

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ August-September 2013



Dear readers, by publishing this newsletter, we wish to contribute to better information about UN documents on security, demilitarisation, and to the greater influence of women on post-conflict problems solving, first of all in Serbia, and then in the Western Balkans. We hope that this newsletter will be read by those who are interested in the re-examination of the traditional concept of national security, the reform of the security sector, the gender dimension of security, security integrations and feminist antimilitarist concept of security. We expect your contributions on these questions. It is accessible online on the website: www.zeneucnom.org

The editorial board

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Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security

Court, identity and civil society

Serbian WIB Network meeting was held since 13th until 15th of September. The first debate was under the title `Civil society within the jaws of the state`: partnership, subservient relationship, unequal cooperation, autonomy, financial funds intended to NGO`s-a mean of strife or cohesion, cooperation of state and civil society.

Ivana Cirkovic in the name of Office for cooperation with Serbian civil society, evaluated that Serbia expects a confirmation for EU membership by the beginning of the next year and that this path toward membership will last at least seven years. It will occupy administration work on all levels, as well as civil society sector. `In this sense your role is important and should remain on the monitoring level` -she said.

`Serbia does not negotiate with EU indeed, the role of Serbia is to adopt EU legislative in those long-term processes. We start with chapters 23 and 24. It is what you are dealing with: antidiscrimination, judicial reform, security and human rights.` Cirkovic added that Belgrade Center for Security Policy gathered six civil society organizations which have started with monitoring.

Stasa Zajovic said: `Ivana is the only official in Serbia who who have supported us while we were on the `black list.` She added: `We are away from the centers of power and I am afraid that there is no law which the authorities will not adapt to themselves, and besides some of the NGO`s are extension of the state. I am in fear of even greater gap within civil society` -said Zajovic.

Lino Veljak, from Zagreb University said that civil society after fall of Tudjman`s half-dictatorship was reduced on dealing with projects and not with activism, with rare and few exceptions. It is a process of replace of social functions of the state. Those functions become civil society projects in which are engaged experts as part time employed, doing what used to be done by the state services in a classic state. Even when it is about education or culture. Who cares about activism will not allow to be bought by some of the projects` -he said.

Kristina Todorovic as a lawyer in front of Lawyers Committee for Human Rights said: `It is not possible to divide in a strict way state officials and activists. It is necessary that they cooperate in the same direction. During nineties NGO`s were considered to be anti state organizations. BIA monitored their work with the explanation that it is about foreign mercenaries. Through media this picture was created. Not even today citizens are not informed what the NGO`s are doing.`

Cirkovic quoted research of 2009 in accordance with which the citizens do not know what is non-governmental sector, they just mention donors. In some of the countries citizens are investing in civil sector but not in Serbia. Municipal authorities do not know how many NGO`s are on their territory. In Serbia there are 21.000 of associations, and citizens do not know what is civil society.`

Then there was a debate regarding controversy in the work of International Court for ex Yugoslavia, the influence of its verdicts on international criminal law, on the process of facing the past, and reconciliation in the region, on civil society...

Morgiana Brading, Serbian Secretariat of Hague Tribunal representative, commented controversial verdicts of the Tribunal. She revealed that after the verdicts to Markac and Gotovina, 'it was forbidden to us to speak up publicly about it, both by the side of Serbian authorities and Hague Tribunal itself. Public reactions were huge. I attended seminar where group of law students participated. The issued of verdict against Gotovina was initiated by students from Serbia and those from Croatia left the seminar. Tribunal does not practices to defend itself. Everybody is allowed to express publicly on our work. There were reactions by the side of our employees, as well. Frederick Harhoff wrote a letter. Some of his observations are correct. Our President`s opinion is that those verdicts show the impartiality. Now the command responsibility is interpreted as the commander knew but could not prevent the subordinate. More then 5.000 people were killed in Prijedor but thanks to numerous court settlements it was never proved genocide was committed in Prijedor`-said Brading.



Stasa Zajovic evaluated that the verdicts since November until today are descend of the international law. However, those verdicts have not changed the facts, but the legal interpretation of those facts. The fundamental function of the court is to determine the facts and punishment of the perpetrators. The reconciliation is not the problem of the court but of the civil society. The court is not the only instance of justice, it can not be reduced to criminal level only`-said Zajovic.

Kada Hotic in front of the association `Srebrenica`s mothers` hoped the courts will meet the justice. `We have raised our voices against court settlements because the publicity does not know all the facts and it should know what the perpetrator did. Who bears command responsibility is the one who prepared everything. When the perpetrator says he was ordered I forgive him. But we have to fight against the one who encouraged the crime. UN established the Tribunal, though UN are compliance in the crime. From those kind of verdicts stems we are all guilty, and it was not so. Judge Meron is an Islamophobe. He said once he likes Serbian culture and Serbian people.`

Zumra Sehomeric, member of association `Mothers of Srebrenica and Zepa enclave` noticed that even after eighteen years, in Serbia and Srpska Republic graffiti `Knife, wire, Srebrenica` exist. If the democracy will be so that everyone can say what they want, we will have very hard times.`

Milos Urosevic as Women in Black considers important the fact out of the trial to Miroslav Deronjic, for the massacre in Glogova village, that there is a connection between Serbia and genocide in Srebrenica. `Rape in war is a war crime and we can not go backwards to the past. It is a huge progress`-he said.

Janja Bec, sociologist, says the decision of the Hague Tribunal regarding excluding out of the accusation to Radovan Karadzic genocide in seven municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on his demand, since 11th of July, is a very good one. For us as civil sector is very important the fight of Hasan Nuhanovic against Holland state, lasting ten years. He had two hundred lawyers fighting pro bono with legal system. He proved Holland state to be guilty for death of his father, mother and brother for deporting them to Srpska Republic army in Potocare base. The Tribunal failed many times but did pretty much.

During debate `Identity, class, women issue in turbo and pop folk culture,` PhD Ivana Kronja, film and media theorist said: `Turbo-folk is more sociological and historical then music phenomena. It`s a media cultural model of the nineties which is only a part of the whole history of folk music and popular new composed one, after the Second World War. When the folk music comes out of the closed community and its ritual-traditional role within folk customs, entering the period of mass culture and modern community, it is transformed. This phenomena is followed by globalization of culture which happens through mass-media and industrial, not always of high quality, permeation of various cultural and music influences and in the case of Serbia after 2000 there is exclusively highly commercial motivation. After 2000 there is no such a distinct political prefix as it used to be in nineties. What we have now days, not only in music, is dominant culture of poverty, glamour of misery, but as well the penetration of what USA media theorist call `white trash` culture, meaning of poorest and uneducated population. It is a consumption culture of low emotions, kind of excess. For actual media and culture in general it is characteristic penetration of intimacy into publicity, exchange of personal with public.`

She added that turbo-folk has to do with urban not with rural as phenomena. Especially after 2000. There is a tradition of analysis of new composed music as a folk, societal passage, which should not be rejected from above as `indecent` but to explain it with endeavor to understand it as sociological phenomena within the context of real life, audience and artistic context.

Kronja considers `important in political, activist or theoretical sense to recognize societal meaning of this contemporary music of last years. It is a long-term channel of music production, which has its own tradition today, its own significant artists. It is a subculture with significant tradition, creatively interpreted in drama of Olga Dimitrijevic `Workers die singing,` conceptually, where songs of this tradition are used. There are different, artistic processing of this of this very phenomena, more brutal as in the theater piece `Turbo-folk,` made by Oliver Frljic. Which is new is self recognition of the LGBT population within this music. Especially when we come to Jelena Karleusa. It is such an authentic and self-connecting of the community with mentioned phenomena, that it is unacceptable



to reject it. Desperate narrative of the songs show how much luck of the desperate female heroine depends on patriarchal figure of a man who has to accept her, as well as that her fitting in patriarchal system is the only social status of hers. Her whole emotional and psychological existence and dignity depend to it. LGBT community recognizes those gender overemphasized and melodramatic elements within turbo-folk, as their own sensibility, giving to it as music and media industry additional meaning` -she concluded.

Olga Dimitrijevic, playwright, film theorist said: `I think I have started dealing with turbo-folk out of my personal need. To understand what`s wrong with me. In the times I start studying, writing, working, in the large scale within city sphere, of my friends, my parents, friends of my parents and friends of my friends, folk is observed as something low, worth of contempt, something which have caused directly the decline of all values, the only guilty for it and the only problem Serbia has in that moment. Every time someone writes `half naked female singer` I pull my hair and say- `This is misogyny, lets talk about the position of that body on that scene, how much it has been exposed to attacks of all sides, how much different policies are diffracted. This body itself speaks of huge discrimination it is exposed to. Seka Aleksic is a pivot of national identity while in her performance using direct-performance elements, she directly and at the same time undermines this identity.`

Dragan Jovanovic a journalist and publisher says: `Nation, state, policies actually dispose our body. It is known to those who were in the army, hospitals, battlefields, women who abort, people who fall apart. On each and every body it could be seen in which kind of society it lives and it is what we meet daily. On the other side is the glamour body as stuffed body through which certain policies are conducted, which will tell us that we are living in systems better of our reality. It is an idealized body. To me the most interesting is kind of media, mechanism with which managers and ideologists of Milosevic made fantastic industry, pumping the policy which suited them, showing there is no class no more, and we all share one model. That he also listens turbo-folk, that the poorest listen o it, that we are all the same. This music and media direction was in function of destruction, robbery, redistribution of property, privilege, power, through what we call transition.`

The whole music industry, as the part of oligarchy which rules here, brings profit to the owners of 200.000.000E annually, out of black channels, while Serbian budget for culture is 55.000.000E annually. It is a dynamic industry, in the function of transforming poverty in glamour, as well as pleasure, style, market, exposure` ...



Dimitrijevic asks: `Nobody speaks about why those children are exploited within this Grand production? Why 70% of their income is taken away, but everybody will speak of Rada Manojlovi`s dressing style. We do not know how the things are going on in public, nor in audience, `cause nobody ever did the audience research. I do not agree with the theses that Milosevic`s regime made up turbo-folk in order to manipulate with people. Because, even before him there was a solid base from below, within the people itself, so it is not something imposed from above.`

Miroslava Malešević, ethnologist and activist, did not attend the meeting due to her illness, but she provided her work in which among other things she wrote: 'Since the establishment of Belgrade Radio, in 1930, when so called new composed songs have started being recorded, broadcast, when the number of consumers increases, meaning when the audience as phenomena appears, they do not meet standards of the professional critique, nor educated public. The most popular music was Sevdalinka-Malešević said.'

It was similar after the war: the critique insisted that new song is decadent, full of foreign elements, oriental décor, totally strange to 'our' music for what ever that was, and which was simple and monumental ect. In the early 50-ies, the critique was that folk music shows have lost Serbian character.

Cultural elites since their foundation deny to new composed music its esthetic value. There is often a fear for the consumers or the interpreters ect. The critique has a very skeptical attitude toward the changes in accordance with time and societal circumstances of a 'certain people.' 'Revival of a forgotten tradition' is forced. There is a search for ethnomusicological records.

In 1960, there is an expansion of the newcomposed music. The love as a theme dominates in the collections of new folk songs. Even two-thirds of songs are dedicated to infidelity, solitude, separation of two in love, wrong choices, sorrow for the lost love. Societal changes which demolish traditional relations, bring new motives for the songs. It is a pain and a comfort with glass.

During nineties turbo folk dominates in Serbia:the mixture of numerous music traditions, styles, domestic folk, west pop and oriental rhythm, contemporary electronic and techno sound. Formation of turbo folk coincides with disintegration of Yugoslavia and beginning of war on its territory. Turbo coincides with the darkest period of Serbian history.

There are two critique approaches of turbo folk: the first one for its ideological aspects, promotion of criminal and violence, and in general the values which should be promoted in a democratic society. The second one comes from 'nationally aware publicity' which have recognized within oriental sounds of turbo folk, elements of Iran culture and demanded riddance of those elements. Political critique of turbo folk, on the other side, included nationalism, giving space to market and populism to dictate the whole public space, feminist critique (treating women as a trophy without voice and object of desire, and singer's bodies as goods)...



What turbo folk protagonists offer during nineties is opposite to reality: the reality of turbo folk was a society in which wars for the ethnic states were fought, lines of refugees, women of the enemy side-raped, society in which the border between underground and above the ground was erased, the salaries were three Deutsch marks, and the inflation was measured in billions.

A good turbo folk reception is the one in ex Republics of Yugoslavia, for example in Slovenia. It is subversive, a protest against ethnocentricity of Slovenian cultural elite, and open animosity toward its own citizens-` Southerners` and `čefurji`-concluded ethnologist and Women in Black activist.

During the debate on activism, Sofia Vrbaski spoke of the invitation she got from the activists of Egypt and Turkey, in the last April, to join the convoy to Syria. It was organized by the Hayat NGO from Turkey. The goal was to enter on territory of north Alepp and to speak with managers, teachers, and doctors in refugee camps in order to perceive what kind of humanitarian help is needed. This convoy consisted of activists from Turkey, Egypt, Canada, Great Britain, Morocco, Syria and Serbia. `It was hard to see all the destruction, walk through refugee camps, talk to people, to hear and to see, how dreary civil war in Syria is. We were informed that the use of chemical weapons was documented, that the regime firmly `entrenched` within media and that civil society does not exist for two years already. We have visited camps Bab al-Salamah, Qaah, Atmeh and Nizip, which is on the Turkish side of the Turkish and Syrian border. We visited School of civil liberties, in the camp of Qaah, financed by Watan organization. We visited Alrai hospital. Some have protested or created blogs on Syria. Some have been interviewed by journalists. The convoy enabled delivery of humanitarian help three weeks later to individuals, schools, camps, hospitals. We documented civil war and the conditions of living of the internally displaced of Syria`-concluded Vrbaski.

During Women in Black Network meeting this September, activities of the Network were presented, since February 2013, joint activities were analyzed, Women`s Court as well, women peace activism, significant societal issues in Serbia, region and the world. New activities were arranged, too.



On feminist, readers debate, were presented two dramas of playwright, theater critic and writer-Olga Dimitrijevic. Snezana Tabacki and Jelena Memet were a moderator. Olga, who was a special guest, teaches from time to time about film, theater and queer issues.

Snezana Tabacki reminded both of the dramas were staged and there are plays based on them in Bitef Theater and Vranje Theater. She emphasized that `Workers die singing,` theater piece of Hartefact and Bitef Theater was the absolute winner on Sterijino Pozorje in 2012. Olga was awarded for the same drama at the same theater festival for contemporary text. She added drama is situated in Serbia, in times of bad and criminal privatization, and that main roles are workers without wages or health insurance, who initiate strike which ends ignominiously. Workers will divide among themselves and one of the strikers will die of strike hunger. She will repeat before she dies that `she

does not want her children to live in this country.' Play is written in verse accompanied with choral singing of mothers. So, we can tell it is about musical without music with turbo folk songs.

Speaking about 'Folk drama,' Jelena Memet said it is a story of two girls in love in the middle of Serbian in a far out of a way, small Serbian town. It is women issue that has been questioned by this drama. The status of a woman as mother, wife, daughter in traditional family, and the possibility of her emancipation and its consequences. Both women in drama act in accordance with themselves and in a decisive way, they try to find happiness. It is a specificity that main roles are daughters of a local tycoon and a folk singer, who are lesbians as well. In the text it is questioned too, the possibility of rebellion within patriarchy, which does no good to women nor to men. Both of the heroines are functioning as general example of women's issue in Serbia, than it is questioning of their sexuality. This story, too, she emphasized, has been told through turbo folk songs.

After presenting both of the dramas, the questions were raised to our guest. One of them was related to folk and turbo folk songs, used to describe very difficult topics, as poverty, vulnerable societal groups, as workers in transition period, lesbians ect.

There was a debate regarding claim of the author that turbo folk has subversive potential. In accordance with the attitude of some of the participants in the discussion, folk music often supports some of the dominant values we could mark as negative, songs are banal and trivial and there is no place for them in socially engaged dramas.

Responding to those questions Olga said she always liked melodrama, as most of the drama and literary genre which were considered female kind, therefore inferior. That is why she keeps melodramatic matrix within her texts. She explained it is what makes us laugh and cry, and emotionally and strongly went through scenes, at the same time bringing to the fore social context. Folk songs function in the same way as melodrama does, and though love story is dominant they gain its social meaning within the wider context. Folk music, she thinks, is a wide, complex and immense field and it is unfair to reduce it only to turbo folk. She agreed that folk often support dominant values we mark as negative, but she confirmed it is subversive to them or even openly antagonizes them, so it is not her intention to renounce it.

We have organized presentation of Tamara Kaliterna's book-'False history repeaters.' The book was published by 'Cenzorship' from Novi Sad and Women in Black from Belgrade. Lino Veljak said: 'I am honored to present very important and a book of high value, written by very well known author, our friend and Women in Black activist Tamara Kaliterna, and which is the most important for years a prominent journalist. The book is consisted of fifty seven articles divided in chapters-'Unlearned lessons,' 'Autopsy of one policy,' 'Silence cheats oblivion,' 'No mercy, no admit-



tance. Then follows note about the author and index names. The articles are the selection of what the author have chosen in between those which were published since 1990-2013 in daily news and other publications (Nedjelja, Republika, Nezavisni, Bulevar, Monitor, Žene za mir, Helsinška povelja, Peščanik and Autonomija). This book outreach is much higher than just witnessing on the best articles written during nineties of the last century and in the beginning of this one, whose author is one of the best journalist in the region (therefore the book could be used to serve young journalists to teach them how to write and as a insight of key events which have marked and still do historical period in which the articles were published. Namely, the author is not just a mere chronicler of events, but those articles are-when add up in whole, as it is the case with publishing of this book analytical and critical reconstruction of the processes which have marked this period: preparing and warfare, 'normalization' without facing the past and without significant rapture with spirit, culture or policy of eighties and nineties'-said Veljak.

In this sense, Tamara's articles taken in whole (and one by one as well), are one of the best reconstruction and analysis of our epoch. Roots, sources, causes and protagonists of violence (as the one in war, often genocidal one, also the one seemingly in the peace time), were brought here as the obvious, and the recorded, and documented of violence are connected to its sources and causes in the way they can not be questioned by relativization in any case.

Belgrade turns out to be the center of the criminal project, but the book reconstructs in a critically-the criminal character of the policy conducted in other centre (especially emphasizes square Belgrade-Zagreb-Pale-Grude), so that only malicious defenders of the criminal past could attribute sidedness. Numerous books were written in this dreary period, there are significant historians among their authors, some of them are marked with less or more superficiality, but some are of high quality and will be a good basis for the comprehension by new generations of the madness, which tragically marked our times.

This book belongs to the second category, it is the greatest contribution to critical comprehension of what was happening and what in the transitional circumstances of missing discontinuity is still happening. This book is written, it is important to emphasize, unlike to other books of high quality, in style which with its clarity and perspicuity allows approach to wider audience, it is not intended only for narrow professional community, but its available to those who are not professional historians, political scientists or sociologists'-said Veljak.

He recommended 'to get the book, to read it and leave it to those who will come after us. It will be one of the evidences that even in our epoch there were some who have understood what was going on, who rejected evil, and actively antagonized, as it used to do, as it still does with her engaged word, the author of the book Tamara Kaliterna.'

Selection of the movies made by Women in Black video activism group was shown.



War and antiwar monument

Are there and which are the targets of the dispersed antiwar scene in Serbia today-this was a topic of the debate cycle 'to name THIS war,' on 21st of September, on the spot of the riddled and burned 'Green bell' club in Zrenjanin. Panel discussion 'Antiwar monument' have organized Center for cultural decontamination and Equality-association of citizens.

During wars 1991-1995, there was a question who is a hero of those wars. For the first hero of the war Milan Tepic was declared, who, as a Yugoslav National Army officer blew himself up together with his caserne for which he was responsible in Croatia. In 1991 he was awarded with medal of National hero. As an answer to it antiwar scene declared for a hero in 1991, Miroslav Milenkovic from Gornji Milanovac, who as a reservist in Tovarnik, while there was a declaration regarding continuance of the fight as a volunteer or return to Serbia as a reservist, switched couple of times from one line to another until he committed suicide in between those two lines.

The organizers have decided to organize panel discussion on the ruins of the club which used to be centre of gathering antiwar activists and which was riddled in 1999 and burned in 2006. The topic was upon monument, as a crucial segment of the culture of remembrance in the society.



There was a clear line between ideologists of nationalism and those to whom it served for the redistribution of the societal wealth, and those who belonged to antiwar movement and partially are the main protagonists of the civil society in Serbia-when the above mentioned question 'who is the war hero?' was raised.



The discussion was attended by Aleksandar Marton (LSV), Nebojsa Milikic (historian), Lazar Stojanovic (publisher), Nebojsa Popov (sociologist), Nikola Barovic (lawyer), Ivan Kralj (war veteran) and Marija Perkovic WIB. The difference in comprehension of ideology and economic relations which build it in the most part, showed differences in between of antiwar movement.

The difference was on the line of 'civic' vice versa 'of the causes and leftist' understanding of the causes and consequences of war. During discussion between Popov and Perkovic, he insisted on 'inherent right to private property' while she insisted on political aspects of the idea of human rights, on importance of comprehension of its historical dimension and its variability.

This debate showed different concepts of Serbian future among former antiwar activists.

No to war in Syria

Women in Black have organized peaceful action in black robes and silence under the title 'Stop to war in Syria' on September the 18th, on Belgrade Republic Square. The action started at 3.30pm and a motive was 'increasing war violence in Syria.' Thirty activists gathered for the action.

'We are sending message of solidarity to Syrian civil society and we decisively protest against military intervention, because innocent civilians will perish by it. Women and children perish in the most severe way, those who are victims of countless sexual crimes,' -said Stasa Zajovic Women in Black coordinator. In accordance with her words military intervention in Syria is in the function of the policy and only, geo-strategic interests, military-industrial complex profit and arms trafficking. Gathered activists held placards with inscriptions in Serbian, English and Arabic. 'Stop war in Syria,' 'Do not attack Syria,' 'Solidarity with civilians in Syria,' 'Stop the war immediately' - was written on the placards.



In front of all placards was placed the one with permanent demand of this organization- 'Women in Black against war.'

In the statement published just before the action Women in Black remind that a rebellion just two and a half year ago, against Bashar-al Assad's regime have grown into all-out war with religious and ethnic divisions, where numerous armed formations are involved. The greatest victim of all are civilians, exposed to a catastrophic humanitarian crisis. More two million people have left Syria due to war, approximately 100.000 people have been killed, there is a huge number of displaced and wounded. As in every other war, in the worst way perish women and children, victims of severest sexual crimes.

'Attack with chemical weapons on 21st of August, when 1.500 have died, was committed near Damascus. Still is not proven whether it was committed by regime or rebel forces, and it can be used



as the cause for the military intervention against regime in Syria. Based on the UN report on chemical attack, a conclusion is imposed regarding the need of conflict resolution of the crisis in Syria through negotiations and peacefully. And we join those demands. It is necessary to destroy chemical weapons without delay, but not only in Syria, in the whole world as well (Russia, and USA which are possessing the largest stocks of this kind of weapon)`-it is said in the statement. `We oppose in the most decisive way military intervention because innocent civilians will be those who will perish by it. Excuses for military intervention are unacceptable, first of all those - `to defend democracy and human rights.` Military intervention would be violation of the international law, intervention is exclusively in the function of policy of geostrategic interests, military-industrial complex profit and arms trafficking. By military intervention war conflict would of spread on the Middle East region, with risk for already highly fragile world peace. On this occasion we express our solidarity with civilians in Syria, with all the nonviolent and peaceful movements both in Syria and the whole Middle East. With this peace action we send a message: `Stop the war in Syria!` - `Stop it now.!` - `Do not attack Syria!` - `Solidarity with civilians of Syria!` -it is concluded in the Women in Black statement.

Cry against war

Once more, this year, on 5th and 6th of August, Women in Black attended commemoration for civilians who have perished in Trnopolje and Omarska near Prijedor. Stasa Zajovic, Marija Perkovic and Goran Lazin, confirmed in this way that visiting places where crimes were committed is important moral and political act of Women in Black.

Activists of Women in Black Belgrade peace group are this year`s winners of the international award for the fight against denial of genocide, awarded by women from Prijedor association `Fountain.`



The reasoning of the award explains that Women in Black deserve it not only for their engagement all these years, they deserve it too, for wearing armbands for girls and women who have been raped in Prijedor, on the streets of Belgrade when it was forbidden for the relatives of the victims in Prijedor. `Our interventions in the public space are the cry against war which attempts to awake the awareness.`

In front of former Trnopolje concentration camp, organizers have staged the memory on the suffering of the inmates and on criminal politics through their literary work, musical expression, calling for construction of a different future. The possibility which is offered by an art form for refinement of the human within ourselves, for nurturing memories and dreaming of future, has been demonstrated in the eve of 5th of August on the carpets, spread in front of Trnopolje scaffold, where mostly young people taught, created and offered hope.

In Stasa Zajovic`s words of gratitude, which connected by one more thread Women in Black with community of survivors and their families, also reminded on the undoubted responsibility of Serbian state which have organized those crimes, and citizens of Serbia in whose names those crimes were

organized and conducted: `Responsibility means that I always know the position I am speaking from. It means we will always call the names, disturb Serbian state to admit crimes behind which it stood. Also, fundamental humanity that we feel, and out of which grows our moral and political responsibility as citizens of Serbia, the pain and compassion for the victims and survived, indicate us to whom we at first place have to address. You are those. Thank you for accepting our pain too, accepting us into your community, and by recognizing our humanity and admitting it, we build just peace together` -said Stasa Zajovic on the plateau in front of Trnopolje scaffold.

`I know I still am small so all the victims could be buried inside of me, as poet Enes Kisevic said, but I thank you for teaching me how to grow up enough so all of the victims fit inside of me` -said MP during award ceremony.

`Fountain` explained why Women in Black are awarded this year: `Courageous engagement of Women in Black activists in spreading the truth and demanding accountability for crimes committed during wars in ex Yugoslavia, is at least impressive and surely we would need more then couple of minutes to present it in the light it deserves. It is particularly related to speaking the truth about the responsibility of Serbian state apparatus for the crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in reminding Serbian public on their obligation of remembrance and empathy with victims. Since the beginning families of the victims had true ally within Women in Black, and their courage guaranteed that the truth of suffering of victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be heard in the heart of Serbia, even when Serbia did not want to hear it, at no price.

It has to do especially with us from Prijedor who got the reason to feel deeply grateful.

By wearing armbands for girls and women who have been raped in Prijedor, on the streets of Belgrade when it was forbidden for the relatives of the victims in Prijedor to do the same. For all this, there is no one who deserves this award against genocide denial more then Women in Black.



What distinguishes them among other organizations which protect human rights, is their uncompromising attitude that the truth is healing for the benefit of society ravaged by mass atrocities, the attitude they are ready to defend with their own bodies, exposing themselves frequently to public attacks but physical danger as well, during their interventions in the public space. Today and here, in the city ruled still by those who can not accept even the possibility of admitting the truth regarding crimes committed over citizens of Prijedor, exclusively because they were not Serbs, your fight is more important then ever. Not only because of our obligation to remember those innocent who have perished, and on this memory create awareness of the past and understanding of the circumstances and reasons which led to crime, but its importance is first of all in creating the awareness of the youth regarding inadmissibility of the collapse of society to the point where it is normal to enter the house of the neighbor, kill him, rape his daughter, robber and burn his property, only because his name is different, and he is marked as enemy for his otherness. Your fight is crucial for the young people who have gathered here tonight and for their future. Nobody said it better then Stasa did: `My black robe is not only mourning for the closest ones but for the all victims of this and

other wars. It is not indulgence in grief and mourning as an integral part of women`s role, it is a protest against killing of people and cities, violence in everyday life, rebel against military regime which produce death, destruction and misfortune.` Therefore, for your precious work and immense audacity, huge is our honor tonight to award you with International award against denial of genocide by the association of women from Prijedor `Fountain.`

First winner who was awarded last year was-Ed Vulliamy, longtime reporter of Guardian and Observer, and he was in the group of journalists who have revealed in August of 1992 death camps in Prijedor to the world public.

`Fountain` is NGO founded in 1996 with an aim of gathering families of the missing persons, creating culture of remembrance and support for the traumatized persons. The association advocates for the principles of truth regarding past, justice and status rights of the victims of crimes, accountability of the perpetrators, and is active in the field of transitional justice.

On 6th of August was organized commemoration due to 21st anniversary of Omarska camp, which was beside Trnopolje a notorious camp on the territory of northwest Bosnia and Herzegovina. Numerous inmates, citizens of Prijedor, members of the victims relatives, and NGO`s, were present.

In memory of victims, couple of hundreds of white balloons with names of victims of Omarska camp, and whose remains were identified, flew freely over the sky.

Enes Suljkanovic, vice President of Srpska Republic, said on this occasion: `The victim has no nation, nor religion. We have to observe victims as victims and not as members of second or third people. Listening to the inmates today who were through this place, I would like to express my wish that it does not repeat never, ever.`

Former inmates have revived painful memories in between May and August of 1992, when they were within mine Omarska, near Prijedor, which was transformed into a concentration camp. The commemoration was organized by association of inmates `Prijedor 92` in cooperation with association of inmates `Kozarac` and Association of inmates of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Through Omarska camp have passed between 5.000 and 6.000 of people. When revealed, in accordance with Serbian police data, there were 3.334 inmates, among them 37 women and 28 children. Among them, 125 persons were of Croatian nationality, 11 Serbs and one of the inmates of other nationality, and the rest were Muslims.

In the camp, in Hrastova glavica and Korican-ske stene, 700 people were killed, among them were two women-Sadeta Medunjanin and Edna Dautovic. The camp was recessed on 13th of August, 1992, when the last inmates were transported to camps Manjaca and Trnopolje. Ten persons were convicted for crimes committed in Omarska camp.

Marija Perkovic



The authorities stimulates crimes over women

Women in Black have published statement, on 20th of September, due to appointment of Dominique Stross-Kahn for economic advisor of Serbian government under the title `What sexual abuser advises the government about?` in the statement is said that: `Women in Black deprecate recruitment of Stros Khan for the position of economic adviser of Serbian authorities, because we consider it as deeply unmoral act which spreads the culture of men`s violence over women and stimulates sexual crimes impunity. Stros Khan has been accused several times for sexual crimes, abusing high position of his and obviously his power which without any doubt sends message to the public, that it is the untouchable one. At the same time, we consider his recruitment a prove that Serbian government is arrogant and responsible for creating culture of impunity regarding war crimes, rampant corruption, and now clearly sends message to citizens that they can be a legal target of every rapist.`



In May 2011, when he was in position of Director of International Monetary Fund, he was arrested in New York and accused for sexual abuse and attempt of rape of maid and immigrant in a hotel. During trial he denied guilt despite the fact that DNA test confirmed congruence of his and specimen of tested semen, which was found on the maid`s clothes. Since there is a great asymmetry in power relations, in this occasion we can not speak of a consent to sexual intercourse, because the consent is impossible in these circumstances. We can speak of men`s power as well as of racism as main points on which this crime is based. At the end the accusations were rejected due to lack of evidence. The accused withdraw from his position and there was no compensation for the victim. In 2003 he was accused for sexual abuse in Paris, as well. The newest accusation was announced by the prosecution in Lille, France, in July, this year, just before he was invited in Serbia. The accusation charges him for being involved in the prostitution network in the local hotel, for which the imprisonment punishment of at least 10 years is envisaged. We demand of Serbian government not accept as advisor sexual abuser for by it sends message to its citizens that sexual violence as well as men`s violence over women a permissible behavior and is not punishable, as well. By this act, Serbian government has sent message to all women that they are not safe, that their body integrity does not mean anything, that all men can use violence over women and will not be punished for it`-it is concluded in the statement.



Discussions on violence

In Tivat, Montenegro, on 26th until 29th of September, workshops with potential witnesses of Women`s Court were held. Attendants were: Mirjana Ucar and Dragojla Popovic from Slovenija, Ljubica Andjelkovic, Jovanka Carevic and Danica Radosevic from Croatia, Sabra Kolenovic, Kadefa Rizvanovic, Suhra Sinanovic, Munevera Avdis from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Anka Vukicevic, Maja Jovovic, Sabina Talovic from Montenegro, Jasminka Bogdanovski, Selvije Selmani, Sanja Canevska from Macedonia, Binasa Dzigal, Danica Pupovac, Marija Kovacev, Borka Vasic, Nadezda Kostic from Serbia.

Organizing Committee members participated as well, in whole 29 women.

The workshop was led by Marijana Senjak from Zagreb, psychotherapist with long working experience and dealing with persons suffering of PTSP, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, as well, and Ljupka Kovacevic with similar experience from Montenegro.

The purpose of the workshop was to empower women who had traumatic experience, so they can tell their stories and light up points of support and stronghold which provide strength to testify and fight for their rights. During workshop they have defined what they need in their work and all of them expressed satisfaction for they are linked and strengthened from the inside and because they gained understanding and support.

This is the first among numerous planned and regional meetings with potential witnesses.

Regional Women`s Court Organizing Committee worked with following members: Nela Pamukovic (Center for women war victims, Zagreb), Rada Boric (Center for Women Studies, Zagreb), Stanojka Tesic (Women`s forum, Bratunac), Ljupka Kovacevic (Anima, Kotor), Savka Todorovska (Council for gender equality, Skopje), Stasa Zajovic (Women in Black, Belgrade). Women`s Court Organizing Committee from Slovenia and Kosovo did not attend the meeting.

New members of the Women`s Court Organizing Committee are Stanojka Tesic from Women`s forum, Bratunac and Jadranka Milicevic from Cure foundation, Sarajevo. They were delegated by group of women from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During meeting, reports on work for organizing Women`s Court since June were presented, regarding challenges of potential witnesses of Women`s Court and of next regional meetings. The biggest challenge of all is organizing Women`s Court itself in November of 2014. The next planned meeting of the Women`s Court Organizing Committee is in Zagreb, next November. It should be attended by experts who are dealing with violence over women which Women`s Court Organizing Committee considers dominant in the war and postwar period.

About past and about future

Women in Black were presented by Ljiljana Radovanovic and Snezana Tabacki on the meeting of Kvinna Till Kvinna of Montenegro and Serbia, since 24th until 27th of September at Srebrno Jezero.

During the first part of the meeting under the title `We remember the past` the attendants reminded themselves about the history of women`s movement in Serbia, since eighties of the last century until today. Some groups have considered different periods within past of history of women`s movement and then they expressed their observation during plenary meeting regarding period they have processed, meaning the key questions women`s movement was dealing with at that time. For this part of the discussion moderators were Violeta Andjelokovic and Lidija Vasiljevic from Women`s educative and informative center.

During the second part of the meeting under the title `We look into the future` -Dusica Popadic and Ljiljana Bogavac from Incest Trauma Center have talked plenary and women divided in groups about joint plans, strategies, challenges of the future, both from their personal and the position of their organizations. It showed that policy of the group is the most important to them, but their survival they have connected to the stable financing sources. On market competition or cooperation with the government, or funding by local communities, they are not prepared.

Kvinna till Kvinna representatives exposed their experiences with local philanthropy and sponsorship, but also the experiences connected to conflict transformations. The newest movie of theirs under the title `Six women` was shown.

Too much of evil even for a nightmare

In the following presentation of evidences for crime in Kosova village Qyshka since 23^d until 27th of September, forensic expert testified. Doctor Djordje Alimpijevic exhumed bodies out of mass tomb in Batajnica on the terrain of Special anti-terrorist unit, in 2001 and 2002. In seven pits bodies were found. `We did not determine the cause of death` -said forensic expert.

Din Shoshi said: `People armed and in police and military uniforms came to our village on 1st of April in 1999, divided men and women and directed us toward Albania. That very same day my son was killed. On 7th of April my brother was killed in the woods. The day my son was killed were killed 60-70 people, too. We returned from Albania after three months. Our houses were burnt up. My son`s body was founded in Batajnica. He was not member of UCK.`

Meirane Hamzai testified: `In the morning of 1st of April, 1999, police and army entered our houses. They told us to leave to Albania. They did not allow my husband to take tractor. On the road they divided men and women. When we distanced we heard rifles. After we heard some more. We were going by foot toward Albania. That same day, they have killed my husband. Almost all of our houses were burnt that day. Around sixty people were killed that day. Seven men out of our family were killed on 25th of May, 1998. It was a massacre of Hamzai family.`

Elhane Haradinaj said that in the village of Ljubenic on 1st of April, 1999, her father Adem Haradinaj, was killed. `I heard a man named `Dead` did it. For us it is a horror. When one would only dream it, it would be horrible, let alone to survive it. They came early that morning, captured our village, expelled us from our houses. They divided men and women on the road. They forced us to go to Albania, saying we demanded NATO. I saw down the street houses burning. All of the Haradinaj houses were burnt. My brother was at Dubrava prison. He was arrested only because he was Albanian. We came back from Albania on 1st of July, 1999. In December of 2004, my fathers body was founded in Batajnica. On 21st of June, 2001, my brother was released out of prison in Sremska Mitrovica.`

Gjule Bushati said that on 1st of April, 1999, they were asleep, and then her husband said they should leave the house. `I took kids, because they did not allow him to come along. My husband Adem was shot then. Later on, they divided all men. The village started burning. They forced us toward Albania. Threatened they will kill us, slaughter us. We were very exhausted, we felt bad. We have heard rifles on the main road. They killed the men. When we returned from Albania, I found human remains and traces. My husband was killed though he was innocent. That very same day 86 people were killed in the small village of ours. Five of them are still not found.`

Alban Bushati said his father and uncle, two cousins and a neighbor were killed on 1st of April, 1999. Hajdar Ukshinaj came in the morning, his house was at the beginning of the village. He said we have to leave. The whole village started in the direction of Albania. Then they have ordered to women and children to divide from men. Some of us divided and hid among women. We saw many houses burning. We heard shots. Then our men were killed. When we returned we found human remains.`

Hajrije Jahmurataj said: `On 1st of April, 1999, my husband and father in law, my father`s uncle were killed. We have left our house on 25th of May, 1998. When the village was attacked as well. The army rushed us. They divided men and women. They ordered to women and children to leave and they shot once in the air to frighten us. Then we heard rifles. It looked to me at the moment I am watching a movie. We were turning back our heads hoping all the time we will see men. However, they did not appear and we were followed by a vehicle all the way to Albanian border. Many houses were burnt that day. I am searching for my husbands body for fourteen years already. My children have grown up without a father. I do not know where his grave is. Human life is priceless.`

Kumrije Hamzaj remembers: `On 1st of April, 1999. My husband, son, my father`s uncle and his sons were killed. My son`s body was found on 13th of January, 2005 and my husband`s body was not found. We went down the road because police and army said to us to direct ourselves toward Albania. We went by foot. I was alone with five daughters. I was in Italy, Germany and Switzerland. After a year I went back hoping I will found out something. Men were killed near

The house of Shoshaj family. My husband nor my son were members of UCK. Nothing can replace them, whatever you would give to me. They were killed without a reason. Out of our family were killed my father in law, he was slaughtered, his two sons, and three of our cousins. It happened on 25th of May, 1998.`

Hajrije Huskaj counted dead: `On 1st of April, 1999 were killed my husband, four of his cousins, brother of my husband`s uncle, and two of his sons. They divided men and women on the exit of the village. Then I saw a dead man in the yard of the Ramzan Hamzis`s house. We did not want to

leave them, but we had to start toward Albania. We heard rifles twice and we assumed they were killed then. We had to go by foot. They were hitting us with the butt did not let us have a rest. Four houses of mine were burnt. I was left with four daughters. I would not need anything else but to see my husband once more. Eleven members of Hamzaj family were killed that day, while one was wounded.

Milos Urosevic

Eight months for Obradovic

In the retrial against Mladen Obradovic, leader of `Honor` movement, for spread of racial and other kinds of discrimination before the ban of Pride Parade in 2009-four hearings were held. In the closure the prosecutor said: `I stick to the quotations of the indictment, considering the accused has committed the deed he was charged for, and I suggest to the court to convict him in accordance with the law.`

Though defender of the accused was unable to attend, while the accused insisted on his presence, judge Violeta Jovanovic decided that trial can be proceeded without defense attorney. On 6th of September she brought following verdict: `The accused is found guilty for advocating and spreading ideas which stimulate discrimination just before Pride Parade in 2009, by organizing writing of graphite `We are waiting for you,` with which he wanted to stop Pride parade. The accused was aware of this criminal deed and he wanted conducting of this criminal deed. The accused is convicted on eight months of imprisonment penalty.`

M. U.

We are all guilty both for Ovcara and Srebrenica

Tamara Kaliterna, journalist and Women in Black activist stated on 5th of September that journalism of Serbia hit the bottom reporting of Jovanka Broz`s (widow of former President of ex SFRJ Josip Broz-Tito) illness. `It is about harrowing bowels of Jovanka Broz. It is a failure of journalism but of medical profession, too`-said Kaliterna during promotion of her book-collection of newspaper articles under the title `False history repeaters`, held in Novi Sad.

She reflected critically on the past of the first Vice president of Serbian government-Aleksandar Vucic and reminded he was Information Minister by the end of nineties when a draconian law was in effect which served to suppress independent media of that time.

`Vucic disfigured me in a material way, but comforted me in a moral way, for what to expect of a law whose author is a constant right hand of Chetnic`s vojvoda?!`-said Kaliterna.

Ranko Koncar, a historian, criticized policy of Serbian nationalism and said: `Crazy and half-educated, is to open the question of changing the borders within Yugoslavia. The borders which were dragged in 1945 were the same which existed in 1918, and during war people had the right to ex-

press their attitude if they want to live within Yugoslavia or not, which they could not do in 1918. AVNOJ borders are not the administrative one, but state borders, which were established by nations with their free will, in accordance with the principle of self-determination.'

He evaluated that SANU Memorandum of the eighties of last century, rehabilitated today as a document which had its full political and historical justification, which is a 'tragic attitude.'

He also evaluated articles in the book as extraordinary chronicle of the time which many people yet have not understood, but still they are defending thoughts and ideas for which Serbia and its society have faced political and moral suffering and humiliation on the civilization level.

'It is an tragic attitude and therefore the existence of this book is so important, where the facts are documented, to bare the false idea regarding disintegration of SFRJ, regarding Kosovo, crimes, political elite, Memorandum, ...It is important because it antagonizes against dominant warmongering and nationalist discourse and to those who have closed their eyes in front of crime, and have interpreted history in a false way'-Koncar said. Therefore he considers that facts in the book will be a significant source even for historians. He added that it is why the opening of the question of borders and connecting it to the solution of social order, was 'crazy and hal-educated.'

'It is not by chance that Slobodan Milosevic, Dobrica Cosic, Antonije Isakovic, Jovan Raskovic, Vasilije Krestic, Vojislav Seselj, Borislav Jovic, Vojislav Kostunica, and academics who were writing Memorandum have found themselves under attack as those'...-said Koncar, adding that speaking of them at that time critically was a great courage.

Harsh peace figures speak of millions of people who at that time were involved in war, in Serbia, by force or their free will, in the wars of nineties in which the state was not involved. They speak of thousands who have returned with PTSP syndrome, with which was 'infected' 15% of civilians too, and which is in accordance with assessment of the experts the most frequent cause of the violence we are witnessing almost every day. It is just fraction of our reality, deeply covered with layers of false interpretations of what was happening to us during last quarter of the century.'

The author hopes her texts will help to understand the time: 'All have endured, but did not rebel, not in an efficient way, that is why we are all guilty both for Ovcar and Srebrenica'-said Kaliterna.

Latinka Perovic, historian, also evaluated book of Tamara Kaliterna as an important historical document: 'It is of great importance that this book exists as a part of the truth together with other parts of the same one, so the false can be disabled to become a total history. This book is a testimony of disintegration of Yugoslavia and severest war crimes committed in Europe after Second World War, as well as testimony of Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Srebrenica...meaning, of the biggest collapse of Serbia in its recent history.'



`These were different phases of policy connected by political and intellectual elite`s unity, on one side and on the other one their unity with masses` -said Perovic.

Branislava Opranovic, journalist, evaluated: `The book is a chronology of dishonorable death of one state and a chronology of its honorable and dishonorable citizens, which in a cruel and precise way lines up facts and events we were all involved in. It is a mirror many are afraid to look at. That is why it is an historian reader which should enter schools and in front of every pupil, instead of false books out of which they will learn how to become repeaters of the false history.`

Dinko Gruhonjic, President of independent journalists of Vojvodina evaluated that Tamara Kaliterna is the best documentary journalist on the territory of ex Yugoslavia and that facts she published regarding last two and a half decades, can not be refuted. `This book is the picture of our reality, document of the time of dishonor, inhumanity and disaster of civilization of one nation to which we are still witnessing powerless to resist.`

Impresum

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