

1914-2014

**WE STAND FIRM TO ACHIEVE
PEACE WITHOUT WEAPONS!**

Europe between Crisis & War

Gabi Zimmer draws the connection between financial crisis and war. She calls for European integration on the basis of solidarity and not on austerity and militarism.

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Militarization of the EU

Claire Chastain and Lucas Wirl point out processes of militarization of the EU and how it is consistently and steadily becoming an actor for global power by military means.

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1914-2014 CREATE PEACE – ABOLISH WAR

Summer 2014 will be the commemoration of 100 years since the beginning of World War I.

By Reiner Braun

World War I fundamentally changed the political, social and economic landscapes around the world and many rudimentary questions and challenges were placed on the agenda. It was a war of unforeseen cruelty, destruction, annihilation; it witnessed the technologization of war and the outbreak of total violence.

Formal political parties will actively interpret the results of the war and use them for their European policies. They see the EU's Nobel Peace Prize 2012 as encouragement and will increasingly promote today's EU as a force for peace. But to daily wage war and legitimize it while weeping crocodile tears about a past war is insincere and hypocritical.

The peace movement and critical and reflective people face a huge challenge. It is necessary to educate others about the economically disastrous and anti-democratic project of the "European Union". It is necessary to destroy the myth about the civil force of Europe; it is a military force – it may not be comparable to the USA but it is interventionist and armament-oriented.

World War I 1914-2014: What lessons have we learnt?

It is only by acting together and acting internationally that the peace movement can be a social force for change, it needs to unite different social and societal organizations and political cultures.

The basis for actions by the peace movement is unmistakable – "No to War and to all forms of national and international militarization". There is no justification for war no matter how it is presented – human rights, humanitarian intervention, responsibility to protect, whatever the guise. To put it bluntly: the nationalist and chauvinistic poison of 1914, has been replaced today by propaganda calling for the feigned defence of human rights or for defence against so-called Islamic terrorism. The underlying interests – both in 1914 and today – remain the same: a redistribution of the world according to the economic and other interests of the great powers.

Historically and currently, war is anti-democratic and restrictive. Thus,

engaging for peace always means to defend fundamental democratic rights and liberties against such things as surveillance, and censorship. Armament has to be fundamentally rejected. In 1914 new weapons such as tanks, airplanes and poison gas shells were developed. Today, there are global threats from the modernization of nuclear weapons, and drones are becoming an increasing dangerous step towards the automatization and robotization of war. There is a vast spread of old and new weapons systems around the world and now, as in 1914, the protest against weapons exports and the arms trade is a protest against the business of globalized murder.

War has destroyed and still destroys nature. The peaceful defence and preservation of nature is needed more than ever, especially to combat the climate catastrophe and for the life of future generations. Even today no trees are growing in Verdun; Vietnam is still a victim of defoliation; the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki still suffer from the results of the only use of nuclear weapons so far. The possibility of completely destroying our blue planet Earth and all living things has not been banned – it still exists.

In 2014 the concept that there are alternatives to war has to be vigorously revived. In 1914, and the years that followed, Rosa Luxemburg and Alfred Fried (to name but two) were acting against the savageness of World War I. Today, comprehensive concepts of civil and societal alternatives are opposing the concept of war. The statement "there is no alternative" is a lie. Peaceful alternatives exist but have to be politically desired. The peace movement has always struggled for them; today, with the broad public knowledge of the catastrophic consequences of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, with growing insight of the misuse of the United



Peace – it's not about a slice of pie but about the whole bakery | © Flickr / Natalie Maynor

» *Heroism at command, how violently I hate all this, how despicable and ignoble war is; I would rather be torn to shreds than be a part of so base an action.* «

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Nations for the legitimization of war, and with a clearer view on the dreadful role of hegemonic powers in the proxy war in Syria, the struggle continues.

Learning the lessons of World War I means to abolish the institution of war. This will only work if the idea of global justice and a culture of peace gains a global foothold in politics and ethics.

This is the challenge we are facing in the preparation of actions around 100 years of World War I – in any country, with any of the manifold creative activities, and with the central international "peace event" in Sarajevo in June 2014. Although it is always important to learn lessons from history, it is pri-

marily a matter of shaping a peaceful future worth living in. We want a Gramsci's "cultural hegemony" for peace. Without peace and other social movements this will not happen. As "the Internationale" says: *There are no supreme saviours / Neither God, nor Caesar, nor tribune*. Producers, let us save ourselves / Decree the common salvation.*

[*Today we can also include parliamentarian / presidential democracies]

Reiner Braun, Executive Director IALANA, Member coordinating committee "Peace Event Sarajevo 2014" – www.ialana.de | www.ipb.org



Peace flag in the sky – Since the global protests against the war against Iraq in 2003 the peace flag is a global symbol for peace | © Flickr / Fernando de Sousa

Publisher



» *For decades an enormous amount of love and attention had been directed at him; now he decays somewhere in a ditch.* «

GERHARD GOEPEL – an ordinary German soldier – described the presence of death by example of a French soldier.

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EUROPE IN BETWEEN CRISIS AND WAR

By Gabi Zimmer

After the EU received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012, the media reported on the EU peace project which, despite being hit by a severe financial crisis, has presented the longest ever continuous period of peace to Europeans, at least to those in the countries of "old Europe".

Rarely has a decision by the Norwegian Nobel Committee been so disputed. What Obama received while entering office in anticipation of future political achievements, the EU received in retrospect for its founding myths. Back in 1957 the signing of the Treaty of Rome was largely about economic issues, reducing tax and other trade barriers. But at the same time, the EU was also created as a political peace project.

But as Obama ended up moving from "yes we can" to "yes we scan" the EU lost its innocence by engaging in the war against Serbia. With the creation of a common European arms industry, the creation of a European defence agency that is not controlled by the European Parliament and the commitment by EU member states in the Lisbon treaty to improve their military capabilities, the EU has taken a wrong turn.

Nevertheless, it is a credit to the EU today that economic conflicts inside the Union are not solved by military means. Unfortunately, many people take this achievement for granted. Today we are already witness an increasing polarization of conflicts with the naming of winners and losers leading to increased tensions among the members. As a result, solidarity between member states has been revoked.

People in countries joining the EU believed one essential promise of the Union: European integration on the basis of solidarity, a Structural and Cohesion policy to reduce the econo-



Graffiti at Berlin Wall – Peace is not a "surefire success". It is more than the absence of war. It needs people acting in concert and is interconnected to all realms of society | © Flickr / Carsten Medom Madsen

» The lamps are going out all over Europe.

We shall not see them lit again in our time.«

SIR EDWARD GREY

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mic and social disparities between the rich and poor regions in Europe. This is one essential element for guaranteeing stability and peace in Europe but this important achievement is under heavy attack.

Be it the Fiscal Compact, the European Semester, negotiations on the future EU Budget 2014-2020 or the recent conclusions of the Council, we have seen the economically strong and powerful member states imposing their view on others. Austerity measures and youth unemployment rates of over 60% in Greece demonstrate that when the time comes to show solidarity, the response coming from European leaders is austerity.

The Council of Europe stated that aspects of the first memorandum between Greece and the Troika are in contradiction to the European Social Charter, and therefore illegal. The IMF as a member of the Troika admitted that their calculations were wrong. We read in the newspapers recently that "scientific" studies backing austerity measures had proved to be based on incorrect calculations. But all these facts did not make the European heads of state change their minds. We should not be surprised then if people in Greece lose their faith in democracy and forces like the neo-fascist party Chrysi Avgi begin gaining ground.

But austerity inside the EU is just one side of the coin. If you destroy social bargaining, social security systems and environmental standards inside the union for the sake of more competitiveness, you also need other markets to sell your exports to. So the EU has become more and more aggressive on the international stage when it comes to opening new markets and gaining access to natural resources. One example of this aggressive trade strategy is the so called "European Partnership Agreements" (EPAs). Recently, backed by a conservative majority inside the European Parliament, African, Caribbean and Pacific countries were blackmailed into concluding negotiations on free trade agreements in order to continue to have preferable access to the European market. Instead of our historical responsibility to many of these countries, we act like neo-colonialists, interested only in their markets and natural resources.

In 2009 the Renewable Energy Directive set a goal of 10% for the share of renewable energy in the transport sector by 2020. This target was meant to be reached mainly by using biofuels produced from food crops. This led

to massive land grabs in the name of green energy, especially in the global south. Instead of producing wheat and maize, these countries produced biofuels for the EU. People were forced off their land and poor families went hungry to meet our biofuels targets. Today, EU biofuels policy is being reformed but the biofuel lobby has ensured that an initial report was watered down. It will be voted on in September.

Along with this international agenda, we are witnessing increased military expenditure, despite the financial crisis. While the Troika insisted on deep cuts in the health sector, education systems, community services and public transport, the pressure is far less when it comes to military expenditure – especially if German and French deals are at stake. A recent study by the Transnational Institute (TNI) quoted an aide to then Greek Prime Minister George Papandreu on this issue: "No one is saying 'Buy our warships or we won't bail you out.' But the clear implication is that they will be more supportive if we do". The study also reveals that, in a time of austerity, EU military expenditure increased to €194 billion in 2010, equivalent to the annual deficits of Greece, Italy and Spain combined.

More recent global figures look even worse. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) states that in 2012, world military expenditure is estimated to have reached \$1756 billion – the highest ever.

Peace activists around the world mobilized again this year for a Global Day of Action on Military Spending. Once again, they warned that states with an overall high military expenditure are more tempted to solve conflicts by military means therefore opening the way for armed conflicts. This is even truer in times of an ongoing financial crisis and increasing nationalism around Europe. In this context we can no longer take peace in Europe for granted. That is why we are going to take action! On the occasion of next year's 100th anniversary of the beginning of World War One, we will demonstrate that another Europe and another world is not only possible, but necessary. Let us stand together and take to the streets for a Europe and a world of peace!

Gabi Zimmer, Member of European Parliament, Chair of the European Parliamentary Group European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) – www.guengl.eu

» *It is claimed that struggle between people lies in the very nature of the human person. (...) We are of a different opinion. People can and should live together in peace, without distinction of race or color. Only then, when the bonds of solidarity embrace all people, can one speak of culture. As long as the exploitation of man by man is not abolished, this solidarity is not possible.* «

ROSA LUXEMBURG

MILITARIZATION OF THE EU

By Claire Chastain & Lucas Wirl

In the struggle for (global) power the European Union is not the civil force and the project of peace it claims to be. It increasingly acts militarily and steadily increases its militarization by applying military logic and thinking to its international relations, to its pursuing of interests, to its concept of security, and to its internal structure and institutions. The EU is increasingly establishing itself as a global military player. This process is, under little to no democratic control and contrary to the ideas and aspirations in the minds of EU citizens.

Since 1992 the European Union has officially pursued a common foreign policy. The Common Foreign and Security Policy of the Maastricht Treaty was the cornerstone for a steady introduction of particular thinking, structures and processes into the security and military politics of the EU. With the Nice Treaty militarization reached a new level and the EU was increasingly conceptualized as an important military power in the world. With the Lisbon Treaty and the Common Security and Defense Policy the military comprehension of safety and security reached a climax, establishing civil-military task forces and battle groups for rapid deployment, institutionalizing a European External Action Service (EEAS), defining military zones of interest, closely cooperating with the NATO military machine, and ensuring the EU becomes the world's number one arms trader. The underlying mindset of the decision makers behind these structural changes can be summarized in a sentence from the EU Security Strategy of 2003:

“Our traditional concept of self-defence – up to and including the Cold War – was based on the threat of invasion. With the new threats, the first line of defence will often be abroad. [...] We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention.”

The key threats to the EU have been defined as terrorism, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, regional conflicts, state failure, and organized crime. The key interests are defined as the security and prosperity of the EU, i.e. the flow of global trade or ensuring stable energy costs. These interests are to be secured and if necessary militarily enforced. If the EU ever was an actor for peace it is hardly that anymore. Today, the claim of self-defence has become the right to preemptive military intervention as a means to its own ends. In this way, the EU is slowly giving up (in salami type slices) any claim of acting for peace.

The mindset and deeds of EU decision makers are increasingly becoming steered by an expansive military and security logic. The shift from self-defence to military interventionism is just one aspect of this logic. Consequently, new strategic areas of interest have been defined and European states' military and other systems continue to be adapted for the new strategic goals. But the military and security logic is not confined to military structures; it has also reshaped other (former) civil policies. The control of the external borders of the member states of the European Union by the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the, better known as Frontex, is an infamous example. Closely connected to Frontex, but not so prominent, is the militarization of science via the Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development. This EU Scientific Research Program funds security research with 1.4 billion Euros over six years. Most of the research programs aim directly at developing industrial-technological solutions for the control of EU borders, large events, and areas of interest such as airports.

It can easily be seen that this form of militarization not only touches on foreign affairs but goes right to the core of EU politics. Security politics, in the form of security research or border and crowd control, are at the center of a military logic for the inner politics of the EU. At the heart, and the gate opener for a military engagement within the borders of the EU, is the Lisbon Treaty's Solidarity Clause. With this clause the EU “and its Member States shall act jointly in a spirit of solidarity if a Member State is the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man-made disaster.” It enables the EU Council – if asked by an EU member state government – to send military troops to that country for protection of “democratic institutions and the civilian population”. With the Solidarity Clause the EU can brace itself against acts of terrorism but also against upheaval, rebellion, and (violent) civil conflict in its member states. It begs the question: who, at the heart of the European Union, and with what legitimacy is making these decisions; and who is actually benefiting from these policies?

The EU pronounced 2013 as “the year of the European Citizen” aiming at focusing on the civil rights of Europeans and focusing on encouraging dialogue between all levels of govern-



Bombs over Berlin – In an Action against armstrade the German Reichstag was covered in bomb shaped balloons | © Flickr / Lucas Wirl

ment and civil society. If the EU would take its citizens serious, it would listen to them more carefully: in the survey “Eurobarometer 77/78” in 2012 “peace” was seen as the most important value the EU should represent and as the third most important personal value of the participants of the survey. It showed that peace and other social values matter most for Europeans. It is time that the EU incorporated these values more strongly than in the past two decades and that it needs to re-focus its political orientation to peace and human needs. In achieving this it must also impose a policy of comprehensive disarmament – from firearms to nuclear weapons. Words are not bigger than actions; drastic reductions in arms exports and national military budgets, an end to the missile defense shield and binding commitments to a Nuclear Weapons Convention or a European Nuclear Weapons Free Zone are needed. Dialogue, critical discourse, and increased participatory civil structures must be established in the EU; here the role of civil

society and above all of the European Parliament must be strengthened. An increased role for the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to maintain peace on the European continent and worldwide, would enrich the one-sided, military approach to security by providing early warning and prevention mechanisms – on environmental issues as well as social ones.

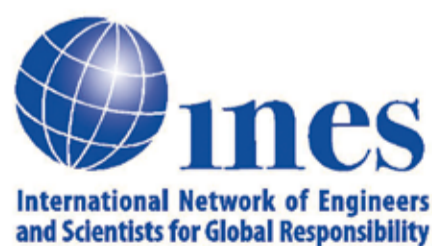
It is a crucial challenge to raise awareness of how, by increasingly applying military logic to pursue its interests, the European Union is currently developing in the wrong direction. The Right2Water campaign has shown that people's interests and wishes can prevail. Commemorating 100 years since the beginning of World War I is a great opportunity to start creating the world we want – a world of peace and solidarity with all peoples.

Claire Chastain & Lucas Wirl, Co-Chairs international coordinating committee No to War – No to NATO – www.no-to-nato.org

» *Not war is revolutionary, peace is revolutionary.* «

JEAN JAURÈS

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INTERNATIONAL PEACE EVENTS IN SARAJEVO

An Interview

With Goran Bubalo, Ljilijeta Goranci Brkic & Mustafa Cero

In 2014 international peace events 100 years after the start of WWI will take place in Sarajevo. What is the historic relationship between Sarajevo and WWI and why should peace events take place in Sarajevo today?

Mustafa Cero: Many historians believe that the assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914 was the trigger for World War I. This is widely seen as the official cause of the war. Also, Sarajevo is the town which was under siege for 44 months in the period 1992 - 1995 and its citizens suffered enormously. Thus Sarajevo is symbolically connected to World War I but is also a place where "the last war in Europe" was waged and showed its ugly face.

Ljilijeta Goranci Brkic: In the 20th century in Post-Yugoslav countries we have had nine different wars, all connected and damaging each individual country and the whole region. With this and the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in mind, Sarajevo looks to be the best place for the commemoration of 100 years since the start of WWI. From Sarajevo a message of peace and tolerance should be sent around the world.

The war in former Yugoslavia happened two decades ago. Ethnic and nationalist ideologies predominated. Is this divisive war still in the hearts and minds of the people of the Balkan?

Goran Bubalo: The successor states of Yugoslavia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) in particular, are still struggling with the legacies of war. Political, economic and social progress is hindered by a structural status quo which is based on ethnic divisions. Most of the current political leadership is not willing and able to address the legacies of the past - particularly the war crimes - to support reconciliation and to develop cooperative strategies with the other sides. In turn, large parts of BiH society are either fol-

lowing both antagonistic rhetoric and action or they are withdrawing into the private sphere as they do not see alternatives. At all levels those actors which promote dialogue, cooperation and issues of general public interest are overshadowed by dividing discourse and the inability to constructively deal with diversity and to transform conflicts in a peaceful manner.

According to an international assessment study, BiH today is suffering from an acute case of virtual statehood and only minimal institutional safeguards are in place to give the state a fighting chance of survival. It should be understood that, after a war that in BiH alone took 100,000 lives, there are still 9,450 people missing and mass graves are still being discovered. There continues to be talk of the possibility for renewed violence. The use of nationalistic rhetoric has been rising over the past three years; nowadays it dominates public forums and the media, leaving no space for positive stories that could perhaps help prevent a further brain drain of youth from this country.

Ljilijeta Goranci Brkic: The enduring effects of post-war trauma continue to plague BiH citizens and inhibit reconciliation. Because ethnicity was a central motivating factor behind the violent acts committed during the war, many survivors retain deeply entrenched grievances towards other ethnic groups. Youth one generation removed from the war have known only a BiH divided into mono-ethnic enclaves. Separate ethnic identities are reinforced by segregated schools and ethno-based curriculum that contaminates the young with dehumanizing narratives of "the other" and inflammatory national rhetoric. Parents, teachers and the media perpetuate



Bridge across Miljacka River in Sarajevo – Over a decade after the wars, the city, the country, and the whole region still is building peace and reconciliation and is bridging divides | © Flickr / Alen Ovuka

» *There must be no more war after this!* [...] *"No more war! No more war! Enough of it!"* [...] *"It's too stupid – it's too stupid," they mumbled.* «

HENRI BARBUSSE

this fear and mistrust. Without being challenged to critically think about commonalities as well as differences, BiH youth tend to see themselves as "members of different societies." Despite this sense of separation, the young are generally more resilient than older generations and more energetic and creative in resolving problems. Mobilizing youth to participate in interethnic exchanges, cooperation and social activism is critical to reconciliation. Young people of different ethnic backgrounds are not necessarily violent towards each other, but many seldom have opportunities for exchange unless an NGO creates the occasion.

Goran Bubalo: And nationalist rhetoric is pervasive in BiH, with key influencers, such as government officials, religious leaders, and the media playing a significant role in disseminating narratives that shape BiH society. Political parties or high-level officials control the nationalistic messages and, while many individual leaders support reconciliation, party affiliation often inhibits their ability to express personal opinions. Yet, the voices of key leaders are also crucial to mobilizing the wider community to find commonalities with their neighbors and engage around issues of mutual concern. This spring, BiH citizens of all backgrounds have joined the demonstrations against Parliament, giving hope that such mobilization is possible.

Mustafa Cero: Despite the widespread devastation that occurred during the war 1992 - 1995 Sarajevo is trying to restore its multi-ethnic structure and character. Sarajevo is a very unique town where you can find holy build-

ings of the three main religions close to each other and they function well, despite the recent wartime destruction. The process of reconciliation is on-going but it does not have a dynamic that citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina would like to see. Therefore the forthcoming event that will take place next year in Sarajevo will be an opportunity to give a new strength and momentum to this process.

You are working in inter-ethnic structures. What are your experiences in processes for peace in BiH and what needs to be done to bridge the ethnic divides?

Goran Bubalo: Nearly twenty years of efforts to strengthen governance institutions in post-war BiH have reaffirmed that without a foundation of shared historical narrative and a sense of national identity, there can be no social cohesion. BiH society needs to undergo a national reconciliation to restore trust and healthy relationships among opposing ethnic groups. For this to occur, a safe environment must first be created for open dialogue. Through dialogue citizens can reflect on past events and begin to collaborate with each other in building a BiH based on the values of tolerance and diversity. Looking to the future, BiH youth will need to engage with and be supported by BiH's broader peace building movement. Together they must generate greater societal demand and build a constituency for peace capable of confronting the hate and fear-based rhetoric used by key actors in government, religious and business institutions.

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At the Peace Event Sarajevo activists, practitioners and researchers of peace and active nonviolence can meet and exchange. It aims at creating positive peace and at overcoming the institution of war. It is open for everybody. We want to build positive experiences related to nonviolence, show solidarity, advance a Culture of Peace, and work towards overcoming rivalry and competition and towards developing inclusive policies. The Sarajevo Peace Event is an opportunity to review the achievements and challenges related to peace and nonviolence in Europe.

If you would like to be part of the preparatory process or the main event please contact us. The international coordinating committee consists of:

Alessandro Capuzzo (Italian Network for Civil Peace Corps, Trieste) – compaxts@gmail.com | **Bernard Dréano & Viviane Gendrot** (HAC France, Paris) – dreano@globenet.org | **Christian Renoux** (International Network for a Culture of Nonviolence and Peace, Paris) – secretariat@nvpdecade.org | **David Abyoni** (Nytökör Egyesület, Budapest) | **Dragana Dardic** (HCA Banja Luka & Tuzla, Banja Luka) – ddardic@hcabl.org | **Goran Bubalo** (Mreža za izgradnju mira / Peace building Network, Sarajevo) – goran.bubalo@crs.org | **Ljulijeta Goranci Brkic** (Nansen Dialog Center, Sarajevo) – ljulijeta.ndcsarajevo@nansen-dialogue.net | **Pete Hämmerle** (IFOR Austria, Vienna) – petehammerle@versoehnungsbund.at | **Reiner Braun** (IALANA, Berlin) – hr.braun@gmx.net | **Zaira Zafarana** (Comitato Italiano per una Cultura di Pace e Nonviolenza / MIR Italy, Torino) – mir-mn@serenoregis.org

There are working groups preparing the whole event – For specific contacts:

Forum contact: forum@sarajevopeaceevent2014.eu
Youth contact: youth@sarajevopeaceevent2014.eu

Further information:

www.peaceeventsarajevo2014.eu or www.1914-2014.eu



Goran Bubalo



Ljulijeta Goranci Brkic



Mustafa Cero

Numerous non-governmental organizations that have valuable experience with grassroots peacebuilding initiatives, are rooted within local communities, and some already participate in political dialogue from the local to the national level, particularly those with offices and regular activities in urban centers. However, the widespread lack of organizational capacity and the non-existence of a coordinating body for peacebuilding NGOs has led to a focus on individual projects. As a result, there is a lack of mutual awareness, contact and cooperation between organizations pursuing similar goals. Potential synergies are not being fully developed, mutual learning through the exchange of knowledge, experiences and resources remains sub-optimal. A targeted civil society contribution to peacebuilding in BiH, which by definition would need to follow an all-BiH strategy, is thus dissected into a myriad of small unconnected initiatives. Inter-ethnic cooperation and the promotion of an all-BiH peacebuilding agenda for reconciliation and cooperative development is currently not visible enough and is finding little access in the media as well as in public and political debates. With a coordinated approach, NGOs committed to peacebuilding would have the potential to give an important push in this regard. Additionally, the capacities for engaging in political advocacy and for entering into political dialogue are currently low. Nationwide outreach and the visibility of actions to mobilize larger support from within the broader BiH public will need to be developed if we want to advance peacebuilding and cooperative development and remind governmental authorities about citizens' public interests.

Ljulijeta Goranci Brkic: And the Peace Event is a great opportunity for that and to generate hope, but it is also a duty, as we want to use it to break the ring of blood and fear keeping us apart and separated. We want to use this opportunity to show that a better future is possible.

And what about the international context? For example, some compare the situation in 1914 with today, in relation to the conflict over the new world order.

Goran Bubalo: BiH and the region of Post-Yugoslav countries is a good example of the New World Order – countries divided by interests, some big, some or small from the eastern or western block, plus the interests of the Islamic countries on top of that – and all of them want to ensure they get their share and have their place. Clearly the western democracies used the wars in this region to expand their powers and as a justification for the continued existence of NATO in the world and a reason to expand its imperial interests in Eastern Europe.

Ljulijeta Goranci Brkic: We are living in a very turbulent and uncertain time over-shadowed by a huge economic crisis, depression, conflicts on a large or small scale, etc... There are several conflicts in the world at the moment that have an impact on the global political situation. Currently it is about those conflicts for which no end can be seen. As time goes on they get ever deeper and political actors such as

the big powers, are not being seen as trying to solve them. On the contrary, they use them for securing their own positions in the world. It a "game" that does not have an end – and peace suffers. The world needs a stable peace now more than ever. Numerous organizations in the world are working on it, but it seems that is not sufficient. There is a need for a new strategy on how to contribute and reach a peaceful world. The Sarajevo Peace Event 2014 should be the place where such organizations from all over the world can discuss the current situation and also build possible concrete steps and activities related to strengthening peace and the non-violent resolution of conflicts.

What will happen in Sarajevo in 2014? Who is preparing the events, how can I and my organization be part of the activities in Sarajevo and/or all over Europe?

Mustafa Cero: There will be huge four day event from June 6-9 2014 that will gather people devoted to peace from all round the world. It will be a combination of international conferences, workshops, exhibitions, music and film festivals, street actions, artistic performances and a youth camp.

Ljulijeta Goranci Brkic: Several international and domestic civil society organizations are involved in preparations for the forthcoming Sarajevo Peace Event in 2014. There are six working groups preparing for the whole event in Sarajevo on finance, forum, culture, youth,

communication, and logistics. On the top of this there is the Coordination Committee, made up of several members of international and domestic civil society organizations, who are organising all of the preparations.

Goran Bubalo: The Peace Event Sarajevo 2014 will be a meeting place for activists, practitioners and researchers involved in issues of peace and active nonviolence and who will review the achievements and challenges related to peace and nonviolence in Europe. This event will be an opportunity to present a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence in all its diversity. There will also be an open space to plan joint initiatives for the advancement of a Culture of Peace. If you want

to join please write to the organizing committee, write to and meet with the organization(s) in your country already taking part in the preparations of the Peace Event, or just join us at the meeting in September. It is being planned as a joint activity of all of us, peace builders, activists, young and old Citizens from around the world are expected to join, and the doors are open to everyone.

Ljulijeta Goranci Brkic & Mustafa Cero, Nansen Dialogue Center Sarajevo (NDC) – www.nansen-dialogue.net/ndcsarajevo

Goran Bubalo, Member Network for Building Peace, Member coordinating committee "Peace Event Sarajevo 2014" – www.mreza-mira.net

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The International Peace Bureau (a Nobel Peace Laureate organisation) believes in 'moving the money' from war work to peace work. Our 300 member groups in 70 countries, + individual members, form a global network bringing together expertise and campaigning experience. Our main programme centres on **Disarmament for Sustainable Development**, of which the **Global Day of Action on Military Spending** is a key part. www.ipb.org



INTERNATIONAL LAW BEFORE AND AFTER WWI

A Thumbnail Sketch

By Peter Weiss

International law is as old as organized society. So is war. Therefore, precursors of today's non-aggression pacts and treaties of friendship and commerce go back thousands of years in history. But, while *pacta sunt servanda* is the cardinal principle of international law, treaties without enforcement mechanisms are weak building blocks for a world without war.

It was not until 1899 that two young monarchs, Czar Nicholas II of Russia and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, embarked on the bold project of outlawing war at the first Hague Peace Conference. But neither that conference nor its follow-up in 1907 achieved that objective and the delegates from many countries had to settle for the lesser result of a number of conventions designed to minimize the horrors of warfare. The 1899 conference also created the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which is not a real court with judges, but furnishes arbitration services to intergovernmental disputes. It deals today mostly with investment matters.

Then came the Great War, with its millions of dead and wounded, which shocked a lot of people into thinking there had to be a better way to deal with an incident on a Serbian bridge. It gave impetus to an old, but never previously realized idea, that conflicts between nations should be settled by the judgment of an international tribunal before they erupted into lethal hostilities. This gave birth to the Permanent Court of International Justice, established under Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations. From its beginning in 1922 to its demise in 1940 it issued 27 advisory opinions and 32 judgments,

most of them in its first decade. That decade, still in the shadow of the Great War, also produced the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which, for the first time, specifically outlawed war. It started out as a proposal by France for a non-aggression pact between France and the United States, but was eventually accepted by over sixty countries. According to the official historian of the United States Department of State, "the idea of declaring war to be illegal was immensely popular in international public opinion."

As is only too well known, Kellogg-Briand failed to prevent World War II and a large number of smaller wars. Again according to the State Department historian, "its legacy remains as a statement of the idealism expressed by advocates for peace in the interwar period."

The United Nations Charter reinforces the prohibition of aggressive war and adds provisions for enforcement, which Kellogg-Briand lacks, but so far with indifferent results. Both before and after World War I, international law developed, and continues to develop, principles which go some way toward diminishing the monstrous brutality of war. Today, international law also assists civil society in the promotion of human rights and the search for a world free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. And with the help of a vibrant civil society we may one day see a revival of the immense popularity for a warless world which characterized the period immediately following the First World War.

Peter Weiss, Co-President IALANA – www.lcnp.org



Trenches at "Altopiano di Asiago" – War and violence diametrically oppose sustainable ways of living. Nature slowly but steadily takes back remnants of World War I | © Flickr / Joshua Miller

» Should I tell you that all learning, all culture, all science is nothing but hideous mockery, so long as mankind makes war in the name of god and humanity with gas, iron, explosive and fire? «

ERICH MARIA REMARQUE

WOMEN AGAINST WAR

By Kristine Karch & Aurelie Royon

World War I started in August 1914. Bertha von Suttner, possibly the most resolute activist against the war, died shortly before. In 1905 she was the first woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize – for her activism in the women's rights and peace movements.

The last words of von Suttner were "Lay down your arms! – tell it to everyone". She died in May 1914 in Vienna. It was there that the World Peace Congress was to take place in the fall of 1914 – but the war and disagreement in the peace movement prevented the congress from happening.

World War I was the first war not only taking place on the battle field but in unprecedented dimensions on the home front, too. Women – not yet allowed to vote – were massively affected by the consequences. They were not only victims but also involved as accomplices in the form of nurses in military service, or as workers in military industries and agriculture. They offered a supportive "hinterland" for their husbands, sons, and for all of

those engaged in fighting. In Germany, a large part of the bourgeois women's rights movement supported the politics of war and founded the "National Women's Service" in 1914. Social democratic women's organizations and female unionists called for patriotic acts of war.

In the beginning only a few women (and men) acted in opposition to the war. Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin resisted nationalism and chauvinism and connected their demands for peace and equal rights by calling for a revolution against the capitalist system.

In 1915 the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (IFFP/WILPF) was founded in The Hague. It has struggled against any form of war and violence ever since. Their demands remain particularly relevant today as women around the world still have to struggle for equal rights, against violence, oppression and exclusion.

When analysing the causes of war, feminists identify patriarchy – the dominance of masculine values within society – as well as the power structures of capitalism, racism and militarism. Male values are associated with hierarchies, rivalry, and competition, with the resulting violence. So-called female values, such as concern and reconciliation, are not readily recognised. This attribution of values is not

justified biologically, but is created by society. If we want to struggle against war and militarism we have to analyze these power structures and gender relations and their interdependencies in their entire complexity and we are obliged to unveil the inherent violence that starts with domestic violence, continues on the streets, does not spare nature and ends in wars from which all people suffer.

The importance of abolishing the patriarchy inherent dualism of man / woman by which women become "the others" still applies. Opposition and exclusiveness lead to exclusion and help form conceptions of an enemy – here are we (the good); there are they, the others (the bad) – today just as they did then. The European Union with the Lisbon Treaty and NATO with its new strategies, contribute to the militarization of Europe and reproduce patriarchal structures of power. The implementation of UN Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security does not change that because the EU and NATO do not act on the causes of violence, militarism, and patriarchy but instead use UN Resolution 1325 to integrate women into their dirty war business.

Emancipation and societal liberation is only possible in times of peace. To achieve this aim, more action is still needed even 100 years after the beginning of World War I.

Kristine Karch, Board Member KriWi (member of INES), Member ICC No to War – No to NATO – www.inesglobal.com | www.no-to-nato.org

Aurelie Royon, Vice-President Mouvement de la Paix – www.mvtpaix.org

WAR AND TECHNOLOGY

By Dave Webb

August 1914 saw the end of a relatively peaceful century of scientific discovery and invention in Europe. Then all countries involved in the war switched all available industry to military production and by 1918 dreams of a technology led prosperous future had disappeared. The quest for military superiority has always been a driving force for technology even in times of peace and technology has made killing easier by developing new weapons that progressively distance killer from victim. Swords gave way to bows and arrows which were replaced by muskets which led to assault rifles, machine guns, heavy artillery and missiles. Now pilots fly drones from thousands of miles away and in the future the distancing may be extended in space and time if robots determine who and when to kill.

New weapons also encourage countermeasures and armour, fortifications, and shields have all seen major technical innovations. Developments in weapons and communications systems also help determine tactics and strategy and enabled war to spread to new environments – at sea and under it, in the air and in outer space – and reach new levels of destructive power.

Although there have been numerous occasions in history (e.g. Vietnam, Afghanistan) when technical superiority has not led to victory, politicians insist that striving for technical superiority is crucial and in the US in particular, the military-industrial complex has institutionalised R&D and created a perpetual arms race with other states and with the status quo. The "revolution in military affairs" has led to a quest for global dominance and control and the "war on ter-

ror" has enabled government agencies to deploy surveillance and intelligence gathering technologies on a massive scale.

We are told that more and better military technology will ensure our security and that there are useful spin-offs. Scientists are themselves persuaded by these myths, those working on the Manhattan project during World War II saw only the engrossing technical challenges. When their bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed hundreds of thousands, many regretted the part they played. Some hoped that nuclear weapons would be too terrifying to use and would make war obsolete but instead the US and USSR engaged in a terrifying arms race, attempting to achieve superior war fighting technology. Today, arms manufacturers and military coalitions like NATO are encouraging the spread of a militaristic culture which seeks control and containment.

The way we develop and use technology is a clear indicator of our value system. Currently we are faced with the enormous problems of climate change and nuclear annihilation, both consequences of thoughtless and selfish technological development. In response we see around the world those in control focusing on containment - protecting their interests, monitoring and controlling political unrest – at a time when we need global cooperation on an unprecedented scale. We urgently need to transform our war based societies, and accompanying technologies, into ones that do not reflect the situation in Europe 100 years ago.

Dave Webb, Chair Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) – www.cnduk.org

» The next war will be more horrible than any of its predecessors. «

BERTHA VON SUTTNER

ADOLFO PEREZ ESQUIVEL

Nobel Peace Laureate 1980

The great German - French reconciliation, for what is it good for if the two nations are now together again rushed into war for foreign interests.

The country of the great revolution and human rights and the land of Goethe, Schiller and Brecht should fight together the evils of neo-liberal economics – on behalf of human rights and in the name of peace. That is the only way we can make this world to a better place.



© Flickr / Emiliano Ortiz

JODY WILLIAMS

Nobel Peace Laureate 1997

“Militarists say that to gain peace we must prepare for war. I think we get what we prepare for. If we want a world where peace is valued, we must teach ourselves to believe that peace is not a ‘utopian vision’ but a real responsibility that must be worked for each and every day in small and large ways. Any one of us can contribute to building a world where peace and justice prevail.”

[Source: www.architectsofpeace.org/architects-of-peace/jody-williams]



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MAIREAD MAGUIRE

Nobel Peace Laureate 1976

I would like to see political scientists take nonviolence as a serious course of study. If they did so, we could challenge and hopefully change the insistence of world governments that they have a right to threaten or use lethal force as a means of self defence. This long standing building stone of armed force by governments must be removed. There are alternatives to violence and governments and armed insurgency groups can be challenged to use such alternatives.



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DESMOND TUTU

Nobel Peace Laureate 1984

We learn from history that we do not learn from history. That is why for the enslaved and oppressed peoples of Africa, WWI was the first of altogether three world wars – The last one is the world war of the rich against the poor and hungry. A war in which they had been conducted by hundreds of thousands to the slaughter for the white men – but it was also the beginning of a comprehensive liberation movement whose success has not been achieved till now. But there is no such thing as a totally hopeless case and god will guide our journey to freedom.



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CORAZON FABROS

Secretary General Nuclear-free Philippines Coalition

We have a saying in the Philippines that anyone who does not look at the past does not know the future. In our current work we feel a new sense of urgency to do more mentoring towards the younger peace activists. This is an important part of handing over the work of the past decades. In the same time, it is about handing over the work we at some point had been handed over. Nothing really is permanent, there is always the possibility for change, and change is always for the better.



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DAVID KRIEGER

Member Advisory Council WFC

Philosophers have warned that we must learn the lessons of the past if we are going to apply them to the present and change the future. In a nuclear armed world, the challenge is made all the more urgent. As Einstein warned, “The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe.” Learning these lessons for peace and changing our modes of thinking to put them into practice are necessary to assure a future.



© Phil Channing

PHILIP JENNINGS

General Secretary UNI Global Union

After the First World War the Treaty of Versailles included the creation of the ILO in the belief that lasting peace could only be achieved if it was truly based on social justice. When our leaders lay wreaths in remembrance next year they'd do well to remember that too. UNI will hold a peace event at our 2014 World Congress in Cape Town. With the global economy unbalanced, 200 million unemployed and leaders intent on filling the troughs of the top one per cent, we will reaffirm the message that an inclusive world is the key to a peaceful one.



© UNI Global Union

INGEBORG BREINES

Co-President IPB

The first thing that comes to mind are the millions of people who could have made such a different impact on the world, but instead became victims, of greed for power and resources, of imperialism and nationalism. 100 years later, despite many positive steps forward, not least the development of the UN and of civil society organizations, the industrial-military complex has grown ever stronger and weapons are becoming increasingly lethal and sophisticated. We need both young women and men to fight for human security, for disarmament and for a sustainable future – in short for what UNESCO labelled a *culture of peace*.



© Ingeborg Breines

lessons learned

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