with some people regular communication never resumed.

We were constantly questioning ourselves and re-examining our decisions, but the people who came had clear and exclusive positions. We were constantly wary and introspective, constantly open and striving for good, moving towards ending the war!

Tihomir Ponoš: What gave rise to that discord?

Vesna Teršelič: Different choices! What separated us was that we consciously made different choices. But it wasn’t just about drifting apart; our choice of non-violence brought us together with people – other people. Some of us had been friends before, and some of us never became friends. I’m not suggesting we were all friends. That didn’t just happen in Croatia but was similar with people I was in touch with in Bosnia, Serbia, Slovenia, and also with the people I knew in Sweden. Because there was talk there, too, like: “Look what’s happening in Zagreb!” The difference in interpretation was perhaps especially dramatic between Croatia – between us, me – and some of the people in Serbia, who I kind of expected would help inform the interested international public. They were of the mind that we should call on all soldiers to desert, universally, and they simply didn’t support us! This was to do with an initiative I co-founded in the 80s, the Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly, which was established in Prague, at a majestic gathering when Václav Havel came to power. It was a completely different dimension to our meetings in dimly lit backrooms, but it’s a fact that Marko Hren and Tonči Kuzmanić, for example, were in the Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly. One of its leading figures was Sonja Licht from Belgrade, who didn’t forward the information we sent her for the network. I remember that great breach of trust: we were writing to her about the mess here, about cities in Croatia being shelled, and it turned out the information wasn’t being forwarded. What a shock! We thought she was our friend, and it turned out she hadn’t forwarded what we sent because she didn’t agree with my interpretation. It took years before I’d speak to Sonja again, not until around the year 2000. That was a big thing for me! I couldn’t say to myself that

she simply had a different opinion, so never mind; no, I considered it absolutely unacceptable that we were in this mess and our message wasn't forwarded when we most needed it to be, and I very much held that against her.

I'd say a lot of weight was given to the decisions made in August, September and October, and they either bonded or separated us for many years. It wouldn't be until after the war that we had a friendly chat again with someone who made the other choice. People simply developed other connections. We'd open up that path with people who feared they'd lost a loved one, who were waiting desperately for news whether they'd been taken prisoner or killed. These new people we'd only just met, who looked on us distrustfully at first, as enemies, were in the awkward position of needing information from Serbia because it was possible the person had been taken there, and we were in touch with Women in Black and Nataša Kandić.

Nela Pamuković: I wanted to say that the Antiwar Campaign was very open with everyone. Those schisms occurred more because others rejected us. I remember situations where people from outside the Antiwar Campaign would come, be it for workshops or when we held public meetings with ARK's foreign visitors, and those people would harshly condemn what we did, and they didn't want to cooperate with us any more. But there was a real spirit of openness! Or take the situation when Mothers for Peace (Bedem ljubavi) went to protest in Belgrade. That was in the days when the Zagreb JNA headquarters was encircled by mass demonstrations. The union federation, whose building was immediately opposite, let the Mothers use their facilities for organising the protest (Zoran Oštrić went with them to Belgrade). It happened that Sonja Lokar wanted to visit the Mothers and several

of us went with her to the union building, which, like I say, is immediately opposite the JNA headquarters. That was an awful experience! I wouldn't otherwise have gone near the place after hearing Gotovac's racist and war-mongering speech in front of the JNA headquarters on TV that day, if we hadn't had Sonja Lokar with us, but at least we tried to hear what the Mothers wanted. Several of us had offered them contact details of antiwar activists in Belgrade who could help them when they were there. But it was clear that they rejected all cooperation – they wanted war. In other words, we had a polarity of people who didn't want the war and those who wanted it any way possible, whether they suffered or not! And that led to the split.

Vesna Janković: We had an open-door policy, so there was an active willingness to draw people in and talk with them, wherever they were from, to allow them to join and get involved. Unlike some of today's organisations, or many of them...

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: You could really feel it when someone came to see us and they had a fleshed-out ideology. We didn't, except perhaps for a certain inclination or personal choices. And here they came with a complete ideological system to lecture us!

Nela Pamuković: That's how it was. We were constantly questioning ourselves and re-examining our decisions, but the people who came had clear and exclusive positions. We were constantly wary and introspective, constantly open and striving for good, moving towards ending the war!

Nenad Zakošek: Vesna explained how people's paths diverged, and then we couldn't understand the others. I could! Some went off

I think that was the first ever instance of the constitutional court accepting and even adopting an initiative from one of the many civil associations (apart from parastate ones like the veterans' associations).

to fight in the war. I must admit, I was at the university and students weren't mobilised, but if I'd received a call-up notice I would've gone too. But I didn't want to enlist voluntarily. Some did go voluntarily, like Ozren Žunec and a few others. They weren't pressed into service.

Tihomir Ponoš: One thing we've heard and which seems to me quite significant when speaking about the history of the Antiwar Campaign is its metamorphosis into an activist organisation.

Vesna Janković: Activism was definitely the soil from which the Antiwar Campaign grew. We saw last time in the round when everyone was saying their name that most of us had some activist experience. So we went into it all with that experience.

Tihomir Ponoš: Which comes largely from that incubator?

Vesna Janković: Things unfolded at an incredible pace. We "hung out" in the office from dawn till dusk, lots of people came from abroad and our flats turned into hostels. In terms of comparisons of who lived what way, I remember the general atmosphere of gloom and doom that prevailed in society from autumn '91. It lasted for quite a few years, really leaden years, but we lived life to the full in those enclaves of ours, imbued with meaning. Whenever I ventured out a little and met up with friends who weren't active, I felt privileged.

Tihomir Ponoš: The psychotherapeutic effect of ARK.

Vesna Janković: One of the segments we haven't mentioned is ZaMir, which was founded very early on. Right from the beginning we used computers, which God knows we-

re pretty scarce in Zagreb in '91, nor did people know how to use them. What I want to say is that the Antiwar Campaign gave us the possibility of mastering and passing on some very practical skills.

Duška Pribičević Gelb: Although I got involved a little later, I'd like to add that I still recognise the things I found back then. I think we adapted to the person and the moment. If a person turned up in dire straits and needed to fill out an application for conscientious objection, we took up that challenge. It was the same with a group that considered we ought to go into education here in Zagreb, working with kids from kindergarten onwards. But just when we were starting the project, the horrible spate of evictions began, later the business with certificates of nationality, and all at once the need arose to form groups that would engage in just that. I remember a discussion in Tkalčićeva Street when we sat and talked about which projects ARK would be able to carry out. (It was then that we began speaking of projects.) A group for education was formed, which Maja Uzelac was in, and a second with Mirjana Radaković, who initiated the project for a centre for the direct protection of human rights. Vanja Nikolić had already warned us that people were coming and wanted to evict tenants from their flats. It was a sizeable group, three hundred or so, and Srđan was present, and we talked about what to do. We knew almost nothing about evictions and the law relating to them. I'll never forget Vanja's big dark eyes when she said: "But maybe there's some legal basis. What shall we do: go or stay?" And then, resolutely: "We're going, come what may!"

Vesna Teršelič: Vanja pointed out in her letter that our first contacts with the authorities were to do with the evictions. We wrote a lot

about conscientious objection, we sent letters and faxes, but we never tried to arrange a meeting on the issue. Which is actually quite interesting. When we were seeking an extension of the deadline for conscientious objection and argued against a deadline because people should be able to conscientiously object at any time, overnight, we never asked for a meeting with any official. But we did ask for meetings on the issue of evictions, perhaps because we didn't know what could be done.

Srđan Dvornik: Just so we get the facts right, I'd like to make a small addition regarding contacts with the authorities. They were haphazard. I remember **Biljana Kašić** and I going to the Ministry of Defence in October '91 when the Defence Act was passed that completely derogated the constitutional right to conscientious objection. We went to discuss how the issues could be resolved on the assumption – which made tactical good sense to proceed from but was completely misplaced – that the people there would be willing to listen to considered advice. So it was that we met Colonel **Bekir Dedić**, who explained to us that civilian service had to be performed in the framework of the armed forces. He heard us out, but that was all. Several discussions were even organised with the Ministry of Defence, roundtable discussions (with a certain Ms Bajt attending as representative of the Ministry), where there were attempts to debate how conscientious objection might be legally recognised as it should be. That process ended with our submission to the constitutional court in early 1992 that the controversial provisions of the Defence Act be revoked, which, by a stroke of luck, was even partly successful. I think that was the first ever instance of the constitutional court accepting and even adopting an initiative from one of the many civil associations (apart from parastate ones

like the veterans' associations). To be sure, it needed two years to make the decision to begin examining its constitutionality, and it demanded that the Croatian parliament state its position on the controversial provision about the mandatory deadline within which an application for conscientious objection had to be lodged. Since the Croatian parliament didn't make the required amendments, the constitutional court actually revoked the limiting provisions itself, though not until 1998. They didn't accept our proposal that civilian service be done outside the armed forces "as a rule", nor that the requirement should be waived for the objector to "convincingly justify his reasons" to the commission that approves the applications for conscientious objection.

Others will certainly be able to remember the many other initiatives, although there was no system to it all. Let me mention just one more: ARK was visited by the international ad hoc group Peace Quest, which wanted to visit Pakrac and other places; one of the people in the group was **Olga Kavran**, until recently Spokesperson for the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), but at the time still a student in Belgrade. Completely naive and uninformed, she travelled with the group to the Croatian border and expected to be able to enter the country trouble-free with a passport of the former Yugoslavia, or a new Serbian passport, whatever. She wasn't, and that was conveyed to us at ARK from the Croatian embassy in Ljubljana; I happened to be in the office and, having no idea of what to do in such cases, I began to call the ministries I knew. I started with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who said it wasn't their business – the entry of Serbian citizens was considered a security issue and I should call the Ministry of the Interior. Fortunately they gave me the name and extension number of the person

When we spoke about what to do and how to do it, I realised that the people in the Antiwar Campaign already had considerable knowledge of how to offer peaceful resistance, and I know they also made contingency plans for what to do and how to do it – including in terms of the evictions. There were workshops, there were visits of peace activists from abroad, and some things were adopted.

in the section there that issues those approvals, which proved to be a very useful contact with the authorities. It helped later in at least two hundred urgent cases so people could be issued a visa, often quite quickly. That shows that the authorities, at that point, hadn't yet developed their bureaucratic, hermetic routine. I tried to sound very official on the phone: "Hello, this is Srđan Dvornik from the Antiwar Campaign, we need to solve a problem," and they all behaved as if I was... I don't know... some bigwig. On the other hand, we were also in touch regarding the evictions, but it was no use for that.

Duška Pribičević Gelb: When we spoke about what to do and how to do it, I realised that the people in the Antiwar Campaign already had considerable knowledge of how to offer peaceful resistance, and I know they also made contingency plans for what to do and how to do it – including in terms of the evictions. There were workshops, there were visits of peace activists from abroad, and some things were adopted. Secondly, we mustn't forget that we reacted immediately and soon had the assistance of lawyers, **Orhideja Martinić** and **Tanja Tagirov**: we made a plan with every eviction, so we knew who was rostered in the office, who would call parliament and who would contact the police – everything was worked out. The biggest problem was deciding who would go to the actual evictions, given that initially most of us working there were young women.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: And then **Banac** and **Čičak**!⁰²

Duška Pribičević Gelb: In terms of the evictions, it's important to mention that cooperation with the police was very good. That's a fact. I remember the situation **Mirjana Ra-**

daković found herself in when they went to an eviction. A colleague of hers from the Police Academy was there, but now in a camouflage uniform and armed with a submachine gun, and some of the police officers who had to be there because they were sent to the scene were former students of hers. One of many bizarre scenarios. However, we soon got the information we needed, including about the Ministry of Defence, and we found out very quickly that the head was a certain **Ms Pašalić**, who signed the eviction orders, but the problem was – and this is why *ARKzin* was of great significance in that vacuum, to my mind – that we couldn't get that information in any other newspapers. Two years passed without the press writing a word. Reports on the evictions only began to appear after **Peter Galbraith** went along to one, and after him two members of the Croatian parliament, who were directly concerned. **Ivan Ninić** went, but I don't remember who went with him. After those articles appeared in the papers it was decided to stop issuing eviction orders, within a very short space of time.

Vesna Teršelič: But there was a synchrony! I'd very much like to hear Srđan about this. Srđan, you were preparing material on the evictions. To me, the striking synchrony is that it happened when they started throwing out Croats. Those who were doing the chucking out no longer had names at the top of the list – the most vulnerable. First women were thrown out. Remember who were the first people to contact us!

Srđan Dvornik: I keep feeling that all that was a pandemonium. I agree with Duška: some people were remarkably fast and resourceful, after a short phase of trial and error. There's the opinion about Split, for example, as far as activist experience goes, that after

⁰² HHO activists Ivo Banac and Ivan Zvonimir Čičak later went along to evictions. [trans.]

the initial cases where some people offered resistance or threatened to defend themselves by force and risked being beaten up, the heavies concentrated on chucking out families where there were just women and children. In one case, a retired officer who legally owned a gun said he'd use it if they ever turned up at the flat again, and they left him in peace after that. But the balance of forces was such that they could have easily crushed him. Another example: a woman with a small daughter even hired a professional agency to protect her, and the bodyguard was killed. Then again, there wasn't really any system to it, and after over six months of reading everything I could get my hands on, if someone asked me how many evictions there had been I'd only have been able to give a rough estimate. If someone asked me what pattern they followed, again I'd be able to say that here I knew it was like this, there it was like that, but not the big picture. The cooperation of the police would have been welcome here. Cooperation with the police functioned insofar as they weren't arrogant and overbearing; they'd go to the scene and take notes, but there was nothing they could do because they had no authority over army personnel. And the military police, which at least technically had the authority, might have intervened if they received orders from above, but generally they just stood around indifferently. It would be an excellent source of information about all that if the police opened up their relevant records and make them publicly available. They have a lot of information, but, as a British detective series puts it, they were "silent witnesses". Police officers attended, recorded what they saw, and then basically no further steps were taken.

As far as our public visibility is concerned, there's something more. It's true that it perhaps became a big issue when Zoran Pušić was beaten up, so Ivan Zvonimir Čičak ma-

de a scene and brought Vlado Gotovac along to the next eviction, together with some other members of the Croatian parliament, and the time with Galbraith, but one of the first breakthroughs – although I don't want this to sound like self-adulation – was achieved by precisely the Antiwar Campaign. There were dozens and dozens of cases where activists helped mount non-violent resistance to evictions in Zagreb, and it all ended with you just being there, and after a certain time being physically shoved out. At one meeting someone said: "What more can we do? The same thing keeps happening, and we don't achieve anything except expressing solidarity with the people who are always thrown out in the end. It's depressing." We discussed something we hadn't tried before – the idea of holding a press conference and at least publicising what was going on. I know the discussion about that was surprisingly long. "A press conference? What bloody use is that?" But we called one all the same. Since Vanja Nikolić was the main coordinator of those activities, she took the press conf in hand, although she found it far from easy and it was probably one of her first media appearances. Several journalists came up to Tkalčičeva Street, and a few papers also wrote about it.

Later we talked about a small but instructive example: a journalist from *Slobodna Dalmacija*, after Miroslav Kutle had taken it over, published a piece from the press conference and went on to publish at least a few more articles on the evictions. Vanja, I think it was, ran into her once. She thanked her and expressed a certain admiration that she managed to cover the issue in papers whose editors and owners were certainly not that way inclined and that she depicted it as what it is: violence and human rights violations. Her reply was, roughly: "But you helped us! You held a press conference." A press conf is like a

In terms of the evictions, it's important to mention that cooperation with the police was very good. That's a fact. I remember the situation Mirjana Radaković found herself in when they went to an eviction. A colleague of hers from the Police Academy was there, but now in a camouflage uniform and armed with a submachine gun, and some of the police officers who had to be there because they were sent to the scene were former students of hers. One of many bizarre scenarios.

SAVJEST I BATINE

Kako ostvariti pravo na prigovor savjesti?



ZATVORSKA PROMIŠLJANJA

Zbog odbijanja sudjelovanja u ratnim sukobima Radoslav Dojčinović danas se nalazi u zatvoru. Razlozi koji ga tjeraju da izdrži u svojoj odluci su raznovrsni - od "visih" filozofskih do onih realnijih, životnijih

Koji i kakvi razlozi me sprečavaju da obučem uniformu i budem vojnik? Egzistencijalni strah od smrti i bojazan za vlastiti život ne spadaju u te razloge. Teže je podnositi neukusne i primitivne zatvorske provokacije pojedinih zatvorenika ili vojnika kojima je neshvatljivo da postoji netko tko odbija, tko strši, tko neće braniti Hrvatsku koja je ugrožena, napadnuta, uništena... Teže je biti izdvojeni i obilježeni pojedinac u "neprijateljskoj" grupi negoli komotno utopljeni kamencić u bezličnoj masi uniformiranih osoba u kojoj se gubi svaka osobnost i u kojoj svi postaju jedno. Upravo utopijska svijest o tome da treba postojati netko tko će se suprotstaviti, tko će obraniti pravo pojedinca na vlastiti moralni izbor, tjera me da izdržim u svojoj odluci. To su nekakvi "viši" razlozi, filozofsko opravdanje vlastitog postupka. No, postoje i oni životniji, stvarniji, realniji. Neću sudjelovati u ratnim sukobima zato što smatram da se rat mogao i trebao izbjeći, da su loši političari olako pustili duha iz boce neshvacajući da rat nije fair-play igra nego da on oslobađa najniže i najgore destruktivne strasti. Od 1990. g. kao član Lige socijalnih demokrata, a sada Socijalno-demokratske unije, sukladno politici tih stranaka i slijedeći vlastito uvjerenje, uvijek sam se javno i glasno zalagao za mirno rješavanje svih sporova i protivio se ratnim opcijama. Sada ne želim, niti mogu dovesti u pitanje te principe za koje sam se aktivno zalagao kao član stranke, a trenutno i kao gradski vijećnik i član komisije za međunarodne odnose. Smatram, možda neskromno, da se i na taj način borim za Hrvatsku i da ću tim putem učiniti više negoli s puškom u ruci. Meni je stran i prevladan romantičan nacionalni osjećaj pripadnosti nekome. Otac mi je Srbin, majka Hrvatica. Slučajno sam Srbin, mogao sam biti i Hrvat. Imam bliske rođake i prijatelje kako Srbe, tako i Hrvate. Odrastao sam u Hrvatskom zagorju i na Kordunu, upoznao sam te ljude i znam kakvi su. Kad mi je bilo najteže, svi su mi pomogli. I sad bih se ja zbog nekakve politike trebao opredijeliti za jednu stranu i pucati na drugu. Ne, hvala, ne želim se dovesti u takvu situaciju, želim imati čist obraz i neokaljanu savjest.

Karlovac, 8. 9. 1993.

Radoslav DOJČINOVIĆ

Izmjenama Zakona o obrani (objavljenih u "Narodnim novinama" br. 49/93), "starim" vojnim obveznicima je produžen rok za podnošenje zahtjeva za civilnu službu na osnovi prigovora savjesti (jedan, znatno kraći raniji rok bio je istekao još 1. 3. prošle godine, a prošao je gotovo neprimijećeno jer nije objavljen nigdje osim u "Narodnim novinama").

U pročišćenom tekstu Zakona o obrani (NN 74/93), ta odredba (član 206) glasi: "Osoba u pričuvnom sastavu koja smatra da ispunjava uvjete za civilnu službu, može podnijeti zahtjev za priznavanje svojstva obveznika civilne službe - Komisija za civilnu službu u roku od 12 mjeseci od dana stupanja na snagu Zakona o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o obrani ('Narodne novine', br. 49/93.)."

Pravo na prigovor savjesti i dalje reguliraju članovi Zakona 81-94. Čl. 86 određuje što treba navesti u zahtjevu za civilnu službu. To je: "učiniti uvjerljivim vjerske ili moralne razloge zbog kojih traži civilnu službu i izričito se očitovati da će u slučaju da zahtjev bude povoljno riješen, savjesno ispunjavati sve obveze civilne službe". Osim toga, treba (uz osobne podatke) navesti i podatak kod kojeg se područnog Ureda za obranu podnosilac zahtjeva nalazi u vojnoj evidenciji, kako bi Komisija za civilnu službu, u slučaju povoljnog rješenja, poslala kopiju i tom uredu. Preporučljivo je kopiju zahtjeva (koji se šalje Komisiji za civilnu službu, Ministarstvo pravosuđa, Savska 41, Zagreb) poslati i svojem nadležnom uredu za obranu.

Kao i dosad, savjeti i informacije u vezi s prigovorom savjesti, civilnom službom i drugim problemima vojne obaveze mogu se dobiti u Centru za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava Zagreb Antiratne kampanje, četvrtkom od 17 do 19 sati, na telefonu (041) 422 495 (fax 271143).

Savjeti i obavijesti u vezi sa svim drugim problemima ljudskih prava mogu se na istom telefonu dobiti utorkom od 13 do 15 sati.

DK

DALMATINSKI KOMITET ZA LJUDSKA PRAVA - Split

poziva građane koji su protupravno deložirani iz stanova od strane pripadnika HV, HVO-a i sl., kao i sve one koji za takove slučajeve znaju, da se jave na telefon 058 / 523-460, od 15 - 19 sati.

Od 20-og prosinca 1993. zovite nas i zbog drugih oblika kršenja ljudskih prava.

Advert published in *Feral Tribune*, 30 December 1993

"Prison reflections" by Radoslav Dojčinović, *ARKzin* no. 5

public event. The journalist is on location and has a decisive role in its interpretation. So, instead of writing communiqués, which of course we did write...

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: Which are screwed up and thrown in the bin!

Srđan Dvornik: ...and the editor looks at and discards at will, this was a situation where the journalist actually attended the event, knew what happened and could present it as relevant for publication.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: And, best of all, the competitors didn't know if it was going to appear or not! You get me?

Srđan Dvornik: She published several pieces that way. You can find a few articles in other dailies and weeklies too. *Novi list* covered the issue most, and of course our *ARKzin*. But to me it's characteristic of involvement with the Antiwar Campaign as a whole: you gather ad hoc because events overtake you, you're still surprised where they're heading, and you're constantly finding new ways to react. There's none of that stupid word "proactivity", no strategy, because you can't take the initiative; you're constantly reacting and doing the best you can. But that doesn't make it any less valuable, and it just illustrates that a little bit can go a long way! In that gloomy overall situation, if at least someone does something, and we had at least several dozen people, it's infinitely better than nothing!

Tihomir Ponoš: We've arrived at another topic, which we sketched at the beginning: that of *ARKzin* and the media in general. I already knew about the Antiwar Campaign, but not because of *ARKzin*, to tell the truth – it was simply unreadable.

Nenad Zakošek: The very mention makes me hot under the collar!

Tihomir Ponoš: The layout and graphics were absolutely suicidal. But it's a fact that *ARKzin* was a significant address in the 90s, a meeting place, a crossroads, and it raised all sorts of issues – from the war crimes committed by members of the Croatian forces to minority rights, and many other topics. And thirdly, it's very interesting to note that the number of individuals and media professionals active in it who were old hands was in fact very small.

Srđan Dvornik: For us it was big, when seen from the inside.

Vesna Janković: Just a quick reply to what Srđan said. Although I often felt myself that we were reactive, i.e. that we mostly dealt with what was on our plate at the time...

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: Whenever the house was on fire!

Vesna Janković: ...yep, all the urgent stuff, but I think *ARKzin* in particular, and also peace education, conscientious objection and some other projects or activities show that some plans did exist. Among them, an idea reappeared that had been mentioned back in *Kumrovec*: a joint space that could be used by a number of organisations, following the model of *Metelkova*⁰³ at the time. It never caught on because the times were...

Tihomir Ponoš: Twenty years down the track!

Vesna Janković: Twenty years down the track! We have the House of Human Rights, but also *Medika*.⁰⁴ So some things we planned were hindered by force of circumstance, while others we didn't plan ended up on the agenda.

⁰³ A large squat in central Ljubljana, Slovenia. [trans.]

⁰⁴ A squat in central Zagreb. [trans.]

Nenad Zakošek: Srđan, did you know that Tuđman signed the charter?

Srđan Dvornik: No, but I know there were sometimes weird and wonderful twists. Once we were collecting signatures on the Square of the Victims of Fascism and hadn't notified the police of the gathering in advance, so we were arrested. Žarko Puhovski and I returned from the police station in Vlaška Street with the signatures of all the senior officers in that part of the Zagreb police administration. Admittedly a few rungs down from Tuđman, but there were always surprises like that.

Vesna Janković: There's a big difference between that *ARKzin*, i.e. the one of '91 and '92, graphically edited by Miroslav, and the *ARKzin* that started in newspaper format in '93. In '91 we still had the chaos that's been mentioned several times. We found loopholes in the institutions, as well as people willing to listen and do something. By way of contrast, it seems to me that the HDZ really consolidated its power in '92, especially after the war in Bosnia broke out. I remember the HDZ getting its hands on crucial social institutions and taking control, like in some video game.

So *ARKzin* in '93, version 2.0, originated largely as a reaction to that total political control of the media. Only *Novi list* was left as a kind of enclave. There hadn't been a new issue of *ARKzin* for almost a year, and I wasn't overly thrilled by the idea of burying myself in the venture again.

Nenad Zakošek: When was the last one published?

Vesna Janković: It came out in May '92. Dražena Peranić came from Sarajevo and wrote the article "The death of Bosnia-Herzegovina: How naive we all were."

Nenad Zakošek: And when did the new series start in '93?

Vesna Janković: In the spring. We started working on it in March, but officially the date was 1 April. We laughed and said we were an April Fool's joke.

Tihomir Ponoš: I'd like to mention another topic that was sketched out as significant, and that is the truce, the short time from war to war, i.e. from the Sarajevo Ceasefire to the siege of Sarajevo. What did ARK do then, and what were you thinking? Did you try to better structure the organisation that obviously originated in chaotic conditions and chaotic times? Did anyone even say: "There's a truce, the war's over, so now we can go back to doing our own things"? Did you realise you'd be spending years and years more on similar business?

Vesna Teršelič: I can't say, but we were all very active then. It was the time when preparations were underway for ZaMir, i.e. Eric Bachman, Wam Kat, Ognjen Tus... – many are here today. When was it you came, Srđan?

Srđan Dvornik: I wasn't in the initial group that got that going in May '92. I didn't join until some point in the autumn.

Ognjen Tus: Before that, as far as I can remember, we sent faxes via Austria, right?

Vesna Janković: When the Bulletin board system (BBS) was established, it ran on Wam's PC set up in my flat, and the phone rang every little while because people kept dialling in.

Vesna Teršelič: So ZaMir got up and running. It was built up here, and also in Slovenia, Serbia, later in Sarajevo...

Cooperation with the police functioned insofar as they weren't arrogant and overbearing; they'd go to the scene and take notes, but there was nothing they could do because they had no authority over army personnel. And the military police, which at least technically had the authority, might have intervened if they received orders from above, but generally they just stood around indifferently. It would be an excellent source of information about all that if the police opened up their relevant records and make them publicly available.

Vesna Janković: And Tuzla, and Kosovo.

Vesna Teršelič: That's how the network developed, as did the YUGO.ANTIWAR electronic conference, where exceptionally important discussions were held. We went into that with a lot of distrust, although some were curious and enthusiastic; I remember I resisted. But once I was part of it I saw there was great value in its operation in so many countries and that we could now communicate daily with all the other people, who really had different perspectives. We had very meaningful discussions, which ended when the internet came and things moved to the server in the second half of the nineties, but that's a different story.

I actually wanted to talk about what we did in '92. We were making preparations for work with children at kindergartens and schools, which soon turned into work with children in the different camps for displaced people and refugees. That would later become Suncokret. The Centre for Peace in Osijek was being set up. I remember that winter because of all the trips to Osijek and back, the communication with people who were coming to help, from Britain, Germany and other countries. Friendly help, in a way, just like our friends from War Resisters helped us with their know-how and inspiration. The first "Days of Non-violent Culture" were held in May, and then Katarina and Kruno founded the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek. We ourselves had no end of work. Evictions were going on all the time. Material for books was being translated, along with reports by Amnesty and Human Rights Watch. We did different things, but all of us were busy... all the time. We'd go to KIC and to schools. In Zagreb, Sanja Sarnavka opened doors for us, the Classical Gymnasium did too, and in Osijek it was Ladislav Bognar, who was fresh back from the battlefield and still

working at the Bureau of Education. The Bureau continued to function, thanks to devoted staff, as an institution that exists to assist schools with educational and teaching issues so they can function more democratically. A phenomenally paradoxical situation.

Television was completely unwatchable. The news programme *Dnevnik* was pure brainwashing, but at the same time the Bureau of Education still functioned and there were people like Ladislav Bognar. A school of human rights and democracy! It was axed after a while, of course, and could no longer operate. But that was a time when we could work with teachers unhindered, which let's say two years later, in '94, was no longer possible, at least not for a while. But we kept on searching and finding back doors, and there was always still some person who opened up for us.

Duška Pribičević Gelb: If not a person, then at least an external institution that gave legitimacy to a programme, such as UNICEF. Thanks to them, we were able to go into the schools again via domestic institutions (now they're "agencies" and "boards").

Nenad Zakošek: When did Maja set up A Small Step?

Vesna Teršelič: I think we set it up in '93. That was when we realised we wouldn't be going via the Bureau of Education any more because those doors had closed.

Srđan Dvornik: Let's not forget that the politics of symbols are very significant in education, although I can't remember we analysed it like that at the time. That's how nationalism works: it has no other form of economy, no other way of organising administration. It dwells on idiotic stuff like symbols of identity, and, applying that worldview, the HDZ de-

There's none of that stupid word "proactivity", no strategy, because you can't take the initiative; you're constantly reacting and doing the best you can. But that doesn't make it any less valuable, and it just illustrates that a little bit can go a long way!

alt with education before anything else, and they were surprisingly fast. If you recall, the parliament with its HDZ majority was constituted on 30 May 1990. Three months and two days later, at the beginning of the school year, Religion was already being taught in schools! Drawing up a syllabus, selecting and ostensibly training teachers within three months... Even Adalbert Rebić, one of their people, warned them that summer: "We don't have the staff." No one cared. It was a symbolic act.

Ognjen Tus: I don't think analysing the phenomenon of the HDZ in Croatia is the job of the Antiwar Campaign if this discussion is about our memory of ARK. ZaMir was mentioned, which was a major issue for us. It was the medium that communication travelled through. I considered it significant what Wam wrote in his first email – that we knew what we were doing and were doing it for the first time – but I didn't think the technical side of things was more important than the social side, which employed the technology. I think it was the backbone of the antiwar network. I'd just like us to try and see what made us different. The state functioned the way it did, it was a time of break-up, they made do and plundered as much as they could, pushed teenagers into the army and left them in sneakers in the winter. They "defended" my suburb by placing gas tankers around the barracks, a minefield, so I had to drive the children to music school through the mines. But that doesn't matter. What's important is whether we were different, whether we made a civilisational step, whether we see it and others see it. It's important to me to say that I see it, and I know what I was doing, and I know I did it like that on purpose. When we started ZaMir (Wam gave it that stupid name, I don't like it, but never mind), we tried to speak about it wi-

th the Zagreb BBS (that was Bug, CroatiaNet). They wrote "No access for Serbs" on their pages, for example, and basically they were unwilling. They worked for the army. The logical solution was to do something ourselves, so Wam set it up on his computer, Eric brought the software... What was good is that we always found people who had important things to say, so we actively went to them and gave them modems. We really pushed communication like that and we all supported it. It was a joint project.

Tihomir Ponoš: Just one question to do with that pushing of modems and communication: to what extent could you use the modems to talk among yourselves, and to what extent were you able to use them to talk to the "other side", figuratively speaking? To what extent were you able to communicate with the state when you needed to clarify the case of a conscientious objector, for example, or was it for discussion groups and conversations with people in the Netherlands and Britain who had peace experience, who knew about organising, and who could help with finding money?

Ognjen Tus: That's a question of the software that was installed. It was originally from some German activist groups...

Vesna Janković: It was the group FoeBuDe.V.

Ognjen Tus: The essential thing was that the software was able to bring people together to communicate. It had a conference and a mail function. We were all using email addresses before the advent of the internet here.



Frames from an interview with Dutch activist Geert Lovink

Srđan Dvornik: At the beginning, servers exchanged messages through modems that connected periodically over the telephone lines. In order to get full connection to the internet, we tried to reach an agreement with the people who ran the host at the Ruđer Bošković Institute. But they told us that **Predrag Pale**, who was the chief of CARNet⁰⁵ at the time, simply said “no”. He found a pretext that didn’t appear political – he said it wasn’t possible for security reasons.

Miroslav Ambruš Kiš: We should write a short essay about the phenomenology of BBS for people who were born with the internet or began to communicate when it already existed. Because this was different, and it worked! It functioned using impulses: we didn’t link up to a steady, online connection but the computer nodes automatically called the other nodes and transmitted data packets, which came together in the meantime from individuals, and the packets were then sent on from a second and third node. So it wasn’t instant, but within perhaps half a day you could receive your message even over the greatest distances.

Vesna Janković: I’d like to come back to the question you asked. Firstly, ZaMir was launched because telephone connections between Croatia and Serbia had been interrupted. The initial idea was to enable communication among peace groups within the region.

Nenad Zakošek: How many people actually had access in Serbia? I don’t remember anything any more.

Vesna Janković: I think the Zagreb ZaMir was the strongest and organisationally most agile.

ZaMir was mentioned, which was a major issue for us. It was the medium that communication travelled through. I considered it significant what Wam wrote in his first email – that we knew what we were doing and were doing it for the first time – but I didn’t think the technical side of things was more important than the social side, which employed the technology. I think it was the backbone of the antiwar network.

Srđan Dvornik: I think the number of ZaMir users in Zagreb was around a thousand.

Ognjen Tus: I seem to recall the last figure was around two thousand.

Vesna Janković: With ZaMir, I think an important aspect was that the idea came from abroad.

Ognjen Tus: What came from abroad?

Vesna Janković: Eric brought the modem, and Wam was here writing his *Zagreb Diary*.

Ognjen Tus: We didn’t have the need. We had the knowhow ourselves, and we had the support of people who helped us obtain the equipment required and sat with us and helped install it. I think it was a common task. It all happened exactly as we needed it.

Vesna Janković: ok.

Ognjen Tus: When those BBSs turned us down, Eric and I agreed one evening on the Square to get the software for that. When it arrived, Wam started it on his computer, sent round a few messages and said: “Hey people, join in.” Then we ran around organising modems for people and revamping old computers.

Vesna Janković: I just want to say that people have to see how a thing works for it to catch on. The whole thing became interesting for me when I saw the effects of that communication. Like when we received a fax from Bosnia about the massacre in Bijeljina and sent the news out into the world via GreenNet, and then it was broadcast by major agencies like CNN. When you see how effective that messaging is, you get on board.

⁰⁵ The Croatian Academic and Research Network; one of its roles is as an internet provider. [trans.]

Miroslav Ambroš Kiš: The newspapers at the time had no idea what BBS was. They couldn't even understand that it was possible to send images. On the other hand, in order to send an image you had to pirate it, but they actually came through; it was unbelievably effective. The police were the last to realise what was going on.

Vesna Janković: Another thing regarding ZaMir. It was thanks to ZaMir and the experience of email communication that *ARKzin* got in touch with a theory-and-activism group from the Netherlands and started to publish writings on cyberculture. We were the first. That was in '94. In '95, we published translations on an issue that had only begun to be discussed two or three years earlier in academia. This is one of the things where the title "Twenty years ahead" really does make sense.

Milena Beader: OK, connectedness within our region – whatever we call it – was one thing, but it was essential that we were also connected with people from around the world. We were connected, and I didn't get the impression they were far ahead of us at that time in terms of using those new technologies. I know that because, when I started the initiative for Amnesty International in Croatia, in '92 and '93, we were able to get access to their internal conferences, which they'd also begun to install, and use email. So I got the impression that we began to use it simultaneously, as part of a global civic scene. That was an unknown for the Croatian media at the time, of course. I remember when the HINA editor called to do with the beginning of the war in Bosnia and we were simply unable to explain to him in words what email is.

Tihomir Ponoš: Let's open up the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We'll leave aside the origins of

the war, but it obviously had a lasting impact on the peace movement. Not only were cities and villages there ravaged, but the peace movement was also damaged in a way. How did you deal with that in general? Did people drop out because of disagreements, because they considered the Serb positions around Sarajevo should be smothered asap, so nothing was left standing, so there could be peace? Or were they allowed to stay on in the group? How did you deal with all that? And, since you've mentioned circles in Bosnia-Herzegovina, was there a rupture of relations with people and organisations there?

Vesna Teršelič: No, there were relations from way back. When I was in Green Action, the campaign against nuclear power was actually a pan-Yugoslav campaign and we developed contacts with people in Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. So there were people who were environmentally active, there were feminist connections, etc. When the war in Croatia began, some of them became hard to maintain since communications were disrupted; we bypassed those obstacles by travelling. I remember a trip in December '91, first to Belgrade, and then from Belgrade to Sarajevo. My most vivid memory of Belgrade is lighting candles for all the victims of war in front of the Serbian presidency building – an action organised by **Nataša Kandić**. Women in Black stood there to protest against the war. Afterwards I travelled on to Sarajevo, where it really felt like war was in the air. The only person I spoke with then who said that was **Ibro Spahić**. Tanks were up on the hilltops and everything was ready, he said in a frigid voice. All the others – journalists and various friends – didn't see it like that. "Oh no, no chance, there won't be war," they all said. I returned to Zagreb on a crazy, roundabout route, as one did at that time, and I didn't think much about

What's important is whether we were different, whether we made a civilisational step, whether we see it and others see it. It's important to me to say that I see it, and I know what I was doing, and I know I did it like that on purpose.

Bosnia from December until April; as I said before, we had heaps to do concerning Osijek, etc.

When there were the peace protests in Sarajevo and the shooting began, Bosnia was catapulted into focus. We discussed the situation and I don't think we could agree. It should be noted in this book that we then articulated two parallel positions: one bellicose, the other pacifistic. We articulated both of them clearly. Therefore no one left. We argued for a long time, and we simply arrived at two different analyses, which were able to coexist in parallel.

Nenad Zakošek: Neither one nor the other had any chance of being implemented at that time, unfortunately. It was obvious that no one really wanted to intervene. On the other hand, the pacifist idea that things would somehow sort themselves out also foundered. I think **Alija Izetbegović** believed until the end that the categorical rejection of violence could prevent the other side from attacking. That was a pure illusion.

Vesna Janković: I remember it was Zoran Oštrić who warned from a very early stage that things would explode in Bosnia. I didn't want to believe it either. I also remember September '91, when negotiations and the withdrawal of arms from JNA barracks were at their height, and **Ivana Nana Radić** suggested we appeal to the international community to control the arms that were being transported to Bosnia-Herzegovina. That was a very coherent suggestion, and I don't know why we didn't do it.

Milena Beader: It's stuck in my mind that we did write something in connection to that.

Vesna Janković: I remember us discussing it, but I don't know if anything was written.

Milena Beader: Maybe we didn't manage to approach any international institution in the end, but I have a memory of us approaching the European Union, which at that time was still the European Community. Zoran Oštrić would know more about that.

Srđan Dvornik: Those things weren't crucial for relations in the Antiwar Campaign itself. We discussed all sorts of things, but not at a level that could lead to some kind of split. I still think we were above all stunned and confused, and otherwise there wasn't actually that much information. It took us ages to grasp Croatia's role in Bosnia, and things were already in full swing before we realised what was happening. In terms of the lessons to be drawn, emphasis should be put on the way people who have no privileged access to information or decision-making forums, nothing, can still achieve things by operating in a grassroots manner, and that can take shape outside of established organisational models. We weren't a significant organisation that could initiate campaigns and make judgements like a kind of a focal point for political analysis and decision-making.

We did engage in endless discussions about what should be done regarding Bosnia, but let's not forget that, even before there was any war, the initiative came from within Bosnia – the call for an international protectorate. Preventively. This position was put forward by **Zdravko Grebo**, and later an appeal also came from the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly. There was no shortage of ideas about what ought to be done. The question of how to preclude the war was fundamental for an antiwar organisation, but, paradoxically, it

In terms of the lessons to be drawn, emphasis should be put on the way people who have no privileged access to information or decision-making forums, nothing, can still achieve things by operating in a grassroots manner, and that can take shape outside of established organisational models.

couldn't divide us because it wasn't the core of our activity – not because it's not important whether force can be used to halt violence or whether we should apply non-violent methods, but because of what Nenad said: nothing ever depended on our opinions; unlike the activist work here, where ARK's events, press releases and protests at least had some impact. Bosnia was a big issue and we were marginal in it. Besides, today it can appear we know everything, but back then we didn't know anything! When things exploded in Bosnia at the beginning of April, it wasn't immediately evident what was going to happen. Paranoids and nationalists were the only ones who were "right", of course. Not because they were right per se, but in the same way as a broken watch shows the right time twice a day.

Nenad Zakošek: Otherwise they actively worked towards that end. A self-fulfilling prophecy.

Srđan Dvornik: Be that as it may, I'd like to single out a thing that happened 10–11 months after the beginning of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and which was illuminating for this type of approach and activity. In March '93, we received alarming news from the Centre for Women War Victims and female activists, not in Zagreb but in the refugee camps, that the Croatian authorities had begun rounding up adult men in the camps and sending them back to Bosnia.

Nela Pamuković: Women too.

Srđan Dvornik: Possibly. I know they used as a justification that men can bear arms, and a patriarchal mentality doesn't consider women dangerous. I can't exclude the possibility that women were sent back too. I don't have

the full picture even today. In any case, people who had refugee status began to be taken from the camps in Croatia and returned to the war zone. And Croatia boasted that it wasn't a belligerent and provided hospitality to Bosniak refugees! As far as we could ascertain, they were handed over to the HVO – we heard rumours from women activists in the refugee camps. The Antiwar Campaign and human rights organisations created an international stir in reaction. Fortunately, **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** had just arrived in Zagreb as the United Nations' special rapporteur on human rights. I pretended to be a journalist from *ARKzin* at his press-conference, and when he said he'd received an assurance from the Croatian authorities that they'd stop sending people back to Bosnia-Herzegovina, I asked him what would happen to those who'd been taken away. He didn't reply. But it's vital to remember that significant things can be achieved through joint action. The Centre for Women War Victims began by helping Bosnian women in the refugee camps. At the same time, it turned out that was where serious infringements of refugees' rights first came to light. A stir was created there, and with the help of other organisations or parts of the network a broad campaign was launched, and in this case we were certainly able to make things uncomfortable for the Croatian authorities and thwart one of their intentions.

Milena Bader: We had cases in ARK, too, of people coming to us with those problems. Then the authorities started seizing people from Bosnia-Herzegovina not just in the camps but in bars, on the street, etc.

Nenad Zakošek: But one part of the people managed to resist.

It was a glimmer of hope in that whole calamity that such a delicate network could still serve as the infrastructure for an effective international warning mechanism in the case of an acute, serious violation of human rights fraught with even more severe consequences.

Pet. 17. Tra. 1992.
15.25

- HRVATSKA IZVJEŠTAJNA AGENCIJA
- druga sredstvo javnog komuniciranja (HTV, Vjesnik, Stran)

Poštovani!

Molimo vas da objavite sljedeću informaciju, s obzirom na značaj vijesti koja je u pitanju.

INFORMACIJA ZA JAVNOST

Ovu informaciju šaljemo zbog zabune koja je u sredstvima javnog informiranja ("Vjesnik", HTV, BBC...) stvorena oko izvora informacija o žrtvama u BiH i ulozi kompjuterske mreže GreenNet u odnosu na tu informaciju.

Nije točno da je ARK autor informacije o tisuću žrtava u BiH. Točno je da smo primili i dalje prosljeđili informaciju koja je došla iz Centrale SDA u Sarajevu, uz točno navođenje izvora. Na sličan način primili smo i prosljeđili brojne informacije koje smo primili iz BiH ovih dana, iz raznih izvora (Međunarodni centar za mir Sarajevo, Centar za antiratne aktivnosti, razni pojedinci...). Druge informacije koje smo dobili potvrdili su da bi vijest o velikom broju žrtava mogla biti točna. Mi naravno nismo u mogućnosti da sami provjerimo takve vijesti, pogotovo otkada su telefonske veze sa BiH u prekidu.

Vijest smo prosljeđili i u kompjutersku mrežu GreenNet, uz napomenu o izvoru informiranja. Prva reakcija koju smo dobili bila je nevjerica jer je CNN javio o "samo" deset mrtvih, ali dva dana kasnije dobili smo obavijest da je CNN objavio vijest o tisuću mrtvih.

Jučer smo stupili u vezu sa "Amnesty International", koja je na sebe preuzela da provjeri autentičnost informacije kroz razne kanale.

Nastaviti ćemo prikupljati i širiti informacije, provjeravajući izvore onoliko koliko je moguće.



za DANKH

Z. L.
Zoran Ostić

ŠTO HRVATSKE VLASTI NISU OBJAVILE?

DEPORTACIJE U BOSNU

Prije dva tjedna objavljeno je da je hrvatska policija provela široku akciju kontrole dokumenata među izbjeglicama iz Bosne i Hercegovine smještenima u Republici Hrvatskoj. Od oko 7 500 kontroliranih, njih 1490 navodno nije imalo uredne dokumente, od čega 490 ljudi po sudu policijskih vlasti nije imalo uvjete da odmah dobije izbjeglički status.

Međutim, NIJE objavljeno da je NAJMANJE 120 NJIH DEPORTIRANO NATRAG U BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU, kako su iz pouzdanih izvora saznale nevladine organizacije. Vraćanje izbjeglica na teritorij zemlje u kojoj traje rat, i iz koje su morali pobjeći, izravno je suprotno međunarodnoj Konvenciji o statusu izbjeglica (čl. 33), koja obavezuje i vlasti Republike Hrvatske. Čak i ako je točno da su pojedini među njima prekršili zakon, to može biti samo osnova za postupak pred sudom i eventualno kažnjavanje, možda čak i za protjerivanje u neku treću zemlju, ali nikako za deportaciju u ratno područje. Nikakvi politički razlozi, nikakvi međunarodni sukobi u Bosni i Hercegovini ne mogu opravdati takav postupak. Premda su od toga protekla već dva tjedna, i usprkos intervencijama međunarodnih agencija i diplomatskih predstavnika nekoliko zemalja, ovaj postupak nije ispravljen i deportirane izbjeglice nisu vraćene u Hrvatsku. Dijelimo duboku zabrinutost zbog mogućnosti da ti ljudi budu u Bosni i Hercegovini upotrebljeni za razmjenu za ratne zarobljenike. To pak ne bi bilo "samo" kršenje Konvencije o statusu izbjeglica, nego i korištenje civila kao talaca, što spada u ratne zločine. Budući su izbjeglice deportirane s teritorija Republike Hrvatske, smatramo Vladu naše države odgovornom za njihov siguran povratak. Zahtijevamo da Vlada od lokalnih vlasti na područjima Bosne i Hercegovine kamo su izbjeglice protjerane odmah osigura odlučno zahtijeva da ih sve do jednoga vrata. Također zahtijevamo da se policijske vlasti pobrinu da akcije kontrole dokumenata ubuduće doista budu kontrola dokumenata, bez elemenata policijskog zastrašivanja. Da bi se spriječila samovolja, smatramo da bi Vlada trebala zatražiti od Visokog komesarijata Ujedinjenih nacija da izbjeglice da organizira stalni monitoring poštivanja prava izbjeglica na licu mjesta, tj. na svim mjestima smještaja izbjeglica gdje se vrše policijske kontrole.

U Zagrebu, 12. 08. 1993.

Antiratna kampanja / Hrvatska Center za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava Zagreb Center za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava Osijek Zagrebački ženski lobby

Public notice, 17 April 1992

"Deportations to Bosnia", ARKzin no. 5

VESNA ROLLER: ZID ŠUTNJE O AKCIJI HRVATSKOG MUP-a KOJI JE NEODREĐEN BROJ BOSANACA VRATIO U NJIHOVU RATOM ZAHVAĆENU ZEMLJU

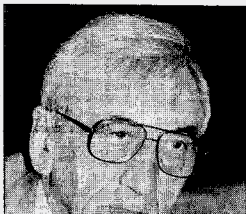
KOLIKO JE GRAĐANA BIH DEPORTIRANO?

Specijalni izvijestitelj UN Mazowiecki istaknuo da su razlog njegova dolaska u Hrvatsku problemi muslimanskih izbjeglica i da ih je deportirano između 200 i 500, dok ministar Jarnjak ponavlja brojku od 120 vraćenih. Strani diplomati smatraju da Hrvatska radi u korist vlastite štete i da nema opravdanja za protjerivanje građana BiH, ma što učinili, u njihov rat. Mnogi su otišli dobrovoljno. Da li su izbjeglicama prije protjerivanja oduzimani dokumenti kako ne bi mogli dokazati da su regulirali svoj status?

Koliko je državljana BiH deportirano u nedavnoj akciji hrvatskoga MUP-a, da li su udaljavljani nepoćudnih građana susjedne države okončana — stvarno ili samo za javnost, kakva je daljnja sudbina *Bosanačana prebačenih iz Hrvatske na hercegovačko područje — pitanja su na koja hrvatski dužnosnici zaoblaze izravno i precizno odgovoriti čak i najuglednijim novinarima na press-konferenciji, izvijestitelja UN cijelu su temu isetirili kao zadnju rupu na svirali zadataka što ih je Mazowiecki trebao obaviti tokom ove svoje posljednje misije. Tom prigodom UN-ov poslanik iznio je podatke da se broj osoba deportiranih u još uvijek akciji hrvatskog MUP-a kreće između 200 i 500. Ova brojka podudara se s informacijama, dobivenim iz dobro obavještenih izvora, bliskih UN-ovom uredu za zaštitu ljudskih prava, da je tokom na-

zom manje-više hipotetičkih teza, izvedenih na temelju informacija iskamčanih iz «sramežljivih» hrvatskih službenih izvora, da je oko 60 osoba, deportiranih u Tomislavgrad, pušteno, a da je ostatak ljudi — također oko šezdesetak — još zatočen u Medugorju.

— HVO traži garancije da će ove osobe biti smještene u neku treću zemlju i dok ih ne dobije, odbija pustiti zatočnike. Mi pak smatramo da se ovi ljudi trebaju vratiti u Hrvatsku — objašnjava predstavnik UNHCR-a. MUP još nije odgovorio niti na zahtjev Visokog komesarijata da im do-



Tadeusz Mazowiecki, specijalni izvijestitelj UN-a za ljudska prava, koji je prije desetak dana boravio u Hrvatskoj, eksplicitno je kazao kako su razlog njegovog nenadanog posjeta problemi oko muslimanskih izbjeglica — što su hrvatski mediji uglavnom preskočili posve jasno kazati, a poslovično tankočutni novinari na press-konferenciji, izvijestitelja UN cijelu su temu isetirili kao zadnju rupu na svirali zadataka što ih je Mazowiecki trebao obaviti tokom ove svoje posljednje misije. Tom prigodom UN-ov poslanik iznio je podatke da se broj osoba deportiranih u još uvijek akciji hrvatskog MUP-a kreće između 200 i 500. Ova brojka podudara se s informacijama, dobivenim iz dobro obavještenih izvora, bliskih UN-ovom uredu za zaštitu ljudskih prava, da je tokom na-



Izbjeglica je tuga pregozela, a sudbina neizvjesna

Snimio D. LOVROVIĆ

UNHCR-a već izjavila za «Feral Tribune», što je u uredu ove organizacije posvojeno i za «Novi list» — Glas Istre — prema međunarodnim dokumentima — Konvenciji o statusu izbjeglica (iz 1951) te Protokolu o statusu izbjeglica (iz 1967), koje je Hrvatska potpisala u listopadu prošle godine, podniti prekršajnih i krivičnih djela, pa biti oni i građani BiH — trebaju biti obuhvaćeni normalnim sudskim postupkom.»

odredu svjetskog humanitarnog prava — da se ljudi ne smiju vraćati u državu gdje se ratuje. Da bi se zaštitila muška BiH populacija trenutno zatočena u Hrvatskoj, uruc Visokog komesarijata izdaje im «pisma zaštite», iako, kako smo doznali, trenutno nema potvrda da su se nacije i deportacije nastavile, a MUP tvrdi da je zloglasni centar na zagrebačkoj Peščenici zatvoren.

"How many citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been deported?"

Novi list, 23 August 1993

Milena Beader: Yes, one part managed to, but some were sent back to Bosnia. There were also tragicomic situations, as happens in war. I always remember the man who was caught in a bar in the centre of Zagreb and sent back to Bosnia, to Tomislavgrad. First they put him in jail and were going to send him to the army, to the HVO. Since he'd met various people in Zagreb, including some journalists, he remembered he had the phone number of a journalist from *Večernji list*. He told the guard he was a journalist and had to contact his editorial office, and the guard let him – I assume he simply had a way with people and was convincing. He said on the phone: "Please send me a fax, as official-looking as possible, that I'm your journalist and have to get out straight away." The fax arrived and he was set free. We helped the man when he returned to Zagreb. Things like that happened, and we dealt with such cases too.

Nela Pamuković: It was like a fever. The whole refugee community was terrified. Police would enter the camps in the early hours, at five or six o'clock. They searched everywhere, lifted up mattresses, looked for weapons, cursed and swore. They took away women and sometimes children, too, and we followed what was happening and demanded that the people be freed. They were taken to the sports arena in Zagreb-Žitnjak. Like a scene from a film set in the Nazi era.

Milena Beader: When he got out of the prison in Bosnia, the man came to my place at five in the morning and asked us to help. "Get in touch with the UNHCR, Amnesty and Helsinki Watch quick," he urged, because he knew we'd been to Bosnia before with representatives of some of those organisations to research human rights violations. It scared the hell out of me when he rang at five in the morning.

My first thought was, of course, that it was the police. But we managed to sort things out in the end: fortunately a delegation of Human Rights Watch, who we cooperated with, was in Zagreb at the time, and some girls from the delegation came in a taxi, picked him up, and went with him to the UNHCR. He soon made it to Britain. When I saw him a few years ago in Zagreb, he was still living there. In my opinion, those girls were the bravest investigators of all the organisations that came in that period because they combined a professional approach with an activist spirit.

Srđan Dvornik: Just one more detail. It was a glimmer of hope in that whole calamity that such a delicate network could still serve as the infrastructure for an effective international warning mechanism in the case of an acute, serious violation of human rights fraught with even more severe consequences. Non-refoulement is an established rule: you may not send people back to a war zone once they've fled from there. It's a major criminal offence, and I don't know if anyone in Croatia has ever been brought to justice. But on the other hand you do have a certain power, if only because you're the one who managed to get the news out. And then things get moving. At the same time, it aches to recall that press conference. I had one shot: I could put one question to Mazowiecki. Either about the people who are sent back, or the evictions. I don't know what made me decide the way I did. I think because it was more full-on, because the evicted people weren't killed. And in Bosnia, when they fell into the hands of the HVO – that meant the Dretelj prison camp, digging trenches, being used as human shields, and so on. Sophie's choice, I guess.

Just remember how the very thought of someone going to Serbia was perceived. It was a traitorous act par excellence. Tuđman and Milošević were meeting at that time, but communication between ordinary civilians was out of the question and a terrible thought. People still went, but they kept it hush-hush.

Vesna Teršelič: In terms of contacting the families of imprisoned and missing persons, in '92 and '93 we went through Osijek in particular – Štefica Krstić and also Mate Šimić from the refugee community, for whom we were traitors, pure and simple. Blacklegs, beneath contempt. But the refugees wanted to find out if we had any information about the villages they'd been displaced from, such as Lovas. The families of prisoners were also searching and trying desperately to get information. One of their ideas was that we could find a contact person at the Military Medical Academy because there might be some documentation there. They had lists. But all of that was a stab in the dark. Communication was very tense. When members of the refugee community came to see us the first time they were all in uniform. They felt a need to be identifiable. Not to look like us, traitors, but so it would be obvious they were on the right side. They were different.

Nenad Zakošek: Were they in camouflage uniforms?

Vesna Teršelič: They were. And that style of communication was regular back then. Štefica Krstić is a constant of my life. *(laughter)*

Nenad Zakošek: Alter ego. *(laughter)*

Vesna Teršelič: Štefica Krstić found her son, or rather his remains. Many others didn't. Mato Šimić was able to return to his home. Some things got resolved. For Štefica in a sad way, though she already knew he was dead. She reconciled herself to the loss, but it was still mighty important to her that they found her son's remains.

Duška Pribičević Gelb: They perceived us as an enemy. But to what extent was that artificially cultivated? I remember one woman, a doctor or employee at the Ruđer Bošković Institute, who'd lost her son in Vukovar. She found the body in the end, but before that she secretly came to the Centre for Human Rights and just said: "Sorry, but do you by any chance..." I don't know if she belonged to Mothers for Peace or some other mothers' group who were searching. She just took care that no one heard she'd come knocking at our door. The meetings with her were conspirative.

Srđan Dvornik: There were sharp divisions into friends and enemies.

Vesna Teršelič: Just remember how the very thought of someone going to Serbia was perceived. It was a traitorous act par excellence. Tuđman and Milošević were meeting at that time, but communication between ordinary civilians was out of the question and a terrible thought. People still went, but they kept it hush-hush.

Duška Pribičević Gelb: I thought of one more thing when you mentioned the war in Bosnia and young men coming here. I remember we discussed that, and I don't know if anything could have been done. On the one hand, we tried to help them financially. And we tried to find connections so they could leave Croatia for a safer country. Some even slept in the ARK office.

Srđan Dvornik: The UNHCR deserves mention here, especially their protection team at the time. Even at today's downsized UNHCR there's still one person from back then. Many refugees from Bosnia found themselves in a catastrophic situation, without personal documents, which are essential for almost everything. Whoever I went to the UNHCR with

and was able to show at least some proof of identity would be issued temporary identity papers, which were simply printed on A4 paper with a photo attached, with a stamp, which confirmed that the person was under the protection of the UNHCR. No bureaucracy, no messing around. There was a danger, of course, that someone could “blag their way through”, but the UNHCR’s position was that people who needed protection should get it, and the risk of a person without entitlement squeezing through was the lesser evil.

Vesna Janković: *ARKzin* also issued at least a dozen confirmations that the people in question were our journalists, for example during the siege of Sarajevo, when it was virtually impossible to leave the city, or we wrote that we needed them for an assignment, which also helped them get out. A great many international organisations were operating in Croatia at the time. The UNHCR and the International Red Cross, IR-CD, etc. And also a mass of foreign journalists. We had a very diversified network and worked together well with those international organisations. Many of them used ZaMir for their electronic communication. We were very often approached by journalists, although we weren’t strong numerically or in terms of influence. We were recognised as a hub where people could go for counter-information.

Tihomir Ponoš: Marginal, but surprisingly relevant?

Srđan Dvornik: Here’s another example that was quite a surprise. We used these electronic communications, email and even more the electronic conferences or newsgroups (which today I guess would be called forums) for spreading all our information and alerts about important events. There were activists in Western Europe who initiated campaigns there, organised the sending of protest letters to

the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the office of the president, etc. At the time of the worst repression against Dalmatian Action in the autumn of ’93, when the authorities staged the “bomber trial” against them, we wrote about it to whomever we could. A message chugged out of the fax machine when I was in the ARK office in Tkalčićeva Street one evening. It was from Perth in Australia, where there’s a large Croatian community. They wrote, in Croatian, that they were following events in Croatia closely and were concerned most of all about the war on Croatia, of course, but those are democratically minded people and it worried them that ugly things were also happening within Croatia as regards human rights. They were particularly concerned that a small opposition party, Dalmatian Action, had been accused of blowing up its own office. It really looked like a set-up, and they wanted to do something; they just requested confirmation of the credibility of the person called Srđan Dvornik who’d sent the messages they read because they didn’t want to act on the basis of information from a single source. I gave their fax to one of you in the office the next day because I couldn’t very well write back and say: “This is the Antiwar Campaign, I confirm his credibility, signed Srđan Dvornik.” I think that was geographically the most distant reaction.

Vesna Janković: There was also a peace group in Heidelberg made up of people from the former Yugoslavia, who translated the first few issues of *ARKzin* into German. They didn’t translate all of an issue but summarised the most important content. The most active person in the group was an ethnic Albanian woman from Kosovo. Quite a remarkable gathering. There were so many examples of solidarity and assistance in completely unexpected places. On the other hand, there were also conflicts in equally unexpected places.

At the beginning, especially in the autumn of ’91, I felt our position was pretty schizophrenic and, apart from clear opposition to the Tuđman regime, I needed a long time to find arguments in myself for pacifism, for radical non-violence.

Vesna Teršelič: But often all we could do was to sit with people. I remember going to Split relatively often because there were many cases of evictions, of people being thrown out of work or their phone being disconnected. That was an innovation of the authorities: you simply had no right to a phone any more. That man had lived without a phone for years. There were dozens of cases like that. But whenever I went, I sort of felt I was going to sit with friends but really couldn't do anything more than that. Because even if journalists took up the issue... *Feral Tribune* later started up as an independent weekly and wrote about it now and again, but that couldn't help improve the situation. The threat of evictions lasted for a very long time in Split. I remember that sense of helplessness above all. Tonči Majić was active, along with Roza Roje, Hajdi Katinac, Vojko Ivica...

Nela Pamuković: That really did go on for ages. Until the 2000s.

Vesna Teršelič: It was a disaster the way it dragged on.

Srđan Dvornik: But it would be fair to mention that it led to an international solidarity campaign, thanks to Otvorene Oči, which came specifically to protect local activists.

Vesna Teršelič: Peace Brigades International also sent a team after we called and made a request. We said it was vital that activists come and be observers or accompany people when we expected that displaced people would be allowed to return to some places. They sent a first team, which consisted of Johanna Bjorken, James Derieg, Øystein Kleven and Vic Ullom.

IZJAVA ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE POVODOM UHIĆENJA ČLANOVA DA

Nakon velikog broja terorističkih akata koji u posljednje dvije godine nisu razjašnjeni, policija samo nekoliko dana poslije bombaškog napada na prostorije Dalmatinske akcije tvrdi da je u stanovima nekoliko članova vodstva stranke pronašla naoružanje i municiju. Postoje, međutim, razlozi za sumnju da postupak policije nije politički nepristran.

Bombaškom napadu je prethodila žestoka politička kampanja protiv stranke i regionalizma uopće, koju su povelili najviši politički funkcionari u Hrvatskoj, a slijedili su ih poslušni mediji pod državnom kontrolom. Četiri dana prije terorističkog napada policija je privela i cijeli dan zadržala Juricu Gilića, kojega je kasnije proglasila sumnjivom za taj napad. Sumnja se i da su ga tukli. Prilikom posjete, nakon drugoga Gilićeva uhićenja, predstavnici stranke su vidjeli da je tjelesno zlostavljan, o čemu postoji i dokumentacija. Druge članove vodstva stranke policija je tih dana pozivala na "informativne razgovore", ali ih nije ispitivala o okolnostima koje bi mogle rasvijetliti napad eksplozivom, nego o unutarstranačkim poslovima, mjestu držanja dokumentacije itd. Svi uhapšeni su duže od 24 sata držani na nepoznatom mjestu, bez kontakta s obiteljima i odvjetnicima, a neki među njima, teški bolesnici, nisu dobili lijekove. Nije ničim dokazano da oružje "pronađeno" u stanovima uhićenih nije podmetnuto. Krajnje je nevjerovatno da stranka koja nikad nije podržala nasilje naoružava svoje članove.

Umjesto suzbijanja politički inspiriranog terorizma, terorizam se pripisuje njegovim žrtvama. U nedostatku pravne zaštite protiv terora, ratno stanje se prenosi u društvo i politiku, a od demokracije i vladavine prava ostaje samo prazna maska.

Tražimo da policija prestane služiti političkim obračunima i da umjesto toga počne štiti građane od oružanog nasilja, te da se Vojna policija i vojno sudstvo isključe iz pravnog postupka prema civilima.

ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA HRVATSKE

11. listopada 1993.

Statement on the arrest of members of Dalmatinska akcija, 11 October 1993, *ARKzin* no. 6

• Marijan Gubić
AUSTRALIAN COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA

Dragi prijatelju,

Hvala ti na pismu. U prilogu ti šaljemo neke informacije o *Odboru antiratne kampanje Hrvatske*, kao i zadnji broj našeg glasila *ARKzin* (*ARK* je skraćenica od *Anti-Ratna Kampanja, zin* od fanzin).

Utemeljili smo *Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava u Zagrebu*, na gornjoj adresi. Pripremamo izdavanje na hrvatskom izvještaja Helsinki Watch, Amnesty International i drugih o stanju u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Zalažemo se za Hrvatsku kao državu vladavine prava, borimo se protiv revanšizma i pripisivanja kolektivne krivice Srbima. Održavamo kontakt sa prijateljima - mirovnjaciima i dezerterima iz Srbije.

Slažemo se sa tvojom ocjenom da su međunarodne institucije zakazale u slučaju krize u Jugoslaviji. Mi imamo dobre kontakte sa mirovnim i drugim društvenim pokretima u Evropi, te sa zelenim strankama. Iako smo počeli kao "kampanja", od početka nam je bilo jasno da ćemo morati raditi godinama - za liječenje posljedica ovog strošnog rata i za sprječavanje slijedećeg. Pismo kao što je tvoje vrlo nas ohrabruje i zato smo ti zahvalni.

Uz srdačni pozdrav,

za Odbor antiratne kampanje:

Zoran Oštrić

Fax to Marijan Gubić of the Australian Committee to Support Democracy in Croatia

Srđan Dvornik: There were four or five of them.

Duška Pribičević Gelb: On the one hand, as Vesna says: “I felt so helpless then.” But it’s a fact that the Antiwar Campaign, and then other groups too – HHO, CCHR, etc. – helped stop the issuing of eviction orders. It was thanks again to the activism of ARK and other groups that the Law on Citizenship was amended, that the article was removed that gave the minister the discretionary power to give or withdraw approval, and we built up pressure that led to the first ombudsman being replaced.

Tihomir Ponoš: That was Branko Babac. In his first report, he just wrote that he was equipping his office but couldn’t get everything he needed. That was his first annual report on the human rights situation and the scope of activity of the ombudsman!

Nenad Zakošek: What year was that?

Milena Beader: 1993, on Human Rights Day.

Tihomir Ponoš: Vesna tells me there’s another topic she wants to mention briefly.

Vesna Janković: So far we’ve looked back at a lot of internal events. One significant dimension of our antiwar work was maintaining contacts with “the other side”. I had a traumatic experience in ’91. Three weeks of travelling around Germany ended in Berlin, just when Vukovar fell. Three of us from Zagreb went on that tour: **Aida Bagić**, **Biljana Kašić** and I. And we were together with **Zorica Trifunović**, **Lina Vušković** and **Branka Novaković** from the Belgrade Centre for Antiwar Action. That brings me back to Nenad’s first remark about the differences. The trip ended with us almost not

being able to communicate with each other any more. Partly due to fatigue, and partly because there really were very different interpretations, to an extent even divergent ideological positions. Different groundwork. While we had more time for the civil society discourse that the Slovenians developed in the eighties and applied as a way of dismantling the one-party state, my feeling was that the Belgrade Centre for Antiwar Action was much closer to the classical left-wing tradition, which is antinationalist, but which took Yugoslavia as its frame of reference, so peacemaking efficacy was gauged by the extent to which you were for Yugoslavia. That was an issue for us back in ’91, one you could talk about at a theoretical level, but the things that were happening ruled out that kind of grounding of your own work. At the beginning, especially in the autumn of ’91, I felt our position was pretty schizophrenic and, apart from clear opposition to the Tuđman regime, I needed a long time to find arguments in myself for pacifism, for radical non-violence.

Tihomir Ponoš: So, in the end, communication between the three of you and the three of them more or less broke down.

Vesna Janković: Maybe I was exaggerating a bit. But it was...

Tihomir Ponoš: The very same thing happened between peace activists and combatants.

Ognjen Tus: No, it didn’t. Combatants were quick to establish contact after the war. My experience now when I occasionally go to Belgrade for work is that I avoid talking with friends who were active in the antiwar movement, not in NGOs, but who went to all the demonstrations and were radical pacifists. It’s an utterly different plane, I’d say, both in-

You see, even today the conviction exists that people voted for the independence of Croatia when the referendum was held twenty years, one month and ten days ago. Even among legal professionals, political scientists, journalists, activists and the like there’s no awareness that the question of state sovereignty wasn’t posed at that time. Consequently, both then and today, there’s room to question the political context and all the messages.

formationally and in other ways. The state disappeared around us, or rather: we watched one collapse and a new one take shape. What they created was roughly the same as what we had, perhaps just a little smaller. That hysteria about the creation of a state... You see who's taking part, and you know there are people like that over there who create states like that. They don't see it. They had a space that was constantly shrinking, shrinking... But there are still institutions there that existed in Yugoslavia. They have a mint in Belgrade-Topčider. Those are emotive things, you know. I don't know if that's their flaw or mine, or a quality. But there's a difference and it's not something you can discuss. I say to them now: "Let's talk. Let's get to know each other again" – with people I've known almost since primary school! But combatants tell a different story. They went through similar things and can talk about some of their common experiences more easily. They actually have more in common.

Vesna Janković: I'm aware that the Serbian women were under much greater pressure. Germany came out as a friend and patron of Croatia. They were from Serbia and went to Germany as peace activists.

Srđan Dvornik: That was when Vukovar fell and the time of *Danke Deutschland*. The most awkward juncture you can imagine.

Vesna Janković: I'm fully aware of that, but what I'm talking about was one of the constants in the whole series of discussions I took part in during the 90s. It was a bit like: "Aha, we've got Milošević, you've got Tuđman" – and it was enough just to be against the authorities. What bothered me most about those simplistic notions was that they were often used by foreign peace activists and journalists to block any serious analysis.

Srđan Dvornik: Vesna, it's a shame you've only raised this issue towards the end because it's really a very complex topic and contains many lessons we can learn. One, as elementary as possible, which is almost superfluous to state, is that it would be stupid to imagine we can be anything but conditioned by our local context. I mentioned in the context of Bosnia how hard it was for us to find out what was happening. If I'd known that the Croatian Army was intervening in Bosnia, not just indirectly but also directly, I would've reacted differently. It's the same with positions on the break-up of Yugoslavia. Activists and everyone else in Serbia had been subjected to at least one year of media propaganda in the lead-up to the war – not just the recognisable propaganda but also of the indirect, ostensibly informative kind, which suggested that the Serbs in Croatia were in danger under "Ustashi" rule and that this was an urgent and acute question. This propaganda began before the Serbs in Croatia really became endangered, but that doesn't make any difference in practice. No wonder people were torn this way and that, if there was anything real in it at all. Thanks to the ZaMir network and a few other enlighteners, some of the outright lies were debunked, like the incident in Pakrac.⁰⁶ But what use is that? So, firstly, it's normal for one and the same thing to be seen from various perspectives. Secondly, you need considerable strength to rise above. I think we managed to do that, in different ways and to different degrees. But it's work that takes time.

Vesna Janković and I were guests of the Danish Peace Council in Copenhagen in '93 together with people from Belgrade: **Veran Matić** from Radio B92 and the late **Miladin Živoić** from the Belgrade Circle. We didn't have communication problems like that any more. Almost two years had passed, and people realised what had been going on. We were no better and cleverer than the six of you,

⁰⁶ Presumably a reference to one of a series of armed incidents that began with the disarming of ethnic-Croatian police officers in Pakrac on 1 July 1991. [trans.]

but some painful lessons had since been learned. Besides, things weren't so simple. Maybe we tacitly assumed there was something democratic in the secession of Croatia. But there was absolutely nothing. The secession of Croatia had nothing to do with democracy, the rule of law or anything like that. It was just the creation of an ethnic state. Therefore, whenever someone said, from a Yugoslav perspective, that we could instead have fought to liberalise and democratise the previous system and make it more just, we agreed it would've been worth a try. Whatever the prospects, I think it would've been worth it. Besides, I wouldn't have been in UJDI if I didn't think that way. Secession was a victory of nationalism, pure and simple. The separatists created a situation in which an army that was completely beyond civil control could go berserk, take one side, etc. They're not responsible for the war in the sense of being its active root cause, but the Slovenian and Croatian leaderships are very much to blame for the situation. "We're going to secede, come what may." So I think that can be said from a critical Croatian perspective, and that's where I'm speaking from – I live here and nowhere else, and ninety percent of my information is from domestic sources. You see, even today the conviction exists that people voted for the independence of Croatia when the referendum was held twenty years, one month and ten days ago. Even among legal professionals, political scientists, journalists, activists and the like there's no awareness that the question of state sovereignty wasn't posed at that time. Consequently, both then and today, there's room to question the political context and all the messages. The false and the truthful, and also the most dangerous of all: the half-truths. Then again, although it's sad to hear you ended up with a communication block, it's fortunate that there were at le-

ast some meetings and they had a positive impact. You didn't conclude they were Chetniks, nor did they think you were an Ustashi.

Nela Pamuković: Unlike the others who concluded that was the end.

Srđan Dvornik: You asked instead: "How could this happen?" That certainly helped in the scrupulous efforts to try and communicate better, or, as Ognjen said, to get to know each other again. Even if you do already know each other. To see what's in your knapsack.

Vesna Janković: True. When we came back from that trip, I was shocked by the situation I found here. Not just by the Croatian New-speak that bombarded me from the TV, but I also realised how much people in the Antiwar Campaign lacked a view from a different angle, how limited we were due to the one-sided interpretation of events. But I'd like to come back to the referendum, that is the secession, Croatian independence. I think the dominant mood, regardless of how the referendum question was formulated...

Tihomir Ponoš: It was formulated most intelligently, to be honest.

Vesna Janković: My impression is that the dominant mood in Croatia was pro-independence.

Srđan Dvornik: That's undisputed.

Nela Pamuković: Independence from Milošević.

Srđan Dvornik: And the massacre in Borovo Selo ten days before the referendum, don't forget. It was terrible. Everyone was horrified.

I don't know if we're a team that has to coordinate its position. Besides, would that help Croatia realise where it is? This society isn't prepared to speak honestly about itself. I'm not prepared to take part in the politics of a society that's not prepared. It's a painful process because you have to bare yourself first.

Vesna Janković: Milošević made a number of moves shortly before the war that included usurping the Yugoslav monetary system and refusing negotiations. The leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia at the time offered a confederal model. He didn't want to talk about that. This last week I've been reading texts by Marko Hren, which show, for example, what issues the Slovenian peace movement asserted in public debate. It was the sole authentic peace movement in the former Yugoslavia. One of the issues was the role of the Yugoslav People's Army as a de facto state, and its influence. Also the very high degree of militarisation of Yugoslav society, etc. But the national question and our relationship to it... We did condemn Croatian nationalism, but I think we also respected the right of the people to self-determination...

Srdan Dvornik: Who are "the people"? Ethnic Croats?! Still, none of the things you've said are uncontentious. I could now reply and say I disagree with one or several of the points you've made, but that would take more than just five minutes. There's a backlog of things to be analysed: in society, in ARK, in the wider region – wherever you look.

Nela Pamuković: Now, on the twentieth anniversary, I think it would be most important to define which questions remain unanswered and where we still bear responsibility.

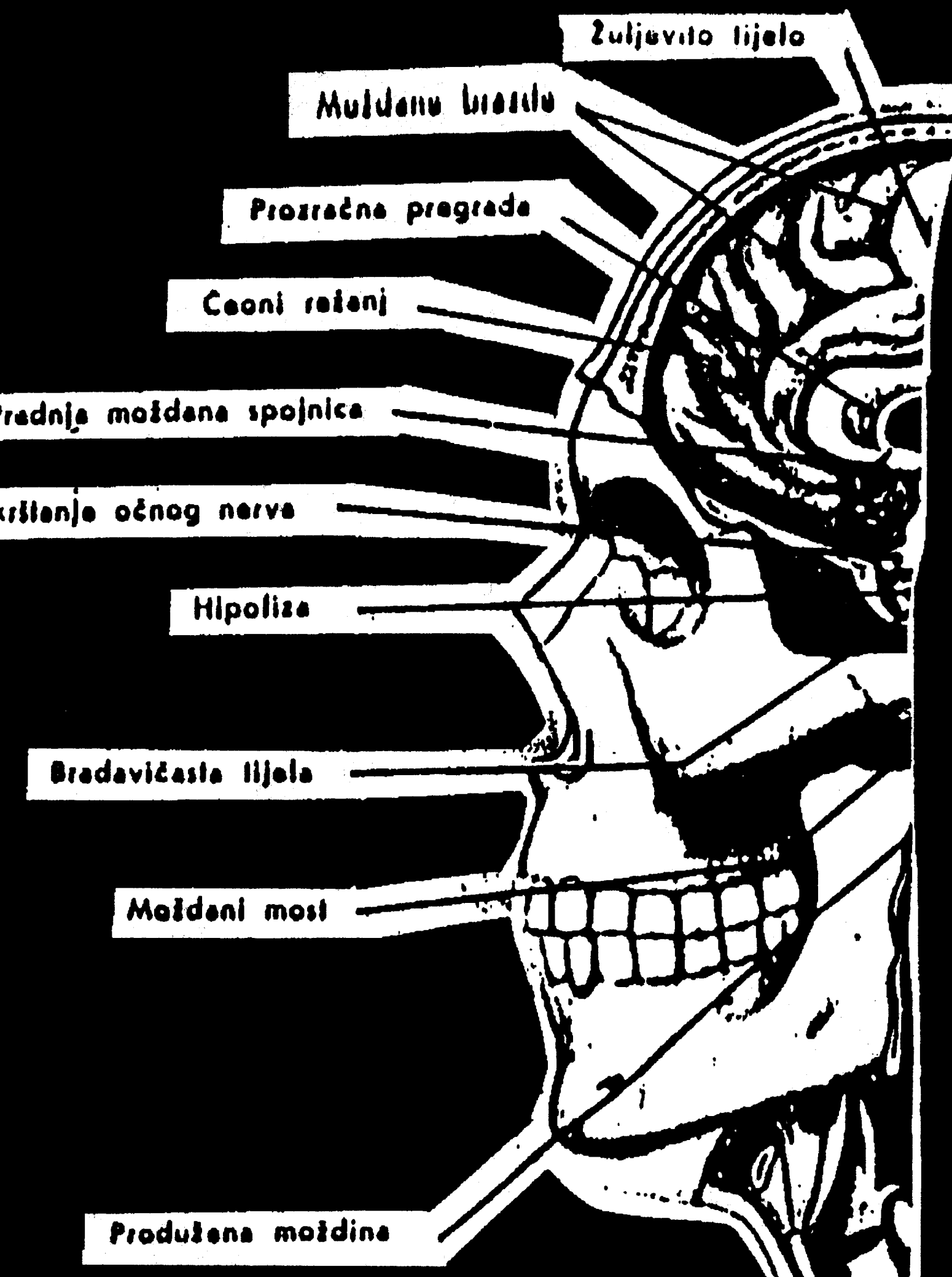
Ognjen Tus: I wouldn't bring our responsibility into it.

Nela Pamuković: Towards ourselves, as citizens and as activists of the Antiwar Campaign.

Ognjen Tus: Maybe when I'm looking at myself in the mirror... But towards a group of people who joined the antiwar thing on one impulse

or another? We're completely different people. I have my motivations, too, but they're different political, private and whatever reasons. I don't know if we're a team that has to co-ordinate its position. Besides, would that help Croatia realise where it is? This society isn't prepared to speak honestly about itself. I'm not prepared to take part in the politics of a society that's not prepared. It's a painful process because you have to bare yourself first. Those are the stories from MIRamiDA when Goran and I went to Republika Srpska. We talked in the car. We entered with Zagreb or Pula number plates. I said: "Listen, this is going to be like a striptease. We have to present ourselves here in all our manifestations. Lay ourselves completely open." We had to do that so people would begin to function sincerely and so that we, in the end, would be safe.

Vesna Teršelič: We were humane to one another, and we didn't reduce ourselves to this or that attribute. We didn't turn into capital-C Croats and make that our primary way of relating to the next person, who's a Serb, and to the next person, who's a whatever. I think our act of giving was largely in being there for others, and simply through being with them we created a space for ourselves so we could function in wartime conditions, and post-war ones, which were exceptionally undignified. I think we had to work very hard at that time to create a space to have a modicum of dignity. I think we were good at what we learned, and what we were good at then, we're still good at now: the inclusion of others, who need not be our friends. And practical cooperation. That doesn't mean our collaboration was always perfect – remember the arguments we had!



Zuljevito lijevo

Moždano lijevito

Prozračna pregrada

Čeoni režanj

Prednja moždana spojnica

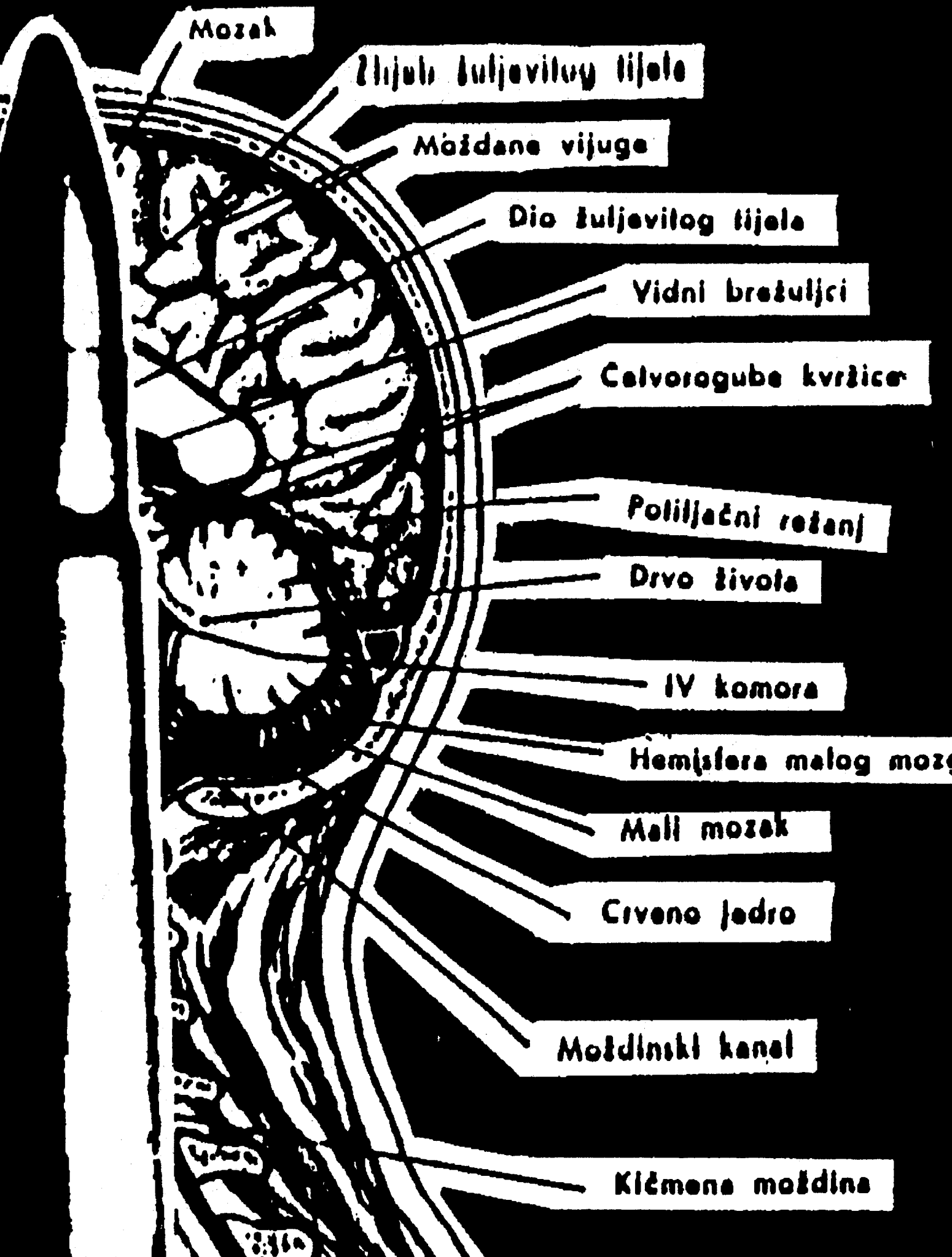
Ukretanje očnog nerva

Hipofiza

Bradavičasta lijeva

Moždani most

Produžena moždina



Mozak

Zlujub žuljevito tijelo

Moždane vijuge

Dio žuljevito tijelo

Vidni brašuljci

Celvorogube kvržice

Polilježni režanj

Drvo života

IV komora

Hemisfera malog mozga

Mali mozak

Crveno jadro

Moždinski kanal

Kičmena moždina

Chronology of the Antiwar Campaign

General
chronology



- 5 July: Zoran Oštrić drafts the Charter of ARK. The same day, the Antiwar Campaign is joined by the Society for the Improvement of the Quality of Life, which cooperates with Green Action intensively over the following two months to gain support for the campaign. According to the figures, the charter is signed by 321 people from 21 countries and 95 organisations from 20 countries
- 23–24 August: the “Days of Peace” meeting is held in Kumrovec, Croatia. ARK is defined as an organisation that affirms and promotes “exclusively *non-violent methods*, takes part in *the process of conflict resolution* but does not favour isolated solutions, respects *all parties involved in a conflict* and strives to communicate with them”

SKUP PACIFISTA IZ EVROPE U BOHINJU
~~1938~~ SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 4. IX 38

placati iz Slovenije i independent-
vane iz Slovenije. Yugošlavo i Suda-
njske države glavnice je, a na njega se
upire i u slučaju odluke o pri-
ključnosti ICOM-a, koji ponašanje poznate
stavke o međunarodnoj zaštiti u (slo-
venski) zakon o zaštiti kulturne baštine
(kulturnijskih država) grupi i Odboru, za-
kazujući da je ICOM, bez obzira od

Time što je ICOM instrumentom iz-
nami na ovaj način zaključeno je, na za-
slu, najprije, da se ICOM, kao organi-
zacija, ne može pripisati, niti pripisati
se na skupno ponašanje, niti pripisati.

Marko Nien, glavni organizator (naše
posrednik) u slučaju odluke o pri-
ključnosti ICOM-a, koji ponašanje poznate
(ICOM) objašnjava kako je ICOM pri-
pisan, ali priključnik, i da
praktično, ICOM, kao organi-
zacija, ne može pripisati, niti pripisati
se na skupno ponašanje, niti pripisati.

U slučaju odluke o priključnosti ICOM-a,
na koji način, ICOM, kao organi-
zacija, ne može pripisati, niti pripisati
se na skupno ponašanje, niti pripisati.

[illegible]

ne služi čisto
stavetih opo-
po umesto
corne to va-
predsjedne

Benigni pokret

Marku Hren po svjestan da zna za-
što se zalazi ne može naci uporište

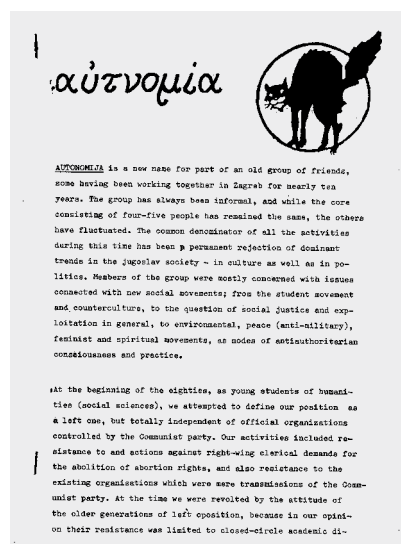
1990

- **23–24 April and 6–7 May:** the first multiparty elections since WWII are held in Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) is the winner
- **30 May:** the first multiparty Croatian parliament elected by universal suffrage of all adult citizens convenes; Franjo Tuđman is elected chairman of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Žarko Domljan speaker of the Croatian parliament and Stjepan Mesić prime minister

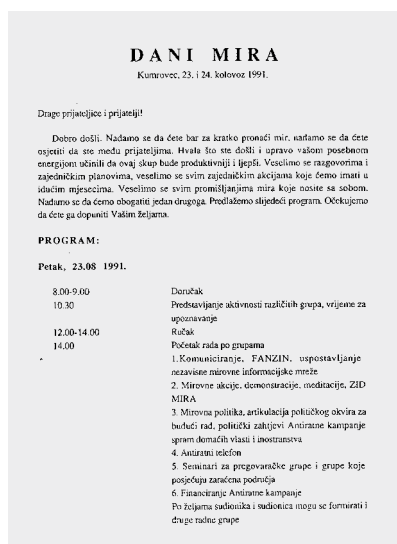
- **27 June:** the Assembly of the Municipality of Knin founds the Association of Municipalities of Northern Dalmatia and Lika, which is annulled by the constitutional court; the Association is joined by other municipalities where Serbs make up the absolute majority of the population
- **25 July:** the Croatian parliament proclaims the constitutional amendments with which Croatia is defined as the bearer of political and economic sovereignty; the same day, the Serb National Council is founded in the village of Srb; the Council refuses to acknowledge the amendments

- 31 July: the weekly *Danas* publishes a transcript of negotiations between President Tuđman and Jovan Rašković, Chair of the Serbian Democratic Party, leaked by presidential advisor Slaven Letica; Rašković allegedly stated: “The Serbs are a crazy people.” Rašković is replaced later in the year by politically more radical leaders such as Milan Babić and Mile Martić
- 17 August: traffic routes are blocked in the area of Knin, Benkovac and Obrovac, thus beginning the uprising of a part of the Serb population in Croatia (“Log Revolution”)

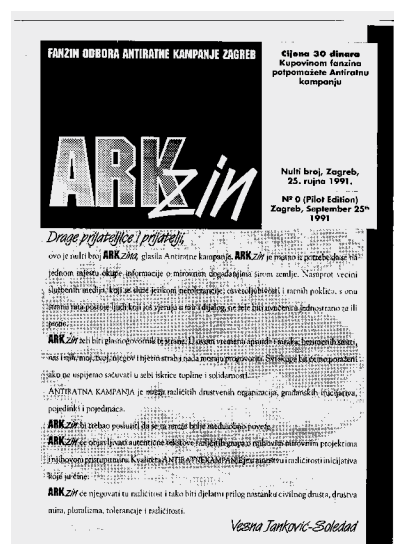
- 25 August: the first event, Doors of Peace, is held in Tkalčičeva Street, initiated by Svemir Vranko and Robert Schwartz, and organised by the Society for the Improvement of the Quality of Life, the Sri Chinmoy Centre, Ananda Marga, the Komaja Society for the Development of Love and Consciousness, the Sai Baba Centre, the Society for the Holistic Development of Man, representatives of Hare Krishna and the Society for Waldorf Education
- 18 September: the Peace Centre is mentioned for the first time as “a service of the Antiwar Campaign”
- 25 September: the pilot issue of *ARKzin* comes out; six issues are published in the first series (the double issues 2/3 and 5/6), and the last issue of the series is published on 7 May 1992; a summarised German issue of *ARKzin* is printed in Heidelberg on the same day
- 26 and 27 September: Christine Schweitzer and Kurt Südmersen from War Resisters’ International hold a first workshop on non-violent conflict resolution in Zagreb
- 28 September: a meeting is held to prepare the founding meeting of ARK. The minutes, dated the same day, define ARK’s projects: Doors of Peace, the fanzine (*ARKzin*), Women for peace, Messages of peace, Antiwar answering service, Peace politics and demilitarisation, Publishing, Public meetings, Roundtable discussions etc., Conscientious objection and civilian service, Speaking tours in Yugoslavia and abroad, Establishing the Peace Centre as a service office of the Antiwar Campaign, Demilitarisation of the island of Vis, and the Network for a community centre. The list of projects on 31 October also mentions a Women’s Negotiation Group and Promoting the Antiwar Campaign abroad
- 5 October: an official letter to the “collective members of the Committee of the Antiwar Campaign from Croatia (OARKH)” mentions and “Croatia” for the first time
- 13 October: MiZaMir is registered as an association for peace and non-violence in Amsterdam, at the address of Nives Rebernak. After the war in Slovenia, first con-



“Autonomija”



Programme of the "Days of Peace" meeting in Kumrovec, 23 and 24 August 1991



ARKzin pilot issue, 1991

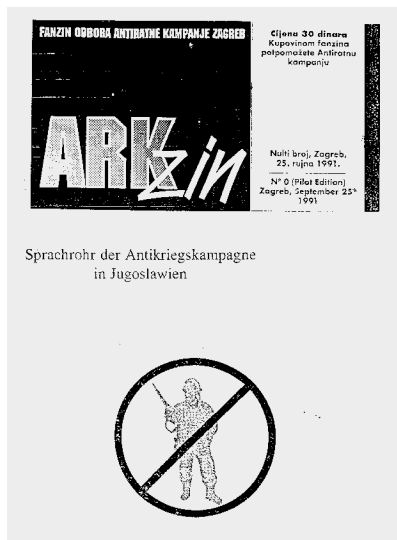
- **24 August:** the Croatian parliament adopts the Resolution on the Protection of the Constitutional Democratic Order and on National Rights in Croatia
- **30 September:** the Serb National Council proclaims Serbian autonomy
- **17 November:** the first armed incident – Serb watchmen shoot at a truck on the Obrovac-Gračac road, injuring the driver and his passenger
- **18 November:** the first round of multiparty elections is held in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the SDA, HDZ and SDS victorious; Alija Izetbegović is elected chairman of the presidency
- **27 November:** the decision of the Zagreb City Assembly that the Square of the Victims of Fascism be renamed Croatian Nobles Square (Trg hrvatskih velikana) is put into effect by replacing the slab with the square's name; the Action Committee for the Square of the Victims of Fascism sends out a number of public appeals and declarations
- **22 December:** the new Constitution of the Republic of Croatia is adopted the same day as the Statute of the Serbian Autonomous Region is accepted in Knin
- **during the year,** a wave of attacks begins against memorials to the People's Liberation Struggle, although there had been individual attacks earlier; according to incomplete figures from the Federation of Antifascist Fighters of Croatia, 2,964 memorials were destroyed, defiled or removed between 1990 and 2000

scientific objectors arrived in Amsterdam in July, mainly young artists from Croatia, Serbia and a little while later from Bosnia-Herzegovina. At first they call on Nives Rebernak through knowing her brothers. Her flat becomes a provisional shelter/refugee centre, where many of them stay illegally over the next two years. Most of them are young men aged 24–25, but over time there are more and more women in the group. Apart from reconciliation, the association also works to procure residence permits, ensure legal, psychological and social aid and networking with international and ex-Yugoslav peace groups. The Association receives the spiritual patronage of the Dalai Lama on 23 December 1992

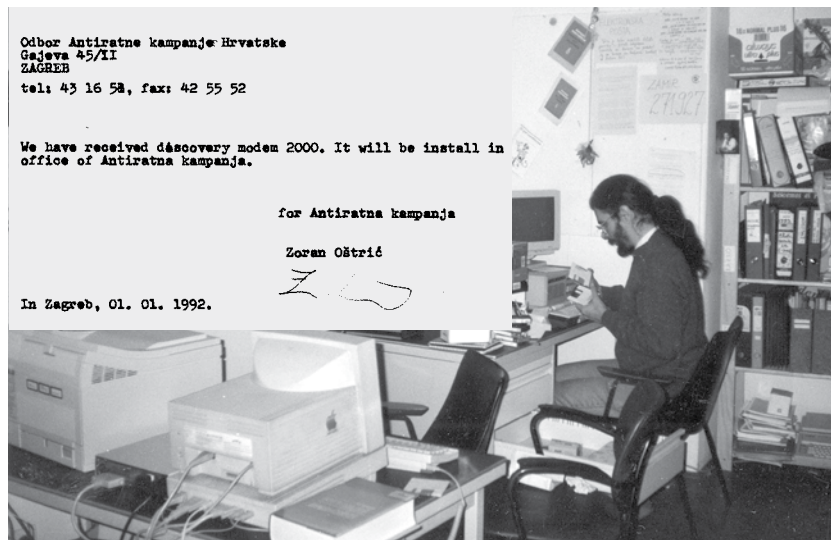
- 23 November: the founding meeting of the Committee of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia is held with support from the Society for the Holistic Development of Man, the Society for the Improvement of the Quality of Life, the Society for Waldorf Education, the Young European Federalists of Croatia, the Independent Union of Women, the Youth Parliament in Zagreb, Croatian Women's Federation, the University Associ-

ation Ecological Public, and Green Action in Zagreb – the founders of the Committee are predominantly activists of these organisations. The founders have to be individuals because, according to the current law, ARK cannot register as a network of organisations as initially planned. According to the first articles of incorporation, the bodies of OARK Croatia are: the General Meeting, the Coordination Committee, the Council and the Supervisory Committee. According to the first draft of the articles of incorporation, the full name of the organisation is the Committee of the Antiwar Campaign in Zagreb

- 20 December: the Ministry of Justice and Administration approves the registration of the Committee of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia, with the official address 72/I Ilica in Zagreb (the address of the Society for the Improvement of the Quality of Life) in the Registry of Civic Associations of the Republic of Croatia
- 23 December: ARK moves from the Green Action office to 45 Gajeva Street



ARKzin pilot issue, 1991, German edition



Confirmation of receipt of a modem, 1 January 1992

1991

- 25 January: the Yugoslav presidency decides (in the presence of the Croatian delegation) to demobilise the Croatian Ministry of the Interior's reserve and cancels the JNA's combat readiness
- 22 February: the Croatian parliament adopts the Resolution on Dissociation from Yugoslavia; no federal ordinance may longer be applied on the territory of the Republic of Croatia that would violate its sovereignty
- 26 February: the Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium is established
- 28 February: the SAO Krajina decides to dissociate from Croatia
- 2 March: ethnic-Croatian policemen in Pakrac are disarmed, provoking the reaction of the Croatian Ministry of the Interior; the JNA intervenes for the first time and places itself between the conflicting parties
- 14 March: the JNA leadership demands that the Yugoslav presidency declare martial law, but the proposal does not gain a majority
- in the spring and summer, Serbs in Croatia are urged to sign "oaths of loyalty" to the Croatian government; there are 10 documented cases in firms in Croatia. The government officially condemns the practice
- 25 March: Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević meet in Karađorđevo, Serbia (second meeting 15 April in Tikveš, Macedonia)

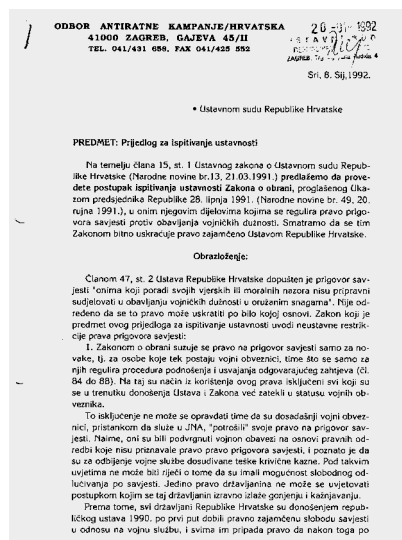
- 26 December: ARKzin no. 2/3 publishes the first article about the evictions

1992

- at the beginning of the year, Eric Bachman brings a first modem to ARK; this marks the beginning of the use of electronic communications, which will serve as the basis for the ZaMir Transnational Network (ZTN)
- at the beginning of the year, the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb has become the established name, and questions of the Centre's relationship to ARK are raised at meetings
- in January, Catherine Sanders holds a workshop on non-violent conflict resolution and peaceful mediation in the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb; contact is established with an Osijek peace initiative

- 8 January: ARK sends a submission to the constitutional court to start proceedings to investigate the constitutionality of the Defence Act because of the way it regulates the application of conscientious objection

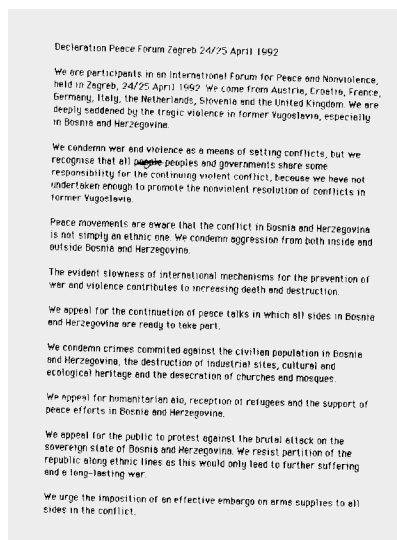
- 13 January: a public discussion "What does the peace movement want?" is held at KIC in Zagreb, with Zoran Oštrić, Vesna Teršelić and Nenad Zakošek as speakers
- 24 January: the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb (i.e. the ARK office) defines its projects: *ARKzin* (chief editor: Vesna Janković), Conscientious objection and civilian service (project leader: Srđan Dvornik), Doors of Peace (leader: Robert Schwartz), Cassette with spiritual and peaceloving songs (leader: Svemir Vranko), Protection of human rights (leader: Milena Beader, and Nenad Zakošek, Zoran Oštrić and the group Lex are also in the team), Education for non-violent conflict resolution (leader: Aida Bagić), Gathering information on war crimes (leader: Zoran Oštrić), Politics of peace and demilitarisation (leader: Zoran Oštrić) and Demilitarisation of Istria, the Kvarner Gulf and Vis



Submission for investigating the constitutionality of the Defence Act, 8 January 1992



"I've got a crazy idea", *Dnevnik*, 19 January 1992



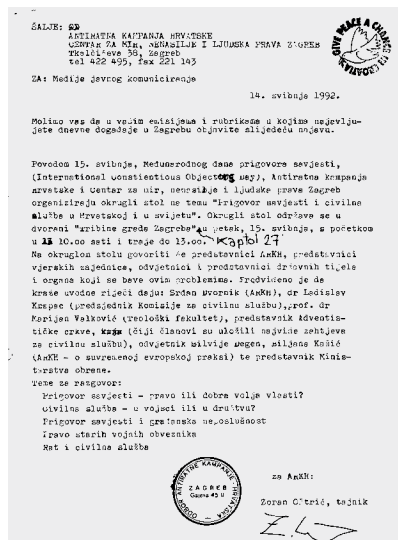
Declaration of the "International forum for peace and non-violence", Zagreb, 24 and 25 April 1992

- 28 March: a first meeting of the presidents of the individual republics is held in Split to try and resolve the crisis; five more meetings follow by the beginning of June, without any result
- 31 March: militia members from the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) clash with Croatian police at the Plitvice Lakes and a police officer, Josip Jović, is killed; he is considered the first member of the services to fall in the war on Croatia, but there is also the case of the policeman Goran Alavanja, who died while on duty near Obrovac in November 1990

- 2 May: a unit of the Croatian Ministry of the Interior is attacked in Borovo Selo and 12 police officers are killed; armed incidents become ever more frequent
- 12 May: a referendum on the accession of the Republic of Serbian Krajina to Serbia and remaining in Yugoslavia is held in the Republic of Serbian Krajina
- 15 May: representatives of federal bodies under the control of Milošević's authorities in the Yugoslav presidency block the election of Stjepan Mesić as chairman

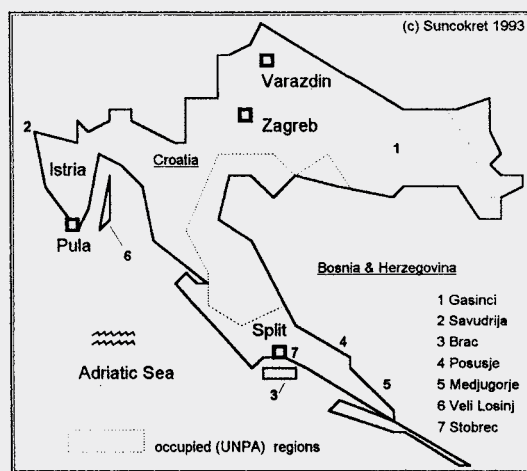
- 19 May: at a referendum in Croatia, voters support the stance that "the Republic of Croatia, as a sovereign and independent state which guarantees the cultural autonomy and all civil liberties of Serbs and members of other nationalities in Croatia, shall enter into an association of sovereign states together with other republics (according to the proposal of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia for solving the state crisis in the SFRY)" and against the suggestion that "the Republic of Croatia remain in Yugoslavia as a united federal state (according to the proposal of the Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Montenegro for solving the state crisis in the SFRY)"

- 29 January: letters are sent to the International Secretariat of Amnesty International in London and Helsinki Watch in New York with an appeal for cooperation
- in February, ARK and the Coordination of Peace Initiatives from Slovenia send a "letter of intent" to social movements throughout the world to define its priorities and the forms of cooperation it desired with local peace groups (published in Croatian in ARKzin no. 4 and in English in *The Intruder* no. 4)
- as of February, the Movement for peace and non-violence Rijeka, until now part of the Democratic Citizens' Forum, begins to operate as a branch of OARKH
- in March, the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb holds a workshop on conflict resolution with a good three dozen participants from all parts of Croatia. The workshop is part of the Balkans Peace Project run by Lynne Jones (UK), Paula Gutlove, Eileen Babbitt and Jo Montville (USA)
- in March, Traude Rebmann holds a three-day workshop for peace activists, social workers and teachers in Osijek
- 2 April: the international peace conference "Vis – island of peace" is banned
- 25 April: at the General Meeting of the Committee of the ARKH Olinka Gjigaš is elected chair of the Committee Council
- 24 and 25 April: the "International forum for peace and non-violence" is held in Zagreb
- 7 May: the first article dealing with the problems of acquiring Croatian citizenship is published in ARKzin no. 5/6 under the title "The certificate of nationality" (Domovnica)
- 13 May: the founding meeting of the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek is held. The Coordinating Committee of OARK in Zagreb decides the following day to establish a branch in Osijek



Press release, 14 May 1992

Where are the camps ?



The refugee camps in which Suncokret works we divided according to their location to 5 areas:

- North Croatia (Varaždin, Gašinci)
- Zagreb
- Istria (Savudrija, Pula) & Veli Lošinj
- Dalmatia (Brač, Stobreč)
- West Herzegovina (Posušje, Medjugorje)

Location of refugee camps, Suncokret Booklet, 1994

- 28 May: a first inspection of the National Guard, the precursor of the Croatian army
- 25 June: the Croatian parliament adopts a constitutional decision on the sovereignty and independence of Croatia, which initiates the process of disassociation from the remaining republics and Yugoslavia; the same day, the State Assembly of Slovenia adopts a similar decision
- 27 June: the JNA intervenes militarily in Slovenia, thus beginning a short war in Slovenia
- 1 July: Stjepan Mesić is elected chairman of the Yugoslav presidency; the same day, on the access road to the Osijek suburb of Tenja, the Croatian policeman Antun Gudelj shoots and kills the chief of the Osijek police force, Josip Reihl-Kir, who was on his way to negotiations with rebel Serbs. Gudelj then also kills the vice chair of the Osijek City Council, Goran Zobundžija, and councillor Milan Knežević; the exact circumstances of the murders remain unexplained until this day, but people suspect it was a politically motivated assassination of Reihl-Kir
- 6 July: Serb rebel forces burn down the predominantly Croatian village of Čelije in Slavonia, the first village to suffer such a fate, and its inhabitants are forced to flee
- 7 July: the Brioni Agreement reached by a troika of EC ministers, representatives of the individual republics, the Yugoslav presidency, the Federal Executive Council (SIV) and the JNA is signed; it calls for further negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia, and Croatia and Slovenia suspend their disassociation activities for three months; it provides for an EC monitoring mission in Slovenia

- 15 May: a roundtable discussion is held on conscientious objection
- 18 May: a draft is written for the project "Media and war" (leader: Branimir Krištofić)
- in May, Wam Kat initiated a group that organised experimental camps with foreign and domestic volunteers in three refugee centres (Gašinci, Savudrija and Pula); in September, this initiative will give rise to Suncokret, which organises work with children in a number of the camps for refugees and displaced people, of which there were 21 in 1993
- in May, the network ZaMir begins operation after establishment of the first BBS – ZaMir in Zagreb; servers are also installed in Belgrade, Ljubljana, Pakrac, Sarajevo, Tuzla and Prishtina in the years to follow, and together they form the ZaMir Transnational Network (ZTN); they linked up in the first few years using modems via the telephone, with the support of e-activists from Austria, the Netherlands and Germany; the project for moving to full internet connectivity led

to the emergence of the internet provider Iskon in the second half of the 1990s

- 23–26 May: the first "Non-violence Festival" (Dani za nenasilje) takes place in Osijek and it is also a public presentation of the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek. A three-day international conference is held at the University of Osijek (Faculty of Law) with around 60 participants, and with Adam Curle (Peace Studies, Bradford), Judith Large (Conflict Response, Birmingham), Nick Lewer (Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War) and Eric Bachman (Federation for Social Defence) as guests
- 11 June: first steps are taken in Split to found the Dalmatian Solidarity Committee
- in June, the Autonomous Women's House Zagreb is formally registered; it originated from a split among Women's Aid Now activists over the question of taking part in ARK. Women's Aid Now was among the organisations that initiated ARK, but part of the activists decided to withdraw in the autumn of 1991. The Auto-

ANTIKRATNA KAMPANJA HRVATSKE
CENTAR ZA MIR, NENASILJE I LJUDSKA PRAVA ZAGREB
Tkalčićeva 38/II, tel. 041/42 24 95, fax 041/27 11 43

POZIVAMO VAS NA TRIBINU

OD DUBLINA DO OSIJEKA:
ISKUSTVA MIROVNOG
POSREDOVANJA

GOST TRIBINE: ADAM CURLE (ENGLESKA)
VODITELJ: VESNA TERŠELIĆ

TRIBINA ĆE SE ODRŽATI U DVORANI
MEĐUNARODNOG CENTRA ZA USLUGE U KULTURI
(BIVŠI MSKP)
STUDENTSKI CENTAR, SAVSKA 25

UTORAK 7. SRPNJA 1992. U 20.00 SATI.

ADAM CURLE JE NASTUPAJUĆI EVROPSKI MIROVNI AKTIVIST (76 GODINA). KVEKER, OSNIVAČ BRADFORD SCHOOL OF PEACE STUDIES, AUTOR VIŠE KNJIGA O POSREDOVANJU ZA NENASILNO RJEŠAVANJE KONFLIKATA. SUDJELOVAO JE U BROJNIM AKCIJAMA POSREDOVANJA U KONFLIKTNIM SITUACIJAMA ŠIROG SVIJETA - U SJEVERNOJ IRSKOJ, SIRIJI, LANKI, SJEVERNOJ AFRICI, A SADA I U HRVATSKOJ. OD 2. DO 6. SRPNJA BORAVIO JE U OSIJEKU, U ORGANIZACIJI CENTARA ZA MIR, NENASILJE I LJUDSKA PRAVA IZ ZAGREBA I OSIJEKA.

Poster for a public meeting

26.10.91. **Vjesnik 3**

Konferencija za novinare

Ili potpis, ili smaknuće

Stjepan Pap iznio je svjedočanstva o događajima u Dalju. O tome što se od svibnja zbivalo u Iluku, govorio je predsjednik Križnog štaba Petar Čobanković

ALEKSA CRNJAKOVIĆ

Kad svjedoci ovog prijevratnog rata progovore, kao na redovnoj konferenciji za novinare u petak, to je najtragičnije svjedočanstvo o žrtvama zločinima i ratnim stradanjima: možda nezapamćenim dosad. Stjepan Pap, nekad neobičajni žitelj Dalje a danas preživjeli prognanik, prije no što je počeo pričati potresnu priču vlastite obitelji, kaže sudbine, pokazuje je novinarima, našlost malobrojnim, potvrdu kojom mu se odobrava napuštanje vlastitog ognjišta! Bit će to jednog dana dokaz o genocidnim planovima.

odgovoriti koliko je ljudi takvu izjavu potpisao, ali neopstajanje da ih je barem 100. Na pitanje novinara, da li su u prave poslove bili uključeni Srbi iz Dalje, Pap je odgovorio da većina mještana Srba nije bila uključena u zverstva, ali zbog straha morali su biti. On procjenjuje da se obrana Dalje, a ranije a pogotovo sada, jednodavno nije mogla organizirati zbog velike koncentracije armijskih snaga, na svakih 25 metara, dolazi po jedan tenk.

Obrana nije bila moguća ni u Iluku o čemu je svjedočio Petar Čobanković, predsjednik Križnog štaba Iluka. Dr. Ante Kulić, koordinator štaba, ne prihvati izjebu iz Iluka, potanko je oslikao put, možda bez

"Sign, or you're dead", *Ujjesnik*, 26 October 1991

VERONSKI FORUM
ZA MIR I PONIRENJE U BIVŠOJ JUGOSLAVIJI

APEL ZA MEĐUNARODNU
SOLIDARNOST S KOSOVRSKIM
LISTOM "BUJKA"

Prema zakonu o utjecajima državnog poduzeća "Vesnara", koji je Skupština Srbije donijela 5. studenoga, jedini list na albanskoj jeziku, "Bujka", koji izlazi pet puta tjedno, bit će de facto ukinut. Zakon će se primjenjivati od 15. studenoga 1992., čime će biti zatvorena izdavačka i novinarska kuća "Rilindja".

Ovim će činom srpske vlasti ostvariti eliminaciju medija i informativnog sistema Kosova, što je zapravo ukinutje TV i radijske mreže te jednog glavnog lista "Rilindja" 1990.

"Bujka" je poznato tradicionalno srpsko političko izdanje na Kosovu i pod sve teže uvjetima komunističke vlasti, te važan faktor u okruženju nepokornosti i pružanja odgovarajuće informacije, te zaštite građana od porobljenog medijalnog rata koji teče u taj regiji.

Ovaj čin nije samo ukinutje ljudskog prava na informaciju, nego su njime povećavaju nepokornost i izgledi većih sukoba na Kosovu.

Zato apeliramo na međunarodnu javnost, na građanske organizacije, vlade, sindikate i druge da upotrijebe taj flagrantni čin nasilja.

Pozivamo na međunarodnu kampanju koja bi prešla u konkretnu akciju 15. studenoga putem:

- upisak u međunarodnu evidenciju o zatvaranju lista "Bujka" (prema protokolu, koji pokazuje uvjetne novine)
- integrirani novinarskih zavera i urednika medija s protestima srpskim i jugoslavenskim vlastima i ambasadama i izjavama solidarnosti s novinarima i čitaocima lista "Bujka"
- diplomatskih akcija ministarstava inozemnih poslova.

VERONSKI FORUM ZA MIR I PONIRENJE U BIVŠOJ JUGOSLAVIJI

Obzirom, 8. studenoga 1992.

Adresa za kontakt:
VERONSKI FORUM, c/o European Parliament, REI, 3007
87-113, rue de la Woluwe 62, B-1050 BRUXELLES
ph. ++32-2-3845973, fax. 3846073, ++32-3-3952850, fax ++32-3-3952122
(koordinatori: Rade Gavrilović)

na Veronaki forum
Srdan Dvorak
Srdan Dvorak

Appeal for international solidarity with the Kosovo daily *Bujka*, 8 November 1992

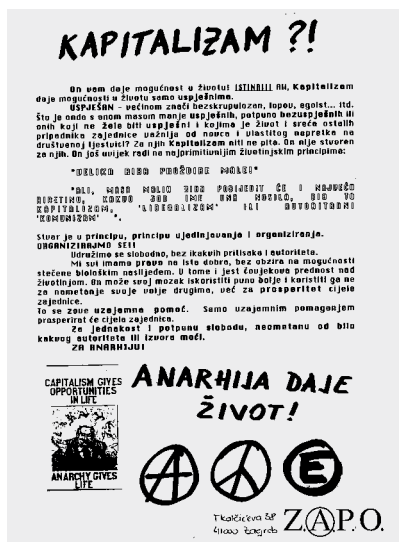
- 9 July: attacks on Osijek begin, which will last until May of the following year; 50,000 shells are fired at the city and 954 people killed in the course of the attack
- 25 July: the editorial office of *Glas Slavonije* receives a letter from the Agency for Restructuring and Development notifying it that it is now a public enterprise; Branimir Glavaš is named chairman of the board of administration; the hitherto chief editor Drago Hedl and the director Vladimir Kokeza resign; the editorial office is physically taken over the following day

- 1 August: the JNA occupies Dalj, Aljmaš and Erdut and thus becomes fully involved in the war, Serbian paramilitary groups massacre civilians, and most of the non-Serbian population is driven out
- 2 August: the Croatian parliament confirms the Government of Democratic Unity, in which the opposition also participates; large parts of Croatia are affected by aggression and war
- 24 August: the siege of Vukovar begins and will last for 87 days

- 5 September: Slobodni tjednik publishes the article "Assassination attempt on Branimir Glavaš foiled" with a photograph showing the mutilated corpse of Čedomir Vučković, who was tortured, killed and thrown in the River Drava with seven other Osijek civilians on the orders of Branimir Glavaš; the article is an example of the warmongering journalism that incited the harassment and killing of ethnic Serb civilians
- 7 September: the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia begins in The Hague under the chairmanship of Lord Pe-

nomous Women's House Zagreb was founded by activists who considered the work of ARK to be in tune with feminist principles, above all in terms of openness to communication with feminists from Serbia

- 7 July: Adam Curle visits Zagreb and speaks at the public meeting "From Dublin to Osijek: the experience of peace mediation"
- 10–15 July: an international meeting of conscientious objectors (ICOM) is held in Le Cun du Larzac (France); representatives of ARK's conscientious objection group take part
- in August, peace activists of the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek offer support and sit in the flats of people under threat of eviction to try and prevent it
- 17–20 September: the "Forum for peace and reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia" is held in Verona



Poster of the Zagreb Anarcho-Pacifist Organisation

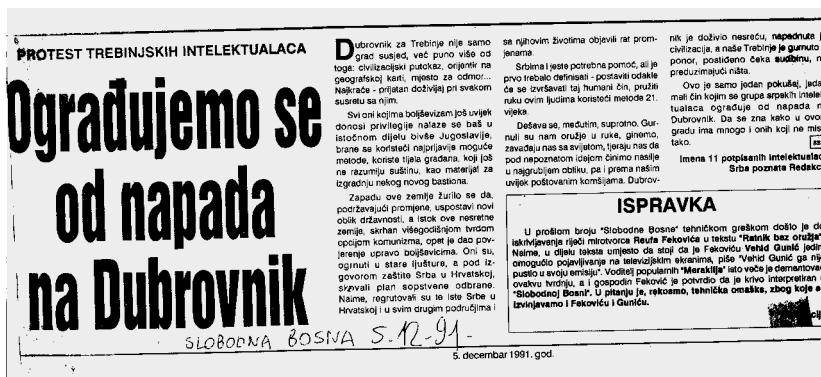
ter Carrington; members of the Yugoslav presidency, presidents of the individual republics and members of the SIV take part

- 11 September: Mihajlo Hrastov, a member of the Croatian special forces, is charged with killing 13 captured ethnic Serbs on the Korana Bridge in Karlovac according to the indictment of the Karlovac County Public Prosecutor's Office; further Serbian civilians and prisoners disappear and are killed before the end of the year in Gospić, Osijek, Sisak and Pakračka Poljana

■ in the autumn, the Zagreb Anarcho-Pacifist Organisation (ZAPO) starts up with various activities; *ARKzin* announces the re-establishment of the group in November 1994, under the new name Zagreb Anarchist Movement (ZAP)

- 5 October: a discussion with Greg Payton (Vietnam Veterans Against the War) is organised at the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb
- 20 October: the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb submits funding applications for several ARK projects for the first time (to the Open Society Foundation): the project "Human rights" was not approved, and of the publishing projects only the book *The war and human rights* and *ARKzin* were approved
- 13 November: in a conversation with Krunoslav Sukić and Katarina Kruhonja, the chair of the Army Housing Commission threatens to organise a mass meeting of 50,000 people against the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek if it continues to "interfere with his work"

- in December, the Women's Info Centre is founded in Zagreb



"We distance ourselves from the attack on Dubrovnik", *Slobodna Bosna*, 5 December 1992

- 14 September: Croatian forces begin blockades of JNA barracks

- 1 October: the JNA and Montenegrin reservists begin attacking Dubrovnik, which leads to the siege of the city

- 2 October: as part of its attack on Dubrovnik, the JNA burns the Herzegovinian village of Ravno and its predominantly Croat population is expelled

- 7 October: the JNA air force launches a rocket attack on Banski Dvori during a meeting of the Croatian President, Franjo Tuđman, the chair of the Yugoslav presidency, Stjepan Mesić, and the chair of the SIV, Ante Marković

- 8 October: after the expiry of the three-month moratorium, the Croatian parliament severs all constitutional ties with Yugoslavia

- 17 October: the JNA expels 4,500 inhabitants of Ilok and environs; the number of displaced people will grow to half a million by the end of the year, with 26% of Croatian territory occupied by Serbian forces

- 5 December: an initial group meets that will soon found two organisations vital for the development of the feminist peace movement in the 90s: the Centre for Women War Victims and the Zagreb Women's Lobby. The latter publishes the statement "Rape as a weapon"

- 10 December, International Human Rights Day: a protest is organised against mass rape in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina

- 10 December, International Human Rights Day: Amnesty International publishes "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" in *Slobodna Dalmacija* with the organisational and logistical support of ARK's human rights project

- 13 December: the Women's Lobby publishes the statement "Hit list of women" in response to a text in *Globus* on 11 December

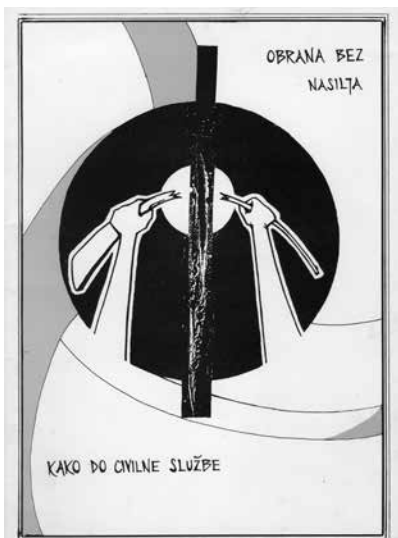
- 22 December: the Women's Lobby, the Autonomous Women's House Zagreb, the Independent League

of Women (Croatia), the Women's Info Centre, women from the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia and the Centre for Women War Victims publish the "Letter of intent" in connection with the mass rape of women in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is sent to the Croatian government as well as domestic and international media

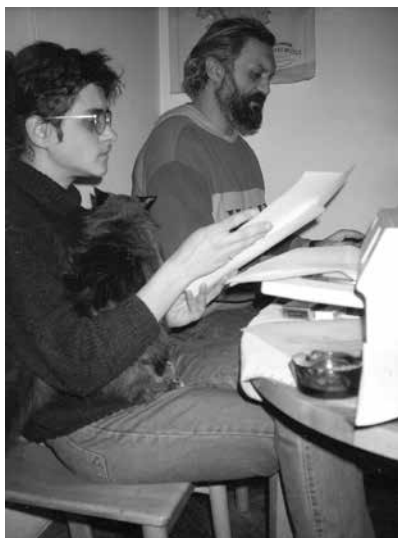
- in December, the first pamphlet about the right to conscientious objection and alternative civilian service in Croatia is published: *Defence without violence – paths to civilian service*

1993

- in January, ARK – the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb publishes *War and human rights in the region of the former Yugoslavia – Documents of Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch: from the multiparty democratic elections of 1990 to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Rat i ljudska prava na području bivše Jugoslavije – Dokumenti Amnesty Internationala i Helsinki Watcha:*



Booklet *Defence without violence – paths to civilian service*



Vesna Janković and Miroslav Ambroš Kiš working on the book *The war and human rights*



The war and human rights

- 21 October: members of the militia of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Serb paramilitary groups kill at least 56 civilians from Hrvatska Dubica and Cerovljani, and several days later they are buried by excavator in a mass grave, the second largest in Croatia during the War of Independence; another 20 civilians later went missing from the villages mentioned, and according to the information available were killed together with the other 56, but according to eyewitness accounts their bodies were thrown into the River Una; later over 20 Croatian civilians from the village of Baćin disappeared, and it is assumed they are buried in the surrounding forests

- 2 November: the Croatian parliament approves Franjo Tuđman's presidential decree concerning the media during a state of war or in the case of an immediate threat to the independence and territorial integrity of Croatia. The decree is criticised by international organisations, who consider it to seriously infringe the freedom on the media. There is no information about the decree having been applied

- 17–19 November: Croatian forces in besieged Vukovar end their three weeks of resistance to superior JNA forces, units of rebel Serbs and paramilitary groups from Serbia

- 18 November: the JNA and local Serb paramilitary groups massacre 84 people in Škabrnja and Nadin

- 20–21 November: Serbian forces abduct 255 wounded, hospital staff and civilians from Vukovar hospital and kill them at Ovčara

- 4 December: the Croatian parliament adopts the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Freedoms and the Rights of Ethnic and National Communities or Minorities in the Republic of Croatia as a precondition for international recognition

od višestranačkih demokratskih izbora 1990. do rata u Bosni i Hercegovini); the book mentions war crimes committed by the Croatian side during the war in Croatia in 1991; it is launched on 18 February in Zagreb and later presented on a tour of several Croatian cities by Vesna Janković, Ivan Zvonimir Čičak, Srđan Dvornik and Zoran Pusić, with the organisational assistance of Milan Medić

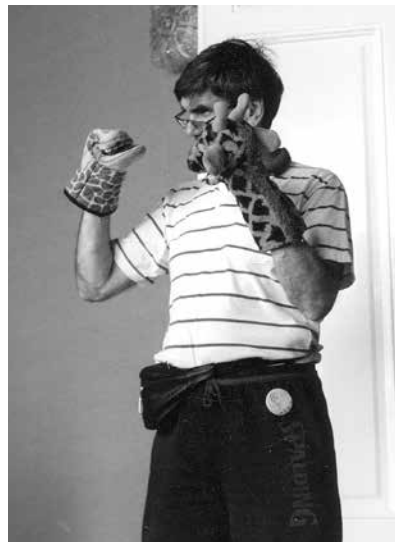
- 18 January: a letter was sent with the heading "The need for independence" and accompanied by a draft of the Articles of incorporation of the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb; another draft is dated 3 June; the Centre was never formally founded and officially registered
- 29 January: a meeting is held to discuss the identity of the group in Zagreb, and it is concluded that "the Centre will be founded and registered as the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb as the local branch of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia", and there will be a Zagreb Peace Group for "political" activity via appeals to the public

■ 7–9 February: Marshall Rosenberg holds a three-day workshop on non-violent communication skills, in which about thirty teachers, psychologists and social workers take part. In August, part of those involved take a five-day training course in Pécs, Hungary, together with a group from Belgrade. This is the first meeting of a sizeable number of people from Croatia and Serbia involved in education for non-violence

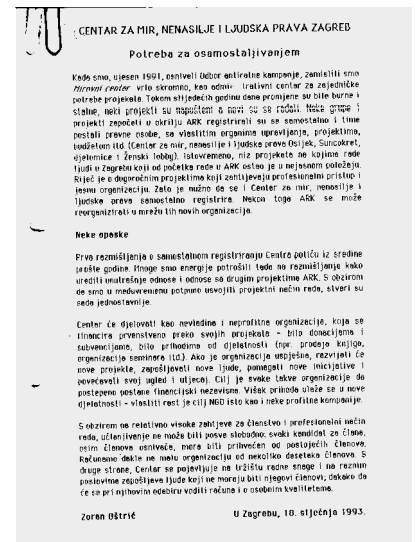
- 14 February: the first numbered *AWCC info* bulletin comes out; it publishes information collected at the YUGO.ANTIWAR electronic conference
- in March, Milena Bader organises a first meeting of the Amnesty International Initiative Zagreb
- 13–14 March: the Peace movement of Rijeka organises a "Women's solidarity meeting"
- 20 March: at the General Meeting of the Committee of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia the name is changed to the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia



"Laying charges for crimes in Ravno", 5 November 1991



Marshall Rosenberg at the workshop on non-violent communication skills



The letter "The need for independence", 18 January 1993

- 7 December: members of a special unit commanded by Tomislav Merčep kill three members of the Zec family in Zagreb. Although the killers admit to the crime, they are acquitted due to a procedural irregularity
- 11 December: 18 civilians are killed in Paulin Dvor to avenge the death of a Croatian soldier

1992

- 2 January: an unconditional ceasefire agreement between the JNA and Croatia is signed in Sarajevo
- 15 January: all EU countries internationally recognise Croatia and Slovenia
- 21 February: Resolution 743 of the UN Security Council establishes the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPA) in Croatia

- 29 February: an independence referendum is held in Bosnia-Herzegovina; 63.7% of voters turn out, of whom 99% are in favour of independence; members of the ethnic Serb population boycott the referendum
- 1–2 March: the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina rapidly deteriorates because of an attack on a Serb wedding party in Sarajevo, which the Serb Democratic Party uses as a pretext for an international conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina

■ in the spring, Mirjana Radaković, Veronika Rešković and Vanja Nikolić initiate the Group for the Direct Protection of Human Rights

■ 1 April: the first issue of the second series of *ARKzin*, the “Fanzine of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia”, is published. *ARKzin*’s concept and self-definition change over time: “Magazine of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia” (no. 10, February 1994), “Megazine of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia” (no. 12, April 1994), “Megazine for the politics and culture of civil society” (no. 28, 9 December 1994), “Metazine for the politics and culture of civil society” (no. 66, 7 June 1996) and “Memezine for the politics and culture of civil society” (no. 73, 13 September 1996). The publishers are defined as: The Antiwar Campaign of Croatia, 38 Tkalčićeva Street, Zagreb (nos 1–13), the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia, 23/I Republike Austrije Street, Zagreb (nos 14–24) and *ARKzin* d.o.o., 23/I Republike Austrije Street (nos 25–93). Initially it comes out as a monthly, and from issue 13 onwards as a fortnightly. There are several double issues: 19/20 (5 August 1994), 70/71 (2 August 1996) and 80/81 (20 December 1996). Together with the be-

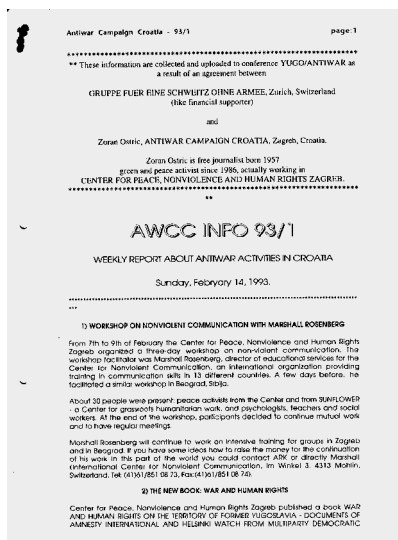
ginning of the second series, a summarised international edition begins to appear in English. The last such edition is issue no. 9 (January 1994). From 1993–97, a number of *ARKzin* special issues come out dedicated to human rights, LGBT rights, media freedom, critical theory, cyber theory, comics and SF

- 18 May: the Ministry of Justice and Administration approves registration of the new name “Antiwar Campaign of Croatia”, with the new official address: 38 Tkalcíćeva Street in Zagreb

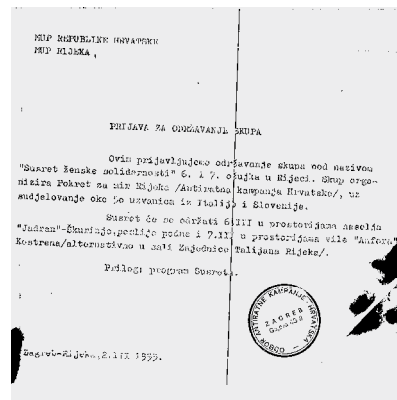
■ 26 May: an ad hoc coalition of women's groups publish an advertisement in the daily newspapers titled "Croatian women, let us protect our vested rights!" calling on people to sign a petition to the Croatian government and the Croatian parliament for safe and legal abortion on 27 May in several cities (Zagreb, Split, Poreč and Pula); this is in reaction to new draft legislation, the "Artificial pregnancy termination law"; the ad was signed by 22 women's organisation from Croatia, including the women of the Antiwar Campaign



"Suspects in the murder of the Zec family arrested". *Iljiesnik*. 17 December 1991



AWCC info no. 93/1



Letter to register the "Women's solidarity meeting", 2 March 1993

■ 1-3 April: Serb paramilitary forces enter Bijeljina and massacre 43 civilians

■ **5 April:** peace demonstrations in Sarajevo, which is practically now surrounded by Serb forces; the siege of Sarajevo will last until November 1995

In April, extremists from the ranks of the Bosnian Serbs, assisted by special units from Serbia (Arkan's Tigers) begin the persecution of Bosniaks in eastern Bosnia and later in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The "ethnic cleansing" begins with large-scale massacres, torture and rape.

pe and results in the expulsion of the Bosniak population. 1,760 people are killed and around 14,000 expelled in Višegrad, 2,805 people are killed or disappear in Foča, and around 5,000 in Prijedor and the surrounding area

In April, the mass rape of women in Višegrad, Zvornik, Foča, Prijedor and environs causes a range of reactions. Nationalistically oriented Croatian media demonise the Serbs and present their raping as an attempt to destroy ethnic purity. Non-nationalist feminists from Croatia point out that mass rape is used as a weapon in most wars

In May, the Bosnian Serb army begins operating concentration camps in Omarska, Keraterm, Trnopolje and Manjača; the camps are used to torture Bosniak and Croat prisoners through killings, rape, torture and starvation; the discovery of the camps' existence shocks the international community, and mounting pressure forces them to close by the end of '92.

- **30 May:** the UN Security Council passes Resolution 757, which imposes economic, cultural and sporting sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia because of its responsibility for the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina

- 14–26 June: a representative of ARK and representatives of women's groups linked to ARK take part in the UN Human Rights Conference in Vienna
- from the end of June, the Amnesty International Initiative Zagreb begins to organise weekly meetings and public events in Zagreb
- 1 July: after several months of preparations, the Volunteer Centre Pakrac begins operation as an international project of community renewal in Western Slavonia. The project crosses to "the other side" in the spring of 1994, and 400–500 volunteers (according to different sources) take part in the project from July 1993 to February 1997
- at ARKzin's public meeting "The Destruction of Bosnia" the same day, the HDZ politician Drago Krpina threatened Zoran Oštrić that he "ought to be mobilised, sent to the front, and shot in the back of the head as soon as he turned his back"
- 4 July: a first group of 14 volunteers from 7 countries arrives in Pakrac
- 13 July: the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek organises the roundtable discussion "The role of NGOs in working to protect human rights and freedoms" in Osijek; the participants send an open letter to the Croatian government and the Croatian parliament because human rights violations
- 16 July: MiZaMir succeeds in securing 147 residence permits in one day – a record for any group in the Netherlands
- in the course of 1993, but also later, the Group for the Direct Protection of Human Rights attempts multiple times to hinder evictions by sitting in front of and inside the flats whose tenants are to be evicted; the group also deals with other instances of human rights violations
- 15 October: the pilot issue of *ARKinfo* comes out. Similar reports and news bulletins predated it, with the first such edition published on 28 July 1992. The first info after that was "Overview of the activities of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia network for March–



UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and UN Protected Areas (UNPA) established, 21 February 1992



ARKzin no. 1, 1993



ARKinfo pilot issue, 1993

- 2 August: simultaneous parliamentary and presidential elections are held in Croatia; convincing victories for the HDZ and Franjo Tuđman
- 6 October: Serb forces take Bosanski Brod and end Operation Corridor
- 19 October: after a Croatian offensive, the JNA reaches an agreement with the Croatian Army and withdraws from Konavle, thus ending the siege of Dubrovnik; the question of the Prevlaka Peninsula is resolved subsequently
- 20 October: beginning of the Croatian-Bosniak War
- 30 October: Serbian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina occupy Jajce, exacerbating the refugee crisis in Croatia; over 700,000 refugees and displaced people are in the country
- 11 December: the weekly *Globus* publishes the article "Croatian feminists rape Croatia", which marks the beginning of a persecution of feminists and female intellectuals in parts of public life; Dubravka Ugrešić, Jelena Lovrić, Rada Iveković, Slavenka Drakulić and Vesna Kesić, who oppose the demonisation of Serbs as the sole perpetrators of rape and other war crimes, are among those affected

1993

- 22–24 January: the Croatian Army and Ministry of the Interior launch Operation Maslenica in the Zadar hinterland
- 31 March: establishment of the Croatian Helsinki Committee, an NGO that gathers evidence and offers assistance when people are discriminated against and their human rights violated by state mechanisms; those affected are mostly ethnic Serbs

-November 1995", and also for the period November 1995–July 1996, which can be treated as no. 1; the first numbered *ARKinfo* (no. 2) comes out in August/September 1996 as the "fanzine of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia". The last *ARKinfo* (no. 10) appears in the summer of 1999

■ 28 October–2 November: the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb organises a first official visit of students and lecturers from the European University Centre for Peace Studies in Stadtschlainingen (Austria)

■ 2 November: the "Draft programme of work of the OARK Poreč" is signed

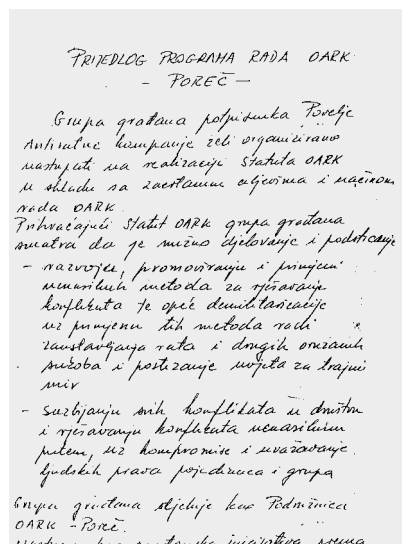
■ 6–7 November: the General Meeting of the Antiwar Campaign is held in the House of the Red Cross

■ 8 December: the staff of ARK's Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Zagreb announces the establishment of the Centre for the Direct Protection of Human Rights

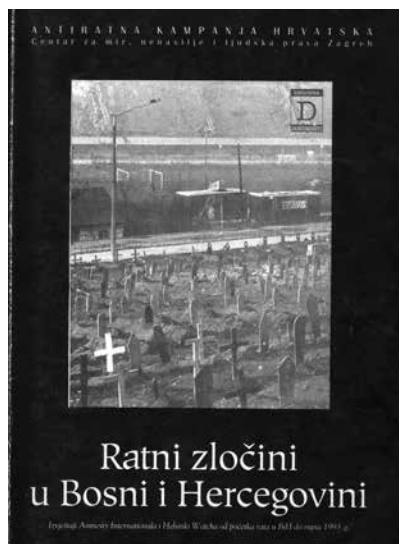
■ 10 December, International Human Rights Day: ARK organises a day of events. 1. The Initiative for a centre for the direct protection of human rights organised a public discussion on the topic "Croatia and human rights" in cooperation with KIC and the Civil Committee for Human Rights; a public signing of a petition for more effective protection of human rights was also held on Flower Square; 2. The Initiative for founding the Magna Carta Centre for the Advancement of Human Rights launched the book *War crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina – reports of Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch from the beginning of the war until September 1993* in the European House Zagreb; after the launch Ademir Kenović's film *Sarajevo: Ground Zero* was shown; 3. ARKzin launched its new issue at the club Gjuro II

1994

■ A Small Step presents the book *Let's be Friends. Manual for non-violence and cooperation*, which arose out of the collaboration of Maja Uzelac, Karmen Ratković,



Draft programme of the ARK committee in Poreč, 2 November 1993



The book *War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina*



The booklet *Over the Walls of Nationalism and War*

■ 16 April: units of the HVO kill 117 Bosniaks in the Bosnian village of Ahmići, which along with the conflict in Mostar is one of the focal points of the Croatian-Bosniak War in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the ethnic Croatian population moves or is expelled from Travnik, Bugojno, Vareš, Konjic and Jablanica

■ 7 May: the UN Security Council declares Sarajevo, Tuzla, Žepa, Srebrenica, Goražde and Bihać safe areas

■ 25 May: the UN Security Council passes Resolution 827 to establish ICTY

■ in June, Feral Tribune becomes an independent weekly that reports on Croatian war crimes and the corruption of the new ruling class, encourages interethnic tolerance and critiques the profascist tendencies in the post-Yugoslav region

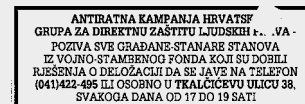
■ 9–17 September: members of the HV and special forces of the Ministry of the Interior carry out Operation Pocket near Gospić, in the area called the Medak Pocket; during

the Operation they excessively shell the area, causing considerable human and material losses, and from 15 September, in the course of a ceasefire, they brutally abused, killed and mutilated 22 civilians and 2 soldiers, while 2 more civilians were badly injured and 6 POWs maltreated; homes and farm buildings in the surrounding villages are destroyed

■ 5 October: UN Security Council Resolution 871 confirms that the UNPA zones are a constituent part of Croatia but does not lay down a mechanism for their reintegration

- 1 April: the founding meeting of the association B.a.B.e. (Be active, be emancipated), the first organisation to deal with women's human rights

■ 27–29 June: a meeting of organisations for the protection and advancement of human rights in Croatia is held in Split; it sets up the Coordination of Human Rights Protection Groups; participants in the meeting are from the Dalmatian Solidarity Committee, the Dalmatian Committee for Human Rights, the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek, ARK's Group for the Direct Protection of Human Ri-



- 11 July: Bosnian-Serb forces supported by FRY overrun the UN safe area of Srebrenica, after which they commit a genocide against the Bosniaks, killing 7.800 men

- 17–20 March: a gathering of Zagreb and Belgrade feminists is held in Medulin, Istria, so that female activists and feminists exchange experience and engage in women's political dialogue
- 31 March–2 April: the General Meeting of ARK is held; after a long discussion it is decided to try and create a network of individuals, initiatives, projects and organisations; the network is joined by A Small Step, Conscientious Objection, ZaMir Zagreb, the Centre for the Direct Protection of Human Rights, the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek, the Centre for Peace and Non-Violence in Karlovac, the Centre for Women War Victims, the Magna Carta Centre for the Advancement of Human Rights, the Zagreb Women's Lobby, the Volunteer Project Pakrac, the Civil Committee Poreč, Roza Roje as an individual, HO-MO – Association for the protection of human rights and civil freedoms, Pula; Vesna Teršelić is appointed coordinator of the network for a term of six months
- 15 May: immediately after the army and police Operation Flash, the Coordination of Human Rights Protection Organisations opens the Office for Human Rights in Pakrac and monitors the situation on the ground
- 24–30 June: the international "Week of peace culture" is organised by the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek
- in the autumn, the first issue of *KROKI* is published, the bulletin of the Group for the direct protection of human rights
- 4–15 September: representatives of regional feminist groups take part in the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, with their participation organised by B.a.B.e. and the Centre for Women War Victims; the conference adopts the "Women's Rights are Human Rights" agenda
- 23–27 October: a first MIRamiDA training course on building peace is held in Pakrac – a first in the post-Yugoslav countries; according to the preliminary document, "MIRamiDA is a programme of the Info & Training Centre NGO in Pakrac, which is being trans-



KROKI no. 1, 1995



Ueronika Rešković, Vesna Teršelić and Uanja Nikolić, International Human Rights Day 1995

- 29 October: parliamentary elections are held in Croatia and the HDZ is victorious, whereas local elections in Zagreb are won by the opposition, which president Franjo Tuđman refuses to acknowledge
- 31 October: a concert is held at the Kuglana club in Samobor with the bands Deafness by Noise, Dik'o'braz, Nula, Wasserdicht and Beermacht; the concert is dispersed by special police ("Alfas"), and several dozen mainly underage visitors are brutally beaten up
- 12 November: the Croatian authorities and local Serbs sign the Erdut Agreement, which ensures the peaceful reintegration of the occupied areas of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium into the constitutional framework of Croatia
- 21 November: a peace agreement is reached in Dayton (USA), ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the peace agreement defines the constitutional form of the future state, and the territory is divided 51:49%, with the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina receiving marginally more than Republika Srpska; the agreement is signed in Paris on 14 December, and the UN sanctions against FRY are revoked on 23 November

formed into the Centre for Peace Studies". The Info Centre Pakrac moves to Zagreb in early 1997

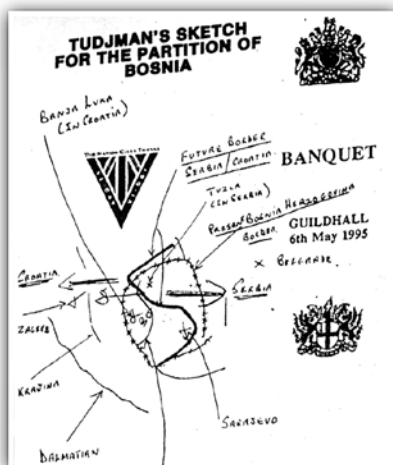
- 27 October: an ad hoc coalition of women's (and related) non-governmental and non-party groups for monitoring the elections in 1995 publishes an advertisement in the dailies titled "Women's electoral platform", signed by the Autonomous Women's House Zagreb, Arijadna Rijeka, women of the Antiwar Campaign, the group for women's human rights B.a.B.e., the Centre for Women War Victims and the Shelter Rosa, the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek, the Centre for Women's Human Rights of the Dalmatian Solidarity Committee, the Open Door Workshop in Split, the Women's Peace Workshop in Rijeka, the Lošinj Women's Group, the Split Women's Group and the Women's Info Centre in Zagreb
- 9–11 November: a first workshop on education for human rights is held for teachers and other human rights groups; it is organised by the Magna Carta Centre for the Advancement of Human Rights with the help of Amnesty International Croatia in cooperati-

on with the Croatian Helsinki Committee, the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek, the International Secretariat of Amnesty International (Nick Wilson Young) and Amnesty International USA (Nancy Flowers)

- 10–12 November: the General Meeting of ARK is held in Osijek and the charter supplemented
- 10 December, International Human Rights Day: the Magna Carta Centre for the Advancement of Human Rights opens the Human Rights Library for the public

1996

- 9 March: the Coordination of Peace Organisations for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium is founded in Mohács, Hungary. It consists of 14 organisations: the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek, the Association for Peace and Tolerance in Bačka Palanka, the Sombor Peace Group, Group 484 in Belgrade, the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia, A



Tudman carves up Bosnia-Herzegovina, serviette



"Arkzin cleans up Croatia" posters

1996

- in February, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) undertakes first armed operations against the police and federal bodies in Kosovo, ending the Kosovars' phase of peaceful resistance to the regime of Slobodan Milošević and his segregationist policies based on terrorising the local population
- 21 May: the demilitarisation of Eastern Slavonia begins as part of the Erdut Agreement
- 14 June: the trial of Feral Tribune journalists Marinko Čulić and Viktor Ivančić begins in connection with their criticism of President Tudman's intention to move the bones of Usta-shi and Home Guards executed at the end of WWII to the common grave of victims of the Jasenovac Concentration Camp
- 1 July: transitional police forces are established in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium
- 23 August: the foreign ministers of Croatia and the FRY, Mate Granić and Milan Milutinović, meet in Belgrade and sign the Agreement on Normalisation of Relations
- 14 September: the first post-war elections held in Bosnia-Herzegovina are marked by the overwhelming victory of the respective nationalist parties
- 16 October: after multiple postponements, Croatia becomes a member of the Council of Europe after accepting 21 conditions

Small Step – Centre for the Culture of Peace and Non-violence, MIRamiDA, Association for Human Rights, Peace and Non-violence in Daruvar, the Dalmatian Solidarity Committee, Civic Committee for Human Rights in Poreč, HOMO Pula, the Volunteer Project Pakrac and the Committee for Human Rights in Pakrac

- 2 May: a discussion is held with Alfredo Zamudio from the Human Rights House in Norway about the opening of the House of Human Rights in Croatia

- 15 May: the ARK office moves from Tkalčićeva Street to 55/A Gajeva Street after a transitional period in 6/III Đorđićeva Street

- 1–7 July: a week of events is held to mark the 5th anniversary of ARK, within which Ognjen Tus holds the workshop “I network, therefore I am” on 6 July – about the right to timely and direct information and the contribution of electronic communication

- 3 July: the public meeting “The Destruction of Bosnia, part two” is held

■ 4 July: articles of incorporation are adopted that name a list of members who do not have to go through the procedure of joining (the Youth Action Group in Osijek, B.a.B.e. in Zagreb, the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek, the Centre for Peace and Non-Violence in Karlovac, the Centre for Peace Studies in Pakrac, the Centre for Women War Victims in Zagreb, the Dalmatian Solidarity Committee in Split, the Civil Committee in Poreč, the Group for the Direct Protection of Human Rights in Zagreb, HOMO in Pula, the Humanitarian peacemaking movement Rijeka Suncokret, A Small Step – Centre for the Culture of Peace and Non-violence in Zagreb, Peace and Good in Županja, the Association for Human Rights, Peace and Non-violence in Daruvar, Unija 47 (conscientious objectors, Zagreb), the Volunteer Project Pakrac, the Electronic Network ZaMir in Zagreb and the Zagreb Anarchist Movement), and its bodies are: the General Meeting, the Committee of the Network, the Committee for Public Relations, the Coordinator of the Network and the Office of the Network

KALENDAR DOGAĐANJA	
1. srpnja 1996. ponedjeljak	
16.00 - 19.00 Gajeva 55	panel diskusija: UTJECAJ FINANCIJERA NA RAD NEVLADINIH ORGANIZACIJA voditeljica: Rada Borčić
20.00 Gajeva 55	SVEČANO OTVORENJE DANA ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE / izložba o radu ARKH i veselica /
2. srpnja 1996. utorak	
16.00 - 19.00 Gajeva 55	radionica: SVI NAŠI IDENTITETI U RATU I MIRU voditeljica: Biljana Kašić
3. srpnja 1996. srijeda	
10.00 - 18.00 Gajeva 55	SKUPŠTINA ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE - HRVATSKA
20.00 - 22.00 Novinarski dom, Perkovčeva	tribina: RAZVALJIVANJE BOSNE - II DIO (tribina s tim nazivom održana u jesen 1993 u organizaciji ARKina) gosti: Duška Anđrić-Ruzičić, Zenica Miki Podumliak, Sarajevo

Programme of events for the 5th anniversary of ARK

UMREŽEN SAM - DAKLE POSTOJIM ?	
planja za razgovor u subotu 6.7.1996 u 10 sati ARK Gajeva 55	
Što je to Wam Kat ?	
Gdje je Erik ?	
Jeste li vi Soros ?	
Vi niste INTERNET ? / (Vi ste protiv njega ?)	
slikom na pismo	
Može li to netko čitati ? (tko to kontrolira ?)	
PGP, arj...	
još pitanja	
Gradim osobnu domovinu (elektronsko pismo)	
Notbook vs. mobitel	
Pačina, čipka, mreža,	
"INTERNET ili propast" = (gledaj globalno čitaj nikako)	
Još jedna bajka (Pakao, pino '93)	
Z@Mir	

Invitation to Ognjen Tus's workshop "I network, therefore I am"

novosti

ZAGREB: PREDSTAVNICI GRADANSKIH INICIJATIVA IZ BIH NA TRIBINI ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE HRVATSKE

BOSNE VIŠE - NEMA!

Bosne proklično više nema, razvalio ju je međunarodna zajednica uz pomoć Srbije i Hrvatske, ali i Alija Izetbegović koji je pokušao shvatiti muslimansku filozofiju država, kazao je Veliđ Šehić u ime Foruma građana Tuze — Najveći apsurd: SDA je bogatiji od države BiH

Novi zagrebački parlament odnosi se na predložak Bosne. Izetbegović je rekao da Bosna i Hercegovina nije država, već zajednica naroda. On je rekao da Bosna i Hercegovina nije država, već zajednica naroda. On je rekao da Bosna i Hercegovina nije država, već zajednica naroda.

Šehić je rekao da Bosna i Hercegovina nije država, već zajednica naroda. On je rekao da Bosna i Hercegovina nije država, već zajednica naroda. On je rekao da Bosna i Hercegovina nije država, već zajednica naroda.

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"Bosnia is - no longer", *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 5 July 1996

- in November, protests by students and civil society against the Milošević regime begin throughout Serbia and last until February of the following year

- 20 November: the Croatian Telecommunications Council revokes the licence of Radio 101; protests begin on Flower Square and culminate on Ban Jelačić Square the next day; the demonstrations are partly directed against the government and send messages against corruption and the authoritarian nature of the

Tudman regime; when Tudman returns from medical treatment in the USA, he vilifies the protest organisers as "venal hirelings"; signing soon begins of a petition for immediate amendments to the Law on Telecommunications and a new tender for all licences, and on 7 December a petition for freedom of the media is also launched

1997

- 15 June: the HDZ candidate Franjo Tuđman wins the first round of presidential elections
- 6 October: ten Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina, headed by Darijo Kordić, travel to The Hague to be tried for war crimes committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina; they only leave after repeated outcry from the international community and pressure on the Republic of Croatia

■ 6–8 September: a meeting of women's and peace groups is held in Poreč and they set up the Women's Network of Croatia

■ 25–28 October: the International Women's Forum "Women and the Politics of Peace" is held in Zagreb, organised by the Centre for Women Studies

■ 28 October: the first of a series of roundtable discussions "Eastern and Western Slavonia – the challenges of normalisation" is held in Darda, near Osijek, organised by the Coordination of Peace Organisations for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium and ARK

approval to oversee the local elections in the UNTAES area on 13 April and the presidential elections

■ 8 March, International Women's Day: a number of feminist activists from a range of women's groups found the Centre for Education, Counselling and Research, also termed the Centre for Education and Counselling of Women (CESI)

■ 1 April: the International Peace Bureau nominates ARK's coordinator, Vesna Teršelič, for the Nobel Peace Prize; Selim Bešliagić (the former mayor of Tuzla) and Vesna Pešić (Civil Alliance of Serbia) are nominated together with her

■ 4–6 April: the General Meeting of ARK is held in Poreč; its role in the process of articulating peace politics in the post-war period is a central issue

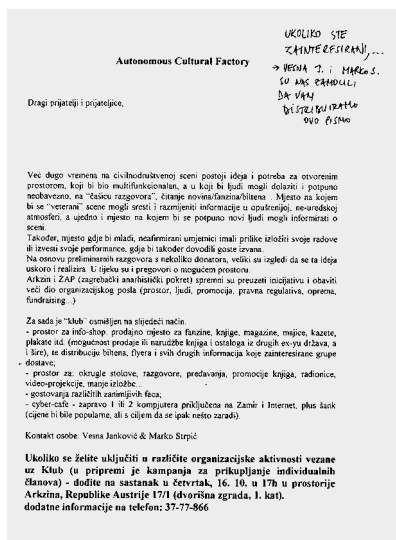
■ in May, the Centre for Peace Studies is registered after having been founded at a meeting on the island of Rab in September 1996

1997

■ in February, the Coordination of Human Rights Protection Organisations in Croatia resumes its work at a meeting in Osijek after a year's interruption. The most important joint activity of 1997 is the initiative GONG (Citizens organise to oversee elections), which gains



ARKzin no. 1, 1997



Letter of intent to establish the Autonomous Culture Factory ATTACK, 18 September 1997



International Day Against Fascism and Antisemitism

■ 11 November: the Zagreb-Belgrade railway line reopens for passenger and freight traffic

1998

■ 15 January: the UNTAES mandate ends and Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium are fully returned to Croatian control

■ 6 March: the KLA commander Adem Jashari is killed in the Kosovo village of Prekaz in an operation of the Yu-

goslav Army and police, in and after which 56 members of his family were killed, including 18 women and 10 children; open war broke out between the KLA and the Army of the FRY on the one hand, and the Serbian police on the other

■ 18 June: the Ustashi war criminal Dinko Šakić is extradited to Croatia; a trial lasting several months ensues, after which he is sentenced to 20 years' jail

■ in September, the bank clerk Anika Lepej reveals that President Tuđman's wife kept over 100,000 US dollars of undeclared family funds in a bank account

■ 17 October: Lejla Šehović from Dubrovnik is stripped of her title of Miss Croatia because she is of Bosniak origin, but is returned to her after public pressure

■ in August, the first issue of the third series of *ARKzin*, the “political pop. mega.zine”, appears; 7 issues are published in total. June 1999 sees the publication of *Transfer*, the “mega.zine in transition – special edition of the political pop.mega.zine *ARKzin*”

■ 18 September: implementation of the idea of an Autonomous Culture Factory ATTACK begins with a “letter of intent” to various groups to ask for financial support

■ 15 October: a pilot programme of the Centre for Peace Studies begins – a one-year peace education programme

■ 9 November: the Group for the Direct Protection of Human Rights celebrates the International Day Against Fascism and Antisemitism

■ 6 December: the General Meeting of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia adopts new articles of incorporation; ARK is a member of two international federati-

ons (War Resisters’ International and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation)

■ in December, the first issue of *Bastard* magazine is published

■ 27 December: the founding meeting of the Volunteer Centre Zagreb

1998

■ at the beginning of the year, the Group for the Direct Protection of Human Rights turns into an independent civic organisation: the Centre for the direct protection of human rights

■ 14 March: in Zagreb Autonomous Culture Factory ATTACK organises the first “Critical mass” demonstration

■ 19–24 September: the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters’ International and the Antiwar Campa-



“Critical mass” demonstration



Bastard no. 1, 1998

1999

■ in February, a coalition of non-governmental organisations forms in the campaign Vote 99, whose aim is to inspire citizens to vote at the forthcoming parliamentary elections

■ 24 March: NATO begins its bombardment of targets in the FRY in order to prevent Serbs’ ethnic cleansing of Kosovo after the failure of the Rambouillet negotiations and Serbia’s refusal to sign the proposed peace treaty with the Kosovars, according to which international military forces would be deployed in Kosovo

■ 9 May: the organiser of a protest rally for restoring the name of the Square of the Victims of Fascism, Zoran Pusić, is beaten up and the assembled antifascists are sprayed with teargas. The police arrest one of the antifascist protesters instead of the assailant

■ 9 June: the Kumanovo Agreement is signed, thus ending the NATO intervention against the FRY in Kosovo; it is agreed that the army of the FRY be withdrawn from Kosovo and international forces be deployed (KFOR)

■ 2 July: Croatia brings charges against the FRY before the International Court of Justice in The Hague, accusing it of committing genocide during the war in Croatia

■ 10 December: president Franjo Tuđman dies in Zagreb after illness

ign is held in Poreč under the slogan "Choosing peace together"

simists, Stride into Tomorrow, the Zagreb Anarchist Movement and No to Violence

■ 2–3 October: the General Meeting of the Antiwar Campaign is held and new articles of incorporation are adopted in accord with the new Law on Associations; ARK is defined as a league of non-profit and non-governmental associations; its bodies are the General Meeting, the Chair (Coordinator) and the Office of ARK

■ 1 December: the Ministry of Administration approves the registration of the league of associations of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia, official address 55/A Gajeva Street in Zagreb, in the Registry of Associations; authorised person: Natalie Šipak, president

■ 9 December: Vesna Teršelič and Katarina Kruhonja are honoured with the Right Livelihood Award, the alternative Nobel prize for peace, in Stockholm

■ ARK's office is used in the course of the year by Unija 47, CESI, ZaMir, the Volunteer Centre, the PostPes-

1999

■ 20–21 February: an initiative is launched on the eve of an ARK meeting in Split to organise roundtable discussions on economic renewal of the war-affected areas

■ 17 March: the founding meeting of the reconstituted group Unija 47

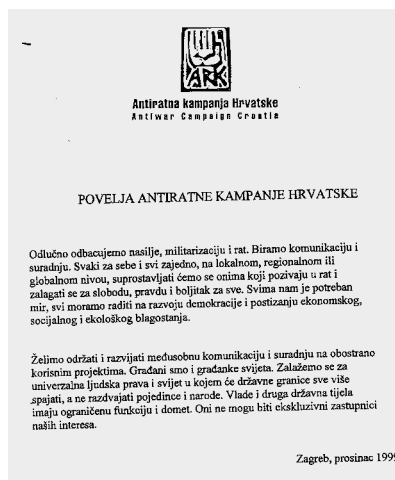
■ 28 and 29 May: the General Meeting of ARK is held (14 member associations of the network submit reports and Altruist is accepted into the network)

■ in May, a working group is set up to produce a draft proposal for the Law on Civilian Service

■ 11 December: the General Meeting of ARK is held, and the question "What is ARK's purpose?" posed; the ARK



"Alternative Nobel peace prize for K. Kruhonja and U. Teršelič", *Novi list*, 11 December 1998



The amended ARK Charter, 11 December 1999



Zoran Pusić

2000

■ 3 January: the coalitions of SDP-HSLS and four smaller parties defeat the HDZ in the parliamentary elections; Ivica Račan becomes prime minister

■ 7 February: Stjepan Mesić (HNS) is elected president

■ 24 September: Slobodan Milošević loses power at presidential elections in Serbia; his non-recognition of the results leads to massive protests on 5 October

2001

28 June: Slobodan Milošević is extradited to ICTY

Financial Reorganisation Committee is established and after the General Meeting the new charter is adopted

2000

- 11 May: a letter to the authorities mentions that the “transformation of the ARK office into a volunteer organisation is almost completed”

2001

- 19 February: the initiative “My voice for a legal state” organises the public meeting “One hour for a legal state” in Zagreb in reply to the mass protests against the trial of the Croats accused of war crimes (Mirko Norac and others)



Death of Franjo Tuđman

2003

- 15 February: antiwar rallies are held in various cities; the Zagreb organiser is the civic initiative “Enough of war!”

2005

- 29 June: the names of 1,000 women nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize are published, among them six women from Croatia

2006

- 12 April: the Centre for Peace Studies organises the roundtable discussion “The legacy of ARK 1991-2005: Preserving and presenting the tangible and intangible traces of the work of the largest peace network in Croatia” in the National and University Library in Zagreb
- 8 July: the last general meeting of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia

Svima povezanim s ARK-om

Poziv na skupštinu Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske

U Zagrebu, 3. srpnja 2006

Dragi i drage,

Pozivamo Vas na Skupštinu ARKa koja će se održati u subotu 8. srpnja. 2006 u 10.30 u Centru za žene žrtve rata, Kralja Držislava 2/1 kat, u Zagrebu.

Prijedlog dnevnog reda:

1. Pozdravi, očekivanja
2. Dogovor o dnevnom redu
3. Argumenti za i protiv raspuštanja ARKa
4. Odluka o budućnosti ARKa
5. Prijedlog postupanja s dokumentacijom ARKa
6. Razno

Hvala svima što su se javili na poziv. Do sada su dolazak potvrdili:

Aida Bagić, ARK, Branka Kovač, Klub žena Pakrac, ARK, Danijela Babić, Zamir, ARK, Gordan Bosanac, Centar za mirovne studije, ARK, Marina Škrabalo, CMS, ARK, Mirjana Bilopavlović, Delfin, ARK, Natalie Šipak, ARK, Nela Pamuković, Centar za žene žrtve rata, ARK, Sanda Malbaša, CESI, ARK, Vesna Teršelić, Documenta, ARK

Posebno hvala Centru za žene žrtve rata na gostoprimstvu.

Podsjećamo Vas da se u kontekstu razgovora o ostavštini ARKa (okrugli stol održan 12. travnja te sastanak 2. svibnja 2006.) postavilo se pitanje koja organizacija i koje zainteresirane osobe mogu sakupiti dokumentaciju rasutu u nekoliko organizacija i privatnih stanova, kuća, garaža...

Primarna odgovornost za zbrinjavanje bi (bar teoretski) mogla biti na ARKu. ARK je još uvijek pravna osoba, uvedena u Registar udruga. Doduše nema ured ali ima (skoro prazne) račune i odgovornu osobu, koordinatoricu Natalie Šipak, koja više ne može i ne želi biti odgovorna za funkcioniranje virtualne institucije koja povremeno funkcionira, kojoj se ljudi još uvijek obraćaju u vezi prigovora savjesti, koja povremeno traži podršku za svoj rad na prigovoru savjesti. Pošto ne vidimo osobu koja bi bila zainteresirana preuzeti odgovornost za organizaciju predlažemo da se razmotri odluka o raspuštanju ARKa.

Zato sazivamo skupštinu na kojoj bi željele razmotriti argumente za i protiv zaključivanja pravne osobnosti ARKa.

Lijep pozdrav

Aida Bagić
Natalie Šipak
Vesna Teršelić

Invitation to the General Meeting of the Antiwar Campaign of Croatia, 3 July 2006



crijevo

ušterača

Desna materica

Desni jajnik

Desni bubreg

Pravo crijevo

Mokraćne bešike

Zadnji udovi

Lijeva materica

Lijevi
jajovod

Zeludac



Stina žlijezda

Račvasti jezik

Nosni otvori

Zubi nepca

Dušnik

Arterijska jabučica

Oko

Prozračni
očni kapak

Bubna
opna

Prednji
udovi

Desna
pretkomora

adebljanja
globova

Lijeva
pretkomora

no
čno krilo

Komora

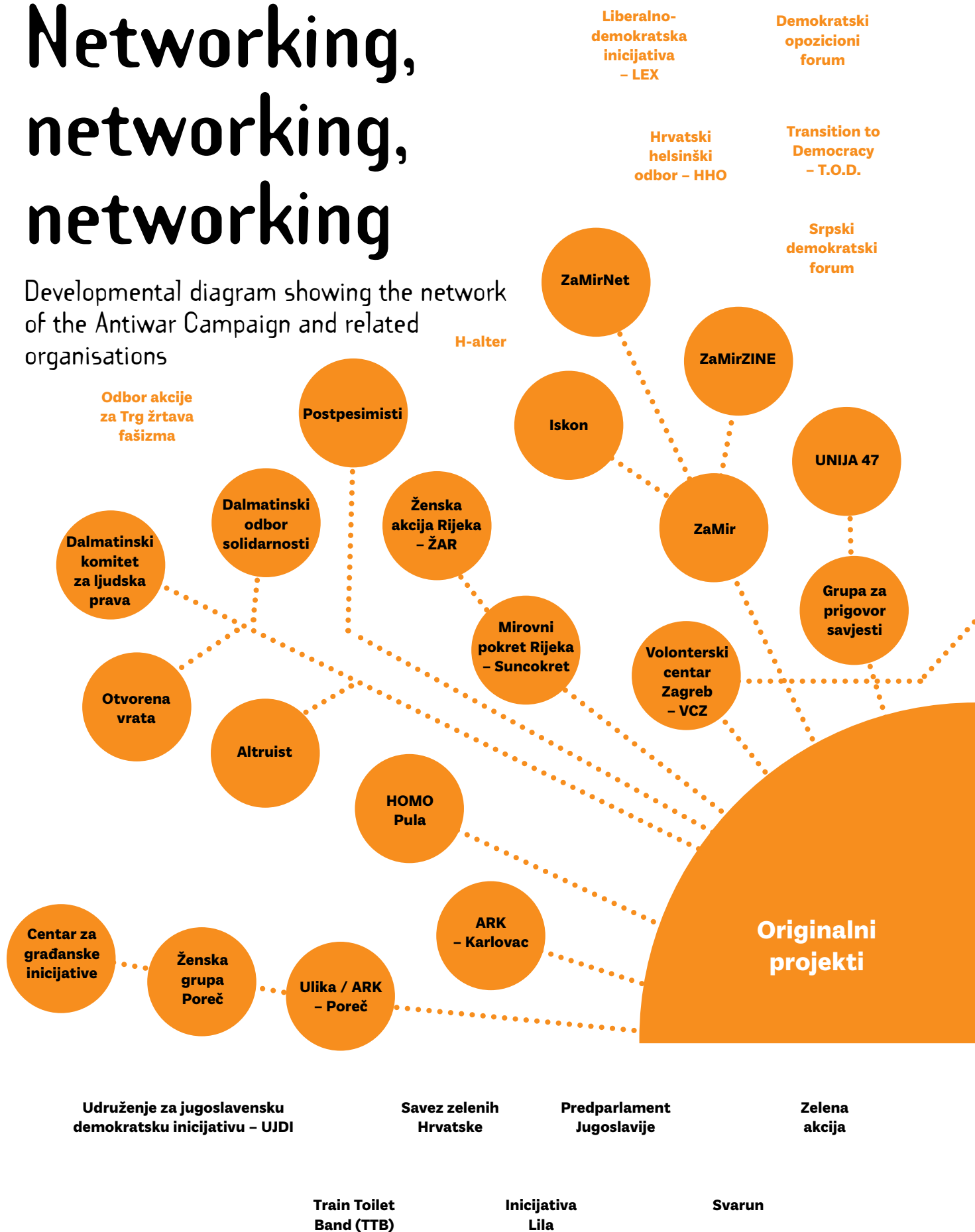
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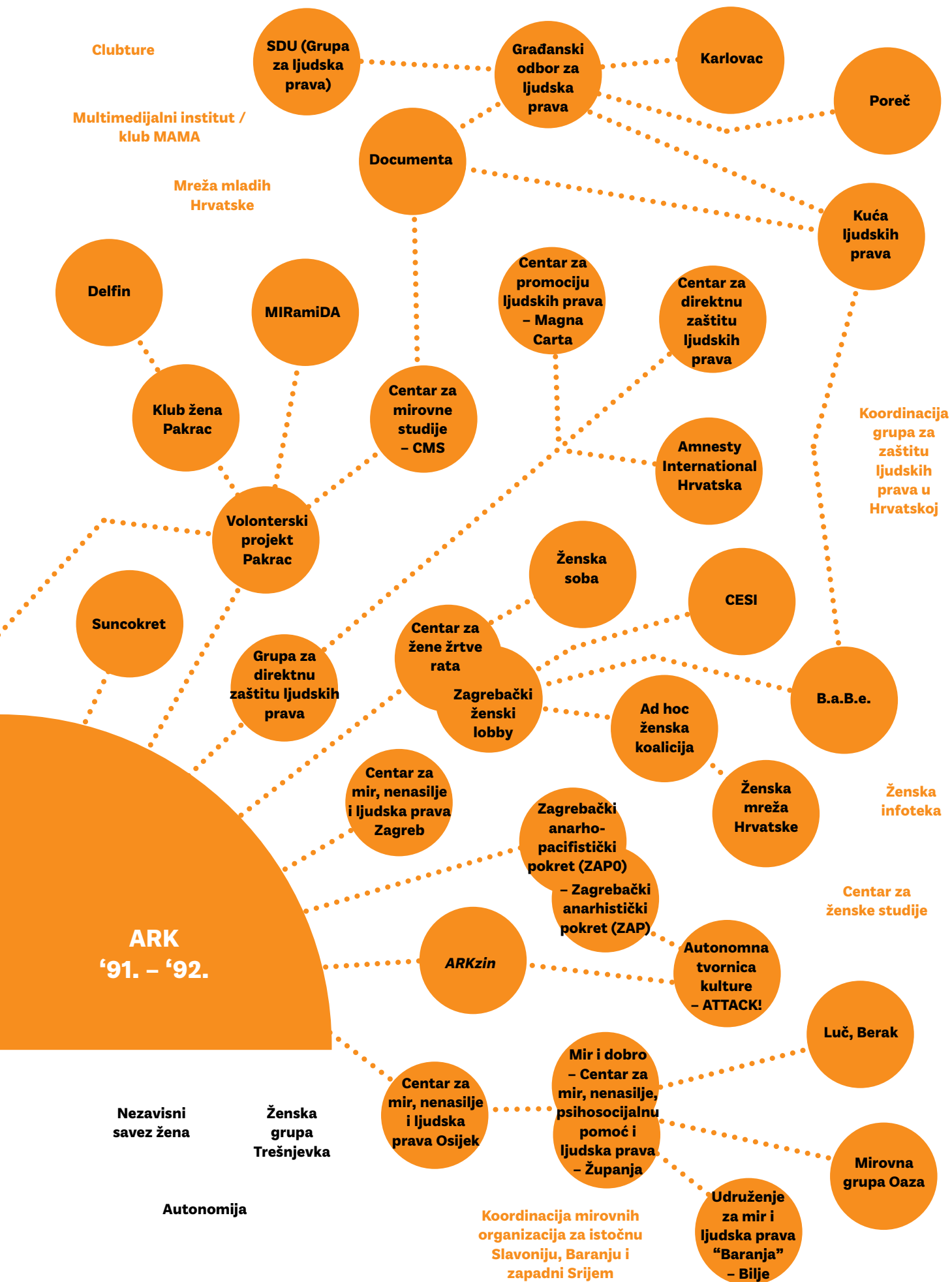
Zučna
kesica

Lijevo
plućno krilo

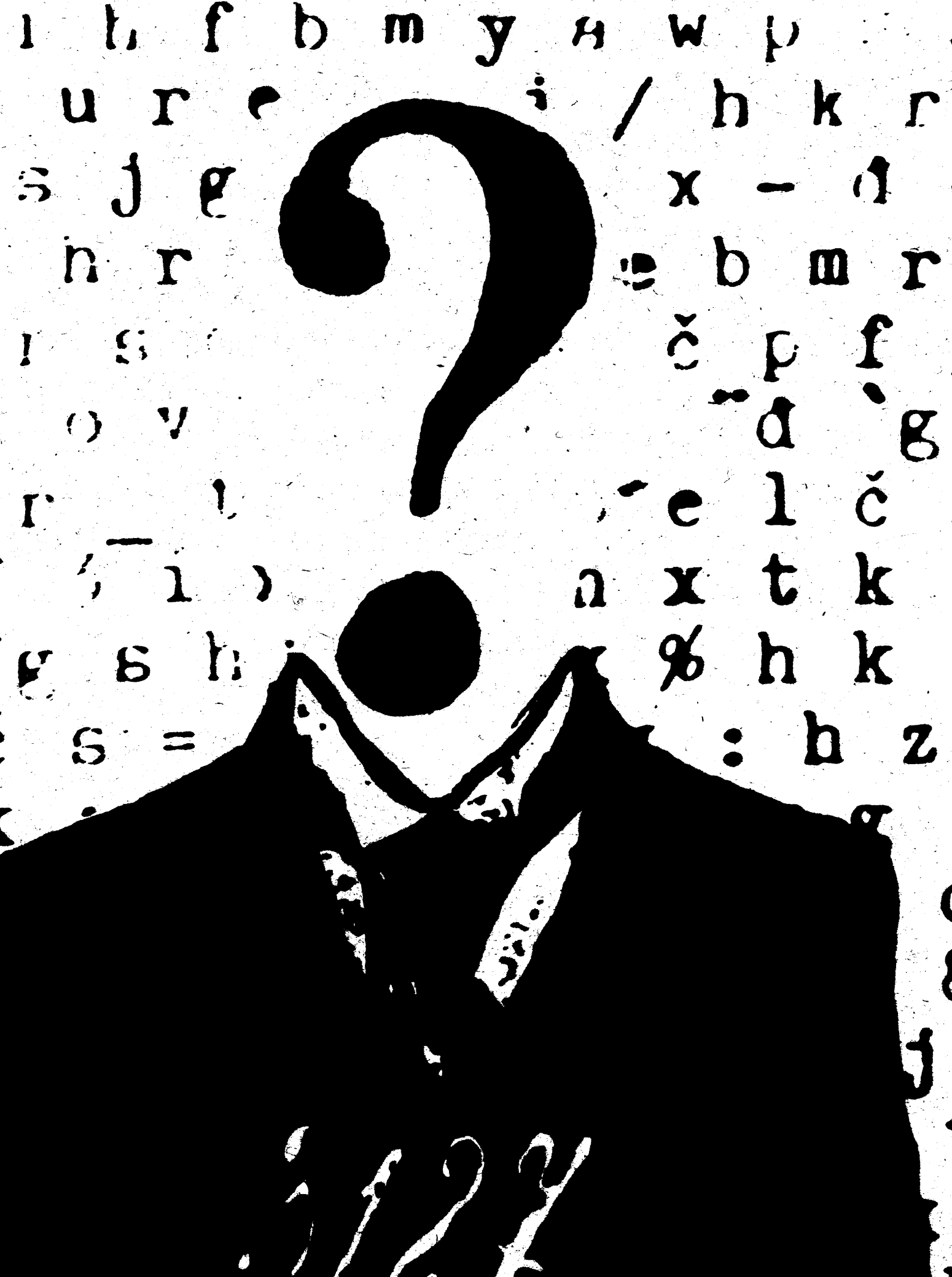
Networking, networking, networking

Developmental diagram showing the network of the Antiwar Campaign and related organisations





w p h r m f h d e
/ h k r s o , u d k v
x - d o v + d t :
e b m r t i f t
č p f 3 - i x ^ g h k
- d ' g s h l f t -
e l č s = g g r i
x t k : d l g f
% h k z g č d t
: h z v k h d 5
g m h d t j k
d j l f r o
8 g y v j
j e č e j f o
t o + w t k
/ h l r o š



Original documents



Zagreb, 4. srpnja 1991.

Poziv zabrinutim roditeljima i svim ljudima dobre volje

Spriječimo rat!

Milijuni ljudi na ovim našim prostorima kojima prijeti sveopća klaonica dijele jedan jedini, svima razumljiv ljudski osjećaj: panični strah roditelja za živote svoje djece.

Smrt ne treba nikome. Treba nam život. Život od kojeg ništa nije vrednije, a pogotovo to nisu pojedine ideologije, politički ciljevi u ime kojih neki šalju mlade ljude u smrt. Ti mladići, njihove majke i očevi brojniji su i snažniji od njih.

Sve ljude koje razdire jeza pred ratnim strahotama, sve koji žele nešto uraditi u prilog miru i razumu, pozivamo da nam se pridruže u nastojanjima da ludilo stane.

Zelena akcija Zagreb ovim pozivom pokreće antiratnu kampanju. Pozivamo sve ljude dobre volje, sve majke i očeve da nam se pridruže!

Javite nam se na telefon **041/610 951**, telefax **612-615**, ili na adresu: **Radnička c. 22 (II kat, soba 29), 41000 Zagreb, p.p. 876.**

POVELJA ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE

Kako god budu riješeni današnji sukobi, ljudi će na ovim područjima nastaviti živjeti zajedno. Svima nam je potreban mir, svi moramo raditi na razvoju demokracije i postizanju ekonomskog, socijalnog i ekološkog blagostanja. Interesi su nam isti, rat i nasilje svima donose štetu.

Građani svih republika i pripadnici svih naroda moraju, bez obzira na sve teškoće, održati i razvijati međusobnu komunikaciju i suradnju na obostrano korisnim projektima. Dio smo suvremene Evrope u kojoj državne granice sve više spajaju, a ne razdvajaju pojedince i narode. Vlade i druga državna tijela imaju ograničenu funkciju i domet. Oni ne mogu biti ekskluzivni zastupnik naših interesa.

Mi, građani naših republika, građani Evrope i svijeta, odlučno odbacujemo nasilje i rat. Komunicirati ćemo i surađivati bez obzira na razlike u političkim opredjeljenjima i bez obzira na to kako budu riješeni odnosi među republikama. Svaki za sebe i svi zajedno, na lokalnom, regionalnom ili globalnom nivou, suprotstavljati ćemo se onima koji pozivaju u rat i zalagati se za slobodu, pravdu i blagostanje za sve.

CHARTER OF ANTIWAR CAMPAIGN

Whatever will be the result of today's armed confrontations, people will have to live together in these districts. We all need peace, we all need to work on the development of democracy and achievement of the economical, social and ecological welfare.

Citizens of all republics and members of all nations, regardless of actual difficulties, must maintain and develop mutual communication and cooperation on projects useful for all sides included. We are part of modern Europe in which state borders are becoming point of connecting, rather than separating individuals and nations. Our governments and other state institutions have limited function and range. They can not be exclusive representatives of our interests if they are pushing us to fight with each other.

We, citizens of our republics, citizens of Europe and the World, resolutely reject violence and war. We will communicate and cooperate regardless of differences in political views and regardless of future relations between the republics. Everybody for himself and all together, we will confront those who are imposing war as the "only left" solution for our problems.

ODBOR ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE (12.07.91.)

- 1) Opća poruka kampanje + poriv da se pristupi, ^{organizirani} Konferencije
- 2) Obnove svih običnim ljudima koji ne žele rat

- razgovori telefonom
- šalje pismo novinara

3) Rediteljima i zemljopiscima Srbije

4) Vrhovna Srbija i Hrv.: obustavite svoje eksperimente

- Poriv da se čuju dobrovoljni prijedlozi?

- "Antiratni dežurni telefon"
Ivana Radic - ZAZ

Aleksander Nola - SU "Ekološka zajednica" ^{praksa}
- Društvo za Waldorfsku pedagogiju: o djeci

- Zlatko Rejic - Društvo za razvoj kvalitete života: Fondacija
- Shri Chinmoy centar ^{program u izvanrednim uvjetima}

Mirova grupa (Dječim i Tanci (kultur)
Grupa za informiranje (Jedreni Boen, Maja Mestier)
Grupa za pomoć (prehranjivanje u izvanrednim okolnostima)
- nekonvencionalna oružja
- dječji artikli

Koordinacioni odbor Fondacije svijesti u izvanrednim uvjetima
Engleska, SAD, Portugal, Slovenija, Srbija, Austrija,
Italija, Njemačka... u pripremi Meksiko, Poljska...

OTVORENO PISMO VLADIMIRU ŠEKSU

Poštovani gospodine Šeks!

Pišem ovo pismo potaknut Vašim izjavama u intervjuu u prošlom broju GLOBUSA, kao i nekim ranijim. Ne tako davno upoznali smo se kada smo obojica bili u opoziciji i borili se za demokraciju. Iako su moje zasluge i pretrpljene žrtve mnogo manje od Vaših, mislim da usprkos političkim razlikama i dalje dijelimo neke zajedničke temeljne ideale.

Nakon prvih uspjeha hrvatskih oružanih snaga, došlo je vrijeme da se razmisli o pitanju: da li će biti moguć zajednički život Srba i Hrvata poslije rata? Branimir Glavaš i Vi dajete odlučan odgovor: suživota više ne može biti. Po Glavašu, 90 posto Srba u Hrvatskoj prešlo je na stranu četnika, te se treba "napokon riješiti te napasti". Vi kažete isto: "Poslije rata u istočnoj Slavoniji živjet će, ili samo Hrvati, ili samo Srbi." (...)

Vjerojatno je da Vas doprla vijest da bi Austrija gotovo sigurno prošlog tjedna priznala samostalnost Hrvatske, da je donesen *Zakon o zaštiti Srba i drugih manjina* u Hrvatskoj. Kao nekadašnji disident i borac za ljudska prava vjerojatno znate da bez takvog zakona Hrvatska ne zadovoljava temeljne kriterije da bi bila prihvaćena kao demokratska država. Nacrt zakona prema najboljim evropskim uzorima napravljen je, podržali su ga i lideri oporbenih stranaka,

da bi sada čamio u nekoj ladici.

Proklamirati nemogućnost zajedničkog života u područjima gdje oba naroda stoljećima žive zajedno, znači proklamirati da će mržnja u slijedećim godinama i desetljećima ostati temeljni odnos Hrvata i Srba. Što bi na to mogli reći svi oni evropski narodi koji danas grade zajednički dom, a stoljećima su međusobno ratovali? (...)

Razumna hrvatska politika, koja teži što bržem postizanju mira i što manjem broju žrtava, treba proklamirati: nakon rata, samostalna Hrvatska biti će građena na principima liberalne demokracije, u kojoj svaki pojedinac ima jednaka prava i uživa zaštitu legalnih državnih organa od progona i zastrašivanja. Dok se rat vodi, u hrvatskim oružanim snagama treba održati strogu disciplinu i sve zločine protiv civilnog stanovništva ili zarobljenika oštro kažnjavati. **Ako Hrvati uprljaju dušu mržnjom i ruke terorom, izgubit će bitnu, moralnu prednost nad agresorom;** činjenica da nismo prvi počeli neće nas u tom slučaju opravdati. (...)

Ako protjeramo sve Srbe iz Hrvatske (njih oko 600.000), što je slijedeće? Ne zaboravimo da u Bosni i Hercegovini živi oko dva i pol puta više Srba, veliki dio uz granična područja, odakle se

oružani odredi lako mogu ubacivati u Hrvatsku... Logika da suživot nije moguć neminovno vodi Hrvatsku u suludom pravcu koji zastupa *Hrvatska stranka prava*, da postanemo agresori i "riješimo se te napasti" i u drugim krajevima. Gospodine Šeks!

Zbog borbe za slobodu i dostojanstvo čovjeka bili ste proganjani i zatvarani. Vaše knjige o "verbalnom deliktu" i "Uzničke uspomene" pažljivo sam čitao. Razumijem vaše ogorčenje, kao i strah za sebe i za druge, danas kada se događaju mnogo gore stvari. Ali takvi su osjećaji loši vodiči; u strahu se rijetko ima razumijevanja za strahove drugih, on se lako pretvara u mržnju i zazivanje kolektivne osvete. Strah, mržnja i osveta potiču jednu drugu i stvaraju spiralu beznađa. Prekinuti s tim zahtijeva kako moralnu veličinu, tako i nedvosmislenu vjernost idealima liberalne demokracije. Većinu Srba u Hrvatskoj danas ne vodi mržnja, nego strah. To treba razumijeti i tome prilagoditi taktiku borbe za slobodnu Hrvatsku, u kojoj će svi njeni građani moći raditi na razvoju demokracije i postizanju ekonomskog, socijalnog i ekološkog blagostanja za sve.

U Zagrebu, 30. rujna 1991.

S poštovanjem,

Zoran Oštrić

Taktika srpskih ekstremista

U *Odboru antiradne kampanje* analizirali smo taktiku koju srpski ekstremisti uspješno primjenjuju, počevši od sredine prošle godine u Kninu. Taktika je vrlo jednostavna i ponavljala se bez velikih varijacija. Tragični je promašaj hrvatske politike što je u toku godinu dana nije uspjela prozreti i smisliti odgovor. Važno je shvatiti taj mehanizam, kako bismo se otresli iskušenju kolektivne osude srpskog naroda. U glavnim crtama, scenarij je slijedeći:

U neko mjesto sa većinskim ili značajnim udjelom srpskog stanovništva dolazi nekoliko ekstremista i šire glasine kako se spremaju ustaški odredi da kolju Srbe. Hrvatska nacionalna euforija, tvrdoga hrvatskih vlasti i povremeni ispadi ekstremista doprinose da ljudi u takve neutemeljene tvrdnje povjeruju.

Ubaceni ekstremisti okupljaju mjesne huligane, alkoholičare i sl. i dobro ih plaćaju (npr. 1000 DEM) da stoje nekoliko dana na barikadama. Postavljaju barikade, sprečavaju promet, pucaju. Intervenira hrvatska policija, a zatim se u "neutralnoj" ulazi pojavljuje tzv. JNA i "razdvaja zaraćene strane". Rezultat je taj da je dotada mirno mjesto pod kontrolom ekstremista; armija je odigrala ključnu ulogu i kriva je za veći dio dosadašnjih žrtava. U drugim slučajevima, nakon glasinama izazvane histerije organizirani su veliki zbjegovci, a iz Srbije su ubacivani naoružani srpski odredi.

Ključan je slijedeći moment: u strahu od odmazde nad svima, do koje će doći ukoliko hrvatske snage ponovo osvoje mjesto, i drugi Srbi su prisiljeni da se prihvate oružja. U teškom psihickom rascepu, dio njih se poistovjećuje sa ekstremistima i ispoljava mržnju prema Hrvatima. One koji ostaju neutralni, obe strane proglašavaju izdajnicima. Ovakve prijetnje od strane ključnih ljudi hrvatske politike mogu ih samo uvjeriti da im nema drugog izlaza nego ogorčeno se boriti do kraja.



ODBOR ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE

ČLANOVI IZ ZAGREBA

Uto, 8. Lis, 1991.

- medijima javnog komuniciranja

PREDMET: Podrška Centru za antiratne akcije Beograd

Odbor antiratne kampanje, koji okuplja 15 društvenih organizacija iz Zagreba (te još 35 iz drugih gradova, svih drugih jugoslavenskih republika te iz Belgije, Njemačke, Italije, Francuske, Mađarske, Bugarske i Švedske), ovime se pridružuje pismu koje je javnosti i mirovnim pokretima poslao *Pokret za mir i nenasilje Rijeka/Movimento per la pace Fiume*, koji je također kolektivni član Odbora. Ovo pismo glasi:

Pridružujemo se protestu Centra za antiratne akcije Beograd i svim zahtjevima izrečenim na jučerašnjem mitingu u podne u Beogradu. Povlačenje vojski u kasarne (a JNA iz Hrvatske), prepuštanje uređivanja civilnog društva civilima-građanima, prestanak mobilizacije, te hitno napuštanje Dubrovnika od strane oružanih formacija, kao i druge zahtjeve, smatramo poštenim, iskrenim i normalnim zahtjevom kojeg priželjkuje svaki građanin dobre volje. Zahtjev mirotvoraca u Beogradu oštro osuđuje agresiju na Hrvatsku zbog čega zasluhuje našu hitnu i nesebičnu podršku, jer nije lako takve oštre riječi izgovoriti u osinjem gnijezdu kakvo je danas Beograd, a i mnogi drugi gradovi u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori.

Od početka rušenja Jugoslavije i sukoba u Hrvatskoj smatramo da se glava zmije koja prijeti da zatruje i uništi sve narode na tlu Jugoslavije, nalazi u Beogradu. Zato sve demokratske snage u Hrvatskoj i drugim republikama trebaju podržati glasove razuma u tom gradu, gdje će bitka za slobodu i demokraciju biti možda najteža.

Umjesto mržnje, sumnji i podjela na ovim prostorima može nas od totalnog razaranja i još većeg zla spasiti samo međusobno povjerenje i podrška. Ujedinito se za ljudski mir - bez obzira na nacionalnu, vjersku, političku, kulturnu i drugu različitost. jer život čovjeka je jednako neponovljiv za sve. Ovo je doba u kojem se dijelimo samo na ljude i neljude, a naša djela na časna i na sramna.

za Odbor antiratne kampanje
(članovi iz Zagreba)

Zoran Oštrić

NACRT PRIJEDLOGA STATUTA
ODBORA ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE - ZAGREB

Prijedba: Statut mora sadržavati slijedeća poglavlja:
Ciljevi, Način rada, članstvo, upravna i druga tijela, finacije
i Zaključne odredbe * (Sjedište, žig itd.). Statut bi trebalo
prihvatiti na osnivačkoj skupštini na kojoj se biraju i tijela
OARK, pa se zajedno sa zapisnikom i popisom članova tijela
šalju na Registraciju Republičkom sekretarijatu za pravosuđe.

I. CILJEVI I NAČIN RADA

- 1.) Temeljni cilj Odbora antiratne kampanje - Zagreb
(U daljem tekstu: OARK) jeste uticaj na zaustavljanje rata i
drugih oružanih sukoba u Hrvatskoj i drugim republikama, te
postizanje uvjeta za trajni mir.
- 2.) OARK se protivi i drugim pojavama nasilja u društvu
i zaiaže za rješavanje svih konflikata nenasilnim putem, uz
dogovore i uvažavanje ljudskih prava pojedinaca, grupa, etničkih
skupina itsl.
- 3.) Oark smatra razvoj demokracije i zaštitu ljudskih prava
ključnim uvjetima za postizanje trajnog mira.
- 4.) OARK djeluje ^{preko} ~~u~~ u civilnom društvu, nastojeći ukloniti
napetosti i mržnje iz međuljudskih (naročito međunacionalnih)
odnosa, te utjecati na postizanje dogovora među stanovništvom
kriznih regija. Također djeluje u smanjivanju ratnih psihoza,
za suzbijanje revanšizma, pomoć građanima u očuvanju duševne
stabilnosti itd.
- 5.) OARK također djeluje kao građanska inicijativa prema
organima vlasti, nastojeći promicati miroljubiva rješenja svih
sukoba.

APEL HRVATSKOJ JAVNOSTI I VLASTIMA U REPUBLICI VJESNIK 29.02.92. HRVATSKOJ

U ratu protiv Hrvatske počinjeni su mnogi ratni zločini, djela zabranjena međunarodnim pravom: namjerna razaranja civilnih objekata i ubojstva civila, mučenja i pogubljenja zarobljenika, napadi na medicinsko osoblje i ustanove, protjerivanja stanovništva s okupiranih područja.

Osećaj nemoći i nevjerica u mogućnost kažnjavanja krivaca stvorili su u dijelu hrvatske javnosti želju za osvetom. Stvara se predodžba o kolektivnoj krivici srpskog naroda, što dovodi do proizvoljnog nasilja protiv pojedinaca. Neodgovorni istupi političara i medija pridonose takvoj atmosferi, koja stvara realnu mogućnost da ratni zločini budu počinjeni i s hrvatske strane (postoje indicije da se to već događa).

Vlast u Hrvatskoj nije se na pravi način suprotstavila toj pojavi. Štoviše, nekini potezi povećavaju pravnu nesigurnost građana. Nedavni je primjer uputstvo Ministarstva rada, socijalne skrbi i obitelji u vezi s povratkom pojedinaca koji su bez dozvole napustili ratom ugrožena područja.

Krivci za ratne zločine u Hrvatskoj ne smiju ostati nekažnjeni, ali krivica se ne može pripisati cijelom jednom narodu niti se pravda može postići osvetom. Krivice različitih stupnjeva ne smiju se izjednačavati: prekršaj odredbe o zabrani napuštanja prebivališta nije isto što i sudjelovanje u oružanoj pobuni; kao što i ovo sudjelovanje nije istovjetno sa ratnim zločinom. Utvrđivanje i kažnjavanje odgovornih za sve prijestupe stvar je isključivo pravosudnih organa.

Pozivamo Predsjednika, Vladu i Sabor Republike Hrvatske da uspostave pravnu sigurnost. U tom bi cilju morali hitno poduzeti barem slijedeće korake:

- ukinuti sve uredbe koje ugrožavaju temeljna ljudska prava (osobito "ratne" uredbe koje dovode u pitanje zaštitu građana od samovolje državnih organa, ograničuju kretanje i slobodu tiska);

- ojačati pravosudne i redarstvene organe kako bi posvuda djelotvorno mogli provoditi pravne norme i onemogućiti samovolju naoružanih grupa i pojedinaca;

- odgovarajućim mjerama, pa i krivičnim postupcima, spriječiti javne prijetnje i političke istupe pripadnika vojske i policije;

- ukinuti sve odluke kojima se ograničava pravo na povratak onih koji su napustili prebivališta. Zabrana povratka ne može biti kazna ni za koji prijestup;

- ukinuti uredbu o zabrani povratka na radno mjesto;
- posebnom deklaracijom Sabora osloboditi opće sumnje one koji su napustili prebivališta. Sve sumnje za prekršaje i krivična djela moraju se u svakom pojedinačnom slučaju dokazati u redovnom sudskom postupku;

- podržati osnivanje međunarodnog pravosudnog tijela za ispitivanje i kažnjavanje svih ratnih zločina (uključujući i čine eventualno počinjene s hrvatske strane) te već sada pristupiti prikupljanju dokaznog materijala;

- saborskom odlukom priznati nadležnost Suda za ljudska prava pri Evropskom vijeću nad Republikom Hrvatskom.

Pozivamo sve hrvatske građane da se suprotstave samovoljnom iznalaženju i progonu "krivaca" kao i širenju kolektivne netrpeljivosti prema pojedincima druge nacionalnosti ili različitih političkih nazora. U svakoj prilici — na radnom mjestu, u susjedstvu — valja se založiti za dijalog i trpeljivost.

Samovoljna osveta usmjerena protiv proizvoljno odabranih pripadnika drugog naroda ugrožava slobodu svakog građanina.

Samo Hrvatska u kojoj će vladati pravo, a ne samovolja, moći će se djelotvorno suprotstaviti prijetnji srpskog šovinizma i armijskog terorizma, te postati punopravni član međunarodne zajednice.

U Zagrebu, 18. veljače 1992.

ODBOR ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE ZA HRVATSKU

...

Odbor antiratne kampanje za Hrvatsku je neprofitna, nestranačka i nevladina organizacija. Cilj Odbora je razvoj, promoviranje i primjena nenasilnih metoda razrješavanja konflikata i primjena tih metoda za zaustavljanje rata i drugih oružanih sukoba u Hrvatskoj i susjednim republikama, te za postizanje uvjeta

za trajni mir. Nastoji i na suzbijanju drugih nasilnih pojava u društvu. Razvoj demokracije i zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda smatra ključnim uvjetima za postizanje trajnog mira.

OARKH surađuje sa brojnim mirovnim i antiratnim inicijativama u Hrvatskoj, drugim republikama bivše Jugoslavije i u svijetu. *Povelju antiratne kampanje*, koja je temelj okupljanja,

potpisalo je do sada oko 90 grupa i organizacija iz 15-ak država, te oko 500 pojedinaca.

OARKH izdaje i glasilo ARKzin, koje izlazi jednom mjesečno.

U okviru OARKH osnovan je *Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava Zagreb* kao administrativni i stručni servis raznih antiratnih i mirovnih inicijativa.

POZIVAMO GRAĐANE HRVATSKE DA NAM SE PRIDRUŽE!

...

ODBOR ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE/HRVATSKA

41000 Zagreb, Gajeva 45/II

tel. 041/431 658, fax 041/425 552

DEŽURSTVA SVAKI DAN OD 9.30 DO 19.30 SATI

ZA: Centar za mir Građanskog foruma Sarajevo
OD: Odbor antiratne kampanje/Hrvatska
TAKODER ZA: medije i javnost
2.03.92.

Dragi prijatelji!

Sa zabijom pratimo današnje vijesti iz Sarajeva. Na dosada mirnim ulicama puca se u trenutku kada smo se svi ponadali da će se naći kakvo-takvo rješenje političkih problema u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Apeliramo na Srbe u BiH da ne nasjednu na manipulacije onih koji svaki pojedinačni incident nazivaju prijetnjom cijelom srpskom narodu i opravdanjem za sve nasilne akte "obrane". Takvo ponašanje izaziva i reakciju naših sugrađana, te se pojedinačni incidenti pretvaraju u opće nasilje. Srpski narod u Hrvatskoj teško je nastradao zbog ove taktike koja koristi samo današnjem despotskom režimu u Srbiji, koji može opstati na vlasti samo stalno izazivajući nemire i rat, stalno izmišljajući nove neprijatelje.

Apeliramo na Hrvate, Muslimane i ostale građane da ne odgovaraju nepromišljenim nasiljem. Mir treba sačuvati, jer jedino mir daje nadu u sretnu budućnost ovih prostora. Svi izgrađanci i nasilnici moraju biti osuđeni, bez obzira na naciju.

SLIJEDE STRANICA 2.

Predlažemo svim ljudima Bosne i Hercegovine: kada ste u iskušenju da pogrđujete kako su vam svi ljudi neke druge nacionalnosti neprijatelji, sjetite se konkretnih ljudi te nacionalnosti koje poznajete. Sjetite se kakvi njih problemi mogu biti u svakodnevnom životu - u porodici, na poslu, kakvim se hobijsima bave... Da li su njihovi interesi zaista oprečni vašima?

✓ Sjetite se vaših prijatelja druge narodnosti - većina vas ih sigurno ima. Savladajte strah i nelagodnost, nazovite ih telefonom, posjetite ih ili pozovite na kafu. Ne dozvolite da se životne veze raskinu, ne dozvolite da hladna saopćenja stranačkih vodstava ostanu jedina veza među raznim narodima.

✓ Apeliramo na sva stranačka vodstva da sačuvaju prisebnost i budu svjesna svoje odgovornosti. Odlučno se trebaju osuditi svi akti nasilja. Budućnost može biti bolja samo ako se ne prekinu razgovori i ako se, usprkos neslaganjima, nastavi suradnja.

Apeliramo na sve državne organe da, u skladu sa svojim nadležnostima, obrane sve građane od nasilja i osiguraju djelovanje pravne države.

BROJ TELEGRAMA
7764



Za OARKH:
Z. Lj.
Zoran Oštrić

To the UN, the CSCE
and the European Council

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

of activists from peace groups named below
who met in Vienna from May 30 till June 1 1992*

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

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

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

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

Participants, members of the following peace and antiwar organizations:

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

*The meeting was called and sponsored by Österreichische Hochschülerschaft, and Iniziativa za hrvatsko-srpski mirovni dijalog.

16. lipnja 1992.

- Komisiji za civilnu službu

Poštovani!

Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava osnovan je unutar Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske, koja je društvena organizacija i mirovni pokret. Radimo na organizacijskim i informativnim poslovima vezanim uz mir i nenasilje ✕ (postoji i ambicija postepenog prerastanja u Institut za mir). Problem prigovora savjesti i civilna služba jedno su od najvažnijih područja našeg rada. U okviru centra radi i Savjetovalište za civilnu službu. Surađujemo sa organizacijama koje se bave tom temom u inozemstvu. Jedan naš član ide slijedećeg mjeseca u Francusku na International Consientious Objectors Meeting. Prikupljamo informacije o razvoju civilne službe u evropskim zemljama (riječ je o obavljanju poslova van vojske).

Pišemo vam zato jer bismo htjeli intenzivirati suradnju sa vašom Komisijom. Željeli bismo da redovno od van primamo aktualne informacije kako bismo u Savjetovalištu bili ažurni, kao i da mi vama šaljemo informacije koje prikupimo. Bilo bi korisno ako bismo promovirajući Savjetovalište u javnosti mogli reći da surađujemo sa Ministarstvom pravosuđa ✕ odnosno vašom Komisijom, dakle da nismo neprijatelji države, dezerteri (mi uostalom imamo među mirovnim aktivistima i one koji su bili na ratištima, pa su čak i sada u vojsci) ili naivni "apstraktni pacifisti". Zbog svega toga, predlažemo vam jedan zajednički sastanak negdje u toku slijedećeg tjedna. Molimo vas da nam obavijestite pristajete li, ✕ te da predložite termin. Uz srdačni pozdrav,



za OMNLP
Z. Oštrić
Zoran Oštrić

Centar za mir, Nenasilje i Ljudska Prava

MIR UNUTAR SUKOBA

Vježbe meditacije za svakodnevni život

19. srpnja 1992. John Bloss (duhovnim imenom Chan Hoa = Istinska preobrazba) govorit će o knjizi svog učitelja Thich Nhat Hanha "Being peace", te podučavati kroz vježbe relaksacije i meditacije.

John Bloss je, prakticirajući budizam, proučavao je Mahayana i Vajrayana škole (glavne struje budističke tradicije). Učenik je Thich Nhat Hanha, zen majstora nominiranog za Nobelovu nagradu i član Tiep Hien Reda uzajamne povezanosti svih bica - kojeg je Nhat Hanh osnovao 1969.g. za vrijeme vijetnamskog rata kao jedne od metoda "angažiranog budizma". Krajem prošle godine Chan Hou je kao sudionik Mirovnog karavana posjetio prostore bivše Jugoslavije.

«ivi u Engleskoj i radi na prikupljanju pomoći u humanitarne i ekološke svrhe. Ovih dana nalazi se u Zagrebu, a planira posjetiti Osijek i Sarajevo. Svojim prisustvom na ovim prostorima želi podržati mirovnjake i njihove akcije.

Dnevni program počinje u 10 h, a s pauzom za ručak i odmor traje do 18 h. Molimo vas da ponesete vegetarijansku hranu (bez mesa i ribe) za zajednički obrok. Također, ponesite jastuk i/ili deku

Pozivamo vas da se u 10h sastanemo u Tkalčipevoj 38 (dvorišna zgrada, II kat) u prostorijama Centra za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava. Program će se odvijati u parku na Tuskancu, a u slučaju kiše u natkrivenom prostoru.

Poslano ✓

ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA HRVATSKE

CENTAR ZA MIR, NENASILJE I LJUSKA PRAVA, ZAGREB

Tkalčićeva 38, tel/fax 041-271 143

Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava duboko je zabrinut najnovijim primjerima gušenja slobode tiska i javne riječi u Hrvatskoj.

Slučaj "Slobodne Dalmacije" nije započeo tek najnovijim uvođenjem Upravnog odbora od strane Agencije za prestrukturiranje i razvoj, već on počinje od pretvaranja lista u dioničko društvo 1990. - nakon čega su, pogotovo u svibnju i lipnju 1991, uslijedili pokušaji diskreditiranja novina optužujući ih čak i za suprotstavljanje "interesima hrvatskog naroda i države". Sada, nakon registracije poduzeća, uvođenje Upravnog odbora opravdava se "zaštitom interesa društvenog kapitala", a zapravo se radi o direktnom miješanju Vlade u uređivačku politiku lista i o pokušaju ušutkivanja ne-

zavisnih izdanja, služeći se metodama administrativno-ekonomskog pritiska. Istovremeno imenovanje novog direktora i pokušaj nametanja glavnog urednika te prijedlog zamjene boje zaglavlja - teško je shvatiti drugačije nego kao pritisak na promjenu uređivačke politike "Slobodne Dalmacije".

Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava ove i slične postupke vlasti vidi u kontekstu kršenja osnovnih ljudskih prava koja su zagarantirana osnovnim aktima o ljudskim pravima koje bi država Hrvatska trebala poštivati. Štete koje se ovakvim postupcima vlasti nanosi razvitku demokracije su ogromne. Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava upozorava na čl. 19. Opće deklaracije o ljudskim pravima (uz put rečeno, prijevod je objavljen nakon "prvih slobodnih izbora"):

"Svatko ima pravo na slobodu misli, savjesti i vjere; ovo pravo uključuje slobodu mišljenja a isto tako i traženje, primanje i saopćavanje obavještenja i ideja bilo kojim sredstvima i bez obzira na granice".

U skladu s tim pozivamo Agenciju za restrukturiranje i razvoj da povuče ovu sramnu odluku.

U Zagrebu, 12. listopada 1992.

ODBOR ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE
HRVATSKA
ZAGREB — GAJEVA 45/II
Tel.: 431-658; fax 041/425-502

ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA HRVATSKE
CENTAR ZA MIR, NENASILJE I LJUDSKA PRAVA
Tkalčićeva 38, 41000 ZAGREB
tel. 041 422 495
fax. 041 271143

Zagreb, 8. prosinac 1992.

Molimo vas da u vašem sutrašnjem izdanju prenesete slijedeću informaciju:

Antiratna kampanja i Autonomna ženska kuća uz suradnju s drugim ženskim grupama iz Zagreba te grupom žena iz Švicarske organizira:

**MIRNE MANIFESTACIJE povodom
MEĐUNARODNOG DANA LJUDSKIH PRAVA 10. PROSINCA**

Cilj ove manifestacije je upozoriti na kršenja ljudskih prava u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini te pokazati podršku žrtvama nasilja pogotovo silovanim ženama.

Dan ranije, 9. prosinca doputovat će oko trideset žena iz kršćanskih mirovnih organizacija u pratnji novinarki švicarskih medija. Ženama iz Švicarske pridružit će se članice ženskih organizacija iz Zagreba, članovi Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske, te humanitarne organizacije "Suncokret". Manifestacije počinju okupljanjem na TRGU PETRA PRERADOVIĆA (u blizini Znanstvene Knjižare) u **četvrtak, 10. prosinca 1992. u 14 h.**

Dijelit će se leci međunarodnih organizacija koje se bave zaštitom ljudskih prava kao i leci kršćanki iz Švicarske, a potpisivat će se i peticija (tekst prilažemo), upućena Svjetskoj konferenciji o ljudskim pravima UN. Gradanke i građani Zagreba su pozvani da se pridruže manifestacijama i potpišu peticiju, te na taj način pokažu podršku žrtvama nasilja.

Potom namjeravamo poći u mirni mimohod i to slijedećom relacijom: Trg Petra Preradovića - Bogovićeve - Gajeva - Trg Bana Jelačića - Tkalčićeva. Cijela manifestacija završit će u 16:30 h u našim prostorijama u Tkalćevoj 38.

Unaprijed se zahvaljujemo na suradnji i ujedno pozivamo i vas da se pridružite manifestacijama.

O NOVOJ (zadnjoj?) KRIZI U ARK: ARK KAO GRUPA I ORGANIZACIJA

Ako se služimo pojmovima organizacijske teorije¹ možemo jednostavno sažeti problem koji se desio u ARK Zagreb.

Mi smo u početku bili **grupa**. (Grupa je, po gore spomenutoj knjizi, "bilo koji broj ljudi koji međusobno djeluju,, psihološki su svjesni jedni drugih i percipiraju sebe kao grupu".) Grupa je međutim nastala od vrlo različitih ljudi, različitih aspiracija i povijesti, koji su se okupili pod vanjskim pritiskom. Moguće inkoherencije u temeljnim vrijednostima nisu razriješene. **Rast grupe** stvorio je uobičajene probleme koje mi nismo ni pokušavali riješiti: problemi komunikacije i koordinacije, smanjenje participacije, potreba vođenja i formalizacije, pojava socijalnog zabušavanja, pojava podgrupa i neformalnih grupa. Početna grupa je od **primarne** postala **sekundarna**. Neki marginalni članovi su otpali, neke nove organizacije su stvorene, a **jezgro** se postepeno rastočilo.

Ovdje moram referirati na pojam grupa kako ga koristi Vesna T. U terminima organizacijske teorije, ono što ona ima u vidu jeste **primarna grupa** i ujedno **grupa prvenstveno usmjerenu na participaciju**.

Optimalna veličina takve grupe je 5 do 7 članova. Nakon toga ona se počinje raspadati u jednom od dva smjera: stvaranje jezgra uz marginalizaciju ostalih ili stvaranje podgrupa.²

Fenomeni grupne dinamike, kojima ni pojedinci ni grupa ne mogu vladati ("otuđenje"), stvaraju teško shvatljive emocije — što su zapravo ljudi htjeli i očekivali? Nakon što je **organizacijska struktura** stvaranjem užeg koordinacionog odbora travnja 1992 donekle rasčišćena, dolazi do čudne krize na sastancima svibnja—lipnja '92, kada sam konstatirao da ne razumijem tu grupnu dinamiku (i ne razumijem je ni danas). Možda su ljudi očekivali da će ARK rasti dalje kao primarna grupa, ali za tako nešto naprosto je grupa bila prevelika, a ujedno je postojala snažna težnja **društvenom angažmanu**. Društveni angažman pretpostavlja da je bitni cilj grupe valjano obavljanje posla, a ne to da se njeni članovi "dobro osjećaju". Ovo drugo je važno, ali u vezi s prvim.³ Sukob raznolikih tendencija konačno je doveo do raspada, ali je tokom slijedećih godinu i pol stvorio i "područje napetosti" iz kojeg se iznjedrilo potomstvo.⁴

¹ vidi Slavko Kapustić (redaktor): *Organizacijska teorija*, Zagreb: Informator, 1991

² Grupa od 10 ili više članova sigurno će se raspasti; u tom smislu zanimljiva je povijest *Ženske pomoći sada*.

³ Ja nisam mogao razumjeti da su osobne aspiracije drugačije, za mene se podrazumijevalo da se dobro osjećam kada osjećam da zajednički obavljamo neki posao i da ga obavljamo bolje nego što bismo to mogli kao pojedinci, tj. smisao toga da smo grupa je u tome da naše talente i vještine njeđinjujemo i tako stvaramo "sinergijski efekt". Zato sam, valjda, često "iskakao iz šina" i osjećao se dobro kada su se drugi osjećali loše i vice versa. Tek nedavno sam shvatio, analizirajući frustrirajuća iskustva prošle godine, da sam zapravo bio **manje** efikasan nego da sam radio sam.

⁴ Za grupu kao što je ARK—Zagreb nije dovoljna minimalna definicija iz organizacijske teorije. Treba uzeti u obzir i **vrijednosti** koje članovi grupe dijele. I upravo u tome je kvaka. Nikada nismo jasno artikulirali da li uistinu dijelimo neke zajedničke vrijednosti. Otpor ratu je previše općeniti pojam. U ovom tekstu koncentriram se na problem organizacije i ovaj problem ostavljam po strani.

Od početka smo bili orijentirani na organizacijsku strukturu visokog stupnja opće decentralizacije. Međutim, odvratnost prema svakoj formalizaciji dovela je do toga da umjesto izgradnje projektne, matrične ili kolegijalne (participativno demokratske) strukture organizacija ljudi u jezgru (koje se otprilike poklapa s onim što se izdvojilo kao kolegij) degradira u amorfnu strukturu (ekstremna decentralizacija, potpuna autonomija pojedinaca), gdje sam pojam strukture počinje gubiti smisao. Uz potpunu autonomiju pojedinaca, u slučaju amorfne strukture možemo govoriti o jednoj organizaciji samo ako postoji i *potpuna suglasnost o vrijednostima i ciljevima*, te svaki član posjeduje *univerzalno stručno znanje* (Za razliku od hibridne, kolegijalne ili projektne strukture koja podrazumijeva *suradnju stručnjaka različitih specijalnosti*.) Očito je da ti uvjeti u slučaju ARK—Zagreb nisu ispunjeni.

Organske strukture (visoki stupanj vertikalne decentralizacije, tj. decentralizacije nadležnosti — hibridna, kolegijalna i amorfnu) pogodne su “za svaki rad koji se odvija neredovito i iznenada i koji ima neponovljivo, originalno pojedinačno obilježje, a uz to je povezan s velikim rizikom i neznatnom mogućnošću programiranja”. Iz te definicije vidimo i za što takve strukture *nisu* pogodne.⁵

Struktura koja bi *Centru za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava* teorijski najviše odgovarala bila bi kolegijalna ili participativna demokratska struktura. (Ona uglavnom odgovara stvaranju adhokracije — vidi dalje!) Ovdje govorim o Centru., dakle o uglavnom profesionalnoj organizaciji kako je skicirana prvi put još sredinom 1992. Organizaciji usmjerenoj na javno djelovanje, akcije i kampanje, za što je bila skicirana *Zagrebačka mirovna grupa*, više bi odgovarala hibridna struktura, koja zadržava visok stupanj vertikalne decentralizacije, ali je horizontalni stupanj decentralizacije niži, tj. umjesto uglavnom fiksnih specijaliziranih radnih grupa težište je na specijalizaciji pojedinaca, koji se za obavljanje pojedinih zadataka slobodno povezuju u ad—hoc timove. Kolegijalna struktura se bazira na specijalizaciji radnih grupa unutar kojih se odlučuje kolektivno i predstavlja je jedan član koji nema viši rang od ostalih. Ti predstavnici čine rukovodni tim (“kolegij”) koji koordinira rad organizacije. Problem koji nastaje jest tendencija da se ti predstavnici izdvoje i njihova funkcija formalizira. Međutim, mi zapravo imamo obrnutu tendenciju: aktivni pojedinci u jezgri počinju se ponašati kao individualni poduzetnici i oko sebe okupljaju podređene suradnike.

Ovaj problem može se izraziti u terminima organizacijske kulture. Početna primarna grupa gradila je *kulturu zadataka*. Međutim, daljim razvojem kulture i strukture to se nije razvilo u *adhokraciju*⁶ nego u mješavinu *kulture pojedinaca* (ciljevi organizacije su samo zbroj individualnih ciljeva) i *kulture moći (poduzetničke kulture)*.

⁵Uz potrebu prelaza na izvršavanje rutinskih, periodičnih zadataka vezani su mnogi problemi ARK—Zagreb. Npr. i nakon 8 izašlih brojeva svaki broj ARKzina je posebna “kampanja”, kao da se uvijek iznova stvara nešto novo.

⁶“Mreža odnosa malih autonomnih samoupravnih grupa/timova. Kultura postaje dominantno integrativno tkivo i faktor ostvarenja vizije, misije i strategije organizacije, a nekoliko vrlo čvrstih i ključnih vrijednosti sav instrumentarij reguliranja ponašanja. Usmjerenost na rezultat i promjene, akciju, budućnost, inovacije.” Važno je uočiti da se ovo odnosi prvenstveno na profitne organizacije, koje se time očito u nekim bitnim svojstvima približuju neprofitnim nevladinim organizacijama. Kao što sam u nekim drugim tekstovima pokazivao (npr. “Što su nevladine organizacije” ARKzin br. 2 i 3/1993), proces približavanja ide i u suprotnom smjeru. Peter Drucker je teoretičar koji je to najbolje prikazao (“Nova zbilja”, Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1992). Za globalni pomak u svjetonazoru vidi John Neisbit: “Megatrendovi: Deset novih smjerova razvoja koji mijenjaju naš život”, Zagreb: Globus, 1987).

Time je iscrpljeno ono što nam za shvaćanje grupne dinamike ARK—Zagreb može dati organizacijska teorija. Koristeći sada drugi teorijski okvir, ovoga puta iz filozofije politike, možemo reći slijedeće: upetljali smo se u problematiku odnosa moći, kako se to radikalnoj ljevici stalno događa.⁷ Borba za moć jedan je od temeljnih fenomena grupnog i društvenog života, potpuno neizbježna već kada se radi o dvije osobe (osim možda u kratkom periodu početne zaljubljenosti). Stvar je u tome da se ona stavi pod kontrolu. Kada je riječ o grupi koja nije primarna (jer je prevelika i jer je usmjerena na društvenu djelatnost), a pri tome želimo da ostane demokratska, put za to je određena formalizacija odnosa, tj. stvaranje (po Weberu) legalne vlasti.⁸ Pitanje o demokraciji neke grupe ili organizacije razlaže se (ovo uzimam iz definicija nevladine organizacije, odnosno organizacije civilnog društva) na dva pitanja: tko čini *constituency* (članstvo, dakle tko je član grupe/organizacije) i što piše u *constitution* (ustav, statut, dakle kako su regulirane procedure odlučivanja).

Zbog odvratnosti prema “proceduri” i “formalizaciji” u ARK—Zagreb uspostavljena je potpuno nedemokratska procedura odlučivanja.⁹ Ne postoje nikakvi mehanizmi kontrole i međusobnog ograničavanja moći. Na paradoksalan način (primjer spomenute dijalektike ljevice), iz anarhističkih ideala i ideja post—moderne uletjeli smo u odnose karakteristične za prvobitnu akumulaciju kapitala.¹⁰ Borba za moć konačno je razorila i “jezgru”. Izdvojio je karizmatički lider (Vesna T) sa nekoliko suradnika koji prihvaćaju njegovu karizmu (Vanja, Aida), oni koji je ne prihvaćaju (Milena B.) ili sami posjeduju karizmatički potencijal koji žele ostvariti (Vesna J.) odvajaju se.

Ta situacija i ne bi bila tako strašna¹¹ kada ne bi bila u drastičnom proturječju sa našim proklamiranim načelima. Kakvog mi legitimiteta imamo da kritiziramo autoritarnost hrvatske države, kada je trenutačno Vesna T. koncentrirala relativno veću moć (obavlja sve poslove predsjednika, generalnog sekretara, glavnog blagajnika itd) nego Franjo Tuđman u HDZ-u (on je karizmatički lider, ali je za predsjednika ipak izabran većinom glasova, tajnim glasanjem, a njegove nadležnosti definirane su statutom, tako da svatko tko želi postati član HDZ u principu točno zna u kakvu organizaciju ulazi)? Kakvog legitimiteta imamo da kritiziramo marginalizaciju Sabora, kada naš Kolegij, i kada se

⁷Prema definiciji Maxa Webera, “Moć predstavlja izgled da se u okviru jednog društvenog odnosa sprovede sopstvena volja usprkos otporu, bez obzira na to na čemu se zasnivaju ti izgledi.” (“Privreda i društvo, Tom prvi”, Beograd: Prosveta, 1976, str. 37) U neobjavljenom tekstu “Lijevo i desno u politici” (1992) razvijam tezu da je odnos prema moći temelj razlikovanja ljevice i desnice (desnica teži koncentraciji, a ljevica disperziji moći; hijerarhija i jednakost), ali i da na obe strane postoji dijalektika koja vodi u točno suprotni rezultat od željenog.

⁸Weberove kategorije ovdje postaju za produbljenu analizu nedovoljne (proširuje ih npr. Habermas), ali za našu svrhu ovdje možemo ostati pri njima. Protokom vremena, u **svakoj** grupi izdvajaju se lideri. Njihova vlast može biti tradicionalna, karizmatička ili legalna utemeljenja. Prva u našem slučaju očito ne dolazi u obzir, legalnu smo odbacili i neminovno je došlo do formiranja karizmatičke vlasti.

⁹Možemo reći: **demokracija, to je procedura**, jer volja *demosa* nije nešto naprosto dato, ona se konstituirala kroz određenu proceduru. Ukoliko toga nema, odlučuje volja pojedinca koji je neformalnim putem stekao moć. Takozvane “narodne demokracije” pružile su nam dovoljno potpore za ovaj stav, a “samoupravni socijalizam” posebno.

¹⁰To ja nisam shvatio pa sam gubio vrijeme pokušavajući pokrpati rupe u organizaciji, umjesto da se i sam brinem za akumulaciju vlastitog kapitala.

¹¹Postoje mnoge NVO i društveni pokreti u svijetu koji su vezani uz osobu karizmatičkog lidera, a rade dobre stvari; primjer je ORAP u Zimbabveu, organizacija u kojoj sam proveo mjesec dana, čiji je karizmatički lider Sithembiso Nyoni izuzetno upečatljiva osoba; dobitnik je “Alternativne Nobelove nagrade” za 1993. Istovremeno, ORAP je vrlo demokratska organizacija bazirana na masovnom sudjelovanju polamilijunskog članstva u upravljanju kroz delegatski sistem. Proturječno, ali funkcioniše.

sastane, de facto ne donosi nikakve bitne odluke? Pri tome je važno istaći da se radi o očitom fenomenu grupne dinamike, gdje je Vesni vlast naprosto gumuta u ruke.

Dalja je nevolja u tome da jedna organizacija svakako može imati više lidera, ali ne može imati više od jednog karizmatiskog lidera.¹² Put ka rješenju problema nije u tome da se moć karizmatiskog lidera ograniči protumocima drugih lidera sa ili bez karizme, jer tako bismo samo otvoreno priznali princip permanentne borbe za moć kao temeljni princip unutarne organizacije. Put ka oživljavanju ARK—Zagreb je u onome što Max Weber naziva "prelaz karizme u nešto svakodnevno", tj. u prelazu karizmatске vlasti u legalnu (pri čemu je ključno da dolazi do podjele vlasti). Osobne karizme mogu se tada na dobrobit grupe ugraditi u demokratsku strukturu i proceduru.¹³ Nažalost, sudeći po dosadašnjim iskustvima, nedostaje volja da se tako nešto učini (razlikovanje iz psihologije između želje i volje je ovdje važno).

Ono što još ostaje, i što će jezgrenu grupu možda još neko vrijeme držati na okupu, su veze interesa, a ne zajedničke vrijednosti od kojih smo, bar implicitno, krenuli. Veći broj ljudi ima interes da simulira kao da nas veže nešto više od interesa (kao da smo, još uvijek orijentirani, prema Weberovim pojmovima, na vrijednosnoracionalno, a ne na ciljnoracionalno djelovanje). Zbog toga će sadašnja nedefinirana situacija potrajati vjerojatno još neko vrijeme prije neminovnog konačnog sloma.

Po svoj prilici, ništa se više ne može učiniti. Iako je grupa zapala u neorotično, bolesno stanje, kao i sa bolesnim pojedincima postoji jedan problem: možeš im pomoći samo ako su oni bazično svjesni da im pomoć treba i žele se promijeniti. Ako su oni u svojoj bolesti zadovoljni, nade nema. Vrijedi, ipak, učiniti posljednji pokušaj.

Siječanj 1994.

Zoran Ožbić

¹² Izuzetak je situacija pokreta sastavljenog od mreže grupa, u kojoj pojedini karizmatiski lider ima svu vlast unutar svoje grupe, ali priznaje vlast vrhovnog lidera; primjer: gandistički pokret SARVODAYA u Indiji. Takva mogućnost nazire se u trenutačnoj tendenciji raspada na desetak novih samostalnih organizacija.

¹³ Čini mi se da je tako nešto postignuto u Osijeku, gdje je Katarina nesumnjivo karizmatiska osoba.

PODSJETNIK O POKUŠAJIMA DA SE RIJEŠI ORGANIZACIJSKI KAOS U ARK-ZAGREB

Jedan od ključnih problema ARK—Zagreb (pod tim mislim na grupu u Zagrebu) su nejasni unutarnji odnosi između raznih vrsta i područja djelovanja (političko i stručno djelovanje, profesionalno i volontersko, odnosi među raznovrsnim projektima itd.). U ovom kratkom prikazu podsjećam na to kako su se oni razvijali.

ARK—Zagreb nikada nije imao jasno definirano članstvo i proceduru donošenja odluka. Žalbe na organizacijski kaos su konstantne.

S vremena na vrijeme održavaju se **sastanci članova/članica** sa 10 do 20 nazočnih. U početku je bilo zamišljeno da se održavaju svakog tjedna, kasnije znatno rjeđe.

Neki uspješni **projekti** započeti unutar ARK—Zagreb s vremenom se osamostaljuju i njihovi odnosi s matičnom grupom su nejasni. Sa *Centrom za žene žrtve rata* dobro se slažemo, dok u *Suncokretu* naprotiv većina zaposlenih danas po svoj prilici i ne zna da na svijetu postoji nešto što se zove Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske, a kamoli ima neke veze s njima.

Koordinacioni odbor ustrojen je, u skladu sa statutom, krajem 1991. U početku je imao vrlo širok sastav, ali to nije funkcioniralo.

Sastanak članova 8. travnja 1992

Zaključeno je da se takvi sastanci održavaju svaka dva mjeseca. Izbacivanje riječi "odbor" iz imena. Reorganizacija Koordinacionog odbora. Definirano je da postoji pet projekata koji zaista rade i imaju svoje predstavnike u KO:

Aida — Obrazovanje, Milena — ljudska prava, Robert — Vrata mira, Srđan — Prigovor savjesti, Vesna J. — ARKzin. Uz njih, članovi KO su i Vesna Teršelić i Zoran Oštrić (Centar za mir itd.).

14. svibnja 1992

Wamovi "prijedlozi za izvlačenje iz momentalnog kaosa".

Problem odnosa ARK i Centra: "Okvirno kazano, čini mi se da je ARK političko krilo, akcijska grupa ili mreža koja se bavi kampanjom protiv ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Centar bi međutim mogao postojati ili biti osnovan u bilo kojoj drugoj zemlji, dakle i bez rata."

ARK kao mreža:

- Polugodišnji sastanak na kojem se planira i razvija strategija.
- Mjesečni sastanci za određivanje praktičnih aktivnosti i politike.
- Tjedni radni sastanci predstavnika projekata i radnih grupa na kojima se raspravlja o kampanjama isl.

MAGNA CARTA

Centar za promociju ljudskih prava
Tkalčićeva 38
ZAGREB

U Zagrebu, 25. 3. 1994.

ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA HRVATSKE
Sekcija za prigovor savjesti
n./r. Zoran Oštrić
Tkalčićeva 38
ZAGREB

Bok, Zorane,

dostavljam Ti prijedlog ugovora između našeg Centra u osnivanju i pojedinih organizacija za zaštitu ljudskih prava. Za četvrtak, 14. 4. 1994. sazivam sastanak predstavnika pojedinih organizacija, kako bismo o ovom obliku suradnje mogli svi zajedno porazgovarati. Sastanak će se održati u prostorijama Antiratne kampanje, Tkalčićeva 38, u 19 sati, pa te molim da dođeš. Biti će pozvani i predstavnici Gradanskog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava, HHO, SDF i Ženske infoteke.

Srdačan pozdrav,

Toni Gabrić



SKUPŠTINA ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE HRVATSKE

ZA PREVLADAVANJE POSLJEDICA SUKOBA BITNO USPOSTAVLJANJE KOMUNIKACIJA

Od izbijanja sukoba na tlu bivše Jugoslavije, osim mirovnjaka, samo su šverceri održavali komunikaciju s drugom stranom ● Zahtjev nadležnim državnim institucijama u vezi s produženjem roka prigovora savjesti za pričuveni sastav HV ili bez vremenskog ograničenja

ZAGREB — Na skupštini Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske, koja se održavala protekla dva dana u Zagrebu, odlučeno je da se nadležnim državnim institucijama pošalje zahtjev u vezi s produženjem roka prigovora savjesti za pričuveni sastav Hrvatske vojske ili da se u potpunosti ukine bilo kakvo vremensko ograničenje za podnošenje prigovora savjesti. Također, zatraženo je da se što prije objavi popis ustanova u kojima bi se moglo omogućiti civilno služenje vojnog roka.

Na konferenciji za novinare, na kojoj su sudjelovali Vesna Tršelić, koordinatorica Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske, Krno Sukić, tajnik Centra za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava iz Osijeka, te Vesna Kesić, koordinatorica udruženja žena BaBe (Budi aktivna — Budi emancipirana), govorilo se o dosadašnjem četverogodišnjem radu

neformalne mreže organizacija uključenih u Antiratnu kampanju Hrvatske.

Posebno bitnim za prevladavanje posljedica sukoba, članovi Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske drže uspostavljanje komunikacija s drugom stranom, posebno s osobama koje se nalaze na trenutno okupiranom teritoriju Hrvatske. Istaknuto je kako su, od izbijanja sukoba na području bivše Jugoslavije, osim mirovnjaka, jedino šverceri oružjem održavali neprekidnu komunikaciju s drugom stranom. Iznoseći primjere uspješnog povezivanja osoba iz Hrvatske i Srbije, Krno Sukić je naveo Ured »Kuća prijateljstva« u Mohacsu, u Mađarskoj, gdje se povremeno sastaju članovi ratom razdvojenih obitelji, dodajući kako sve više raste interes za ovakav oblik komunikacije.

Vesna Kesić govorila je o djelovanju ženskih grupa u Hrvatskoj i Srbiji, te o njihovom doprinosu miru. Prije

desetak dana u Puli je održan »Feministički dijalog« žena iz Zagreba i Beograda čiji je cilj bio prevladavanje konflikta, izvijestila je Vesna Kesić. Prema njenim riječima, plan je da se u ovakvu vrstu dijaloga uključe i žene iz Bosne i Hercegovine, te s Kosova i Makedonije jer, smatra Vesna Kesić, jedino žene mogu pridonijeti transformiranju kulture rata u kulturu mira.

Na skupštini Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske raspravljalo se i o izlaganjima nekih hrvatskih političara na skupu »Kako protiv rata«. Utvrđeno je da neke hrvatske stranke »pokazuju sklonost preuzimanja stavova antiratnih udruga«, zbog čega će Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske i dalje raditi na programu nenasilnog razrješavanja krize na ovim prostorima. Vesna Tršelić najavila je da bi Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske mogla ponuditi takav projekt u svibnju ove godine.

D. BEBIĆ



ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA HRVATSKE

Tkalčičeva 38, 41000 Zagreb

Tel. 041 422 495, Fax 041 271 143

IZJAVA U POVODU AKCIJE HRVATSKE POLICIJE I VOJSKE U ZAPADNOJ SLAVONJI

Dok svijet slavi polustoljetnu godišnjicu prestanka jednog pogubnog rata, Hrvatska se možda nalazi na pragu novoga.

Premda za područje zapadne Slavonije može značiti okončanje vladavine bespravljia i etničkog proganjanja, vojno-policijska akcija nije i nikako ne smije biti put i način prevladavanja sukoba u Republici Hrvatskoj. Primjenom sile može se uspostaviti kontrola nad teritorijem, ali se njome još ne postiže da stanovnici tog teritorija postanu dio društva u ovoj zemlji. Vojna akcija obično potencira i proširuje nasilje, a i samo hrvatsko društvo je de facto stavljeno u opsadno stanje.

Država je posegla za vojnom silom u trenutku kada se pripremaju mjere za smanjenje prava radnika, žena i mladih ljudi, i kada predsjednik države proklamira potčinjavanje svih triju područja vlasti "jedinstvenoj državnoj politici". Istinska reintegracija može biti samo mirna reintegracija. To znači da treba voditi računa o ljudima koji žive na tim područjima jer samo i jedino garantiranjem njihovih ljudskih i građanskih prava Republika Hrvatska ostvaruje svoj suverenitet na čitavom području i legitimira se kao demokratska država.

Unatoč diplomatskim igrama oko informacija i demantija, očito je da je vojni uspjeh plaćen životima civila. Pogođeni su i gradovi izvan područja oružanih sukoba, a Zagreb je stradao više nego u ratu 1991. Plaši nas mogućnost da su hrvatske trupe u pobjedničkom nastupu izvršile i nasilje nad civilima. Razdvajanje obitelji pri čemu žene nisu imale nikakve informacije i garancije o povratku muževa samo je povećalo već prisutan strah od nasilja. Njihova odluka o izboru ostanka ili odlaska time je prejudicirana. Težak je propust hrvatskih vlasti što nisu odmah osigurale neposrednu prisutnost nepristranih međunarodnih promatrača na području oružanih sukoba. To treba učiniti sada, uključujući sva mjesta. Zahtijevamo da se pristup omogući i domaćim i međunarodnim nevladinim organizacijama. Najpreče je u ovom trenutku prisutnost organizacija za ljudska prava. Legitimna najava suđenja osumnjičenima za ratne zločine sa srpske strane mora podjednako važiti i za moguće počinitelje zločina s hrvatske strane.

Statement on the Croatian police and military operation in Western Slavonia, attached to the letter of 18 May 1995

Sada, kad je primjena sile gotova činjenica, nužno je učiniti sve da se spriječi svako daljnje nasilje. Ako se svim stanovnicima ne osigura život slobodan od straha, zapadna Slavonija neće biti stvarno oslobođena.

Pozdravljamo nastojanja hrvatskih vlasti da pokažu kako neće diskriminirati srpsko stanovništvo. Međutim, te iste vlasti se do sada nisu proslavile zaštitom ljudskih prava u Hrvatskoj. Zato smatramo trenutne izjave i geste nedovoljnim jamstvom, te predlažemo slijedeće mjere:

1. Postupak sa zarobljenicima i civilima na osnovi međunarodnog prava i zakona Republike Hrvatske, te sprečavanje svake samovolje i osвете. Zakonu o aboliciji, prema našim saznanjima, isteklo je važenje pa se pitamo da li su prava pojedinaca utemeljena na trenutnim političkim odlukama ili na važećim pravnim propisima. Budući da u Republici Hrvatskoj još nisu ispunjene pretpostavke za neovisnost sudstva, hitno treba osnovati Privremeni sud za ljudska prava, već odavno predviđen Ustavnim zakonom.

2. Jednoznačan iskaz nadležnih vlasti da su svi protiv kojih se ne pokrene pravni postupak oslobođeni sumnje i da imaju sva građanska prava u Republici Hrvatskoj.

3. Posebne mjere sigurnosti radi sprečavanja sukoba među civilima. Koliko god bile psihološki objašnjive, frustracije i mržnja ne smiju biti opravdanje za "uzimanje pravde u vlastite ruke".

4. Pomoć u zaštiti prava, pripremi za povratak prognanika, posredovanju i nenasilnom rješavanju sukoba. Samo civilno društvo mora uspostaviti vlastite načine rješavanja problema, a vlasti su obavezne osigurati povoljne uvjete za autonomno djelovanje nevladinih organizacija koje za to imaju znanja i iskustva. Državni organi zaduženi za procese reintegracije trebali bi u svoje djelovanje uključiti i konzultiranje tih organizacija.

5. Međunarodni monitoring cjelokupnog društvenog stanja u Zapadnoj Slavoniji u trajanju od najmanje pet godina radi dosljednog poštivanja ljudskih prava i sprečavanja moguće osvetoljubivosti.

Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske

Mreža mirovnih organizacija, grupa za zaštitu ljudskih prava, građanskih inicijativa i projekata

Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava, Osijek

Centar za mir i nenasilje, Karlovac

Centar za žene žrtve nasilja, Zagreb

Građanski obor za ljudska prava, Poreč

Grupa za direktnu zaštitu ljudskih prava, Zagreb

HOMO, Pula

Humanitarni mirotvorni pokret "Rijeka - Suncokret"

MALI KORAK - Centar za kulturu mira i nenasilja, Zagreb

Volonterski projekt, Pakrac

**VESNA TERŠELIČ, ZA ANTIRATNU
KAMPANJU ZAGREB: IZJAVA O VOJNOJ
AKCIJI »OLUJA«**

NE ŽELIMO BITI PRIVILEGIRANI SAMO ZATO ŠTO SMO ROĐENI KAO HRVATI

Mirovne organizacije u Hrvatskoj okupljene u Antiratnoj kampanji svojim će radom i nadalje doprinositi socijalnoj i materijalnoj obnovi, davati podršku povratku svih prognanih i izbjeglih te izgradnji međunarodne, međureligijske tolerancije u Republici Hrvatskoj i na području Balkana

Prilika za mirno reintegriranje svih stanovnika bivše »Krajine« je propuštena. Koncept etnički čiste države, u ime koga je pred četiri godine pokrenuto osvajanje dijelova Hrvatske, sada je i s hrvatske strane okončan vojnom akcijom. Hrvatska vojska je stala na hrvatske granice i uspostavila državu na skoro cijelom teritoriju — ali etnički čistu državu. Vojnom akcijom »Oluja« stvorena je pretpostavka povratka za više od stotine tisuća prognanih Hrvata u njihove domove, njihova je četverogodišnja patnja okončana. Akcija je, međutim, hrvatske građane srpske nacionalnosti u račun uzela samo u smislu osiguranja njihove evakuacije. Od 1991. do danas broj Srba u Hrvatskoj se smanjio za više od 70%.

Dok posljednji Srbi napuštaju »Krajinu« već se događa kontraudar — izgon Hrvata iz Vojvodine i Bosne — očekuje se do 30.000 u sljedećih mjesec dana. Smanjivanje broja Srba u Hrvatskoj neminovno je povezano sa smanjivanjem broja Hrvata i Muslimana u Bosni.

U četverogodišnjem ratu u Bosni i Hrvatskoj je ubijeno više stotina a protjerano oko 4 milijuna ljudi, uništena silna materijalna i kulturna dobra te potpuno rastočen i minimalni osjećaj sigurnosti života u multinacionalnoj zajednici. Rat kakav je vođen na ovim prostorima, naučio je ljude da nema drugog izlaza doli bijega. Ali, patnja i gnjev koji su sada nastali u stotinama tisuća ljudi prisiljenih da napuste Hrvatsku, ne mogu biti osnova trajnog i pravednog mira nego trajne političke nestabilnosti ovih prostora.

Stojimo na presudnoj točki rata. Nakon Hrvatske, slijedit će uspostava drugih etnički čistih država. Bez nekog posebnog protivljenja međunarodnih institucija i svjetskih vlada. Svjetske sile su kao i uvijek stale na stranu jačega. Dok je Srbija bila jača podržavale su se njihove akcije. Sada podržavaju Hrvatsku.

Iako ne dijele odgovornost za početak rata, za ishod rata — etničko čišćenje — odgovorne su sve strane u sukobu pa i treća — tzv. posrednička — međunarodne institucije i svjetske sile.

Trenutak je da shvatimo zajedničku odgovornost za tu tragediju. Svi smo suodgovorni da se u našoj zemlji svima pruži sigurnost od nasilja i sva ljudska prava, kako se ona ne bi pretvorila u etnički »očišćenu« državu. Ne želimo biti privilegirani samo zato što smo rođeni kao Hrvati.

Zato i usred pobjedničkog slavlja upozoravamo da ista ta država i vojska nisu dosad, ni u miru bile u stanju obuzdati svoje naoružane pripadnike da ne vrše nasilje i ne krše prava građana.

Osuđujemo uskraćivanje slobode kretanja pripadnicima međunarodnih organizacija i medija, a nije dopušten ni pristup promatračima te se vlasti tako ne mogu osloboditi sumnje da su tolerirale i prešutno poticale pljačku imovine i paljenje kuća odbjeglih civila.

Iskazana volja hrvatske države za prihvatanje hrvatskih građana srpske nacionalnosti iz »Krajine« bit će ozbiljno shvaćena samo na osnovu konkretnih programa povratka izbjeglica i provedbe tih programa u život — što je za zapadnu Slavoniju obećavano kao ogledni model.

Trajno prisustvo međunarodnih institucija kao monitora i aktivnih sudionika — u planiranju, financiranju i provedbi programa povratka, te u budnom praćenju stanja ljudskih prava u svim dijelovima Hrvatske nužno je obavezujuće za hrvatske vlasti i međunarodne organizacije.

Mirovne organizacije u Hrvatskoj okupljene u Antiratnoj kampanji svojim će radom i nadalje doprinositi socijalnoj i materijalnoj obnovi, davati podršku povratku svih prognanih i izbjeglih te izgradnji međunarodne, međureligijske tolerancije u Republici Hrvatskoj i na području Balkana.

Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske mreža mirovnih i ženskih organizacija, grupa za zaštitu ljudskih prava, građanskih inicijativa i projekata:

B. a. b. e. — Grupa za ženska ljudska prava; **Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava**, Osijek; **Centar za mir i nenasilje**, Karlovac; **Centar za žene žrtve rata**, Zagreb; **Građanski odbor za ljudska prava**, Poreč; **Grupa za direktnu zaštitu ljudskih prava**, Zagreb; **HOMO**, Pula; **Humanitarni mirotvorni pokret »Rijeka-Suncokret«**, Rijeka; **MALI KORAK** — Centar za kulturu mira i nenasilja, Zagreb; **Volonterski projekt**, Pakrac

Vesna Teršelič

**IZJAVA ANTIRATNE KAMPANJE HRVATSKE O
PROGNANICIMA U VOJNOM LOGORU UNCRO-a U KNINU**

**ZLOČINE TREBA KAZNITI,
NEVINI NE SMIJU PATITI**

Već mjesec dana oko 700 stanovnika kninskog područja nalazi pribežište u vojnom logoru UNCRO-a u Kninu. Stanje se pogoršava, jer deseci novih civila dani-mice traže zaštitu UNCRO-a, a sve lošije vremenske prilike otežavaju primjeren smještaj. Vlasti Republike Hrvatske ne dopuštaju da ti ljudi odu, jer, prema službenoj verziji, protiv manjeg broja njih postoje razlozi za tužbu zbog ratnih zločina.

Ako su te sumnje opravdane, podsjećamo da je haški Međunarodni sud za ratne zločine na području bivše Jugoslavije, s punim pravom zatražio da mu sve postjugoslavenske države prepuste procesuiranje i kažnjavanje ratnih zločina. Zato zahtijevamo kako od hrvatskih vlasti, tako i od UNCRO-a da sve pojedince protiv kojih postoje osnovane sumnje za ratne zločine, izruče Međunarodnom sudu u Haagu.

Zločini ne smiju ostati nekažnjeni, ali nevini zbog toga ne smiju patiti. Staro je načelo prava i pravednosti: bolje i stotinu krivih na slobodi nego ijedan nedužan u zatvoru. U Kninu, navodno zbog skupine sumnjivih, a

bojimo se zbog političke isključivosti, deset je puta više ljudi koji su zatočeni kao taoci. Apeliramo na Vladu RH da prve prepusti međunarodnoj pravdi, a potomjima koji to žele omogućiti siguran put do pribežišta koje sami izaberu.

Ipak, ne mirimo se sa stanjem u kojem civili bježe u zaklon strane vojske i traže sigurnost svakog stanovnika državnog teritorija. Kao što se ne može opravdati nesreća nanesena nasilno protjeranim stanovnicima Srebrenice, Žepe, Banjolučke krajine ili Vojvodine, niti oslobođenje hrvatskih krajeva neće donijeti pobjedu pravde sve dok se svi predratni stanovnici tih krajeva ne budu mogli slobodno i bez straha vratiti svojim domovima.

**Antiratna kampanja
Hrvatske**

Za Antiratnu kampanju Hrvatske

Vesna Teršelić

Koordinatorica mreže

Mreža mirovnih organizacija, grupa za zaštitu ljudskih prava, ženskih organizacija, građanskih inicijativa i projekata

B.a.b.e., Grupa za ženska ljudska prava

Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava, Osijek

Centar za mir i nenasilje, Karlovac

Centar za žene žrtve rata, Zagreb

Građanski odbor za ljudska prava, Poreč

Grupa za direktnu zaštitu ljudskih prava, Zagreb

HOMO, Pula
Humanitarni mirotnovni pokret »Rijeka — Sunco-kret«

MALI KORAK — Centar za kulturu mira i nenasilja, Zagreb

Volonterski projekt, Pakrac



ANTIRATNA KAMPANJA HRVATSKE

Gajeva 55, 10000 Zagreb, Hrvatska

Tel. 01 431-374, Fax 01 433-416

E-mail: ARK_ZG ZAMIR-ZG.ZTN.APC.ORG

Zagreb, 24. lipnja 1996

Peer Augstsoon
Veleposlanstvo Švedske

Štovani g. Augstsoon,

Želimo Vas pozvati na *panel diskusiju* **UTJECAJ FINACIJERA NA RAD NEVLADINIH ORGANIZACIJA** koja će se održati u novim prostorima Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske u Gajevoj 55/I u **ponedjeljak 1. srpnja 1996 od 16.00 - 19.00**. Diskusiju će voditi Rada Borić, koordinatorica *Centra za žene žrtve rata*.

Pošto finacijske odluke fondacija doista utječu na proces razvoja nevladinih organizacija i time na razvoj cijelog civilnog društva želimo o tome otvoreno porazgovarati. Na razgovor pozivamo predstavnice i predstavnike fondacija i institucija s uredom u Zagrebu s kojima surađujemo duže od godine dana. Pozvali smo i brojne nevladine organizacije. Želimo čuti više o vašem radu i problemima koje ste iskusili u suradnji s nevladinim organizacijama. Želimo progovoriti o problemima koje u suradnji s finacijerima susreću nevladine organizacije. Rijetko imamo priliku za razmjenu mišljenja o ovoj izuzetno važnoj temi. Ponekad razgovaramo na evaluacijskim sastancima pojedinih fondacija ali samo o politici finaciranja te fondacije. Zato sada želimo razgovor među različitim organizacijama i fondacijama.

Za početak razgovora predlažemo slijedeća pitanja:

- Da li organizacije kreiraju svoje programe prema ukusu finacijera ili finacijeri oblikuju svoje prioritete prema istinskim potrebama populacije za koje mirovne i ženske grupe i organizacije za ljudska prava rade?
- Kako se definira politika finaciranja i biraju prioritetna područja podrške u pojedinim fondacijama? Što i tko sve utječe na te odluke?
- Kako povećati transparentnost rada fondacija?



Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske **Antiwar Campaign Croatia**

IZJAVA POVODOM ZAOŠTRAVANJA SUKOBA NA KOSOVU **UPUĆENA JAVNOSTI, VLADI REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE, HRVATSKOM DRŽAVNOM SABORU,** **UREDU PREDSJEDNIKA REPUBLIKE**

Antiratna kampanje Hrvatske - Ured mreže, potaknuo je inicijativu za mobiliziranje i djelovanje članica mreže Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske, drugih organizacija civilnog društva, političkih stranaka, Sabora te drugih domaćih i međunarodnih aktera, kako bi se doprinijelo pronalaženju rješenja za situaciju na Kosovu kojoj prijete rat, iseljavanje i dugoročna nestabilnost u regiji. Smatramo da je to naše pravo i obveza budući da smo iskusili rat i još uvijek smo pritisnuti njegovim, po društvo i pojedince, razornim posljedicama. Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske - Ured mreže, ovom prilikom želi obavijestiti javnost o svojim prijedlozima za internacionalizaciju Kosovskog problema, te pozvati sve da doprinesu njegovu rješavanju.

Kriza na Kosovu, čiji korijeni sežu na početke ovog stoljeća, eskalirala je još 1981. godine. U prošlih sedamnaest godina situacija se stalno pogoršavala, a ovih dana ulazi u fazu velikih krvoprolića.

Tokom osamdesetih godina na Kosovu, upotrebom sile i grubim kršenjima ljudskih prava u kojima su sudjelovali pripadnici policijskih snaga svih bivših republika, te tako i iz Hrvatske, snizio se prag senzibilnosti ondašnje javnosti i sila je postala legitimno sredstvo obračunavanja s nenaoružanim civilima. Sve tadašnje metode predstavljale su pripremu za ratove vođene u novonastalim postjugoslavenskim državama.

Zato sadašnja situacija nije unutarnji problem susjedne države, već predstavlja prijetnju regionalnoj stabilnosti koja se tiče i naše države i svih njenih građana. Zato očekujemo da će Hrvatska odlučno reagirati i zatražiti internacionalizaciju Kosovskog problema.

Predlažemo da Hrvatski državni Sabor otvori raspravu o situaciji na Kosovu te usvoji rezoluciju u kojoj će:

1. Zatražiti hitan prekid nasilja od strane policijskih snaga SR Jugoslavije i od strane naoružanih predstavnika Albanaca na Kosovu
2. Izraziti zabrinutost i osudu zbog ubijanja civila
3. Predložiti da Kontaktna skupina imenuje pregovarača ili pregovaračicu koji će posredovati u pregovorima između obje strane
4. Predložiti međunarodnoj zajednici uvođenje prijelaznih vlasti (po uzoru na UNTAES) jer sadašnja situacija na Kosovu više nije unutarnji problem suverene zemlje, već prijetnja sigurnosti na Balkanu i Europi koja se može riješiti samo hitnim i odlučnim posredovanjem međunarodnih institucija u koji će se uključiti i domaće i međunarodne nevladine organizacije
5. Naznačiti da je Hrvatska spremna poštovati obveze prihvaćene potpisivanjem međunarodnih konvencija i primiti izbjeglice s Kosova, kojih će, ako se situacija bude i dalje pogoršavala, biti sve više
6. Predložiti službenu delegaciju Republike Hrvatske koja bi predstavila prijedloge Rezolucije u SR Jugoslaviji

Predlažemo da MEĐUNARODNE INSTITUCIJE učine sve potrebne korake za sljedeće:

1. Trenutno okončanje nasilja; prekidom nasilja uspostavljaju se uvjeti za pregovore
2. Kontaktna skupina treba ovlastiti pregovorača/pregovaračicu koji će posredovati u pregovorima između sukobljenih strana
3. Osiguranje održivog prekida nasilja uvođenjem međunarodne prijelazne uprave, po uzoru na UNTAES; samo se tako može osigurati prostor u kojem se može naći dugoročno rješenje prihvatljivo za obje strane

NAŠIM PRIJATELJIMA NA KOSOVU, U SRBIJI I MAKEDONIJI

Želimo izraziti poštovanje albanskom stanovništvu na Kosovu koje je dugo pružalo nenasilni otpor. U sadašnjoj situaciji očito je da je odabir nasilne opcije učinkovitiji u privlačenju toliko neophodne pozornosti međunarodne javnosti. Poštujući svačiji izbor, želimo podržati sve koji se i dalje zalažu za nenasilno rješenje problema, posebno NEVLADINE ORGANIZACIJE koje su u toku sedam godina, unatoč teškim kršenjima ljudskih prava, istrajale u dostojanstvenom otporu. I sada, kada je krvoproljeće već započelo, nenasilje ima smisla. U toku rata u Hrvatskoj te Bosni i Hercegovini, naučili smo da je zastupanje vrijednosti tolerancije, solidarnosti, poštovanja dostojanstva i ljudskih prava svake osobe, bez obzira na njezino nacionalno podrijetlo ili vjersko opredjeljenje, u središtu života vrijednog čovjeka. U ratu se urušava cijeli sustav vrijednosti. Zato je važno baš tada sačuvati samopoštovanje kroz zalaganje za ljudska prava svih pogođenih. Zar je potrebno pobiti stotine tisuća ljudi kao u Bosni i Hercegovini da bi se tek onda našlo političko rješenje za život Albanaca i Srba na Kosovu, koje će se na kraju ipak dogovoriti za pregovaračkim stolom?

CIVILNOM DRUŠTVU, POLITIČKIM STRANKAMA I SVEUKUPNOJ HRVATSKOJ JAVNOSTI

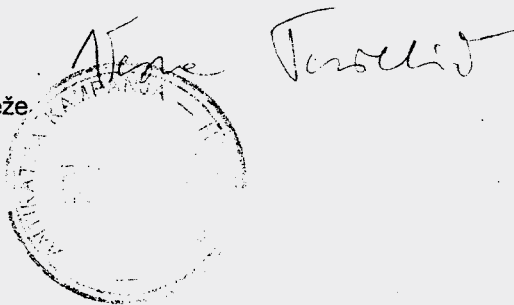
Ured Mreže Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske nastaviti će javnu raspravu o mogućnostima civilnog i političkog angažmana od strane grupa i pojedinaca u Hrvatskoj koje bi doprinijele mirovnom procesu ophođenja s Kosovskim problemom. Radit ćemo na internacionalizaciji problema, na povezivanju i pomoći organizacijama civilnog društva koje rade u regiji, ohrabrivat ćemo nastavak nenasilnih oblika otpora i biti u redovnoj komunikaciji s našim prijateljima na Kosovu i Srbiji, Makedoniji i Albaniji. Smjeramo organizirati redovne posjete mirovnih aktivista na Kosovo, u Srbiju i u Makedoniju kojima bi se prenijela mirovna iskustva iz rada tijekom rata i poraća u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini, te pružila podrška pojedincima i grupama koje rade na uspostavljanju dijaloga. O svim daljnjim aktivnostima i naročito posjetama javnost ćemo obavijestiti putem redovitih konferencija za tisak.

U Zagrebu, 18. ožujka 1998

Za Antirratnu kampanju Hrvatske

Vesna Teršelić

Koordinatorica mreže.





Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske
Antiwar Campaign Croatia

Zvonimir Šeparović
ministar
Ministarstvo pravosuđa
Republike Austrije 14
Zagreb

Pavao Miljavac
ministar
Ministarstvo obrane
Trg kralja Petra Krešimira IV br. 1
Zagreb

**PETICIJA SA ZAHTJEVIMA NEVLADINIH ORGANIZACIJA ZA
REGULACIJU PRAVA NA PRIGOVOR SAVJESTI**

Pravo na prigovor savjesti priznato je kako u međunarodnim standardima za ljudska prava tako i u Ustavu Republike Hrvatske u članku 47 te u Zakonu o obrani. No, za potpuno ostvarenje tog prava u R. Hrvatskoj nisu još ispunjeni nužni uvjeti i potrebno je poduzeti dodatne korake. Zbog toga dolje navedene nevladine organizacije traže od Ministarstva pravosuđa i Ministarstva obrane usvajanje slijedećih zahtjeva:

1. Omogućavanje prigovaračima savjesti služenje uistinu alternativne civilne službe u civilnim institucijama (uključujući i nevladine organizacije), a da one za to ne snose troškove;
2. Civilnu službu koja će biti istog trajanja kao i vojna služba jer se u suprotnom takva služba može smatrati svojevrsnom kaznom;
3. Pružanje u trenutku regrutacije svakom vojnom obvezniku pisane informacije o mogućnosti prigovora savjesti.
4. Donošenje posebnog zakona o civilnom služenju vojnog roka.

Amnesty International Hrvatske
Autonomna Tvornica Kulture - ATTACK
Centar za direktnu zaštitu ljudskih prava
Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava-Osijek
Centar za mirovne studije
Centar za promociju ljudskih prava
Udruga alternativne kulture TRN-Čakovec
Unija 47
Ured mreže Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske
(organizacije su navedene po abecednom redu)



Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske
Antiwar Campaign Croatia

Zagreb, 11. svibnja, 2.000

Dragi i dragi,

Proces transformacije ureda Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske u volontersku organizaciju je pri kraju. To znači da radimo i da smo još uvijek u uredu u Vukovarskoj. No oslanjamo se isključivo na volonterski rad. Jedini troškovi koje imamo su najamnina, troškovi režija, telefona i knjigovodstva. Uz to treba pribrojati i poštarinu. Svakog četvrtka održavaju se konzultacije za prigovarače savjesti.

No kriza je i dalje u toku. Molimo vas da preuzmete svoj dio odgovornosti za ostvarivanje transformacije ARKa. To se pitanje odnosi na odgovornost za aktivnosti (što može biti sve od dolaska na akciju kad dijelimo letke do preuzimanje odgovornosti za cjelokupna događanja i smišljanja novih programa) i na finacijsku odgovornost.

Postoji stanovita vjerojatnost da ćemo za neke aktivnosti ipak dobiti sredstva fondacija.

Mirovne igre su aplicirale USIS-u i dobile odobren grant od 3000 \$ za posjetu Križevcima; Mirovne igre i Iskorak u sutra aplicirale su Vladinom uredu za udruge, Mirovne igre i Prigovor savjesti aplicirali su UNHRD-u - no zapravo bi bilo puno zdravije kad bi sami skupili cjelokupni iznos za redovno funkcioniranje ureda.

Predlažemo da ubuduće članarina za organizacije bude 400 K mjesečno. Za pojedinke i pojedince predlažemo 40 K mjesečno.

Molimo vas da nam do 25. svibnja odgovorite želite li i dalje biti u ARKu. U Sanacijskom odboru ARKa smatramo da je izuzetno važno nastaviti rad i sa svoje strane ćemo tome doprinjeti i vlastitim radom i plaćanjem članarine. No da bi mogli zadržati ured, trebamo vašu podršku. Mjesečni troškovi iznose oko 4.500,00 kn (stanarina, rezije, tel./fax, poštarina, knjigovodstvo).

Pošto ARK više ne funkcionira kao mreža, želimo se preregistrirati u udrugu. Sada smo registrirani kao savez. Malo pretenciozno zar ne? Željeli bismo to učiniti nakon 25. svibnja - no prije nam je važno čuti vaša mišljenja.

U prilogu vam šaljemo *Zapisnik sa Skupštine ARK-a održane 11. prosinca 1999, Povelju ARK-a* (s korekcijama prihvaćenim na Skupštini) i *člansku pristupnicu*. Ako ste preživjeli šok suočavanja sa pristupnicom, možda ćete se i odlučiti da je popunite. Za one među vama koji prezire pristupnice bit će dovoljan poziv telefonom ili još bolje, dolazak u ured.

Aktivnosti koje smo organizirali od Skupštine:

Tiskali smo novi letak o *Prigovoru savjesti* i *Mirovnim igrama*.

U suradnji sa *Amnesty International Hrvatske* okončana je priprema prijedloga Zakona o civilnoj službi. Prijedlog je u toku siječnja predstavljen na konferenciji za tisak. U toku je medijska kampanja, lobiranje saborskih zastupnika, turneja promoviranja prigovora savjesti u sklopu posjeta Mirovnih igara, te istraživanje stavova zagrebačkih srednješkolaca i srednješkolki o prigovoru savjesti.

15. siječnja, 2.000, na dan Martina Luthera Kinga dijelili smo letke o prigovoru savjesti na Trgu bana Jelačića u Zagrebu.



Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske
Antiwar Campaign Croatia

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09.06.2003.

Izjava za javnost

Prva globalno koordinirana kampanja protiv "Istinskog oružja za masovno uništenje"

Svjetski tjedan akcije protiv oružja, 2-8.6.2003.

(1.)

U sklopu svjetske kampanje protiv proliferacije (širenja posjedovanja) lakog oružja, nevladine organizacije iz cijelog svijeta u prošlom su tjednu provele zajednički *Tjedan akcije*. Potaknuta podatkom da od lakog oružja, (uključujući osobno naoružanje, puške i vojno vatreno oružje), svake minute negdje u svijetu gine jedno ljudsko biće, IANSA, (International Action Network on Small Arms) Međunarodna akcijska mreža organizacija koje se bave problematikom lakog oružja, koordinirala je Svjetski tjedan akcije tokom kojega je diljem svijeta upozoravano na problem oružja i odgovornost vlada za sigurnost zajednica.

Tjedan akcije održava se mjesec dana prije UN-ovog sastanka država na temu lakog oružja koji se svake dvije godine održava u New Yorku. Tokom ovogodišnjeg sastanka, zakazanog za 7-11.7., razgovarati će se o pomacima koje su postigle zemlje članice UN-a nakon zadnjeg sastanka održanog 2001, kada je dogovoren Program akcije - skup mjera namijenjenih smanjenju širenja i zloupotrebe lakog oružja.

Nevladine udruge koriste Tjedan akcije kako bi podsjetile svoje vlade na odgovornost koju imaju u sklopu preuzetih obaveza. Preko osamdeset događanja, od edukacije i osvještavanja mladih, prikazivanja filmova, mimohoda, javnih diskusija i okruglih stolova do javnog uništavanja oružja i oružja-igrački i transformacije oružja u umjetnost, održavalo se u 30 zemalja, među kojima su Makedonija, Sjedinjene države, Fiji, Uganda, Velika Britanija, Belgija, Malawi, Argentina...

Rebecca Peters, direktorica mreže IANSA, izjavila je da će, samo za vrijeme Tjedna, diljem svijeta uslijed oružanog nasilja poginuti oko 9600 ljudi. "Oružje masovnog

uništenja upravo je lako oružje. Predugo je ljudska sigurnost bivala žrtvovana u ime nacionalne sigurnosti. Nevladine organizacije zahtijevaju od vlada da preokrenu ovaj pristup i na prvo mjesto stave sigurnost svojih građana.

(2.)

Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske (ARK), članica mreže IANSA, ovim povodom želi podsjetiti na prošlogodišnju uspješnu akciju Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova i ostalih sudionika Nacionalne kampanje za povećanje sigurnosti dobrovoljnim povratom oružja, te skrenuti pažnju na potrebu daljnjih akcija, jer oružje iz dana u dan postaje sve uobičajenija i, na žalost, prihvaćenija pojava u našoj stvarnosti. ARK poziva nevladine organizacije i vladine institucije na stvaranje radne grupe za pitanja oružja u zajednici/cama, koja bi se nastavila baviti kampanjom za povećanje sigurnosti i pružala kvalitetnu podršku projektima koji prepoznatljivo i učinkovito doprinose promjeni stavova i ponašanja spram oružja. Pozivamo također donatore te sponzore iz gospodarstvenog sektora da podrže ovakve projekte.

ARK-ov projekt transformacije stavova spram oružja, **"ORUŽJE U UMJETNOST"** /"Arms into Art"/ teži prilagoditi se u potpunosti specifičnostima i potrebama našeg društva i pružiti kvalitetan okvir za međusektorsku suradnju, povezujući djelovanje domaćih protagonista (mirovnih aktivista/ica, umjetnika/ca, odgovornih predstavnika institucija države, sudionika/ca rata, obitelji mirnodopskih žrtava oružja, medija, pripadnika/ca lokalnih zajednica i lokalne samouprave) sa uspješnim i priznatim međunarodnim projektima i organizacijama. "Oružje u umjetnost", inspirirano svjetski poznatim mozambičkim projektom, istražuje mogućnosti suradnje između RH i zemalja izvan kruga najrazvijenijih, naročito društava i država koja/e su u svojoj bliskoj prošlosti imala isto ili slično iskustvo rata i poraća, a koja su razvila niz programa i projekata koji bi, prilagođeni, u RH bili itekako primjenljivi i učinkoviti, te bi vidljivo doprinijeli povećanju sigurnosti u našem društvu, te u isto vrijeme doprinijeli povećanju tolerancije i solidarnosti.

Za ARK

Ranka Radović

Koordinatorica projekta



UPUTE ZA UREDNIKE - ARK

Ovo je zajednička izjava za javnost IANSA-e (prvi dio teksta) i ARK-a.

Za više informacija o IANSA-i i Svjetskom tjednu akcije te o Antiratnoj kampanji Hrvatske, ili za dogovaranje intervjua s voditeljima projekta "Oružje u umjetnost", molimo kontaktirajte Ranku Radović na tel. 091 789 73 13.



Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske
Antiwar Campaign Croatia

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e-mail: ark@zamir.net, www.zamirnet.hr/unija47

Zagreb, 12.03.2006.

To Whom It May Concern:

We confirm that the *Antiwar Campaign Croatia (ARK)* is a partner on the project "Regional Peace Caravan", organized by the Regional Network for Conscientious Objection in SEE "Objection for Peace" and that ARK participates in the implementation of its activities."

ARK is a non-governmental organisation founded in 1991, that works on the promotion and protection of human and women's rights, promotion and education in non-violent conflict transformation, demilitarisation of society

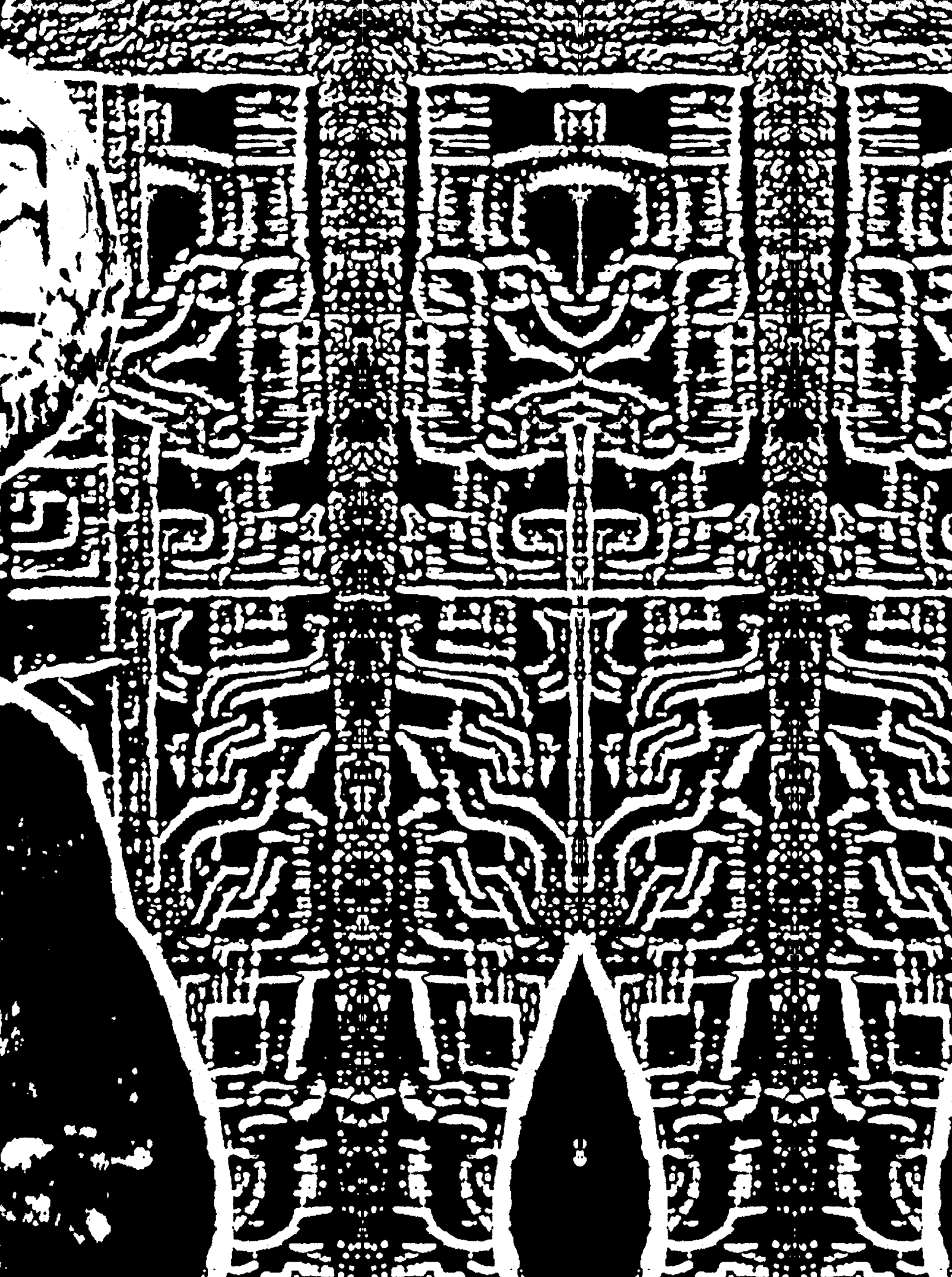
In the past period, our main activities consist of work on the promotion of conscientious objection and civil service in Croatia.

Our activities in 2005 mainly consisted of our regular counselling of conscientious objectors, and conducting a public-opinion poll / research project called "Conscientious objection and the role of civil society in the process of democratization".

This project consisted of a *public opinion poll conducted in high schools* (as a comparison to the pole we did in 2000, on the Attitudes of the young population towards conscientious objection and civil service in Croatia) and a *series of interviews with CO's serving civil service*. The results will be available on our website in several weeks.

For ARK
Nataša Sipak
Co-ordinator





**A view from outside:
wish you were here**

What made me sit for days and nights, neglecting my other obligations, to work on adjusting applications to Swedish norms, going through reports and checking the numbers? Now afterwards, when I reflect on our work together, I discover and understand that in the joint programs our friendship and fellowship has been the important driving force. Working with the Centre has been a rich and wonderful experience for which I'm extremely grateful.

— Margareta Ingelstam

Staying changed my life a lot; at some point my life is divided into before, during and after the wars.

— Wam Kat

During the collective remembering of the very early period of the Antiwar Campaign, many activists emphasised the role played by international networking and the presence of foreign volunteers in the development of ARK's activities, but also in the articulation of value judgements and political starting points. Whereas domestic literature mostly reflects the negative influence of large international agencies and foundations on the development of the co-called civic scene, the positive experiences of cooperation, support and international solidarity at the grassroots level have gone virtually unrecorded. Suncokret, the Volunteer Project Pakrac, the Balkans Peace Team and Nexus are just a few of the organisations in whose work numerous volunteers from all over the world took part. Many of them formed deep friendships and an enduring bond with the local antiwar, women's and human rights groups until today. Some lived in the region for years, some visited periodically, and some have stayed on to live here. Although some had worked together with peace and women's organisations in the former Yugoslavia before the war, for most it was the first time. Both experienced peace activists and those for whom it was the first major social immersion learned and grew together with us. The experience acquired by the antiwar movement in the former Yugoslavia has today been incorporated into the strategies and instruments of the global peace movement, and it has also served as an inspiration for books and PhDs.

We wanted to record their contribution to the antiwar initiatives in this region and therefore wrote to our friends abroad and asked them to note down their memories, personal stories and critical reflections and thus to become part of this sketch of a period.

We sent the questionnaire⁰¹ to about thirty people who were part of our work over a long period. We received twenty-four completed questionnaires.

WHO ARE THEY, WHAT DID THEY DO BEFORE AND WHY DID THEY COME?

Links between Slovenian and Croatian civic initiatives developed in the course of the 80s. After the war broke out, the links with the Slovenian peace movement proved to be exceptionally vital because the Slovenian peace activists had built a broad network of international contacts with established antiwar/peace organisations such as War Resisters' International,⁰² *Bund für soziale Verteidigung*,⁰³ *Gruppe für eine Schweiz ohne Armee*,⁰⁴ etc. As the testimonies of Marko Hren, Christine Schweitzer, Dorie Wilsnack and Howard Clark show, WRI was one of the organisations crucial for ARK's international networking.

01 This was a slightly altered version of the questionnaire Aida Bagić prepared and used for the text "Sabiranje sjećanja: ČŽŽR kao mjesto susreta i razilaženja", *Žene obnavljaju sjećanja*. Centar za žene žrtve rata deset godina poslije, Zagreb, 2003.

02 War Resisters' International (WRI) – an international network of conscientious objectors.

03 *Bund für soziale Verteidigung* (BSV) – Social Defence League.

04 *Gruppe für eine Schweiz ohne Armee* (GSoA) – Group for Switzerland without an Army.



The Intruder

Year I
No. 1.
July 1991

Seminars

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

Hot topics

An intruder in Slovenia

- 2 Yugoslavia in pain, by Marko Hren
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Inside Yu

- 10 Yugoslavia: the state of affairs, by Tonal Mastnak
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- 8 A story of a unique opportunity, by Marko Hren
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- 16 Education in the light of modern scientific hypotheses, by Srećko Šorić

Marko Hren:

The Ljubljana Peace group was established in early 80s. We established a Centre for culture of peace and non-violence in 1988 and this was a core infrastructure for the international activity of peace movement in Yugoslavia. We published a newsletter in English from 1983 till 1993. We encouraged the international community to get involved prior to and after the outbreak of the Yugoslav armed crisis. We initiated a major effort to help peace and non-violence activities emerge in the regions of the former Yugoslavia. In the early stage, we served as a coordination point for the peace groups in the Balkans. As you know, we planned to move the editorial office of *Intruder* to Zagreb in 1992, but by that time the peace initiatives in Croatia and elsewhere were strong enough to run their activities independently and autonomously. I was on the last train from Ljubljana to Belgrade in July 1991 with the German activist Christine Schweitzer when the armed conflicts in the area of Mirkovci and Vinokovci prevented further transit through Croatia. We got trapped in the conflict.

Christine Schweitzer:

I've been active in the peace movement in (West) Germany since the end of the 1970s. That movement focussed on the planned deployment of new nucle-

ar missiles by the USA, which increased the danger of a Third World War. Starting from that concern, I became interested in non-violent alternatives to war and violence, civilian-based defence and non-violent resistance. I believe the immediate impetus to get involved in the region of what was Yugoslavia until 1991 was the Iraq war, which had just happened before, and against which we protested for many months. I remember thinking I didn't want to just watch another war on television, feeling helpless, but wanted to see if there was something I could do. I learned about the peace groups through the international network of War Resisters' International.

Dorie Wilsnack:

I was already very involved in peace work, in particular international peace work through WRI. When the war began, I perceived that peace activists outside the region could provide some good support, that would encourage local activists and help them feel more connected and supported rather than isolated. That was my initial motivation.

Before I visited the region, one way that I was able to follow the antiwar/peace groups was through the new communication tool called "email" and various email mailing lists. I also learned a lot from ex-Yugo people who were living in New York City. We organised a project in New York called the Balkan Dialogue Group, which brought together Croatians, Serbs, Bosnians and Kosovars who were residing in NYC and wanted to build bridges with each other and talk about the war. I was one of the non-Yugo facilitators. I was actively involved in creating the Balkan Peace Team project. I helped with some training sessions for BPT volunteers, and in 1995-96 I spent three months with the BPT team in Belgrade, also spending time in Kosova.

I attended peace-related conferences, such as those organised by Women in Black.

Howard Clark:

I became coordinator of War Resisters' International in 1985 and so had been working with the Peace Movement Working Group of Slovenia since then. I visited from 1988 onwards. I networked, reported, drank coffee, gave some talks, did some workshops, was involved in everything connected with War Resisters' International and the Committee for Conflict Transformation Support (CCTS), and was involved with the Balkan Peace Team Otvorene Oči from beginning to end. I also gave quite a lot of visitors advice before coming.

In 1998 I was on the organising committee for the Poreč WRI/ARK conference "Choosing peace together".

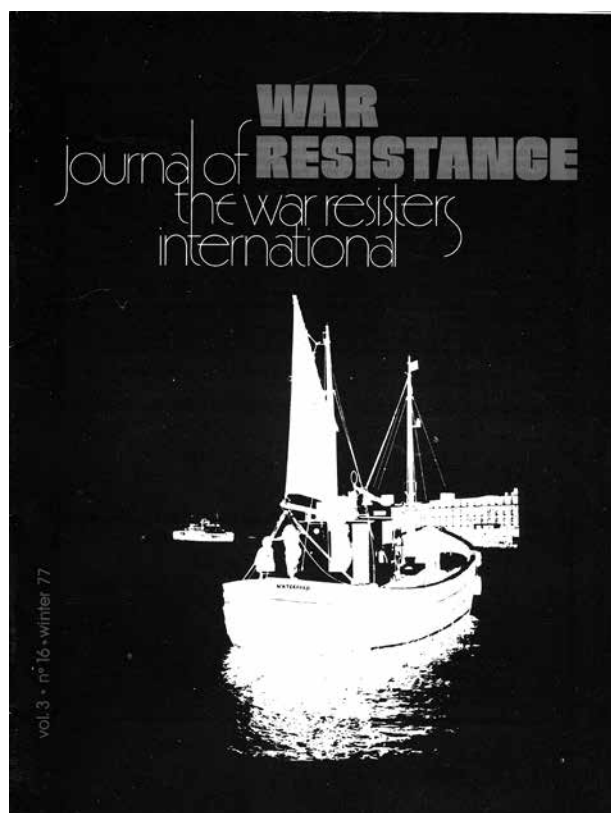
After a first six months of intense activity, during which a large part of the energy of ARK's activists in the Zagreb office went into communication with the many adventure-seeking peaceniks, as well as foreign journalists, for whom we were an alternative source of information but also translators and guides in the war zone, we encountered another problem: the Peace Caravans. These were organised by foreign organisations like the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, without much consultation with us. Although they were driven by goodwill, the benefit of such caravans for the long-term work of the antiwar initiatives was rather scant. Grassroots peace mobilisation in Western Europe is impressive, and in order to make our cooperation as productive as possible ARK and the Coordination of Peace Initiatives from Ljubljana wrote a "Letter of intent to social movements throughout the world" in early 1992. Among other things, the letter suggested that projects be carefully prepared in cooperation with local groups, that activists inform themselves and prepare in detail before coming, and that assistance was required for the development of infrastructure (ARKzin, no. 4, 12 February 1992, p. 27). One of the first activists to receive the letter was Wam Kat, an experienced Dutch activist, who ended up staying in the region for a number of years instead of just a few months.

Wam Kat:

I was active as international coordinator of European Youth for Action (EYFA), a long-time activist in the peace, environment and human right movement. Vesna Teršelič invited me to come to Zagreb to help ARK in 1992.

Marcin Poletyło:

I was active in the peace and conscientious objector movement in Poland, so it was quite natural for me to move on, when "things" started in the Balkans. I was travelling around then, so I first went to Slovenia (winter '93) where I first found Marko Hren, and then a Slovenian organisation sent me to Suncokret in Zagreb. Initially I wanted to get involved with helping deserters, but it proved



I consider that international players didn't invest sufficient energy in analysing the local situation. In far too many cases they acted according to their own perception rather than a realistic analysis on the ground. But, having said that, I must underline that local intellectuals on the side of civil society in the former Yugoslavia bear most of the responsibility for us (the local, Yugoslav experts) not being in a position to present a consensual view on the situation in Yugoslavia. As a result, the international players received confused and divergent proposals from the local players (NGOs, intellectuals, politicians and media).

too difficult and I guess I was too young and inexperienced to do that kind of work. Then, in the autumn of that year, I was in a peace action with a group of activists mainly from the Netherlands, we had a meeting then with Wam, who proposed I come to Pakrac. So I did.

Stefan:

Prior to my work in Pakrac I was loosely involved in peace activism, mostly in fighting for the right of people that objected to military service in Poland. Marcin, Bocian and I were close hippy friends and it was Marcin who was deeply into activism. He ran peace activities in Warsaw, attended demonstrations and seminars, and finally had contact with peace activists and organisations/NGOs from all over Europe. He was the one who became a volunteer in refugee camps in Istria after the war broke out in Bosnia. When he returned, we all decided we'd like to go back to Croatia with him and serve for a while as volunteers in refugee camps. At that time we were in touch with a Dutch organisation that was organising a convoy to the Marija Bistrica refugee camp. Well, it was a big hotel where the refugees from Vukovar were accommodated by the Croatian authorities. We joined the convoy, and that's how we got to know Wam Kat.

Bocian:

I was involved in peace groups in Poland before I came. I was working together with Ruch Wolność i Pokój (the Freedom and Peace Movement), Federacja Anarchistyczna (the Anarchist Federation) and many other groups from Poland and other countries. Friends and I also set up "Ruch Pacyfistyczno-Anarchistyczny" (the Pacifist and Anarchistic Movement) in our home town. We organised and participated in a lot of events against the army and war.

But that wasn't enough for me, so I decided to go to where I could do more than just "talking". Two of my Polish friends and I met up with a Dutch peace group and I headed for Zagreb. We thought we'd stay for three months, but after a few weeks I realized this was work I wanted to do. So I stayed in the region for a bit longer. Six and a half years.

SR:

I was in the UK managing an experimental ecological community that explored non-violence, meditation, mediation and the creation of structures that empower, serve us and nurture well-being; I was also involved in inter-community/ethnic peace activities in India and Sri Lanka.

When news of the war started arriving in the UK media I was deeply affected by it and I decided to follow whatever motivation/response would come up. I didn't know what that would be. Nine months later, I found myself invited via a friend, Adam Curle, to come and work with ARK in Zagreb. I wanted to support and learn from and with people saying No to the war and fear, and Yes to human preciousness and the determination to go beyond killing, exclusion and suppression.

It came also at a time where I'd benefitted hugely myself from other people teaching me how to discover internal power, shared power in working in groups, mediation, the possibility that we can be free and empowered, that we can do that together, and the possibility that conflicts can bring creative growth, power, and freedom from fear. Also that the spiritual/physical/mental/political/personal/group/society etc. levels of how we can be fearful or free are all connected and that we can address them.



Peace happening in Sarajevo, 21 July 1991



Split, April 1992 - waiting for the ferry to Vis
(in the photo: Klaus Uack, Tonči Kuzmanić, Nenad Zakošek, Vesna Janković and others)

The worst were the missionaries, looking for partners to implement their bright ideas and justify their funding. When we set up Balkan Peace Team, we knew we'd need to choose people who could listen to what you were saying, follow the leads you gave them, and allow themselves to be used strategically by the ARK network.

Tim Lusink:

I'd been working as a long-term volunteer for various projects in Europe, in between working in paid capacity to fund myself.

I heard about Pakrac through a friend who'd worked in a refugee camp in Zagreb and gone on to work in Pakrac. I initially came with the intention of only doing a workcamp. I decided to stay as I very much liked the project and felt I had experience and skills to contribute, particularly as the project had expanded and was in need of some structuring.

BJ:

My previous work in the UK was mostly building work, and previous to that I worked as a coal miner. I, along with a few friends of mine, were watching the news every night of the war that was starting to rage, it was the scenes of injured children that hit me the most. One of my friends said: "It's a shame we can't help in some way." "Why not?" another said. After that we planned and started doing convoys of humanitarian aid from our small town.

I first came to Croatia driving aid lorry in convoys. That was in 1992. From there in early 1993 I worked in Lipik with Colonel Mark Cooke, rebuilding the orphanage. After returning to the UK, I heard a new international volunteer project had started up in Pakrac. I arrived there in September/October '93, and was their project driver/humanitarian aid officer. Until I started, along with Zvezdana (now my wife), the Lipik reconstruction project in '95. That was a one-year project run by international volunteers.

After a very successful year, I then went to work in Bosnia (Gornji Vakuf), which had started a project and was being run by quite a few ex-Pakrac international volunteers. There I worked as project driver, and also ran the Glass Project (replacing windows in apartment blocks and houses that had been broken during the war). After that I went back to the UK, then in '99 I returned to Croatia and was employed by IRC and worked in Albania, then in Kosovo as emergency shelter manager for just over a year.

Nick Wilson Young:

I was a history student and involved in active student resistance to the Conservative government's ending of free university education. I studied Eastern European History as part of my degree, which gave me some background knowledge to the war.

In 1993 I was unemployed and living in Scotland, and I volunteered for 3 weeks with Suncokret in a camp in Karlovac. At the last moment I was given the option of going to the Pakrac project. I chose it, knowing only that we'd be working across the ceasefire line.

I decided to come to Croatia because I was upset by media coverage of the war in Bosnia. My father was a Methodist Minister. Protestant Methodists have a long tradition of campaigning for social justice. Though I reject Christianity, my upbringing and studies meant I had lots of knowledge about, and admiration for, people who resisted wrongs in the past. As a teenager, I was heavily influenced by the campaign to resist the deployment of US cruise missiles to the UK (as we now know, in 1984 we came very close indeed to global nuclear war). At the age of 14, I and my father both joined the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). By my late teens, my childhood fascination with war was therefore mixed with a strong awareness of the futility of war. I had a life-size poster on my bedroom wall of a US soldier photographed as he was shot in Vietnam, with one word above: "Why?"

Though I wouldn't necessarily have known (or admitted) it at the time, I now think at least some part of my motivation to come to Croatia was to earn the posthumous approval of my father – he died of cancer in 1991 – and live out the values I inherited from him.

I knew nothing about the antiwar and peace groups in the region, but I did know a lot about past resistance to tsarist, fascist and Communist regimes across Eastern Europe, and about the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War. I suppose I thought the ex-Yugo antiwar resistance might be similar.

The shifting focus from antiwar activism to peace work and reconciliation led to a growing importance of cooperation with organisations dedicated to non-violent conflict resolution like Pax Christi, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), Rural Southern Voice for Peace (RSVP) and the Quaker Peace and Service (QPS):

Margareta Ingelstam:

From 1970 to 1989 I worked with the Educational Radio & TV of Sweden. In the 80s, I became more deeply involved in the peace movement as the general secretary and chair of the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation. I learnt about the Antiwar Campaign and the Peace Centre in Osijek through IFOR and Adam Curle.

The first event was the “Week of peace culture” with the Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek. After that first visit, I was at the centre several times: sharing the workshop “Imaging a world without weapons” by Professor Elise Boulding, giving a workshop in Županja and traveling in the region together with Professor Adam Curle, and discussing and planning new projects and programs.

Herb Walters:

I'm the founder of the Rural Southern Voice for Peace (RSVP) and its primary program, the Listening Project.

A Listening Project is a comprehensive process that includes “deep listening” interviews and community organizing that can result in cooperative community education and action on a wide range of issues and concerns. Listening Projects are especially useful in communities where conflict or divisions weakens efforts for positive change.

As well as in the United States, I'd also conducted a Listening Project in Nicaragua and the Island of Palau in Micronesia.

Christof Ziemer:

I'd been working as a minister in Dresden since 1980, was involved in church-based peace and environment work, and had played an active part in the “peaceful revolution” in Dresden in the autumn of 1989. Two years after the changes, I needed a break, left the service of the Church (also because I disagreed with the way both the political and the church's own reunification processes were proceeding) and decided to go to a crisis region abroad. I'd heard of the Peace Centre in Osijek from Herbert Fröhlich (Pax Christi) and asked if I could come to them for a year.

I'd first encountered the Yugoslavian problems directly when meeting Serbian and Croatian participants at the European Ecumenical Assembly in Basel in 1989, but back then I was too preoccupied with our own problems in Germany.



Dear Friends,

It is difficult to think that the IFOR Council took place already a month ago (or is it only a month ago?) For those of us who were there, it has been an experience that none of us will forget. I am sure. The closing statement is included with this issue. The final report should be ready in January.

Toward the end of January the new Steering Committee will meet for the first time. We will look at the outcome of the Council and seek to put the various resolutions into a coherent program for IFOR as a whole. Only if we all work together can we implement the many recommendations that were taken in Quito. We will keep you informed through *Forum*.

But for that we need your help: one of these recommendations was that there should be, in each branch, affiliate and IFOR group, a "IFOR corresponding member", in charge of keeping in touch regularly with the International Secretariat, so that *Forum* really is what it is supposed to be: a newsletter for communication between the Secretariat and the IFOR network as a whole. *Forum* appears every two months (with cover date January, March, etc.). We're counting on you to send us materials and articles before the 5th of February, April, June, August, October and December!

As we are nearing soon the end of the year 1992, we send to you all our best wishes for the year to come.

in fellowship,

Janine *Susie*

PS. The IFOR secretariat in Alkmaar will be closed for the holiday season between December 23rd and January 4. Someone will come in regularly to check the mail, telephone messages and faxes. If there is an emergency, please leave a message on the telephone answering machine or the fax machine. Otherwise, we will return your letter/call/fax after January 4.

Spoorstraat 38 1815 BK Alkmaar The Netherlands
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Alan Pleydell:

In the 1970s, I was an academic teacher and researcher in politics and international relations, ultimately specialising in ethics relating to human belligerence and its related psychology and in the human and political self-understandings and forms of citizenship and collective self-ordering needed to counteract it.

From 1982–91 I worked in the field of homelessness, training people coming out of prison and psychiatric institutions towards the confidence and capacities needed for more independent living.

My first introductions and contacts came when I was the newly elected secretary of the Quaker European Relations Committee. They were through my colleague Tom Leimdorfer (who'd already made contact with peace educators in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 and was responsible for getting the very first small sums of money to people in ARK and CAWA Belgrade to help them establish mutual email contact; email was an entirely new and unknown phenomenon at that time).

I remained active until the Committee's dissolution in late 2009. My personal involvement continues now as part of PYPL (Post-Yugoslav Peace Link), consisting of those individual Quakers who wish to remain in contact and mutual solidarity with continuing post-Yu peace activists.

John Lampen:

From 1982–94 my wife and I had lived in Derry, Northern Ireland, where we'd been fully involved in peace work with politicians, police and army, illegal organisations, community groups, the churches and children.

We first came in 1996 at the invitation of Goran Božičević, whom I'd met on a peace course at Schlaining, Austria. He introduced us to ARK and its members, and to Maja Uzelac, with whom we have often co-operated on materials for work with children; and he took me to Pakrac and Gornji Vakuf. Later he arranged for us to work with Sezam in Zenica and Medaši in Skopje, as well as events linked to MIRamiDA. Other contacts in Bosnia-Herzegovina were arranged by Goran Bubalo. Through our own arrangements we have visited Charles Tauber in Vukovar and the Osijek Peace Centre, and an event for teachers in Brčko, arranged by the European Network for Conflict Resolution in Education (no longer active). We've never stayed long in the region; our visits have mostly lasted two to three weeks.

Feminist groups were among the first signatories of ARK's charter and members of the network. The involvement of women in antiwar initiatives was impressive throughout the region. In ARK, most of the projects, from peace education and ARKzin to human rights, were run by women. But the gender dimension of both the war and antiwar activism became particularly relevant in 1992 when the war broke out in Bosnia-Herzegovina and news of mass rape was used in attempts at political manipulation – for further "patriotic" mobilisation and demonisation of the "enemy". The Centre for Women War Victims originated then as a feminist antiwar and



Zagreb, autumn 1991 -
 Vesna Teršelič and Christine
 Schweitzer on Ban Jelačić
 Square



Zagreb, autumn 1991 -
 workshop with Traude
 Rebmann



Belgrade,
 December 1991
 - demonstration;
 Howard Clark
 is holding the
 banner

There was no comparable civic engagement for us to build on in Bosnia. One key difference was that in Osijek the initiative had come “from within”; in Sarajevo we came from the outside. ABRAHAM’s focus on peace work between the religions was a minefield, not only politically but also in religious terms. The Bosnian conflict was far more complex, and in the process we had to withstand considerable tensions even within the organisation itself.

political response within ARK. Chris Corrin and Tanya Renne were part of that significant feminist strand.

Chris Corrin:

I was involved with feminist groups in ex-Yu throughout the 1980s, and as of 1986 I worked with women’s groups in Hungary, and various feminists from Belgrade and Zagreb came to conferences in Budapest and Vienna. Before the war in ’91 travel wasn’t a problem, but when I organised peace conferences in Czechoslovakia (as was) in ’92 through our Women’s Commission the delegates invited from Belgrade weren’t able to travel (I can’t remember if the Czech government didn’t give visas or the Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly Women’s Commission couldn’t organise for them). However, women peace activists from most other areas (not all recognised as separate countries then) participated: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro/Serbia and Slovenia. Women activists from Nagorno-Karabakh and seven east-central European countries joined in discussions and various debates arose around women from “enemy” countries being able to work together across disputed borders. There was great interest in the cooperation of feminist antiwar groups.

Working with anti-fascist feminists in Zagreb and elsewhere in Croatia meant that a lot could be achieved in spreading the realities of the war in ex-Yu throughout western countries since peace campaigners in many countries couldn’t understand the complexities of the atrocities taking place. The media wasn’t helpful in describing much of the hostilities as “civil war” or ancient feuds etc. The Centre for Women War Victims in Zagreb was a model of Antiwar Campaigning to support women affected by the violence. My involvement was in publicising the work of Croatian antiwar feminists through workshops (in Prague, Glasgow, London, Stirling, Tuzla, Belgrade, Brighton, Bratislava, Vienna, etc.) and by publishing articles and books through the HCA booklets *Superwomen and the Double Burden* (1992) and *Women in a Violent World* (1996), in which antiwar activists spoke/wrote for themselves and their communities.

Tanya Renne:

I was living in Italy during my Junior year in college and met some Serbs via some Italian friends, who introduced me to Lepa. I entered Slovenia in 1991 on the first day of free elections. I wasn’t inclined to call someone I didn’t know, but then it rained for 4 days. I broke down and called this “Lepa person” (**Lepa Mladenović**), who happened to be passing by her flat and stopped in. I got on the next train to Belgrade. She introduced me to various people and I was struck by how the women’s movement in Yugo was very much like the black women’s movement in the US in the 60s, both intellectually and in the street. Feminism in the West had become a purely academic pursuit, it seemed to me, and this was refreshing.

I was there from 1992–95. I lived in Belgrade, working with Women in Black and the autonomous women’s centre, then in Zagreb at the Centre for Women War Victims.

The increasingly difficult conditions under which local human rights activists had to work, particularly in Osijek, Split and Karlovac – the threats of violence and actual physical violence they were exposed to – prompted the formation of a small but significant organisation, the Balkan Peace Team, with the assistance of many international organisations such as WRI, IF-

OR, QPS, PBI (Peace Brigades International), etc. The Balkan Peace Team had groups in Croatia, Serbia and Kosovo. The Croatian team operated under the name Otvorene Oči. Vic Ullom, Derek McDonald-Jureša and Øystein Kleven were a few of the international volunteers involved in the work of the BPT.

Vic Ullom:

Upon graduation from university, I taught Spanish to troubled youth in a school district in Kansas City. I'd also studied international relations and ethnic conflict, so I knew that I'd work internationally at some point. After completing an MA degree in adult education, I began seeking volunteer opportunities. The Brethren Volunteer Service had such a program and they were connected to the antiwar movement in Croatia. When I learned about the Balkan Peace Team, I knew that was exactly what I'd been looking for.

Derek McDonald-Jureša:

Before I went to Croatia I spent two years in the Netherlands working as a volunteer in a community that cared for people transitioning from psychiatric hospitals into "real life". While I was there, my boss, Kristen Flory, co-founded the Balkan Peace Team. Knowing that I'd wanted to do peace work, she invited me to be a volunteer in Croatia.

I was a volunteer with Otvorene Oči/the Balkan Peace Team from 1994 through 1996, and then a trainer in Croatia and Bosnia for OSCE election monitors from 1996 through 1998.

Øystein Kleven:

In the late eighties, I got involved with non-violent direct action and moved on to working with a non-violence/peace magazine. Then in the summer of 1992 I met **Aida [Bagić]** on a speaking tour in Germany. I became part of the Balkan Peace Team based in Zagreb in the spring of 1994. But, partly as a journalist and partly as an activist, I actively followed the region from 1992 to 1997, when I burned out. I felt sick and tired, and I more or less dropped out of the scene.

Many of ARK's long-time friends combined their professional interest with antiwar activism, like the German journalist Rüdiger Rossig:

Rüdiger Rossig:

I'd been hanging around Yugoslavia, especially the Croatian coast and Zagreb, since 1985 but never lived in the country for longer than a month. Still, I had a lot of friends there when the war broke out and was constantly in touch with most of them, i.e. the ones who stayed and the ones who left, for instance to Germany. So I got involved in helping the refugees, securing contact to their families and friends throughout ex-Yugoslavia and writing about that as a journalist specialised in the Balkans (I studied Eastern European History at the Free University of Berlin).

Balkan Peace Team Newsletter

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"Open Eyes" In Future In Two Towns Answering To the Needs

Recently, at a conference in Salzburg, representatives from the peace movements in the former Yugoslav republics came together to help strategize for the future, and sent an open letter to peace movements. Their resolutions were strong, among them asking from the international community to come individually or in small groups to work on concrete projects and to work closely with their activists. They sent the message that "pledging for peace is not the same as making peace, pledging for nonviolence is not the same as creating nonviolence, but that pledging for peace and nonviolence can be one effective bar to creating war and violence."

These requests should be put in a context of an innovative approach to peace work, as preventative rather than reactive. The "Anti-War" in Croatia's Anti-War Campaign (known as ARK, its initials in Croatian), meant building peace. This process involves long-term commitment and progress in small, sometimes immeasurable steps, such as through peace education, workshops with influential people, as well as countering violations of human rights and the perpetuation of intolerance. Croatia may no longer be in war, but it has not yet established peace: the Ministry of Defense plays a large role in policy development, and the military police run unchecked, often abusing their power, especially against citizens who are not of Croatian nationality. To many, the ruling party Croatian Democratic

Community (HDZ) seems to be more interested in reinforcing its own power than promoting pluralism and democracy. In the eyes of some, their domination is made easier by public frustration because of difficult economic conditions compounded by the swell of refugees and displaced persons. The privatization process, especially, is fertile ground for HDZ control, as the transfer of property is ending up in the hands of the few who can afford it, whose alignment with the ruling party is seen by many as more than coincidental.

If violence is no longer an acute fear, it is a close enough memory. Suspicion of those of other nationalities is high, and not many are willing to speak against persecution of those of non-Croatian ethnicity. Activists in Croatia work with individual cases, helping people acquire citizenship, working through legal methods to try to curb the military police's illegal actions such as evicting people from their apartments to give them to a returned soldier. They also investigate policies such as those which incarcerate those "foreigners" who have not acquired papers for residence in Croatia, usually Serbs or Bosnians who were denied citizenship but who have often lived and worked in Croatia for decades. All Croatians are nervous about the impending return

continued on page 2

Kosovo: Start in August?

For almost a year now the Balkan Peace Team plans to work in Kosovo - being prevented from doing so by the difficult political situation in Kosovo (visa regulations etc). Now we finally "wanted to know it". An Exploratory Team for the Kosovo project returned end of April from a three week's visit to Belgrade and Prishtine. The team - consisting of Howard Clark (War Resisters' International, London), Dorie Wilson (Balkan War Resource Group, New York), and Paul Bruevelles (potential volunteer, Paris) - met a number of individuals and organizations in Kosovo and Serbia. They had two goals: to find out under which conditions a permanent team of the BPT would be acceptable to the Yugoslav/Serbian authorities, and to assess possible roles for an international team trying to promote contact and dialogue between Serbs and Albanians at the level of everyday life in Kosovo. This basic goal was supported by everybody the Exploratory Team met.

Among others the Exploratory Team met Serbian politicians and representatives of the authorities both in Belgrade and Prishtine. Journalists: Albanian representatives of Mios and political parties: the Prishtine offices of Soros Foundation; UNHCR and the ICRC.

continued on page 3

In 1991 and 1992 I got to know some ARK members through my contacts with the Women's Info Centre; I guess **Aida Bagić** and **Vesna Janković** were the first ARK activists I met. In 1992, during another visit, I met **Wam Kat**, and we've been in touch ever since.

In 1993 a group of *Gastarbeiter* children and German peace activists, amongst them me, organised the first joint Serbo-Croatian antiwar-concert "Tko to tamo pjeva" in Berlin and Prague. The bands Partibrejkers, Električni Orgazam and Ekatarina Velika from Belgrade and Vještice from Zagreb participated, and the takings were given to antiwar groups in Serbia and Croatia. I also wrote some articles for *ARKzin*.

In 1995 I moved to Zagreb to work for UNTV, the United Nations TV-production. ARK members, volunteers from Pakrac and many other people were regular visitors at my flat at that time, and I didn't sleep much when they were there.

WHAT KIND OF THINGS DID THEY DO?

Activists' memories of the activities they were involved in are a vital part of the mosaic of untold or partly forgotten histories of antiwar/peace and human rights activism in this part of the world. Stories of reconciliation work in Slavonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia are not part of the official (war) histories of this region, nor are stories of the active protection of human rights, because both undermine the broadly accepted national narratives. Programmes for listening and facilitated dialogue, interreligious gatherings, work in refugee camps, social renewal projects and support for local activists are just a few of the activities they participated in. But they were not above physical work such as repairing windows or clearing away rubble.

Herb Walters:

In 1992 I conducted training for the Pančevo Peace Project in Serbia for a Listening Project in the town of Brestovac where ethnic tensions were rising between Serbs and Muslims. My initial contact for the project was the European Civic Centre on Conflict Resolution directed by **Vedran Vučić**. My work was co-sponsored by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In October 1997 I conducted training and consultation for a Listening Project in Tenja, Croatia, which helped reduce tensions between resident Serbs and Croats wanting to return to their pre-war homes. The Listening Project helped the Peace Centre in Osijek to develop priorities and strategies for Serb/Croat reconciliation at a time when tensions were high. The Tenja Listening Project was the first of my many return trips to Croatia, over four years, to provide training as part of the program titled "Building a democratic society in Eastern Slavonia based on a culture of non-violence." This project placed trained peace teams in seven high-tension communities in Croatia to build inter-ethnic trust, determine local resources and priorities for reconciliation and community development.

I conducted training and consultation for the listening project in Bilje, Tenja and Ilok. I ran listening workshops in Osijek that helped heal relations between residents who'd stayed in the city during the attack and residents who'd fled the city (considered traitors by many).

I conducted a facilitated dialogue in Vukovar, which was sponsored by the Peace Centre, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies and several Vukovar churches. The purpose of this dialogue was to enable Croats and



Novi Sad, November 1991



Eric Bachman and Ognjen Tus instal ARK's first modem, April 1992

Peace messages, Sarajevo, 21 July 1991

Many international volunteers (including me) were particularly naive, had confused motivations, were emotionally or mentally unsuited to the work, or lacked enough experience to be useful for the project.

Serbs to overcome the mistrust, anger and fears. Both Catholic and Orthodox priests provided excellent guidance. I did a training workshop in facilitated dialogue in the village of Berak. A mass grave was discovered and bodies of massacred Croat civilians were exhumed, and this triggered intense feelings of anger and hatred towards Serb residents of the village. As one woman put it: "How would you feel if your husband and son were slaughtered and the people who committed the atrocity still lived among you?" Facilitated dialogue provided a structured, safe environment in which Serbs and Croats in Berak began walking on the path to forgiveness and reconciliation.

Christof Ziemer:

From September 1992 to September 1993 I was in Osijek and actively participated in practical and theoretical activities of the Peace Centre. I also worked as a glazier, repairing windows destroyed in the war, and I taught German at the University of Osijek.

From March 1997 to February 2003 I was based in Sarajevo. Together with my wife Ljubinka Petrović-Ziemer I founded and ran the association ABRAHAM that did interreligious peace work. We organised meetings with members of the Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish faiths, training programmes for non-violence, projects to empower minorities, tidy up graveyards, etc. We prepared and developed a curriculum for a new school subject "Culture of the religions" and conducted research and dialogue on "The place of the other in our faith and our lives" with Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant and Muslim theologians from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia.

Nick Wilson Young:

I was with the first group of volunteers into Pakrac in July 1993, and I stayed until June 1994. I kept in contact with the project afterwards, visited several times, and was involved in closing the project down in January 1997, with **Goran Božičević**.

After I left Pakrac I worked for Amnesty International across Eastern Europe and the ex-USSR, I worked with ARK and ex-ARK activists on projects such as human rights training and often visited the region.

I was a volunteer with the Balkan Peace Team Croatia (Otvorene Oči) in 1994–95, I trained BPT volunteers in Osijek in the spring of 1997 and in the Netherlands later that year.

I worked on the MIRamiDA Plus programme at the Centre for Peace studies as it was being set up in the first half of 1997.

I also worked with the organisation Mladi Mladima (Youth to youth). I helped **Branka Peurača** and **Miki Munir Podumljak** train young leaders from the different entities of Croatia and Bosnia in Balaton, Hungary, in late 1997.

I wrote a book about the Pakrac project, *A More Human Channel: peacebuilding on the Front line*. It was based on interviews with 50 locals and activists, plus hundreds of documents, to inspire students, funders, policymakers and the public to support grassroots peacebuilding.

Christine Schweitzer:

I belonged to the Federation for Social Defence (Bund für Soziale Verteidigung, BSV), and when ARK asked us about training sessions in non-violence the BSV sent three trainers to run workshops in the autumn of 1991, and some also went to Belgrade. From then on, the BSV sent trainers to work with groups several times, both in Croatia and Serbia. Another activity we supported was the creation of an email network, which Eric Bachman worked on.

I also participated in several peace caravans to Sarajevo, which were motivated by the idea of stopping the war through interpositioning international activists. None of these actions were particularly successful, but the lessons we learned from these initiatives were very useful for conceptualising what non-violent intervention can achieve and what its limitations are.

Some of the memories even bear witness to a whole decade lived in the former Yugoslavia. Guided by activist passion, sympathy and the desire to share their skills, they continued the antiwar journey they had begun in Croatia by working on peace projects throughout the region.

Stefan:

I was in ex-Yugoslavia for a total of ten years, from October 1993 to June 2003. From 1993 to 1997 I worked for the Volunteer Project Pakrac as a member of the coordination team. From 1997 to 1999 I was in Travnik, Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the EU/UNDP programme for the return and integration of refugees. And from 2000 to 2003 I ran the office of the American Refugee Committee (ARC) in Sisak.

Wam Kat:

From 1992–95 and from 1999–2002. ARK, ZaMir, the Pakrac project, Nexus, Balkan Sunflowers and my own Zagreb Diary and Tirana Diary.

Marcin Poletylo:

I started working with Suncokret in March '93 (Duga Uvala, Puntizela), then I moved to Pakrac in October '93 and stayed there (with breaks) till June '96; then I worked with Balkan Sunflowers (Feb. 2000–Feb. 2001 in Kosovo, Peja/Peć, and Skopje Feb. 2001–Nov. 2001).

The work in Pakrac usually involved clearing away rubble, making preparations for new volunteers, and I also ran a photography workshop for kids from both sides of the demarcation line.

In Peja/Peć, I supervised the local workers (former KLA fighters) on several building projects, and I prepared a photo workshop. I left for Macedonia, where I worked with Roma kids and Kosovo refugees living in the camp there.

I was also involved with another of Wam's projects, Balkan Peace Path, based in Hrvatska Kostajnica, 2002–03.

Bocian:

I was in ex-Yu from October 1993 till February 2000. I worked for three projects.

The first was the Volunteer Project Pakrac (VPP) from October 1993 till February 1997. Initially I was working on physical reconstruction. A few months later I started working on the Serbian side (before Operation Flash). I did social reconstruction work there together with other friends. I was mainly responsible, together with Burkie Pranke, for setting up email in schools, NGOs and refugee camps in Western and Eastern Slavonia.



NEWSLETTER

hCa

No.5
Fall
1992

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plus HCA projects and activities...



Peace Brigades International

INTERNATIONALE FRIEDENSBRIGADEN

Rundbrief IV/92

„We talk, you listen!“

Kurzzeitprojekt beim World Uranium Hearing in Salzburg



„DAS URAN MUSS IN DER ERDE BLEIBEN.“ VertreterInnen verschiedener indigener Völker beim Gebet für die Erde, der Eröffnungszereimonie zum „World Uranium Hearing“.. (PBI-Photo)

Was zwischen zwei Rundbriefen so alles geschehen kann... Ein PBI-Projekt wurde erkundet, eröffnet, durchgeführt und geschlossen! Die Anfrage kam aus München, von den VeranstalterInnen des „World Uranium Hearing“, das vom 13.-18. September in Salzburg stattfand. In dieser „Anhörung“ sollte den von Uranabbau und Atomtests betroffenen Menschen eine Möglichkeit gegeben werden, über die katastrophalen Auswirkungen zu berichten - vor einem internationalen „Board of Listeners“, das sich aus PhysikerInnen, ÄrztInnen und JuristInnen, Persönlichkeiten aus Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft zusammensetzte.

Den „Stimmlosen“ Gehör verschaffen

Über 70% der bekannten Uranvorräte liegen auf Gebieten indigener Völker. So waren denn in Salzburg vor allem ihre Zeugnisse zu hören: IndianerInnen aus Nord- und Südamerika, Aborigines aus Australien, schwarze Minenarbeiter aus Namibia und Südafrika, Ainu (UreinwohnerInnen Japans), Menschen aus dem Pazifik, aus Indien, Tibet, der Mongolei und der ehemaligen Sowjetunion sprachen über Uranabbau, Atomtests und Lagerung radioaktiver Abfälle auf ihrem Land. Zahlreiche persönliche Schicksale wur-

den da auf dem Podium in der Alten Universität erzählt; viele berichteten von Verseuchung des Landes, von Krebserkrankungen und Fehlgeburten in ihren Familien, zeigten Bilder von behinderten Kindern. Eine Gemeinsamkeit zog sich durch all diese Berichte: Überall waren die BewohnerInnen unzureichend oder überhaupt nicht über die Gefahren der Radioaktivität informiert worden.

Da Atomangelegenheiten in den meisten Ländern als Militärgeschäfte eingestuft werden und zudem mit massiven wirtschaftlichen Interessen verknüpft sind, gingen die VeranstalterInnen von einem Sicherheitsrisiko für die

Then I worked for the UNDP project in Gor-nji Vakuf/Uskoplje from April 1997 till 1998. I was responsible there for helping local schools and NGOs start IT projects and train local people in internet projects.

The third project was an UNDP project for the reconstruction of Travnik. There, too, I worked as an IT manager.

Vic Ullom:

I came to ex-Yugoslavia early in 1994 as one of the founding members of Otvorene Oči, the Croatian branch of the Balkan Peace Team. From 1996 to 1998 I worked for the OSCE in Banja Luka.

I returned to the region in 2002 for the OSCE Mission in Skopje and stayed there the next 5 years. Since then I've been in the Balkans off and on as a consultant for various agencies, primarily the OSCE Missions in Skopje and Kosovo, but also ODIHR in Warsaw.

SR:

From August 1993 to 2000 I worked with ARK on various MIRamiDA projects. I was based mainly in Zagreb and Pakrac. A big focus for me was exploring how as activists, individuals and groups we could stay well, engage with the war situation, work in

ways that sustained us, work together freely, deal with our fears, limits, potentials, and that we could be empowered and grow, and be effective. I was interested in creating structures that served what we wanted to do.

I was also interested in and passionate about what was happening for us in our hearts, psyches, bodies and spirits, and I shared what I knew of things like yoga, meditation, communication skills and massage.

I also did some project management and strategy work, management of international volunteers, workshops for teachers, women's groups and young people. I listened a lot.

HOW DO YOU SEE YOUR OWN ROLE AND THE ROLE OF OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS?

Memories like those of Alan Pleydell are a valuable reminder of the early phase of international coordination of antiwar activities and the creation of alliances and networks to support local groups in the former Yugoslavia:

One of the real catalysts, in March 1992, was the big Helsinki Citizens' Assembly meeting held in Bratislava. It had many very anxious people from the region attending as well as peace activists from Western Europe. Although the overall focus of this chaotic/anarchic gathering was the support of civil society in post-Cold War Eastern Europe as a whole, including post-Soviet satellites and post-Soviet republics, one of its sectors was specifically devoted to post-YU. HCA's leaders, Mary Kaldor, Mient-Jan Faber and Sonja Licht we-



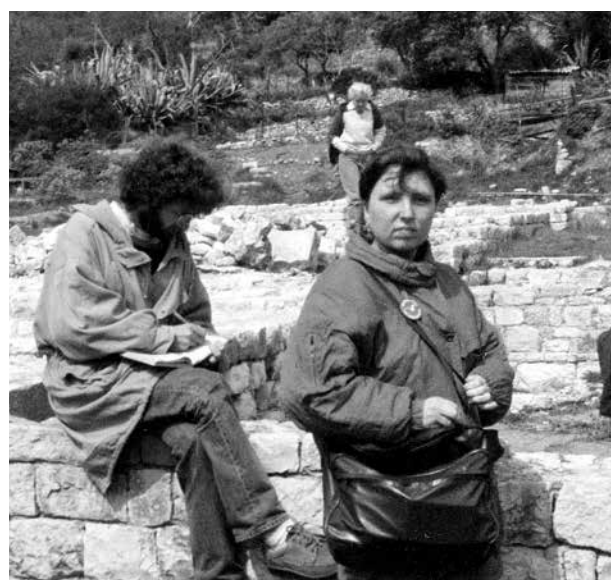
Ljubljana, 1991 - Marko Hren entering the former JNA barracks in Metelkova Street, with Janez Janša in the background



Pakrac, volunteers



Margareta Ingelstam



Christine Schweitzer



re doing their own stuff but that seemed to be top-down and too HCA-agenda-ridden, whereas the group meetings we attended were essentially fringe affairs, necessarily anarchic and refreshingly bottom-up, which was what the whole point of HCA was supposed to be but rarely was.

There were also a number of Quakers at those meetings, including Judith Large, Adam Curle, Nick Lewer, David Atwood and Tim Wallis, wearing various institutional hats, such as International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Peace Brigades International, etc. Vesna T. and others were asking for the support of Western peace activists, and one of the suggestions was that we should send people skilled in mediation to do training with local regional activists. There were other prominent Western peace activists present such as Howard Clark of War Resisters, mentioned above, and Christine Schweitzer, then of Pax Christi, Germany. In response to the requests for assistance and solidarity from the region, Adam Curle had the idea of forming a loose alliance of Western peace organisations. The very first meeting of CCCRTE (Coordinating Committee for Conflict Resolution Training in Europe) – an impossible name, which through a couple more name changes became CCTS (Committee for Conflict Transformation Support) – was held at Friends House in London, the UK Quaker headquarters.

The Committee lasted until its dissolution in late 2009, for nearly all of its 18 years chaired by Diana Francis. In its first years it was focused exclusively on post-Yu and the Caucasus, and after the first few meetings in Friends House it was hosted by the Institute of War and Peace Reporting in Islington, courtesy of its founder Anthony Borden (who started with Yugofax reports in 1991, which evolved into Balkan War Report).

One of the main functions of the Committee was to fund the support and consultative and training visits made by Adam Curle, Nick Lewer, Judith Large and others to the Osijek centre. The Committee was absolutely vital, in my view, since it formed a broad basis of mutual support and exchange and evolution of ideas about how to do this conflict transformation work. Even though lots of Quakers were involved, the idea itself was fully secularized, and the light and air that it let into the sometimes claustrophobic Quaker world was a major factor in preserving my own sanity.

Despite the great many examples of successful cooperation, the communication between local and international players was not always frictionless, for which local activists bear part of the responsibility. Marko Hren says in this regard:

My main criticism concerning the international engagement in the former Yugoslavia? I consider that international players didn't invest sufficient energy in analysing the local situation. In far too many cases they acted according to their own perception rather than a realistic analysis on the ground. But, having said that, I must underline that local intellectuals on the side of civil society in the former Yugoslavia bear most of the responsibility for us (the local,

Yugoslav experts) not being in a position to present a consensual view on the situation in Yugoslavia. As a result, the international players received confused and divergent proposals from the local players (NGOs, intellectuals, politicians and media). What I remember most vividly is hundreds of hours, days and nights of international meetings, where I kept explaining very basic information on realities in the former Yugoslavia, starting with the enigmatic current reality of borders in the former federal Yugoslavia, the constitutional rights of the separate republics, etc. Our voice was most often not heard. It was obvious on many occasions that "lobbyists" from other Yugoslav regions were "stronger". I could give many examples but let me mention just one. An International Peace Research Association (IPRA) annual conference was held in Kyoto, Japan, in the summer of 1992. This was immediately after financial sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro were imposed by the UN in May 1992 (suspended in accordance with the terms of the Dayton Peace Agreement in November 1995). I was late arriving in Kyoto, and by the time of my arrival Serbian intellectuals had successfully lobbied the international forum of researchers and prepared a draft declaration to be adopted at the closing plenary. This draft declaration protested against the sanctions. There was no mention of Sarajevo being under siege. It was absolutely one-sided picture, and no effort was made by the international community of researchers to obtain a balanced view.

Attempts at implementing projects planned on the drawing board without familiarisation with the local situation and local players were a problem. Financially powerful organisations were particular prone to that.

Howard Clark:

I think the syndrome of the "young traveller who goes to the war zone to discover him or herself" was relatively harmless. The worst were the missionaries, looking for partners to implement their bright ideas and justify their funding. When we set up Balkan Peace Team, we knew we'd need to choose people who could listen to what you were saying, follow the leads you gave them, and allow themselves to be used strategically by the ARK network.

John Lampen:

What we noted in Northern Ireland also proved true in ex-Yu. There was no lack of experts with their own programmes and prescriptions for peace. Some of them had large financial resources to back those organisations which were willing to carry out *their* approaches. But we suspect they often paid too little attention to the knowledge and potential of local peacemakers. The efforts which we saw flourishing were those which were initiated by people living in the conflict situation, aware of specific needs and possibilities, and in contact with people from overseas who could listen and offer them the ideas and comparisons which they were asking for.

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YUGOFAX A CRITICAL BRIEFING ON THE
CONFLICT IN YUGOSLAVIA
No. 5 12 October 1991

A JOINT PROJECT OF WAR REPORT AND THE HELSINKI CITIZENS ASSEMBLY

Decisive Weeks for Peace

By SNEZANA MILILOVIC, THE HAGUE
THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS appeared to have reached a breakthrough this week when many hours of long and difficult talks in The Hague achieved an agreement by the federal army to withdraw from Croatia within a month.

The accord, the eighth of the crisis, may vindicate the EC's persistent but previously ineffectual efforts to bring peace to the region. Reached days after Croatia and Slovenia finally declared independence, the agreement seems to have been brought about by the threat of imminent EC trade sanctions on the combatants, and possible other disciplinary actions by the UN Security Council.

The parties may also be simply exhausted from the many months' brutal but inconclusive fighting. At the press conference announcing the agreement, the faces of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and federal army head Gen. Veljko Kadijevic showed fatigue that suggested more than just the long day of negotiations.

Despite the consensus for optimism, the single stipulation for the military withdrawal calls for such an enormous accomplishment in such a relatively brief time that the entire accord could go the way of the seven earlier ceasefires: little more than a respite—if a substantial one—from further bloodshed. Under the agreement struck with the chairmanship of Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, the army withdrawal is

contingent upon the Yugoslav republics reaching a clear and firm agreement on future relations with their neighboring republics.

Such an agreement may allow for some republics to opt for independence, while others may choose some common state structure. It must also guarantee the rights of minority populations in each republic, including the right to maintain ties with other republics.

These laudable goals are similar to those set out this summer at the Brioni talks. So is the accord merely a chance to restart a hopeless process? The vague wording could provide any side, restored from a month's rest, with an easy opening to declare political negotiations failed and re-ignite hostilities. Slovenia and Croatia are unwilling to accept anything more than a loose, essentially economic, association with the other republics. Serbia, meanwhile, still aspires to preserve some form of common state, if not with all the republics than with those who are willing to form what they call a "smaller Yugoslavia", though others might dub it "Greater Serbia".

Hope lies in a structure mapped out for on-going twin-track negotiations. Talks will continue in The Hague and in Yugoslavia itself. In Croatia, negotiations between the Croatian National Guard and the federal army will be held on a day-to-day basis, in order to consolidate the ceasefire agreement reached earlier this week in Zagreb. In The Hague, talks on Yugoslavia's constitution

at future will resume with the aim of achieving a final agreement in November. During that time, the army will be required to outline the details of its withdrawal.

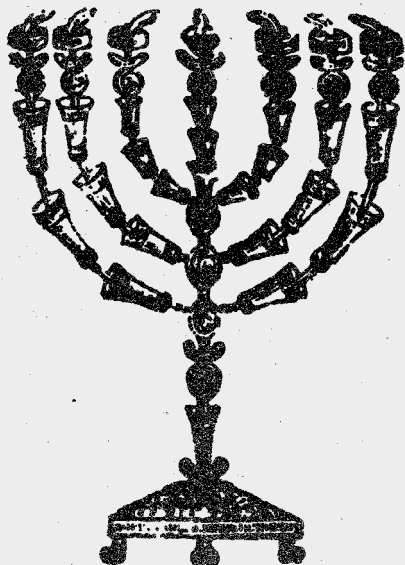
The coming weeks will be decisive. There will be either compromise or renewed gunfire. Should fighting resume, the EC will consider imposing an oil embargo and other strong economic and political sanctions. (Serbia's oil stocks are already very low.) International pressure is already growing, with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar dispatching special envoy Cyrus Vance and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev inviting Tudjman and Milosevic to Moscow.

Those who can make peace or war in Yugoslavia, and so hold the future of all the Balkans in their hands, must receive a unanimous message from the international community to stop fighting or face total political isolation. However difficult it may be to imagine, perhaps the protagonists of the Yugoslav drama will choose to exercise political will and make concessions, for the sake of all those who want to live rather than to die for their homeland.

Reader's Note: To maintain our distinctive analysis, *Yugofax* is switching to an expanded biweekly format from issue #6, which will begin a series of in-depth special issues. These editions will be posted, although fax-delivery will remain available by request. See subscription details inside.

INSIDE

• Sonja Licht's Diary of the Peace Caravan
• Independence Days in Zagreb and Ljubljana
• Serbian Democracy Rigger for War



Crtaž sedmokrakog svijećnjaka iz jeruzalemskog Hrama, u Talmudu iz 18. st.

Christof Ziemer:

When my wife Ljubinka and I initiated ABRAHAM in Sarajevo in 1998, we envisaged something similar to the Peace Centre in Osijek. That turned out to be a mistake. There was no comparable civic engagement for us to build on in Bosnia. One key difference was that in Osijek the initiative had come “from within”; in Sarajevo we came from the outside. ABRAHAM’s focus on peace work between the religions was a minefield, not only politically but also in religious terms. The Bosnian conflict was far more complex, and in the process we had to withstand considerable tensions even within the organisation itself. Like the Peace Centre, ABRAHAM’s work went from initially focusing on encounter and exchange to carrying out more externally-funded project work. ABRAHAM’s work ended with the closure of the office in 2006. The reason for this failure lies in part with me. It was only when I admitted this to myself that I could start to talk again about the extremely important experiences we had with ABRAHAM.

Another problem was the inexperience and insufficient preparedness of the international volunteers, which sometimes hampered the realisation of the projects and in many cases led to mental and physical burnout.

Nick Wilson Young:

Some international volunteers (and a few local activists) were a danger to themselves and others. Local activists and international volunteers were all learning about peacebuilding at the same time. But at least local activists were from the region. Many international volunteers (including me) were particularly naive, had confused motivations, were emotionally or mentally unsuited to the work, or lacked enough experience to be useful for the project. In Pakrac, this sometimes stopped us achieving better results for local people. Foreign volunteers were also more at risk of importing fixed ideas about models and solutions which ignored the local situation.

We were playing with fire when it came to burnout. We were under too much pressure to help those international volunteers and local activists who burnt out and left. In some ways we interiorized war trauma and disseminated it around the world. Maybe the sum total of war trauma was therefore increased, not decreased?

Still, unlike the large international agencies, our friends were willing to learn, listen and be with us, and their presence made a big difference. We felt we were part of a global movement, and in claustrophobic times of closure in the framework of a nation state that was salutary for mental health. Besides, it’s a fact that the presence of “foreigners” protected us politically.

Derek McDonald-Jureša:

I’d like to think that our presence in the region made a difference. For instance, we used to occupy houses in Zagreb and Karlovac with local people facing

illegal evictions. But I wish we'd had more to offer local activists and people – if we had more resources and a clearer mission.

On the other hand, working with an organisation as small as Otvorene Oči allowed me to actually become friends with local folks. I truly valued the connection we had with ARK and the Pakrac project. My experience in observing the UN, or in working with the OSCE in Bosnia, was that many of the international aid workers in those large international agencies saw Croatia and Bosnia as just another “mission”, exciting for the moment but ultimately just another temporary job until a more exciting conflict popped up in another country. I didn't understand them. I was happy to feel connected to the country I was working in.

Dorie Wilsnack:

I don't have a poor evaluation of the role of international visitors like myself, but I was always acutely aware that I and others didn't have very clear ideas of how we could be helpful. At the time, visiting, paying attention, and listening seemed like so little, and I often returned home feeling I'd gained so much in insight and inspiration from my visits, but I wasn't sure I gave much. Since then, I've learned more about how local activists can value those outsiders who keep coming back to visit.

Tim Lusink:

Extreme situations bring out the worst but also the best in people. I've been in awe with people's ability to adapt and overcome difficulties, their strength and generosity. I think many of us went to Pakrac with the idea of helping, but, looking back we all may have gotten more out of it than we contributed. So when evaluating the success of a peace project it should very much include how it has impacted those that worked there.

US IN THEIR EYES

The Osijek Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights operated in exceptionally difficult circumstances, not only because Osijek was directly exposed to wartime destruction for months but also due to the political situation in the city. To build a peace organisation under such political pressure, in an ethnically and religiously divided community, demanded great wisdom and skill. The memories of Christof Ziemer, Margareta Ingelstam and Herb Walters look at some of the reasons why the work of the Centre for Peace in Osijek was so successful that it is recommended as a model in crisis areas around the world.

Christof Ziemer:

I came to Osijek immediately after the Serbian-Croatian war and saw the damage it had caused to the buildings and to the people. I hadn't known that hate is a reality, or that war almost compels people to identify with their own side. I experienced for the first time how nationalism is politically instrumentalised and given religious legitimisation. I learned quickly that there were different Croatian and Serb “narratives”, not only about the current conflicts but also about the whole thousand-year history of the region (in Sarajevo I also encountered the Bosniak-Muslim narrative).

At the Osijek Centre for Peace I felt welcome right from the start. I didn't have to pursue my own interests but could fit into what was already going

In an era when international NGOs (including those concerned with peace and conflict) were becoming increasingly poisoned by the deadening language and practices of the management consultancy world, the imaginative and deeply human approaches to peacebuilding pursued by ARK pointed to other, richer possibilities.

I also discovered that much of what you think is the “truth” is dependent on the context in which you live in. As an international able to cross borders at a time when most nationals couldn’t, I found myself confronted with widely varying perceptions of what was happening and what the respective “other side” thought and wanted.



Goran Božičević and Sam Kat

on. That meant taking part in almost all activities, the most important of which for me were the weekly meetings in the centre; the many intensive conversations we had about the goals and methods of peace work, above all with **Katarina Kruhonja** and **Kruno Sukić**; “keeping watch” with the Serbian families who were threatened with eviction; the team training seminars; and the sometimes extremely frustrating interfaith encounters.

The most enjoyable activities for me were giving practical help at the Peace Centre and working as a glazier: when I’d worn myself out mentally, it was refreshing to work with my hands and share some wonderful experiences with those whose windows I was able to repair.

For me it was a privilege to share in the early phase of the Peace Centre, with all of its problems but the firm commitment to keep going.

Margareta Ingelstam:

On the way to my first visit to Osijek I must admit to feeling uneasy and insecure because the war was still going on. But the moment I stepped off the train in Osijek and was met by people from the Centre, I felt safe. It was like coming home. That feeling of instant friendship and togetherness has developed since then.

In the early 90s when the Centre started, the members didn’t have much experience of how to work as a civil society organisation. But instead of just copying other – often Western – models, they developed their own, step by step. I believe that the support of several Quakers, especially Professor **Adam Curle**, encouraged the members to trust their capacity to analyse, develop and evaluate their own methods, models and rules.

When organisations want to work speedily and effectively, it’s easy to overlook democratic decision-making and use more authoritarian methods. It’s easy to forget about people’s different needs in understanding and influencing a process – and also their needs for a safe environment and a warm and welcoming atmosphere. Following the work of the Centre, it struck me that the organisation has allocated a lot of time and energy to dialogue and including the members in the processes. Rather than an institution, the Osijek Peace Centre is a movement, a group of friends who support each other in the struggle for a better world. Maybe that is why they’ve been able to combine attention to the vision and goals with a caring, people-oriented approach.

Thanks to the many visits of Adam Curle, the members of the Centre were very early adopters of listening as an important method of the Centre. Curle, a former professor at Harvard, founder of the Bradford Peace Studies programme, an experienced mediator, writer and poet, travelled to Osijek time and again, listened with empathy and understanding to the needs of the Centre’s members, encouraged others to support the Centre, and wrote about their work in articles and books. “Listening to people’s needs” became a key tool in the innovative and comprehensive EU programme “Building a democratic society based on a culture of non-violence”, which educated and trained Peace and Development Teams for work in Eastern Slavonia. I believe that this program – as well as the Centre in itself – offers an excellent blueprint for future work with justice, peace and development programmes in conflict areas.

Very early on, the Centre discovered the importance of voluntary work and a vital civil society for building true democracy. The focus on education and competence building, “empowerment”, which also included workshops for personal healing and reconciliation, was a strong theme especially during the pioneering years. This has contributed to a shared common ground and the sound, organic development of the centre.

Many organisations, scholars and practitioners have experienced how combining human rights work with peacebuilding may lead to friction in various situations. Probably the Peace Centre is the very first civil society organisation that has succeeded in effectively combining these two agendas under one roof. In doing so, it has brought about synergetic effects in the activities for change.

Although most of the members of the Centre probably describe themselves as atheists, the work of the Centre had a spiritual dimension. All the members I met expressed a strong faith in a reality that transcends what exists now, in a culture of peace and non-violence, and they've been passionately and unselfishly committed to work for it to come true. In their own lives, some made space for meditation and other spiritual exercises, and symbolic acts were used in the work of the Centre that evoked a desired future. I believe that everybody would agree that the Centre wouldn't have become such a unique fellowship without its leader, **Dr Katarina Kruhonja**. From the beginning she's been "a servant leader", inspiring everyone around her to explore their own ways and means in reaching the common goal.

In voluntary work, the driving forces are especially important. When co-operating with the people in the Centre, they were the ones who had the visions and set the goals, and we trusted their knowledge and experience. But what made me sit for days and nights, neglecting my other obligations, to work on adjusting applications to Swedish norms, going through reports and checking the numbers? Now afterwards, when I reflect on our work together, I discover and understand that in the joint programs our friendship and fellowship has been the important driving force. Working with the Centre has been a rich and wonderful experience for which I'm extremely grateful.

Herb Walters:

This was the first use of the Listening Project in a post-ethnic war situation. I saw the power of deep listening and community organizing in this very difficult situation. It seems to me that the work of the Centar Za Mir could become a model for post-war reconciliation and community development, augmenting UN peacekeeping forces as it did. It was clear that the UN peacekeeping efforts were made far more effective when the Centar Za Mir was able to enter a community with the Listening Project and other tools of reconciliation and community development. In other areas of the world, the funding and empowerment of NGO's utilizing similar tools could become a more important part of conflict management and transformation.

Others remember more the ingenuity, dedication and humour, the courage to swim against the current, but also the single-mindedness and effort required to maintain cooperative relations in the region despite differences in perspective.

Brian Phillips:

Throughout the 1990s, I was particularly struck by the incredible creativity of the community around ARK. There was a real intellectual boldness combined with genuine conviction and always abundant good humour. In an era when international NGOs (including those concerned with peace and conflict) were becoming increasingly poisoned by the deadening language and practices of the management consultancy world, the imaginative and deeply human approaches to peacebuilding pursued by ARK pointed to other, richer possibilities.



BJ

Howard Clark:

Extreme times, said Adam Curle, bring to the surface remarkable people. His tendency, I think, was rather to sanctify you, but I too, half his age and less inclined to mysticism, got a terrific hit from working alongside you. There was so much energy in ARK, so much talent, so much commitment to be an antidote to the poison spreading through your society.

Those were intense times, when women peace activists from Serbia and Croatia on a speaking tour of Germany were end up spitting insults at each other. I think it took an outsider like me to enjoy the passionate arguments even within ARK, while most of you just wanted to get on with the urgent practical work.

I enjoyed hearing one of Croatia's intellectuals speaking proudly of former students but was less impressed by the lifelong human rights activist who asked me to warn you not to take so many risks. Come on, if we don't take risks in times like this and at this time in our lives, when will we?

I think I first visited ARK in August 1991, coming from Slovenia with Marko Hren. I don't know how many times I visited in the years that followed, or how many other peace activists I encouraged to visit. Visiting you always recharged my batteries, so I could see the attraction for many other people.

Most organisational training materials stress clarity of objectives, etc., but the situation was changing so rapidly and fundamentally for ARK that a key objective had to be the flexibility to reinvent yourselves and the work. To be responsive to the changing situation, like when a long-term and visionary project such as Pakrac suddenly had to confront changed "facts on the ground".

Nick Wilson Young:

Despite my long experience of activism, if there was a war in my own country I don't know if I'd have the courage to stand up and say "no" in the way ARK activists did, putting their lives, livelihoods and families at risk.

Local ARK activists and local activists from Serbia, Bosnia and other parts of the region showed enormous heroism in taking a stand in that atmosphere of fear, lawlessness and violence. I'll always have huge respect for them. It would be nice if eventually their own nations could honour the bravery and vision of these once-despised people.

Christine Schweitzer:

The struggle to find and maintain one's own independent identity in a time when fierce patriotism, hatred and unquestioning pro-war attitudes dominated public and private discourse was extremely impressive.

I also discovered that much of what you think is the "truth" is dependent on the context in which you live in. As an international able to cross borders at a time when most nationals couldn't, I found myself confronted with widely varying perceptions of what was happening and what the respective "other side" thought and wanted.

The lack of a tradition of civic activism, coupled with the ever-greater availability of funds for peace work, later led to a number of undesirable consequences, such as inappropriate behaviour in the team or the subordination of the goals of the organisation to the interests of one person, as Alan Pleydell explains:



Bocian

There was increasing Quaker interest and engagement in the region owing to the scale of the devastation and suffering, and we established a two-person Quaker office in Sarajevo that operated from 1998–2003 and employed two people. During a transition from international activists to local staff we made ourselves overdependent on particular personnel, their judgements and behaviour, and this severely limited our options, our effectiveness and to a degree our reputation. I own a particular personal regret for not having tried to stop seriously abusive behaviour within my team on more than one occasion, because I feared that my behaviour might be interpreted as an external “imperial”/cultural control. That happened with more than one person by the way, I’m talking about a phenomenon. I’ve seen it with others, too, e.g. the overdependence of the American Friends’ Service Committee on the perspective of one strong-willed local person. That happened partly because our resources were spread so thinly that we had only one person per country. In part, it’s a result of working with a model of organisation based on paid staff instead of working with genuine grassroots initiatives. There’s always a danger of being entrapped by the agenda of a charismatic or simply forceful individual, which may be massively overpersonal.

On the other hand, it was inspiring to see the great efforts to maintain contact between peace and human rights people in different republics, despite great differences in philosophy, temperament and outlook. Plus their persistence in the face of many, many setbacks and disappointments. And the many inspirational initiatives launched in local communities by completely ordinary folk placed by circumstances in an extraordinary situation – **Vjera Solar**, Dragica Aleksa in Berak, and others.

At a more personal level, I learned a lot about personal integrity. I saw activists working in incredibly difficult social conditions where their peace-building activities were described by those who didn’t understand it as “traitorous” and “helping the enemy”. Yet they stayed true to their values, withstood the pressures, and pressed ahead with the peace and human rights agenda

IMAGES AND MEMORIES

Although the images of physical destruction and human suffering etched themselves deep into the memory of the volunteers, seeing as they were active proponents of social change, the images of destruction mingle with scenes of hope, with memories of people dear to them and also of total strangers with their large or small acts of civil courage.

Alan Pleydell:

June 1994, my first visit to Serbia: CAWA (Centar for Antiwar Action), MOST, Belgrade Circle, Women in Black, Zdravo da ste, but also the Hare Krishnas, who distributed delicious free food to children in orphanages.

In Croatia, talks with **Vesna T.** in Tkalčićeva, that lovely street of cafes, so contrasted with the reality of war. **Vesna J.** in the big room working on *ARK-zin*, etc. In Karlovac, **Milan Medić** was trying to set up a youth centre. A single-track train journey to Pakrac. **Wam Kat**, **Vanja Nikolić** and **Philip Peirce** were trying to inject some sort of sensible order into the anarchy there.

Back in Pakrac again in March ’95 or ’96; **Goran Božičević** and **Sophie Reynolds** were running the first or second MIRamiDA training course. Visit to the Peace House in the UNTAES area set up by **Nick** and **Rosie Street** in late ’95.

Bert and **Tanja Van der Linde** in March 1996. Bert took **Catrin Davies** and me all around the UNTAES area, meeting inspired people who were trying to do things for the best.



Marcin Poletyło

It seems to me that the greatest impact of ARK/Pakrac/the peace movement is that a great many of the people who were active back then continued to work following the ideas we started off with.

First visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina in March 1996. Still in the grips of deep mid-winter and physical devastation of so many burned-out villages all the way to Gornji Vakuf. Inspirational meeting with **Jasminka Drino-Krlić**. Crazy, gung-ho behavior of Oxfam and other international NGOs towards the local population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In 1997, my first trip with **Branka Rajner** of the Human Rights Centre in Tuzla across the entity frontier to Bijeljina, where Bosniaks were massacred in 1992. Meetings with human rights activists there. In 1996–97, a visit to Mla-di Most in Mostar and a meeting with the young Japanese peace activist **Shin Yasui**, who pointed out that many war criminals were still at large and hanging out in cafes. The almost palpable sense of evil as I looked at the bridge dangling in the river by a few rusty bars. Later Shin took the extraordinarily brave step of travelling alone to Foča, deep in Republika Srpska, to the centre of a notorious rape camp. He was finally chased out of Foča by direct death threats from the police chief. The following year I met him in the street in Sarajevo, where he was continuing his inspirational work with young people, but soon after that he was killed in a car crash on his way back to Bosnia-Herzegovina at the age of 27.

The first big Croatia-wide meeting hosted by QPSW/MiraMiDA Centar in Poreč, December 2003. That was the last time I saw **Kruno [Sukić]** from Osijek, one of the gentlest and most refined men I've ever met.

A big regional peace meeting was held in Brčko in April 2007, organised by the three former QPSW local representatives. It was a major inspirational event bringing together all sorts of people from all sides, who might never before have tolerated being in the same room: war veterans, peace activists, young and old. I felt very proud to see the results of so much slow and patient preparation by the people I'd been working with over so many years.

Dorie Wilsnack:

While I was never in an active war area, I was able to see all the small ways the war caused people to suffer. And I saw peace activists working to create a different kind of society in the midst of the mess. I also saw how even ordinary apolitical people can do small, courageous things. I have a vivid memory from a Women in Black conference in Serbia, maybe in 1993. At the vacation spa where we met, there was a singer who performed in the evenings and sang Serbian pop songs. One evening, a conference participant asked her to sing a song well known before the war. The singer refused at first, well aware that she might be fired for singing it, and she said no. But then she thought again and changed her mind. She got up and sang it. Some of the guests left, but to show her our love and support for her courage, everyone from the conference got up and danced. Later, I often thought about her, a woman whose path wasn't that of an activist, but who, when facing the risk, sang a song that united people rather than dividing them.

Vic Ullom:

Certainly one of my most vivid memories is of been arrested and held for three days by the RSK police in Vukovar in 1996. Another is of spending the night at **Veljko Džakula**'s house the night he was released after Operation Flash. Another one is driving back from the Krajina with my colleagues **Derek McDonald** and **Lynn Doran** in the aftermath of Operation Storm. I remember noticing that Lynn had gone quiet in the back seat after a while, and when I looked back she was crying with all her heart. The impact of the emptying of that entire region of its populace, the loneliness of the people left behind, the

loss of life (human and animal), the upheaval – it was all too much and it consumed her all at once. The horrific traffic accident that cost **Vojko Ivica** his leg.

I remember all the incredible activities at the OtOc flat. I have fond memories of the old ARK office on Tkalčičeva Street. It was such a nice atmosphere with all the books, posters and information, and there was always someone interesting there or something interesting going on. **Natalie [Šipak]** always knew who was where and what they were doing.

Derek McDonald-Jureša:

My most vivid memory, of course, is of a party in Pakrac and seeing the smile of **Melita Jureša**, who's now my wife. Other than that, I have vivid memories of exploring the front-line regions after operations Flash and Storm, talking to people and seeing their fear. Or accompanying fleeing refugees to the border after Operation Storm. Every day presented a new, insane scenario of people whose entire lives had been forever changed.

Rüdiger Rossig:

I most vividly remember the horrible smell of the deserted houses in what used to be the Republic of Serbian Krajina after Croatia had taken it.

Bocian:

It was sad to see the people in the refugee camps, but I was happy to see them use the email system I'd set up to communicate with people in the countries they were preparing to leave for. When they moved there they had someone to help them start all over again.

It was sad to see kids in the destroyed houses, but I was happy to see them sitting in the front of the computer and able to communicate with kids from ex-Yu and other countries. They could see they weren't alone. It was sad to see all the destroyed houses, but I was happy we could help to rebuild the houses and streets. And gradually things returned to normal. It was sad to see that families from both sides of the demarcation line in Pakrac couldn't communicate with each other, but I was happy that I could take letters for them. Husband and wife could hear about each other again after several years. Kids could find out how their parents were. During one of those tours as "postman" I got stopped by the Croatian police and almost ended up in jail as a spy.

Stefan:

I remember the severe destruction in the war-affected area and feeling anger inside at how easy it is for humans to erase the life of whole communities. I remember the local people trying to cope with the specific atmosphere of war in suspension (Pakrac) or post-war chaos (Croatia after operations Flash and Storm, or Bosnia).

I remember the tragedy for so many families and individuals and the loss of a sense of human definition after the "repeated" division of communities only 46 years after the terrible experience of WWII.

I remember how hard and chaotic it often was to cooperate with local authorities (municipal and county levels) when we attempted to formalise our support for local minorities. I recall numerous useless meetings, political understatements, false smiles and empty promises, regardless of the authorities' nationality. On the other hand, I was absolutely aware at that time that all the decisions made regarding "the others" on a municipal level were highly



Danja Nikolić

political and reflected the post-war frustration of the local population, deepened by daily economic hardship.

And I remember the friendships I had with various people in the region. Tons of positive as well as difficult relations with different people really gave me a deeper insight into the soul of ex-Yugoslavia.

SR

Time spent with my friends (ARK activists), playing and working, sharing and growing, conflict, struggling and changing. The landscapes and seasons in Croatia. Humour.

I remember seeing again and again, in so many small and then society-wide examples, how fear and belief work in us. They determine what information we can actually take in, what we see, and what we can feel, imagine and comprehend. I realised we need a story to survive

People's determination, courage and ability to change and go beyond previous beliefs, "shoulds" and behaviours will stay with me.

Chris Corrin:

My most vivid memories are of being able to work together in the most appalling human conditions of war, deprivation and death, and to survive, sometimes with a smile.

ACTIVISM AS A TRANSFORMATIVE EXPERIENCE

They worked in politically, nationally and religiously divided communities, in an atmosphere of war and post-war traumas, in a country foreign to them. Conversely, they had an anchoring in collective values and the special kind of friendship that is born in extreme circumstances. Such experiences inevitably changed the life of the activists and led many of them to strive for social change in the long term. Although some of the volunteers emphasise the problem of emotional and physical exhaustion incurred through work in the region, it is interesting that several of them raise the question: "Who benefited more – the volunteers or the people they helped?" The very question speaks of the high appraisal of the experience gained and the feeling of inner enrichment through antiwar activism.

Bocian:

The time I spent in ex-Yu was one of the best stages in my life. I had a chance to work with a lot of interesting people, and I'm still in touch with some of them today.

During my time in ex-Yu I also learned a lot of new and different methods of conflict resolution. I saw how easily people are manipulated and how difficult it is to then change their attitudes. I realised how important communication is, how important it is to communicate with people we're close to, but also with people we don't know so well but who can help us.

When I came back from ex-Yu, I started work on IT projects in a bank, and it's interesting how much of my activist experiences I can apply at work. There are always conflicts that need solving. I educate the people around me how to work together better and improve the working atmosphere. I show them how important it is to communicate with each other.



Wam Kat

Derek McDonald-Jureša:

My experiences in the region put my life in perspective, giving me a deep appreciation for the advantages and relative comfort I enjoy. I'm also happy to have met so many wonderful, interesting people there, and to maintain a life-long attachment to Croatia. And if it weren't for that party in Pakrac I wouldn't be married to Melita, and Nicola wouldn't exist.

Vic Ullom:

I've remained engaged in human rights work in the ex-Yugo region, and I continue to use the lessons learned, insights gained, and personal contacts I made during my two years with the Balkan Peace Team. I learned a lot about NGO life and the work that civil society can do, and its tremendous importance, but also its limitations. I learned a lot about the international human rights protection regime, and it was during my time in the region that I decided to return to university and study international human rights law.

At a more personal level, I learned a lot about personal integrity. I saw activists working in incredibly difficult social conditions where their peace-building activities were described by those who didn't understand it as "traitorous" and "helping the enemy". Yet they stayed true to their values, withstood the pressures, and pressed ahead with the peace and human rights agenda that was at the core of their work. That made a tremendous impression on me, and those heroes (Goran, Vesna, Vanja and many others) have often served as a source of inspiration in my professional and personal life since then. They embody the ideals that I also strive for.

Tanya Renne:

Dealing with the chaos of sixty women working out of one tiny office while smoking profusely and yelling most of the time has prepared me for a lot of situations that would normally put anyone over the edge.

Nick Wilson Young:

The destruction in Pakrac and other places affected me deeply. I'd just turned 23 when I first went to Pakrac, the experience and knowledge I gained there was extremely influential on me. I still tend to view life through the lens of the Pakrac project.

On the other hand, I remember the intense communal life of the self-selected group of mainly young international volunteers and activists. Literally on the ceasefire line and temporarily separated from normal concerns about money, jobs, status, etc., we shared a deep-seated belief in what we were doing, the attempt to model a different, better, world in our own daily life while trying to deal with an extreme and intractable situation in the town and the inevitable conflicts that arose within the project. It was both really good and life-changing, and really awful.

Marcin Poletylo:

I was in my early 20s, which is a critical time in which personal experience is decisive. The time I spent in the region changed my life. My convictions and ideas developed in the directions initiated around that time. It was my first encounter of any duration with people, activists and activism from the "West" (just two years earlier I got my first passport), and also with the Balkans. So it was a completely new social environment for me.

The destruction and war scenery of Pakrac wasn't so shocking for me because I come from Warsaw and was fed with images of the war-destroyed ci-

Sometimes I think how weird it is that my personal development depended so much on the helplessness of others. That's how life is, I explain to myself. Both parties benefited.



Stefan

Different approaches, strategies and instruments emerged of what we called non-violent intervention in conflict (other terms like peacebuilding are more common today). Most of what is standard repertoire of international conflict work nowadays can be traced back to things learned at that time.

ty from early childhood. Maybe because of that I was more focused on the things not so easy visible, and because of the linguistic similarities and relative ease of communication with local people I was able to learn more about the deeper, social political and cultural meaning of the war. It wasn't an abstraction for me any more, like films or documentaries about WW2, or family memories. It became a very real experience and motivation for further activities and thought.

It seems to me that the greatest impact of ARK/Pakrac/the peace movement is that a great many of the people who were active back then continued to work following the ideas we started off with.

Stefan:

Countless meetings, chatting with people over drinks, discussions with very different people: those who regarded the war as a tragedy, an inhuman and bad thing, and those who regarded it and its victims as a necessary, natural way of eliminating one's enemies and building one's own state. This led me step by step to a deeper understanding of the mechanism of war. While nationalist feelings were understandable to me with people in the war-affected areas, I was struck by the large number of people not directly affected by the war who were under the influence of war propaganda. Although it's difficult to generalise, my experience was that the Bosnian Muslim community were less affected by propaganda than Croats or Serbs (both in Bosnia and Croatia).

Sometimes I think how weird it is that my personal development depended so much on the helplessness of others. That's how life is, I explain to myself. Both parties benefited. I always tried to give as much as I could to those in the region for whom I worked, and in return I received the satisfaction of being able to work on unique projects, in unique situations, with unique people from all over the world. I was able to improve my foreign languages and learn new ones, gain computer skills, etc. But the moot question remains: who gained more?

Tanya Renne:

It was a strange period. There's nothing like being an outsider in someone else's war. No matter how close you get to the people, the language and the issues, you'll never feel it like they do. In that sense it was very alienating. I was also very young and so wasn't taken all that seriously by myself or others. All the same, it was a formative experience around my perspective of the world, in ways I'll never fully understand. The people of ex-Yugo will always be a kind of family to me.

Christof Ziemer:

My experience in Osijek had a direct influence on my decision to go to Sarajevo. Both experiences have had a lasting impact on me personally and on:

- my understanding of war (to be given a role or identification in which you don't recognise yourself)
- my understanding of peace (living together free from hunger and fear, alongside, with, for and face to face with each other)
- my understanding of peace work as something that interrupts potentially violent social trends
- respect for the other as the core of interreligious co-existence, and the peacemaking duty of the religions to show with theological reasoning that their faith also has room for those of different faiths and for non-

-believers. I learned to be very careful especially as a minister and theologian when using grand religious terms such as love, forgiveness and reconciliation.

WHAT WAS LEARNED?

Thanks to international networking, the insights gained through peace activism in the former Yugoslavia became part of the heritage of the global peace movement. New approaches and strategies were developed. In that sense, the Balkans Peace Team and the MIRamiDA workshops in particular served as models for peace work in many other settings.

Christine Schweitzer:

Different approaches, strategies and instruments emerged of what we called non-violent intervention in conflict (other terms like peacebuilding are more common today). Most of what is standard repertoire of international conflict work nowadays can be traced back to things learned at that time.

What internationals can do to prevent or stop violence, and what we did during the wars of the 90s with the Balkan Peace Team, for example, were lessons we were able to directly convey to other, new projects like that of Non-violent Peace Force.

On a more personal level, I also “profited” from the work done by transforming it into a PhD thesis on civil society activities in the former Yugoslavia, which I submitted to the University of Coventry in 2009.

John Lampen:

Since I’ve worked in several different cultures in places with different needs, every new contact increases our capacity to be humble, listen and respond appropriately. We learnt a lot from our encounters with your peacemakers (particularly educators), and sometimes with ex-combatants. I became most aware of this in my subsequent work in the war-torn societies of Northern and Western Uganda.

SR:

When I later worked in Sri Lanka and Israel, I saw that I could quickly recognise and understand the dynamics peace activists were facing despite the very different cultural conditions.

I was able to share the experiences, methods and tools we developed in ARK projects, and with MIRamiDA, with many other groups and activists.

There was a confidence and a steadiness from the years of working in ex-Yugo that helped me, for example, keep facilitating through very challenging situations.

I learned how to reach consensus, but also that groups sometimes need to split and that’s OK.

What was personally important for me was the experience of just keeping on working together over the years and growing, discovering, responding to things together, through all sorts of challenging external, group and personal events.

I gained a deeper understanding of burnout and trauma both in others and myself.

However, a major experience that has stayed with me is illness, confusion at a deep level, and the loss of many abilities. In a way, war got inside me and



Nick Wilson Young

has stayed. This isn't useful! Something has gone awry. It has had some growthful aspects, too, but I haven't yet recovered the health, ability to sleep, internal wholeness and peace that I'd like.

Nick Wilson Young:

I learnt:

How fortunate I am.

How people interact under pressure.

How I interact with others, my shortcomings and my strengths.

How the emotions, mind and body interact to produce burnout.

The positives and negatives of anarchism, communitarianism, pacifism.

That peacebuilding and influencing social change are very complicated.

I didn't come to Croatia intending to make a career in activism or peacebuilding, but my experience with ARK, especially in Pakrac, gave me skills and motivation which caused me to get a job with Amnesty International, then to run a mediation service with young people in London's East End, then campaign for the UK to spend more on peacebuilding and less on war-fighting, for which I won a national award.

Chris Corrin:

Some aspects of what I learnt in the former Yugoslav countries provided practical examples, many of which I was able to use to explain in class or write about in books like *Feminist Perspectives on Politics*. The work of almost all of the women involved in antiwar activities is ongoing and has broadened out to many aspects of society from caring professions, teaching and international grassroots campaigns like Women in Black.

Howard Clark:

I sometimes use scenarios from Croatia in my classes to set a small group exercise, "what would you do next?" You once praised me because I warned you about certain missionary visitors, and I think that confirmed me in insisting that being well-meaning isn't enough.

Marko Hren:

I realised that humanity must move faster whenever conflict arises on horizon. Conflict prevention must become a priority of international policymaking.

The Yugoslav conflict taught me to pay much more attention to inner-institutional development and procedures for attaining consensus.

Herb Walters:

The dedication, courage and commitment to non-violence, reconciliation and community development of the people I worked with was inspirational. The emotional turmoil and trauma of both Croats and Serbs who'd experienced the war was profound. This was a powerful example of the power of fear and political manipulation that enabled people to hate the other side. I saw the tremendous potential of non-violence, deep listening and community organizing as a means of healing and transforming the wounds of war.

Wam Kat:

It's important for people to understand that change begins with themselves. Even when you think you can't change anything, every person can be the start of important change. When I visited Hrvatska Kostajnica years later and

met youngsters who'd been in Suncokret camps as children, I understood a lot better what we'd done there and how we positively influenced their view on life.

Marcin Poletylo:

I'm absolutely sure that most volunteers got a lot out of being there: they learned and saw things, met nice people, had interesting experiences, had a good time, etc. But is there more than that? Did we change anything? What lessons can the peace movement learn?

Another interesting issue for me is the relationship between professionalisation and "amateur" activism. Generally I'm always suspicious when something gets too professional and mainstream, but on the other hand, when I look back, I also have some doubts about things we did and the way we did them. I guess it's a question of balance. Finding the right balance between mainstream and alternative is a dilemma that's probably impossible to solve. But some reflection on it is always necessary.

Rüdiger Rossig:

Since the war, I know that bad things can become worse; and my belief that war is NEVER a positive option is now based on empirical knowledge. I learned a lot of things I never wanted to learn, for instance what the calibres of weapons and their names mean in practice, i.e. when they're used.

But my experience of the ex-Yugoslav antiwar movement was very positive. I'm still good friends with most the people I met there, and politically it was very educative. Especially in terms of the mistakes the antiwar movement made and which shouldn't be repeated, or if we recall the networking, which was probably the most successful activity of ARK & Co.

Tim Lusink:

I've learned a lot about how easy conflict can be created, and how important acknowledgement and healing are in a reconciliation process. That's valuable knowledge, seeing as I live in Northern Ireland.

Tanya Renne:

The US is participating in a number of wars at the moment. A number of my close friends are highly active in the peace movement. I've been reluctant to get too involved. It's hard to really say why. I guess my experience in ex-Yugo made me see that peace and peace movements are more complicated than anyone generally thinks. I'm certainly still a peace activist, but I guess I'm also an interventionist in some ways as well. Of course, the situation in ex-Yugo isn't really comparable. It wasn't a foreign war, divorced from the people and fabricated like some/most of the US wars are... But if you get right down to it, it's challenging to organise a peace movement in those circumstances.

Generally I'm always suspicious when something gets too professional and mainstream, but on the other hand, when I look back, I also have some doubts about things we did and the way we did them.

WHERE ARE THEY NOW AND WHAT ARE THEY DOING?

BJ:

I still live in Croatia, more or less in retirement.

Bocian:

I live in Poland and work as head of the IT division in one of the largest Polish banks.

The US is participating in a number of wars at the moment. A number of my close friends are highly active in the peace movement. I've been reluctant to get too involved. It's hard to really say why. I guess my experience in ex-Yugo made me see that peace and peace movements are more complicated than anyone generally thinks. I'm certainly still a peace activist, but I guess I'm also an interventionist in some ways as well.

Howard Clark:

I live in Madrid. I'm chairperson of War Resisters' International, a visiting research fellow at Coventry University's Centre for Peace & Reconciliation Studies, and a visiting faculty member at the Peace Studies Centre, Universitat Jaume I, Castellón.

Chris Corrin:

I'm retired from University of Glasgow, where I was Professor of Feminist Politics, and now live on the Isle of Bute, an island off the west coast of Scotland. I'm involved in various local and international community, feminist and peace groups, including Women in Black (International).

Marko Hren:

I'm back in Ljubljana. After the completion of my NGO projects, establishing the Multicultural Centre at Metelkova Street (the former Yugoslav military headquarters) and the pilot project of a fair-trade store, I got a job in the government office for development and European affairs, as an expert on information society and sustainable development.

Margareta Ingelstam:

I live in Stockholm. I'm involved in the Christian Council of Churches, which coordinates all the churches in Sweden and is cooperating with other organisations in Sweden and around the world to explore the possibility of building a standby capacity for preventing armed conflicts, which would include both *protection* and *empowerment* in conflict areas.

Wam Kat:

I'm now living in Weitzgrund near Berlin. I'm a member of the local town council, active in a centre for refugees and asylum seekers, and work as a cook with a mobile people's kitchen. I've also written a political cookbook.

Øystein Kleven:

I've almost given up activism in the last few years, and I've spent lots of time on the sofa thinking it all over: how to change cultural values, where we want to go as a world society, gender issues and my own life. As for my younger days: if only I'd known how right I was, and if only I'd known how wrong I was!

John Lampen:

I live in England and still do some work on conflict handling, both in my country and overseas – mainly with projects in Uganda which I helped to found.

Tim Lusink:

I'm living in Northern Ireland now, work as a joiner and teach DIY courses.

Derek McDonald-Jureša:

I'm an attorney for the East Bay Municipal Utility District in Oakland, California.

Brian Phillips:

I'm co-editor of the *Journal of Human Rights Practice* (Oxford University Press).

Alan Pleydell:

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SR:

Until 2007 I was involved in non-violent social change and activism, empowerment and peace building, internationally and in the UK. Since then I've been living in France. I'm restoring an old house, learning, writing and doing some small collective projects. I'm trying to resolve health challenges from a disturbed nervous system which came from my experience during the ex-Yu wars.

Stefan:

I'm back in Poland and living in Szczecin. At present I'm running a Danish/Polish firm that I co-own. It's an employment agency that finds work for Polish workers/specialists in the Scandinavian countries and Germany. Until three years ago I worked as an evaluator of the Polish Humanitarian Organisation's humanitarian and emergency projects in Ingushetia and Chechnya.

Vic Ullom:

I live in Poreč and work as a consultant on rule-of-law matters. Most of my projects involve the OSCE and ODIHR,⁰⁵ though I've also worked for the UN OHCHR⁰⁶ in Nepal.

Herb Walters:

I continue as director of RSVP (Rural Southern Voice for Peace) Listening Project.

Dorie Wilsnack:

I live in Barre, Vermont, in the US. I have a part-time job as the Development Director for the Vermont office of the American Civil Liberties Union, an NGO that campaigns for civil liberties and human rights. With my other time, I'm actively involved in peace work and non-violence training.

05 ODIHR: The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the OSCE.

06 UN OHCHR: The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Nick Wilson Young:

London. I work for the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, which gives advice, help and support to civil society and acts as its voice to government. I'm Strategic Foresight Manager, which means I help civil society organisations to look ahead and spot threats and opportunities early, so that they have time to adapt and survive.

Christof Ziemer:

I've been living in Berlin as a pensioner for the last five years.





A tightrope act: articulating antiwar activism in Croatia in the early 1990s

Critique can also be a form of commitment, a means of laying a claim. It's the ultimate gesture of citizenship. A way of saying: I'm not just passing through, I *live* here.

— HL Gates (1991, p. 91)

Political activism can be a perilous enterprise for those who engage in it and is almost always frustrating for those whom it addresses. Organising and taking part in antiwar civic initiatives is particularly risky if done in a community which perceives itself as a victim of armed aggression. In such circumstances, dissenters soon find themselves in a precarious position: they affirm their commitment to the society in which they operate by articulating a value system different from that which is broadly accepted. At the beginning of the wars of Yugoslav succession, when the Yugoslav People's Army under the leadership of Serbian officers began shelling Vukovar, Croatian civic activists found themselves in such a situation. As the conflict intensified and came to within less than fifty kilometres of Zagreb, activists faced a dilemma: how to publicly express their antiwar sentiment while acknowledging their compatriots' right to armed self-defence. The Antiwar Campaign of Croatia (ARKH) was a network of antiwar-oriented individuals and civic initiatives. This organisation stemmed from the activists' numerous attempts to *strike the right balance* between the need to prevent a sweeping militarisation of their society on the one hand, and to legitimise the use of arms or recourse to military intervention, on the grounds of self-preservation, on the other.

Twenty years after its establishment ARKH remains undertheorised. When you enter "Antiwar Campaign of Croatia" in the Scientific Magazines of Croatia portal it is astonishing that the search engine finds only one article.⁰¹ And even it does not deal with the Antiwar Campaign as such (Janković, 2009). This is surprising given that ARKH is the principal "precursor" of the politically and human rights oriented civic scene in Croatia today. Although it no longer exists in its initial form, ARKH has left a political heritage that is highly relevant for understanding the processes of both Croatian and regional civic organising. This lack of documentation of ARKH's work is illustrative of the wider *post-Yugoslav* trend of marginalising antiwar and pacifist contention⁰² within the newly created research frameworks that match "nation-state" borders. The introduction to this article looks in detail at the reasons why (post-)Yugoslav and specifically Croatian antiwar activism has remained a blind spot in recent sociological studies on Eastern Europe. I show that the substantial gap in knowledge has resulted from two synergic processes: the endeavours of nationally limited social sciences throughout the region to legitimate the new reality and present it as rejuvenated historical "normality", and the disinclination of activists to engage in more systematic reflection on their civic involvement.

The second section of the text examines how the purposefulness of antiwar activism was discussed among activists of the Antiwar Campaign during the armed aggression against their country. This is done on the basis of empirical sources, which include in-depth interviews with the protagonists of the ARKH, its internal documents, archival material and newspaper articles.⁰³ The predominance of Anglo-Saxon studies on social movements that seldom go beyond their own cultural context has led to a specific *bias* in research into antiwar and pacifist activism. Pacifist or antiwar activism in Western countries (which has drawn the attention of the social sciences ever since the Vietnam War, e.g. Chatfield & Kleidman, 1992; Klandermans, 1991,

01 Search done on 15 August 2011.

02 It is useful to conceptually differentiate between antiwar and peace activism because the two terms are related, overlap and are sometimes used alternately. *Antiwar activism* refers to (1) general resistance to an armed conflict, and (2) a kind of civic involvement with a pronounced personal and local dimension. Antiwar activists often experience private misfortune in connection with the war, which causes their resistance in the here and now. Antiwar activists are not necessarily against war *per se*; possibly they reject a particular war out of ideological conviction or personal objections. In that sense, an antiwar stance can be plausibly articulated from a nationalist perspective. Peace activism, on the other hand, is shaped by a broader, globally oriented set of values, according to which war or any other form of armed coercion must not be used for conflict resolution. Peace activism is initiated by forms of activity oriented towards the community, and it often stems from a clear, usually left-wing political position.

03 All other wise unattributed quotes are from my interviews conducted in Croatia in 2010 and 2011.

1997) is of necessity removed from the regions dismembered by war. Such activity is usually part of activists' efforts to pressure the authorities to withdraw from military interventions in distant places that are not under their sovereign jurisdiction. Demonstrators in Western countries act within relatively stable legal systems that, while providing sanctions for breaches of the law, also ensure the right to publicly demonstrate non-violent political commitment.⁰⁴ Tarrow (1998, p. 19) observes that "models of the political process have seldom been applied systematically outside the liberal-democratic order of the West", where most of the activist episodes occur (Alimi, 2009).

This focus of Western social scientists partly obscures the specific significance of antiwar civic activism where armed conflicts are taking place. The struggle to alleviate the consequences of war and oppose the powerful machineries that fuel nationalism is an activity that can easily jeopardise a person's life. Involvement in such civic activism is an act of bravery that usually earns activists the ominous label of traitors to the nation and causes them significant legal, social, physical and financial harm. In his classical study on microstructural aspects of the entry of activists into high-risk involvement, McAdam (1986, p. 67) writes that the "mixture of structural factors and attitudes that encourages high-risk activism differs from the mixture characteristic of low-risk activism". Therefore a characteristic of this article is that it presents the articulation of antiwar struggle in the environment where the armed conflict takes place. The unstable political atmosphere of martial law further restricts human rights and freedoms, which in environments where war occurs were perhaps not fully respected even in peacetime. This significantly differentiates the dynamics of political involvement that antiwar activists embark on in such places from the dynamics of involvement of activists in the West. Since their activities and protests are addressed not only to the authorities in their countries but also to the general public and those directly affected by the war (soldiers, recruits, conscientious objectors, refugees, etc.), I term such involvement *direct antiwar activism*. ARKH is a good example of *direct antiwar struggle*.

Before we examine the theoretically sophisticated questions of the make-up of the protagonists and the processes of inner fragmentation and subsequent demise or professionalisation, the issue of the *articulation of an antiwar stance* forms a plausible starting point for any theoretical account of the work of the Campaign. This article therefore makes a contribution to the empirical corpus that ought to allow for ARKH to be given the place it deserves in interpretations of the agonising break-up of Yugoslavia and at the same time calls for a broadening of that corpus. The uncovering and recognition of the antiwar endeavours connected with the wars of Yugoslav succession cuts across strictly national allegiances and points to the heterogeneity of the Yugoslav political scene in the early 1990s. The examination of such endeavours underlines the presence of anti-nationalist and mostly centripetal alternatives that are easily overlooked in popular and oversimplified theoretical treatments of the break-up of Yugoslavia. However, this must not relativise nationalist arguments or deny their primacy for explaining the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation. Any attempt to tone down the significance of nationalism for the Yugoslav wars could relieve the leaderships of the Yugoslav republics of their responsibility for the agonising series of military conflicts in the 1990s (see Olivera Milosavljević's 2003 review of the book by Dejan Jović, 2003). Our research into the antiwar activism in Croatia, and in the former Yugoslavia in general, complements the authoritative but often one-sided study of nationalism by presenting the Yugoslav poli-

⁰⁴ Since such protests are primarily addressed to the authorities, I call this form of involvement "indirect antiwar activism".

tical alternatives as significant parts of a complex mosaic in the break-up of Yugoslavia. The developmental paths of these initiatives are crucial for understanding the processes through which nationally restricted NGO spheres later formed in the post-Yugoslav countries.

(POST)YUGOSLAV ANTIWAR STRUGGLE: A MARGINAL(ISED) PHENOMENON

The extremely violent character of the wars of Yugoslav succession has so far stimulated an impressive amount of attention in the social sciences (e.g. Allcock, 2000; Popov, 1991; Ramet, 1992, 2006; Woodward, 1995). However, widespread insistence on the distortions caused by the reciprocally escalating nationalist sentiments, which were present to a greater or lesser degree in all former Yugoslav republics, obscures the full dynamism of the antiwar activism that emerged on the eve of and throughout the Yugoslav armed conflicts. Almost two decades after the Dayton Peace Agreement (1995), we know very little about the process in which the immediate threat of armed conflict awoke dormant social networks and strengthened existing activist circles or created new ones. Even less is known about the abundance of ideological positions that initiated civic activism, its tensions and fragmentations. Also, there are no sociological accounts that satisfactorily consider the importance of Yugoslav antiwar organisation for the complex geometry of today's civic connections and elements of resistance in the post-Yugoslav space. That is undoubtedly a serious, though hardly surprising gap in the increasingly abundant social-scientific literature on the break-up of Yugoslavia.

The conspicuous paucity of studies dealing with (post-)Yugoslav antiwar and pacifist initiatives can be explained by a number of interrelated reasons. The lack of interest in the subject is inseparable from the way scholars perceive the nature and causes of Yugoslavia's destructive nationalisms and the final disintegration of the country. Most studies on the former Yugoslavia, particularly those chronologically closer to the armed conflicts (e.g. Kaplan, 1993; Glenny, 1993; Magaš, 1993), are based on the paradigm that multinational societies are by definition prone to conflict and characterised by a tendency towards ethnically homogeneous nation states (Dević, 1997). Such approaches consider ethnic identity an immutable category that overlays all the other possible individual affiliations and leave little room for transrepublican, pan-Yugoslav or supranational peace-oriented civic involvement. There are, of course, scholars – domestic, foreign and those in the diaspora – who give more balanced explanations that redress the nationalist argumentation by analysing long-term social trends and the cultural life of the country (e.g. Dević, 1997; Dragović-Soso, 2002; Fridman, 2006, 2011; Gordy, 1999; Jansen, 2005; Sekelj, 1992).

Moreover, a large part of contemporary research uncritically “normalises” today's post-Yugoslav status quo and views the newly created nation states that are yet to be fully consolidated as the “natural” result of longterm historical processes. In order to attain that goal, scholars often underestimate the decades of rich and dynamic political development that took place in the (more or less) pluralistic, non-monolithic framework of Yugoslav socialism. They proceed in this way although the primary political dividing lines within the Yugoslav socialist regime were more class- and gender-based than ethnic (Tomić & Atanacković, 2009).

In the wake of the deeply divisive social phenomena of wars and forced migration, manifold endeavours are being made to intervene in historical factuality and distort it by obfuscating and revising collective histories and personal biographies. Kuljić (2010, p. 240) confirms that, as soon as the armed conflicts on Yugoslav territory ended, a “civil war for memory” began. Social-scientific research itself can become an accomplice in processes of manipulating memory; possibly it fails to escape the dominant discourses it sets out to critique, or it even begins to perpetuate them itself (see Stubbs, 2001, and others). Jansen (2002, p. 17) presents the hypothesis that “even some of the better journalistic accounts (and worst ethnographic studies) offer a rather homogeneous and overly structured picture that inadvertently reproduces some of the pitfalls of dominant post-Yugoslav nationalism”. The specific social-scientific “partition” of the Yugoslav space, where it has become almost “natural” to place emphasis on the newly created nation states, is one of the consequences of the war. Jasna Dragović-Soso (2008, p. 28-29) acknowledges this when she claims that the existing literature

[...] sometimes treats national groups in Yugoslavia in an overly “homogeneous” way (as Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, etc.) to the disadvantage of accentuating the diversity of experience and attitudes that exist within each of them. Be it at the level of the elite or of ordinary people, accounts of the break-up process of Yugoslavia often overlook the *interactive* nature of the various particularist nationalisms or the political measures and decisions of the different federal, republic and provincial leaderships. [...] Although there are of course exceptions from that rule, *academic literature on the break-up of Yugoslavia focuses on the elites, not on the local, social and family histories and forms of mobilisation from below* [emphasis BB].

This focus obscures what Maja Povrzanović-Frykman (2003, p. 58) terms “the lived experience of war”. The *perspective from below*, be it in relation to victims, soldiers, activists or those who evade mobilisation, remains in the shadow of the grandiose narratives of nationalisms and the geostrategic transformations after the fall of socialism in Eastern Europe. This focus also marginalises the entire corpus of historical legacies, robs the Yugoslav socialist experience of any legitimacy and destabilises some of its fundamental values (such as antifascism).

Another reason for the lack of interest in Yugoslav, and more specifically Croatian antiwar and pacifist activism⁰⁵ is that the activist groups were indeed small, and often disunited and repressed (Pešić, 1992). Inga Tomić-Koludrović (1993) claims that, from the adoption of the 1974 constitution until the introduction of political pluralism in Yugoslavia, Croatia was never an arena of new social movements as extra-institutional gatherings characteristic of post-industrial society. In her opinion, Yugoslav socialism encouraged diversity but at the same time suppressed its social and political manifestations. Tomić-Koludrović introduces the concepts of *atomised alternatives* and *alternative initiatives* to explain socially marginalised forms of alternative and potentially subversive behaviour that have managed to reach the public.

In this respect, the active core of ARKH numbered approximately twenty activists in the initial phase of its operations. This is not surprising, given that antiwar endeavours cannot be other than marginal and unstable when a war has already begun. Civic contention, especially that in unstable political environments, is inherently episodic. Such endeavours were far from the centre of attention of the global media, which reported on the war in

⁰⁵ I use the plural, *activisms*, to underline the diversity of ideological and strategic options within the (post-)Yugoslav antiwar struggle.

an ignorant, stereotypical and sensationalist way, oversimplifying historical controversies and reducing their complexity to crude binary opposites. This was particularly the case in the very early period of the Antiwar Campaign, while it was still developing its ideological position within the Yugoslav conflict. As stated by Wam Kat, a Dutch peace activist and member of the Antiwar Campaign (cited in Marković, 1995, p. 35):

The peace movement in Belgrade was far better known internationally, whereas ARK, although it was very active, was looked down on as the peace movement of a fascist country that had no leverage on the authorities. On the other hand, its protests and events did not meet with approval in Croatia either – they were seen as acts of betrayal.

In effect, traditional Western sociological research devoted to democratisation and civic engagement tends to skim over short-lived attempts and focuses on permanent organisations or, at least, those that manage to better withstand regime pressures (Kaldor, 2003).

Moreover, the generation of the most involved ARKH activists did not reflect on its own antiwar activism to a sufficient degree. I realised during my fieldwork (2010–11) that there exists a kind of fear of privatisation or monopolisation of the movement. Many activists were worried about the possibility of inadvertently “usurping” the achievements of collective endeavours or profiting from them by writing about them. One of the central questions of the post-war dynamics of civic involvement in the region of ex-Yugoslavia is who has the right to speak “authentically” about pacifist projects and in their name. Who can realistically appropriate the significant activist capital that had grown over the previous two decades, whose value grew with the worsening social conditions and the increasingly powerful pressures of professionalisation? This practice leaves a gaping hole in post-Yugoslav sociological scholarship in an atmosphere where social scientists themselves are disparaged (see Županov, 2002, on the concept of descientisation) and abused for particularistic political purposes. The widespread reluctance to submit one’s heterogeneous and painful experiences to (theoretical) scrutiny gives rise to frustrations, disappointments and misunderstandings.

Nevertheless, women’s activist groups throughout the region have continuously documented their work and numerous examples of international feminist solidarity (e.g. Barilar et al., 2001; Kesić, Janković & Bijelić, 2003; Sklevicky, 1996; Vušković & Trifunović, 2007; Zajović et al., 2007). We must not forget the persistent scholarly efforts of Croatian anthropologists and ethnographers to analyse everyday experience connected with the war in Croatia in the 1990s (Čale-Feldman, Prica & Senjaković, 1993; Jambrešić-Kirin & Povrzanović, 1996; Povrzanović-Frykman, 2003). Also, Božičević recently (2010) edited a book that examines the positive practice of peacebuilding in post-war Croatia. This collection of short essays by Croatian peace activists themselves deals with the peacebuilding activities organised by domestic protagonists and often supported financially by foundations from abroad. The book also discusses the *Pakrac project* but does not go into the founding and work of ARKH in a way relevant to theory (see the personal reflections on these processes in Oštrić, 1992/2010). The book does not evaluate the regional dynamics in the sphere of pacifist civic organising, although the authors actually demand that more effort be put into documenting and analysing peacebuilding in Croatia and the post-Yugoslav region.

06 The author claims that concepts such as *civil society* or *democracy* “are not directly transferrable” (p. 20) from the Western political context to newly created postcommunist nation states. Yet his representation does not deviate significantly from the perspective of *civil society* that pervades recent social-scientific literature on this region (see Vujadinović et al., 2005, and others). I have shown elsewhere that the concept *civil society* can no longer be meaningfully used to help understand the complex geometry of social, political and personal interactions, cooperation and forms of resistance within the post-Yugoslav civil spheres characterised by discernable asymmetries of power (Bilić, 2011). Its definitional elusiveness and logical incoherence allow *civil society* to encompass phenomena that are ideologically and historically most divergent. Thanks to its conceptual elasticity, *civil society* is a readily available cognitive device and a depoliticised paradigm suitable for masking networks of power, which are often dictated by foreign political agendas. For an earlier critique of the concept of *civil society* in the context of post-Yugoslav antiwar activism, see Stubbs (2007).

07 With that in mind, it is worth noting that one of the most active observers of the Croatian civic scene is Paul Stubbs, a British sociologist and activist who lives in Zagreb. Also, several of the former Yugoslav republics have become the almost exclusive focus of researchers in Western academic circles or originally from there: Croatia (Stubbs, 1996, 2001 and more recently Baker, 2010), Serbia (Fridman, 2006; Gordy, 1999) and Bosnia (Bugarel, 2004; Dujizings et al., 2007; Fagan, 2008; Helms, 2008). I doubt it would have been problematic for any pre-war Yugoslav sociologist to engage in sociological enquiry relating to their country as a whole. On the other hand, the vast majority of social-scientific studies published before and during the disintegration of the count-

Dvornik’s book *Akteri bez društva* (*Protagonists without society*, 2009) deserves mention here. It analyses the developmental path of the civil societies in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the context of the Yugoslav armed conflicts. It concludes that the transformations in Eastern Europe are by no means linear processes that inevitably lead to a certain goal. Civic protagonists in unstable environments, as in the post-Yugoslav case, should not be seen as exponents of broader social movements but as creators and promoters of political alternatives that oppose the omnipresence of the regime. In this respect, the responsibility of the hitherto established “protagonists of civil society” for the monopolisation of the civic scene, money and resources ought to be examined in more detail – practices that undermine their critical voice and curtail the opportunities of *grassroots* initiatives based outside the respective capital city.⁰⁶

In addition, during my two years of fieldwork with activists throughout the ex-Yugoslav region, I observed that many of the respondents were tired of interviews conducted by researchers who were young, poorly informed and therefore lacking in cultural sensitivity. Some of the respondents felt that young scholars used the emotionally laden knowledge of the activists with its concomitant value judgements in order to advance their careers in places far removed from political tensions and straitened financial circumstances. Antiwar activism in an impoverished, authoritarian environment in the midst of an armed conflict is an extremely exhausting activity. Over ten years after the wars of Yugoslav succession ended, many of the protagonists arguably still hesitate to reflect on their civic struggle due to a feeling of mental exhaustion, fatigue or disappointment that such activity can cause (see Goodwin, Jaspers & Polletta, 2001). This irritation of some activists resembles that provoked by a myriad of foreign “experts” or consultants who visit the region for a short period of time, frequently with the aim of self-promotion.⁰⁷

Research interviews are most productive and mutually useful in cases where both the researcher and the activist embrace the idea that critical academic study is a continuation of socially responsible civic endeavours. ARKH was a grassroots organisation that brought together manifold threads of the ideologically and strategically divergent civic activisms in Croatia from the 1980s (anti-nuclear, feminist, environmentalist, conscientious objectors, squatters and others; see Laraña, Johnston & Gusfield, 1994). This civic involvement was inspired by the then very popular paradigm of *new social movements*, which in the political region of ex-Yugoslavia was *theoretically* most productive in Slovenia (Mastnak, 1994). The activities of the Antiwar Campaign were marked by numerous tensions, duplications and divisions that sometimes saw the earliest participants shift to the extremes of the political spectrum. In view of their “unique structural situation” (Kriesi, 1992, p. 194), social scientists are compelled to “mediate” between conflicting parties, including those that perceive the social sciences as an enterprise which legitimises social reality and the authorities’ interventions in it. The need to preserve a critical voice even after repeated conversations invoking deeply cherished memories and values made me painfully aware of the argument in Douglas (1976) that field research may be a traitorous activity.

In this respect, one of the most serious challenges in studying this type of (post-)Yugoslav civic activism is that of finding a path through the thicket of misnamed, vacuous or forced conceptual labels that are thrown around and sometimes eagerly applied to social phenomena and political orientations they do not belong to. The concepts operating within such a research or

activist field are instable ideal types that have become temporarily fixed in the retrospective sociological imagination. Therefore it is essential to open up space for the adjustment of particular ideological positions and strategic decisions in the light of the dizzyingly dynamic political reality, where connections, values and political behaviours gain or lose social relevance. Since collective action should be viewed as a “system of tensions”, as Alberto Melucci shows (1995a, p. 61), the task of the social scientist researching (post-) Yugoslav antiwar activism is not to restrict the flow, immobilise the concepts and order them “the right way”. The goal of such enquiry should be to chart the diversity of options and offer a picture to reflect both the specific historical moment in which it was taken and the specific decisions made by the researcher. That scholarly endeavour, torn between compact, sympathetic description and social-scientific analysis that aims to reach beyond pure empiricism, resembles an attempt to project a three-dimensional object onto a two-dimensional plane – a process in which some important aspects of the phenomenon under study are inevitably lost. Stubbs (2010, p. 16) expresses this challenge well:

Attempting to describe and analyse peacebuilding in the region of ex-Yugoslavia from 1991 until today is almost the same as attempting to present a diverse and dynamic landscape with a series of black-and-white photographs. Some of its basic characteristics, and even its beauty might be captured, but probably at the expense of the richness, complexity and naturally the broad spectrum of colours. Such photographs can be no more than a selective memory that reveals perhaps as much about the photograph as it does about the landscape. There is a risk of what others see and understand to be crucial being ignored or considered inconsequential.

Ultimately, ARKH is no longer present in public life in Croatia in its initial form: it has since been replaced by a multitude of organisations that represent autonomous legal entities. They are mainly dedicated to questions of human rights and operate within the all-embracing paradigm of *dealing with the past* through a range of legal mechanisms and approaches known as transitional justice (Akhavan, 1998; Subotić, 2009). Due to the relatively poor documentation and theoretical elaboration, those who work in such highly professional organisations today are perhaps not even aware of the genesis and activist past of their institutions. This mirrors the post-war orientation in both academic and practical-political fields towards rectification of the consequences of war and clarification of the factors of reconciliation (Helms, 2003), as well as the maintenance of peace (Škrabalo, Miošić-Lisjak & Papa, 2006). The international mechanisms of transitional justice, such as ICTY, produce many testimonies, reports and other research material that casts new light on significant political trends and nourishes academic debates (Cohen & Dragović-Soso, 2008). Regarding the social, political and economic devastation caused by the Yugoslav armed conflicts, researchers’ spotlights since the end of the war have been focussed on more urgent and practical *post-war* aspects of the painful break-up of Yugoslavia. This practice has obscured the equally significant initial stages of the constitution of the antiwar protagonists and the way they mastered the politics of antiwar activism in the midst of an armed conflict.

ry – with diverse emphases and specialisation – was clearly Yugoslav in its geographical scope (e.g., Banac, 1984; Cohen, 1989; Denitch, 1994; Golubović, 1988; Korošić, 1988; Ramet, 1992; Seroka & Pavlović, 1992; Singleton, 1976; Tomasevich, 1955).

ARTICULATING AN ANTIWAR STANCE IN A COUNTRY UNDER ATTACK

Extremely disruptive social phenomena, among which wars are by far the most detrimental, threaten personal well-being and prompt communities to homogenise, thus narrowing the space for political involvement. War does not permit shades of grey: an integral part of its destructive logic is to consistently eliminate that which is alternative, unknown, unclassified or mixed. In its mission that totalises and negates the fundamental principles of social life, war reduces the wealth of human experience to major binary opposites. In such circumstances, authorities tend to disseminate a unidimensional interpretation of the unfavourable events, demanding allegiance to their policies and hoping to legitimise their actions.

Towards the beginning of the Yugoslav wars, Croatian, mostly Zagreb-based, civic activists decided that antiwar engagement made sense even in the situation where the country was militarily attacked. Aware that they were setting out on the painful road of resisting the prevailing orthodoxy, they steeled themselves for the sanctioning and stigmatisation that hound those accused of disloyalty to the national cause. Articulating and maintaining a fragile antiwar stance in Croatia was a demanding enterprise, much harder than in the country that began exporting war across its borders. As one Campaign activist says:

I don't think it would be overly subjective to say it was harder for us to be involved in antiwar contention than people in Serbia. Military actions are legitimate in a country under attack, whereas aggression is illegitimate in itself. We couldn't question defence, so we spent a lot of time discussing and looking for the fine lines that separate defence from internal aggression. This was often a matter of nuances that we had to explain to others and ourselves alike.

Activists realised at an early stage that maintaining *communication with other Yugoslav republics throughout the conflict would be one of the focal points of their antiwar involvement*. The wars of Yugoslav succession began to rend the social fabric that connected people in Yugoslavia through interethnic marriages, friendships, as well as academic and economic cooperation throughout the Yugoslav region. Nationalist leaderships required isolation in order to more easily propagate their own political cause. Given that telephone lines and postal channels were available only at night, or were interrupted completely, staying in touch with friends, colleagues and relatives "on the other side" was both challenging and crucial for those involved in ARKH. Activists knew that even their reduced communication possibilities would help them coordinate their antiwar activities better and prevent them from succumbing to the deafening nationalist clamour in both Croatia and Serbia. Given that the attempts to communicate represented a pledge of normal co-existence in the post-war period, communication became the central "programmatic" feature of the Campaign's operations. As Zoran Oštrić writes in the Charter of the Antiwar Campaign immediately upon the foundation of the organisation in 1991:

Whatever the results of today's armed conflicts are, people will continue to live together in this region. We all need peace, we all need to work on the development of democracy and achievement of economic, social and ecological welfare. Our interests are the same; war and violence harm everyone.

Regardless of the difficulties, citizens of all republics and members of all nations must maintain and promote communication and cooperate on mutually useful projects. We are part of a modern Europe in which state borders increasingly connect rather than separate nations and individuals. Our governments and other state institutions have limited function and reach. They cannot be the exclusive representatives of our interests.

We, citizens of our republics, citizens of Europe and the world, resolutely reject violence and war. We will communicate and cooperate regardless of the differences in our political stances and regardless of the way the relations among our republics will be resolved. Both individually and collectively, at a local, regional and global level, we will oppose those who incite to war, and we will stand up for freedom, justice and prosperity for all.

The need to communicate in difficult circumstances forced the members of the Campaign to devise creative solutions and come up with means of communication that were barely known until then.

It was essential that we maintain communications. All the normal channels were gone – the post office, telephones, faxes – so we had to look for other means and started using electronic mail in 1992 already. The only people in Yugoslavia who knew anything about electronic communication (email) at that time were university professors who had an academic network. No one else had any idea what email was, what it meant when you gave an email address to someone. So, yes, it was important for us to maintain communication, to know that they [antiwar activists in Serbia; BB] existed, in the same way in which it was important for them to know we were active.

Foreign pacifist activists helped the *Centre for the Culture of Peace and Non-violence* (Ljubljana), the *Antiwar Campaign* (Zagreb) and the *Centre for Antiwar Action* (Belgrade) to form an electronic peace network called *ZaMir* [For Peace].⁰⁸ Although it was impossible for the Belgrade and Zagreb nodes to connect directly, an exchange of messages was enabled through other servers located in Germany, Britain and Austria. *ZaMir* grew to include thousands of users across the Yugoslav space and to provide them with reliable information that escaped government censorship. As Wam Kat argues:

I think the reason for the rapid expansion of *ZaMir* was an incredible yearning for communication, for getting and exchanging information. In Croatia, the media were controlled and unreliable even with regard to the simplest questions like what was going on in the States, or even in Sarajevo. The information from the network was much more reliable. The hunger for information was understandable in the atmosphere of information isolation – it was impossible to make a phone call to Sarajevo or Priština. [...] Such a boom in computer use, even among people who'd never used them before, never took place anywhere else in Europe, because there was no need for it.

Along with *ZaMir*, ARKH employed another means of communication that would become one of its most recognisable features. The magazine *ARKzin* was first published in 1991, inspired by the publication of the Slovenian *Metelkovo* network called *M'zin*. Throughout the 1990s (with some fluctuation), *ARKzin* published information about antiwar activities in the Yugoslav region and also explored many socially relevant topics ranging from feminism and human rights to new media and cybernetics. The founding editor of *ARKzin*, Vesna Janković, claims (according to a quote in Vidović, 2010):

08 Two activists, Wam Kat and Eric Bachman, played a crucial role in this undertaking.

We were aware of the importance of having our own medium. We knew that the media space would be closed in wartime for any divergent opinions, especially critical ones. The mainstream media served the national homogenisation and mobilisation drive, so there was no space for antiwar, peace and human rights activities of this kind. *ARKzin* had a developmental trajectory from a small, photocopied fanzine of 500 copies to a newspaper with a print run of 2,000 and then 10,000. Later we began to lay theoretical foundations through the idea of media activism. It was never an objective of *ARKzin* to become a real professional newspaper; we always felt it to be part of the activist scene and the upsurge of media activism that was relatively new and current in the West, too, at that time. *ARKzin* was also the first medium to publish texts on the *techno rave* scene, which was then a growing phenomenon. *ARKzin* was a medium in the broadest sense of the word, a kind of *temporary autonomous zone*, a space that gave a sense of strength to a whole range of subcultures and generated a whole scene.

Along with communication, the protection of human rights was a central concern of ARKH. The activists realised that the norms of social life may be more easily trespassed at a time of “collective effervescence” (as Durkheim would call a specific kind of energy produced by a homogenous group). One activist remembers:

Many issues were raised and we knew some of them would become important in future, but there was one constant of our work from the very beginning: the defence of human rights, civic rights and personal rights. That was clear from the moment we started.

It is not surprising that the human rights of non-Croat minorities living in Croatia, especially Serbs, were at stake in the powerfully homogenising nation state. One of the main activities of the Campaign members was to offer support to Croatian citizens of Serbian nationality who were threatened by the authorities and in some cases evicted from their flats and houses.⁰⁹ The Campaign’s actions in this regard were often not effective in the sense of defending people’s property, but they were a courageous act of solidarity with their fellow citizens. As one activist reminisces:

We were the first to notice the problem of forceful evictions of people from their apartments. And how did we discover it? Not because we were enquiring about the issue. We didn’t even know anything of the sort was taking place. We had that general principle of non-violent resolution of the post-Yugoslav conflicts. And then, one day, people who were evicted started knocking on our door. We were the only organisation that dealt with human rights and we reacted in the most naive and direct way when we heard someone was threatened: we’d simply go to their place to be with them, to make it more difficult for those who wanted to evict them, and we informed the representatives of the European Community who were in Croatia. We rarely managed to protect anyone and it was often a very frustrating experience, but it was at least our expression of solidarity with them.

⁰⁹ That phenomenon is known as *deložacija* (eviction). See the book *Deložacije u Hrvatskoj: pravni, etički i socijalni aspekti* (1994) published by the Croatian Helsinki Committee, which also played a vital role in hindering the evictions.

Another important thread of human rights protection that was pursued by the participants in ARKH was *conscientious objection*. This was a particularly sensitive issue in the early 1990s because Croatia was militarily attacked and it seemed natural to the authorities that no one would refuse to bear arms

to defend it. Conscientious objection had been a constitutional right in Croatia ever since 1991, but the state often found ways to restrict it and discourage those who wanted to assert it. To make recourse to the right to conscientious objection more difficult, the government passed the Defence Law, which introduced a deadline for submitting an application to use this constitutional right.¹⁰ The need to promote conscientious objection as an important civic value was articulated by Croatian activists even before the wars of Yugoslav succession. As one member of the Campaign says:

The idea of conscientious objection had been with us ever since *Svarun*¹¹ and we stuck with it in the Antiwar Campaign. We simply recognised it as an important issue and continued supporting conscientious objectors and offering them aid. We weren't calling on people who faced the superiority of the JNA not to bear arms, but we wanted to secure the right for those with a moral dilemma, who felt it was not their choice, not their way, to contribute in some manner. They had the right to reject military service, and we supported them. No one had the right to take them to the front line to dig trenches where they'd definitely be exposed to gunfire and could be killed at any time. It was a different way of seeing the war.

The activists in ARKH were not only interested in alleviating the immediate consequences of war though maintaining communication and protecting human rights but also in articulating a vision of *post-war* Croatian society, which should be democratic and pluralist. In his editorial in the first issue of *ARKzin*, published in October 1991, Miroslav Ambruš Kiš (1991, p. 2) wrote:

The main aim of the antiwar movement is not simply to get the war to stop, but to look at what peace will be like. Do we stand to gain anything if the war is not replaced 100% by a society of tolerance, plurality and democracy? Given its force and amplitude, the violence of war will continue for a longer or shorter time even when armed operations have ceased. For all those involved in the conflict, war is like a Faustian demon that tries to hijack the soul even when the guns fall silent.

In this respect, one of the objectives of the Campaign was the *creation and strengthening of civil society in its associational sense*. Its activists understood that, if they wanted authentic social change, civic activism must not remain restricted to the country's capital and their own organisation. People needed to be empowered to negotiate and articulate their own grievances and act upon them for a general improvement of social conditions. The activists therefore offered logistical support to other civic initiatives that were springing up across the country. As two Campaign members say:

A1: Along with the commitment to the advancement of non-violence, communication and conflict resolution, the Antiwar Campaign took care to create a space where new organisations could emerge. We knew we had to decentralise, so we sent money and support to Istria, Knin, Slavonia. All of that developed out of one and the same initiative.

A2: During the ten years of its active existence, the Antiwar Campaign acted as a hotbed for a variety of civic initiatives and activist groups, some of which still exist and function well today, while others later shut down. It's fair to say that the Antiwar Campaign did an immense service in laying the foundation –

¹⁰ The Article that stipulated the deadline was annulled by the Constitutional Court of Croatia in 1998 as a result of the campaign organised by Unija 47, which operated as part of ARKH.

¹¹ *Svarun* was an activist group founded in Zagreb in 1986. It can be considered the main predecessor of ARKH. The activities of *Svarun* have not been adequately addressed either. It would be especially significant to revitalise memory of it in view of the role it played in strengthening the circle of activists and preparing them for the more courageous civic involvement that followed in the 1990s. As McAdam says (1986, p. 70): "Each new breakthrough into safe forms of activism increases the integration of recruits into the network, into ideological affinity with the movement and devotion to the activist identity, as well as their receptiveness for more demanding forms of involvement. Precisely such a process of gradual recruitment has the prospect of fostering high-risk activism." On this, see Vidović (2010).

digging and cementing the foundations of what we know today as the critical and active civil society in Croatia.

One idea that cuts across all the above-mentioned activities of ARKH is *resistance to social homogenisation and militarisation*. Members of the Campaign understood that Croatia was a victim of aggression at the very beginning of the wars of Yugoslav succession before it revealed its own expansionist aspirations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, ARKH did not allow the nationally oriented authorities to use the war as a justification for restricting citizens' freedoms. The Campaign was not strong, but it was a consistent and persistent social initiative, which, to use Albert Melucci's words (1999, p. 1), "spoke before".¹² This is illustrated by the following quotes:

Activist 1: After repulsing the external aggressor, the Croatian state can itself become an internal aggressor both against fledgling civil society and against its own Serb minority. That's why a peace movement makes sense in Croatia, too: someone needs to say that not even a defensive war can be a pretext for depriving us of democratic politics and civil society; someone has to finally come out and say that the hatred being churned out (above all interethnic hatred) is by no means a defensive resource in wartime. And it's no justification that the other side is doing the same (Dvornik, 1991, p. 15).

Activist 2: We didn't want to get a new totalitarianism where a new, legitimised, acceptable, adored nation state would be allowed to do anything: break into people's houses, beds, heads and thoughts, into what they were writing, but in fact all of that took place. The Antiwar Campaign was our attempt to prevent the war from entering all social relations, to stop it from becoming the sole logic – with a collective enemy and us as a collective victim.

Finally, given that it was inspired by the new social movements and clearly set against the state and its intrusion into social life, the Campaign's antiwar contention was articulated as *anti-politics*.¹³ Since the very inception of the organisation, the activists were interested in organisational forms different from the classical workers' party familiar in the Yugoslosphere. They insisted on horizontal, leaderless structures, which often resulted in organisational chaos and consumed an appreciable amount of the participants' energy. ARKH internal documents testify to the activists' incessant efforts to devise strategic options that would not resemble those associated with traditional politics. As one activist argues:

I remember we all rejected the idea that the Campaign should have a secretary. That would've been terrible for us. It was inconceivable for the Campaign to employ a secretary. But there was actually a need for a person who would sit in the office and take phone calls, of which there were very many, because at that time foreign journalists, a heap of activists and other people were dropping in or contacting us about this or that. To an extent, that anarcho spiel sometimes prevented us from organising efficiently, i.e. there was a lot of confusion, and it was all due to loyalty to our principles and ideas.

Although the "anarcho" element in the activities of the Campaign and its successors has since subsided appreciably, the Croatian civic scene stemming from ARKH has managed to delineate a portion of public space that has preserved its autonomy from the official power structures.

¹² Alberto Melucci (1999, p. 1) argues: "Like the prophets, the movements 'speak before', they announce what is taking shape even before its direction and content has become clear." In this regard, it is interesting to note that the roundtable discussion organised to mark the 20th anniversary of the Campaign was called "The Antiwar Campaign 1991–2011: twenty years ahead of its time".

¹³ The question of the conceptualisation of civic activism as anti-politics in the Yugoslav region has been examined in relation to Yugoslav feminism; see Korać (1998) and others.

CONCLUSION

It remains for theory to explore the activities of ARKH, which have not been sufficiently addressed, despite its importance for understanding the paths of development of the civic scene both in Croatia and in the wider region. This gap in knowledge mirrors the broader trend of marginalising (post-)Yugoslav antiwar and pacifist activism in sociological scholarship in Eastern Europe. The field of Yugoslav studies has recently been inundated with studies on nationalism that concentrate on the newly created “nation states” and seldom consider the *transnational* nature of the phenomena that have accompanied the painful break-up of Yugoslavia. The trend of focussing on post-war dimensions of the armed conflicts and the prospects and conditions for the post-Yugoslav countries becoming members of the European Union, which everyone impatiently awaits, has obscured the early stages of pan-Yugoslav antiwar activism undertaken on the basis of prior civic traditions. In addition, there is a glaring omission in that activists have neglected to reflect on their own involvement in a theoretically oriented way, partly as a result of widespread feelings of exhaustion and disappointment.

This article deals with the difficult articulation and justification of antiwar struggle in a country that is in the midst of a national-homogenisation drive and militarily under attack. The predominant orientation of political sociology towards antiwar activism in places far from armed conflicts obscures the specific dynamics of high-risk antiwar activism in wartime. I have shown that, although they never denied the right of their fellow citizens to self-defence, ARKH activists struggled against the all-out militarisation of Croatian society, which sought to use the act of aggression as a pretext for restricting human rights. Activists invested a lot of energy in maintaining communication channels in the region and creating their own means of information diffusion. They provided an alternative perspective and countered the social homogenisation around a national cause. The antiwar struggle, as articulated by members of the Antiwar Campaign, was rooted in a broader paradigm of resistance to formalised politics. The politically oriented activist scene created by that generation of civil protagonists maintained its independence from the official power structures to a significant degree.

Finally, as is often the case with research into movements, this brief representation of the work of ARKH has undoubtedly *overemphasised the level of agreement* among the earliest activists of the Antiwar Campaign. Although I have pointed to several elements responsible for the specific group dynamics within the Antiwar Campaign (different ideological and strategic lines, anti-politics, horizontality, the rejection of hierarchies, etc.), more effectual conceptual resources are required for a nuanced analysis of the establishment, development and demise of the Campaign. Although the notion of *social movement* is debatable in the context of post-Yugoslav antiwar activism due to its quantitative marginality, that should not dissuade social scientists in the field of Yugoslav studies from using and refining Anglo-Saxon theories about social movements in a culturally sensitive way. The high-risk activism that takes place in an unstable political climate like that in which ARKH operated for years further emphasises the importance of the question of *differential recruitment* (Jenkins, 1983, p. 528), which has taken a central place in a considerable part of research into social movements in the past four decades. Why do some individuals decide to become involved in dangerous civic undertakings, whose effects they cannot know, while others choose conformity and passivity? What are the (micro-)structural characteristics

that distinguish active participants from those who withdraw or do not participate at all? The specific characteristics of antiwar activism within armed conflicts have not been sufficiently well studied. This opens up a potentially fertile field of research that social scientists from the region can make a significant contribution to.

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