

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ December 2012



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

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Women in Black and Resolution 1325



The Secretary of State and activists

Multisectoral coordinating body for conducting of National Action Plan in order to implement UN Security Council 1325 Resolution and Belgrade Center for security policy, together with Office for cooperation with civil society and supported by UN Agency for gender equality and women empowering, have organized in Belgrade, on 11th of December, a dialogue between the Multisectoral coordinating body and civil society.

It should of exchange the experience in dealing with gender equality and security in Serbia and establish regular communication for the purpose of conducting the National Action Plan. Meeting attended, except the organizers, two state secretaries: one in front of Ministry of Internal Affairs and the second one in the name of Ministry of Defence. Gordana Subotic and Gordana Odanovic have presented the analyses of 1325 Resolution, prepared by Women in Black and Belgrade Center for security policy, also, reports of Multisectoral coordinating body regarding the conducting of National Action Plan were delivered (for the period January-June of 2012), as well as reports of Ministry of defence and Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Subotic have listed the indicators based on which report of 1325 Resolution-National Action Plan was done. She informed that independent monitoring was conducted by the side of Women in Black and in cooperation with seven women peace organizations from Serbia. `Due to the non-transparent, undemocratic and uninclusive process of NAP conducting, in which women and peace civil society organizations and their 20-year experience were thrown out of this process, and deadline for comments of only 15 days, working group established 48 indicators which exclusively monitor NAP activities, of its content, on which we, unfortunately, had minimal or no impact at all` - said Subotic. She continued: `Also, the indicators have monitored the issues, which have been marked as the most important by civil society organizations, concerning that some of the civil society organizations within the working group, are directly in contact with citizens and are travelling all over the region, meeting with women of ex Yugoslavia, work with them, and those are the issues regarding post conflict period, which have impact not only on women from the security sector, but on ordinary women too, which is very important for conducting of 1325 Resolution.`

As the greatest success in the last two years she emphasized the adoption of 1325 Resolution and National Action Plan, because `Women in Black have lobbied for the adoption of 1325 resolution since 2005 as well as to be adjusted to Serbian political context. We have prepared our 1325 resolution `Women, peace, security,` with specific demands, and we delivered it to the Parliament. It was never considered, though. And, therefore we reminded on it in 2006 and 2007, too.`

In 2010, state finally decided to adopt it again, but unfortunately not in accordance with Serbian context.

She praised the recognition of the role of independent institutions in Serbia, their reports on results of implementation of National Action Plan, taking into account the recommendations of independent

institutions, six criminal charges of Ministry of Internal Affairs for six months and against officers for domestic violence, as well as four crimes involving violence against women. She considered as one of the success of Women in Black lobbying for the independent Resoulution monitoring at UN Women, for indicators which included almost the whole security sector, introducing women with 1325 resolution issue which have started in 2010, enabling smaller organizations outside of Belgrade to exercise control of institutions, to monitor indicators and participate in the creation of local security strategy, networking with the Global network of women peace building (GNWP) which began in 2011.

Success is that the independent monitoring of Women in Black next year will be presented in New York on the anniversary of 1325 Resolution and will be part of a report of more than 20 countries which implement Resolution 1325. Also, in 2013, a conference with participants from Kosovo, Croatia and Bosnia is planned, regarding National Action Plan and the implementation of 1325 Resolution and the lack of support for regional integration of women and the importance of peace in the region. The conference will expose GNWP experience in the work of women's NGO's and institutions in other countries.

Subotic the biggest challenges in the next two years included identifying the right role and acceptance of women and peace NGO's as equal partners in the implementation of the National Action Plan, because Women in Black have assisted refugees regardless of their religion and nation and were crossing the borders during the war like they do today, building a just peace and politics out of official institutions and policies of Serbia. She mentioned that Women in Black and have formed Women's Peace Coalition with women of Kosovo for human rights, women's human rights, quality of life and human security should be above sovereignty of all of the states.

Subotic considers as challenge the admittance of Serbia that there were sexual crimes on the territory of ex Yugoslavia and to allow them access to justice and provide compensations. She reminded that after the war in ex Yugoslavia, for the first time ever, rape is proclaimed as war crime. Because of this selective approach to justice and international documents in all the states of former Yugoslavia, Women in Black with women's organizations in the region have organized Women's Court.

Subotic is afraid that completing only certain points of 1325 Resolution will blur the objectives and the spirit of the Resolution. The aim is to understand that women are not just victims of war but also actors of peace. She added that a report from the Ministry of Defence, which Women in Black demanded from the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance, unmarked the sign `secret`. She listed the priorities for the next two years: the inclusion of women and peace NGO's in the implementation of National Action Plan activities as well as production of all documents relating to women, peace and security, in respect of women and twenty years of experience of peace civil society organizations; signing the Convention on Cluster Munitions, the adoption of law on Private



Security agencies, acceptance of women's and peace organizations as `equal partners` and not as enemies of the institutions; lowering of National Action Plan to the local level, the exchange of experiences between the states of former Yugoslavia regarding the implementation of 1325 Resolution on issues that have to do with the problems of post-conflict societies.

Tamara Kaliterna from Women in Black has suggested that the report of the Multi-sectoral coordinating body for the second half of 2012 should as well include reference to the position of human defenders and defenders of and the LGBT population rights in Serbia, as it had for the first six months of 2012, according to reports of Ministry of Justice and its Directorate of Human and Minority Rights. She argued that Resolution 1325 in Serbia applied sloppy when it comes to human rights, although Serbia has generally good legal basis for their protection and the people who are paid to protect them: Commissioner for Protection of Equality and the Ombudsman. However, the authorities do not contribute to the prevention of discriminatory treatment and discourage the victims to demand their protection. One week before, a Minister of Justice-Nikola Selakovic took part in student protests because of the verdict in the Hague Tribunal.

The protest was attended by militants of the 1389 Movement and `Honour` movement, which was banned six months ago. The Constitutional Court has rejected the proposal in November to ban those two organizations. Encouraged by this decision, they created list of traitors, unfit journalists and the media, non-governmental organizations which defend human rights and promote violence towards anyone who is not of their false patriotic mold. Also, last week, they made a list of judges of the Constitutional Court who are threatened with death because they have banned the movement `Honour`. This year, by the amnesty law or by court decision, are deliberated or penalty for killers, those who are charged with attempt of murder, homophobia, beatings, rape, burning of mosque and embassies, was reduced.

As for the LGBT population, Pride Parade in Belgrade this year was forbidden once more, because in accordance with knowledge of police, riots were prepared. Although, no criminal charges were brought. With this decision Serbia has violated the right of citizens on freedom of assembly, guaranteed by the Constitution.

Normative framework for the protection of equality of the LGBT population in Serbia is mostly satisfactory, but the provisions of the laws and by-laws prohibiting discrimination are not implemented consistently, and judgments for the offenders are generally mild, on the bottom or below the legal limit. The biggest drawback of the legal framework for the protection of homosexual population in Serbia is the lack of a `hate crime` law in Serbia, she concluded.

State Secretary at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia-Vladimir Bozovic, reacted to exposure of both Women in Black representatives. He defended the right of the Minister of Justice to participate in demonstrations and in the company of people the court found objectionable, leaning on the right to freedom of assembly. He also suggested to both representatives of Women in Black to join the `other women in black`, referring to the nuns from Kosovo who, in his words, for years have seen all sorts of crimes against the Serbian, committed by members of Albanian population. He minimized the threat of extremist against judges, journalists and non-government activists, saying that those who are threatening are `not serious people.`

Women in Black representatives proposed that state should bring as felony `hate speech` under the criminal law. Their second request was that state should not encourage violence against political opponents, and to eradicate any attempt of extremism because there are basis in the laws and Constitution of Serbia for it.

Expulsion of others from our lives

Since 21st until 23^d of December, Women in Black held a seminar presenting results of independent monitoring of 1325 Resolution implementation in Serbia, covering period since July 2011 until May 2012.

Monitoring is part of educational-research project `Engendering human security` with which Women in Black continue review of traditional, militarized notion of security-through control and inviting of the state and its institutions for the accountability.

Working group of activists from Serbia, continuously addressed the security institutions and most of all to the Ministry of Defense demanding information for indicators which were the base of the research. Unfortunately, the institutions, first of all, Ministry of Defense, as holder of the activities of the National Action Plan for the implementation of 1325 Resolution, in the most of the cases remained silent, it is said during seminar.

Presenting Women in Black activities regarding security, 1325 Resolution, independent monitoring, Gordana Subotic noticed that this summer among women who have been interviewed was prevailing concern for personal, and today for political security.

Stasa Zajovic said that expulsion of others from our lives `makes us insecure. The others are those with different names, sexual and political affiliation. One can not live as secure in the society in which others are not, too.`

Diana Miladinovic, lawyer, talked of new phenomena of human security, which is dealing with citizens.

Jelena Milic, director of Center for Euro-Atlantic Studies explained `which are new paradigms of security.` She said that during last century there was a supremacy of human rights over territorial integrity, and now it is changed. She also said that state has to have a monopoly over the force.

Lino Veljak, professor from Zagreb, emphasized that there has been an initial euphoria after the verdict of deliberation of Croatian generals, but afterwards thanks to the voices of civil society and ex president of Croatia-Stjepan Mesic, it was said that crimes during and after the action `Storm` were numerous and that they have to be prosecuted.

Women in Black activists presented then



numerous activities conducted this year: 32 street actions were held, and motto of more than half of them was transitional justice, they also visited more than fifteen places where crimes committed in our names and 11 of them were in Bosnia and Herzegovina,...Women in Black representatives have spent 38 days in court monitoring trials for war crimes or for extremists, 11 of them were trials to rightists, and out of 17 video presentations produced by Women in Black, 23 were dedicated to issue of facing the past. They also had 21 publishing units and they are searching for antifascists in four cities of Serbia in order to mark their significance. They have organized 13 meetings with 227 participants, and they took part in dozen of conferences, while on 21 they were panelists or conference keynote speakers.

They organized projection of movie 'Whistleblower' based on the experience of Kathryn Bolkovac USA citizen who joined International police forces (IPTF) after war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She revealed their involvement in trafficking and prostitution, as forces belonging to UN. The main roles in the movie play: Rachael Weisz, Monica Bellucci, Vanessa Redgrave. But, video production of Women in Black too: 'Citizens are asking UN,' art activist meeting 'Instead of despair creative resistance' in cooperation with Roma Network of Banat.

They stated that they will continue their work on UN Security Council 1325 Resolution in 2013.

II Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security



A pain of all mothers

Mother Meira Dautovic sent a letter to Women in Black, on 4th of December, regarding her impressions of her recent journey to Belgrade. 'As always, I was welcomed by all my sisters, activists for peace and justice, the most courageous women, who can not be found anywhere else. They are fighting and helping everybody, risking their lives. They are made of steel, not afraid of anybody.'

She continues: 'My Stasa and Ljilja have organized our visit to Sremski Karlovci. We had a wonderful time, Stasa gave me a souvenir and Mireya was with us, too-Stasa's friend from Spain, for more than twenty years. Tomorrow, me and Milos went to Media Center where we have listened to Zanka Stojanovic, who have lost her son during bombing of Serbian Radio Television. She is the only one fighting for justice all those years. I also met mothers of the soldiers who have been killed during peace time and in the most brutal way in 2004 while they were serving military in Topcider caserne. They were on sentinel when they spotted Ratko Mladic, a Hague indictee, who was hiding at that time in the caserne. One of the soldiers was Dragan Jakovljevic and the other one was Drazen Milovanovic. It means that the army, main headquarter and the authorities knew where he is hiding, and

* Mother Meira Dautovic from Bihac is mother of Edvin and Edna who were executed in Omarska concentration camp of Omarska, with only one week in between, in 1992.

they protected Ratko Mladic. The soldiers have been executed only because they have seen him, so they would not tell anybody. First they informed that they have committed suicide. Rifles they have used, disappeared, as well as their uniforms. Afterwards it was said that they were executed, and then it was found out that they paid with their lives only because they have seen the criminal- a Hague indictee. For already eight years, parents seek the truth, they have legal counselors who are dealing with it. On Saturday we went to Bela Reka, a village in which Dragan used to live, to pay a visit to parents of the executed soldier. Entering the house of Rosa and Janko, his parents, was rather difficult, watching those two people who are lifetime mourners, who have lost their son in such a brutal way, and in the peace time instead during war. Our hosts are very kind people and they welcomed us with open arms. At 3 pm



we went to the graveyard. It was a first time for me to visit an orthodox cemetery. We made a pause and Rosa said it is Dragan`s eternal house. His mother laid flowers brought by Zanka, who lost her son Nebojsa, and who was said to be Serbian enemy. I also put the flowers and lit a candle, because that`s the habitude. It was hard to watch mothers united with me through sorrow and anguish, same stories and destiny. We can not blame all of the people. That`s the evidence: if they could of murdered theirs then why would not they kill ours...They are monsters not human beings. There are a lots of couplets on the ledger. It is written that he was young and just started living, but he had to die because of one man hanger he have seen. We have returned to the parents. Their destiny is sad as mine and therefore I sympathize with them. But, at least they have one more son who has two little kids, and one of them is just like Dragan. The very same day he got killed, the roof of the old house crashed down. It is hard to watch parents suffering, but they are fighting for the truth and their son, tough they are not welcomed on the court nore by the military command. It is sad what parents have to be through, what they have to overcome in order to prove the truth and justice. They are left without their child and the state did not make a move to provide them the answer. I have been through much by myself so I can understand parents, a one should not judge or observe through religion or anything else, but through human character, who ever it is. Every parent is just a parent in mourner. I admire to them and I wish them to reach the truth and justice as soon as possible.

Mother Meira Dautovic

Recognition

Stasa Zajovic, Women in Black, won award of Global Fund for protection of women human rights, on 22nd of December. Recognition will be awarded during ceremony of 17th of April, in New York, 2013.

Against darkness and fascism

Women in Black, together with Atina, Center for Youth Integration, Labris-organization for lesbian human rights, Association Prostor, Regional center for minorities and Association of Disabled Students, have marked in Belgrade the International Day of human rights, on 10th of December, 2012. A protest marsh under the title `Switch off the darkness,` started in the Pioneer`s park and the marsh continued toward Youth House. There was an exhibition appointed, only for one day, presenting activities of the organizations which are dealing with different forms of discrimination and minority rights.

During peaceful walk, holding rainbow flags, they also held placards with the inscriptions: `Against fascism,` `A lesbian is a happy woman,` `They expelled me from the house,` `I can not kiss my girlfriend,` `Without tortures in the hospitals,` `Your silence will not protect you,` `Recognize and report on human trafficking,` ...During marsh some of the passersby have deprecated. In front of the Youth House the participants light up the lanterns, letting them fly freely through the air and showing in this way, too, that it is necessary to respect human rights of all citizens.

Approximately hundred of activists demanded of the authorities to take over the full responsibility in protection and improvement of human rights and providing guarantees for the equality of all of the citizens in Serbia. They also demanded the ban over fascist organizations `which are conducting repression over all different and diverse individuals and groups.`

The protest should of started in front of the building of the Presidency, but the police moved the participants on the other side of the park, because at the same time in the center of the city were the protests of the right-wing organizations.



Silence is a complicity

- ***To the UN Special Rapporteur for the protection of human rights defenders***
- ***To the First Secretaries of the embassies of Great Britain and Sweden regarding the implementation of European guidelines for the protecton of human rights defenders***
- ***All organizations that are signatories of this public address are cited in Annex 1***

Belgrade, 26th December 2012

Draft

Appeal to the international public

1. Goal

Support for the protection of human rights defenders from violence, threats and pressure by extreme right organizations in Serbia.

2. Resumé

The Serbian People's Movement "Naši" (OUR) published early in November a list of NGOs and media¹ whose activities should be banned. Organizations on that list are renowned for human rights and peace activism, and some of them have been, ever since the 1990's, targeted by the regime and nationalistic groups. The act of placing these organizations on the "black list", which appeared on the website of SNP "Naši", constitutes grave discrimination, threat and is in contradiction with the existing laws of this country. Moreover, a vicious threat expressed on the site of SNP "Naši" (<http://nasisrbija.org/?p=9714>), where the National Endowment for Democracy is labelled as an organization for the implementation of special operations of the CIA, which is being financed as part of the USAID budget and approved by the State Department.

"Naši" have gone a step further. Following the action of Women in Black and the Art Clinic from Novi Sad on 9th November 2012 in Belgrade, the members of this movement demanded that the Prime Minister of Serbia and Minister of Police, Ivica Dačić and the Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić urgently order the arrest of persons in charge in the organization Women in Black, because on 9th November – International Day Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism, they bore the banner with the wording "I recognise the independence of Kosovo", which, in their opinion, means conceding to capitulation or occupation and incurs a sentence of at least ten years of prison.

A ruling of the Constitutional Court of Serbia followed (15th Nov 2012), rejecting the motion by former Republic Public Prosecutor, Slobodan Radovanović, to ban SNP "Naši" and SNP "1389" because of "fomenting hatred towards dissenters, xenophobia, homophobia and seeking the banishment of people of different ethnicity..." Despite the pro-fascist activities of these organizations over the past years, the Constitutional Court shifted the responsibility for the banning of these groups to lower judicial instances.

The second court decision was announced merely a few hours afterwards. The Court of Appeals annulled the sentence to the leader of the banned organization "Obraz" (Face), Mladen Obradović, whom the first instance court had sentenced to two years in prison.

Sometime earlier, on 13th August, the then Deputy Minister of Culture in charge of the media, Dragan Kolarević, published a text on the portal <http://www.standard.rs>, entitled "Time Has Come for the First Serbian Cultural Uprising", with a list of prominent figures from the cultural and public

1 Women in Black, Center for cultural decontamination, Reconstruction Women's Fund, Civil Initiatives, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights, Autonomous Women's Centre, Human Rights House, Labris, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, Amnesty International, Civic Initiatives, Gay-Straight Alliance, Queeria center, Dokukino, Sandglass-Krusevac, B 92, Danas, Vreme, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Exit Fund.

life, whom he labelled as “proponents and executors of a disastrous anti-Serb policy, because they lent their unequivocal support to Tadić and Jovanović in the past and all previous elections”.

3. Background/Elaboration

The year-long passivity and disinterestedness of state institutions to assume an active role in upholding human rights, protecting human rights defenders and condemning organizations that disseminate hatred and resentment is evident.

The independence of the judiciary is also debatable, especially following the rulings of the Constitutional Court and the Court of Appeals. The Patriotic Movement “Face” (Otačastveni pokret „Obraz”) was banned by the Constitutional Court in July 2012, whereas the organisation “National Allignment” („Nacionalni stroj”) was banned in a 2011. In both cases, the ban pronounced by the Constitutional Court was based on the fact that these organizations are “dangerous or potentially dangerous because: they violate human rights of others and inhibit the freedom of assembly of dissenters and their freedom of speech and thus abuse of the freedoms they equally enjoy”. In the case of „SNP Naši” and „SNP1389”, the same court, with the same members and chairperson, only five months later, ruled that the banning of these political or para-political organizations was not necessary. Furthermore, the punitive measure of imprisonment for the leader of the outlawed organization “Face” („Obraz”) was challenged on the same day by the ruling of the Court of Appeals. Although it is crystal clear that these organizations have identical or similar goals and resort to the same violent methods in pursuing their activities, the Constitutional Court reacted in two diametrically opposed ways within a short period of time, after the shift of power. According to Professor Vesna Rakić-Vodinelić, “in such a situation, it is hard to believe in the independence of the judiciary from the political power”.

The consequences of year-long passivity of the executive and judicial power are already visible: the strengthening of organizations of the extreme right and of groups that mutate into political parties and become legitimate subjects of the political process, which has already happened with „Dveri”(“Gates”). Altogether, this affects the everyday legal, political and also economic security of human rights defenders and fosters a climate of insecurity for the citizens of Serbia, and projects the idea of impunity and omnipotence of extremist far right organizations.

4. Conclusions/Actions

On the occasion of 10th December – International Human Rights Day, non-government organisations from the “black list” prepared a Declaration (Annex 2), in which they seek the following:

- That the state fulfil its international obligations, regarding the respect of human rights and the full implementation of international standards and human rights, and to provide adequate and efficient protection to human rights defenders, when affronted because of their engagement in defending and promoting human rights;
- that the relevant state institutions raise their voices regarding the publication of the black list of NGOs and the media and to publicly denounce the act of public stigmatisation and Lynch of human rights organisations and media;

- the prevention of further anti-constitutional activity of organisations that disseminate hatred and intolerance, whether they are registered associations or informal groups.

We expect that you, whom we address publicly, influence the Government of Serbia to react about the activities of far right organisations and undertake concrete steps regarding the appearance of diverse "black lists" of undesirable individuals, organisations and media, and invoke the Declaration on the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, adopted by the UN on 8th March 1999 and the European Guidelines, so as to protect human rights defenders from all forms of discrimination.

ANNEX 1.

Women in Black, Regional Centre for Minorities, Reconstruction Women's Fund, Civil Initiatives, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, Dokukino, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights, Autonomous Women's Centre, Centre for Advancement of Legal Studies, Human Rights House, Labris, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, Queeria center, Sandglass.

ANNEX 2

December 10th - International Human Rights

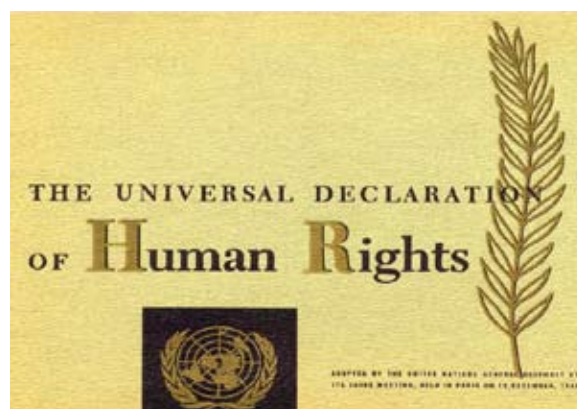
The Declaration

Recalling the provisions of the Declaration on the Human Rights Defenders, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on March 8, 1999, which explicitly emphasize that states have to undertake all necessary measures as to protect human rights defenders from all forms of violence, threats, retaliation, discrimination, pressure, etc;

Bearing in mind more serious threats an public vilification of human rights organizations which culminated with the publishing of the so-called black list of non-governmental organizations and announcing criminal charges against some of them (November 11, 2012), as well as publishing the so-called black list of media (December 3, 2012);

Considering the fact that the Constitutional Court of Serbia rejected to ban, therefore allowing further undisturbed activities of organizations which are spreading hate, intolerance and are instigating lynching of different minority groups members and are questioning fundamental human rights guaranteed by the Constitution and laws;

Taking note of the passivity and disinterest of the state institutions to become involved in defending human rights, protecting human rights defenders and condemn organizations which are spreading hate and intolerance what further encourages a climate of impunity, therefore creating the atmosphere of insecurity for human rights defenders as well as all citizens in Serbia;



We demand:

- that state fulfills its international obligations relating to the respect of human rights and full implementation of international human rights standards, therefore to provide human rights defenders with adequate and effective protection in cases when they are attacked due to their involvement in protection and promotion of human rights.
- that relevant public institutions publicly express their opinion in regard to the publication of the black list of non-governmental organizations and media and to publicly condemn this act of public stigmatization and lynching of human rights organizations and media. We are emphasizing that apart from the Office for cooperation with civil society not a single state institution deemed it necessary to condemn the publishing of this list. Unless they do it, we will consider them to be accomplices in violence against each of us who are defending human rights of others.
- that the further unconstitutional activities of the organizations which are spreading hate and intolerance be stopped, regardless if those are registered citizen's associations or informal groups.

Organizations signatories of the Declaration are announcing joint actions relating to human rights defenders protection and advocacy for creating adequate policies and practices of state institutions in this area.

Belgrade, December 12, 2012

Women in Black, Regional Centre for Minorities, Reconstruction Women's Fund, Civil Initiatives, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, Dokukino, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights, Autonomous Women's Centre, Centre for Advancement of Legal Studies, Human Rights House, Labris, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, Gay-Straight Alliance, Queeria center, Esperanca Novi Sad, Women's Association Hourglass Krusevac, Women's Space Nis, Urban In Novi Pazar, Independent Women's Centre Dimitrovgrad, Sandglass, Women of the South Pirot.



A democrat and a war crime

Aleksandar Sapic, senior official of the Democratic Party and head of the municipality of New Belgrade, with 218.000 of residents, ex sportsman, posted in his Twitter account joint photo with a Hague convict Veselin Sljivancanin. The photo is followed by the message: `Best Regards for Veselin Sljivancanin,` Women in Black are warning.

In the statement it is added: `Women in Black are warning that Sapic`s gesture is revival of extremists and warmongering attitudes which have brought Serbia on the pillory in the last decade of the XX century.` They demand out of Democratic Party to dismiss him as the President of Democratic Party in Belgrade and out of councilors from New Belgrade to vote for his removal from the post of President of the Municipal.

Contentious photo was made during public lecturing of Sljivancanin in one of the high schools of New Belgrade, where he persuade minors in his value system. He was proclaimed as guilty for the assistance and support of the torture of Croatian prisoners in Ovcar and convicted on ten years of prison, after which he was released when he has served more than two-thirds of the sentence. It was in July of 2011.

Ovcar is one of the biggest scaffolds in Croatia during war of nineties, in which in only one day 200 people were executed, on 20th of November 1991. In accordance with the data of the NGO `Documenta` from Croatia, during three months of siege of Vukovar, more then 3000 of people were murdered-civilians and city defenders, among them 86 children. More then 6,5 millions of Yugoslav National Army`s shells were thrown on the city, and Sljivancanin was officer of this army. After the fall of Vukovar, hundreds of civilians and city defenders were captured in the concentration camps and prisons in Serbia (Stajicevo, Begejci, Sremska Mitrovica, Aleksinac and Nis). In accordance with Croatian authorities data, destiny of 1.859 missing is still unknown, mostly from the territory of Vukovar.

Boris Tadic, President of Serbia, as well as the President of Democratic Party of Serbia at that time, apologized in Vukovar in November of 2010 to Croatian victims during wars of nineties and laid flowers on the monument of the mass grave in Ovcar.

Sapic is not only and individual in this photo, he is also senior official of Tadic`s Party. With this joint photo, a sportsman who is a role model for young people, shows that the politics of `Great Serbia` is not buried though it failed. He continues such a politics in accordance with which the accused for the most severe crimes in European history were transported honored in the Hague, and their deportation was fulfillment of the demand of the world if Serbia wants to continue with European integrations, instead of its moral and obligation in front of the civilization.

Srebrenica-dead city

Association of Srebrenica`s women, as every eleventh within a month, organized in December too, peaceful protest in Tuzla, in memory of 11th of July, 1995 when the most monstrous of all the crimes of the twentieth century in Europe, after Second World War, started. The protest joined on this cold and snowy day, Women in Black from Belgrade and representatives of Active Bosnian Network (ABOM) from Sarajevo.

Holding placards with photos and names of the murdered and missing persons, parts of the fabrics with their names and the date of their birth, women have expressed their dissatisfaction due to slow finding of missing persons, but also regarding the insufficient involvement of government on exhumation in Podrinje. They appealed to all the relevant institutions not to close their eyes in front of those demands, and to arrest war criminals.

Haira Catic, President of the Association, hopes that the judgment will be satisfactory for the accused on war crimes in Srebrenica-Zdravko Tolimir, General of Republic Srpska Army, in front of the Hague Tribunal. `Nobody can bring our children back, but, at least those who have committed genocide and crimes should be sentenced to life imprisonment.` She also urged people to start coming back to Srebrenica because only older people have done so.

`We are coming from the state whose President denies genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina and we are constantly against it. It is humiliation of the victims in Srebrenica, but us as well, as Serbian citizens who are striving for the genocide to be called so, ` said Stasa Zajovic, representative of Women in Black.

ABOM representatives were holding the placard with the inscription: `Bosnians, no more Srebrenica, no more genocide.`

Tuzla, 11th of December, 2012.

Twice or three times per year we visit Tuzla and we join women of Srebrenica who are looking for their missing ones. They have protested more then 200 times. Snow was falling this 11th of December again. It was almost night when seventeen of us directed toward Tuzla. We stopped by in Sabac to pick up Tanja, Rosa`s sister and then, down the main road to Loznica, Rosa Jakovljevic joined us, too. Rosa is mother of one of the soldiers executed in the caserne of Topcider, in 2004.

When Stasa, Zinaida, Zanka, Mother Meira from Bihac and went to visit Rosa in Bela Reka, we also visited grave of her son Dragan. It was not an ordinary tombstone, but mausoleum. Rosa said to us that she accepted together with her sister this journey `over Drina` to be in the position to meet mothers of similar destiny, whose children were killed, too.

We joined women from Srebrenica around noon, in Tuzla. After the protest on the Square of Genocide we went to their premises. While we were presenting ourselves we found out that both Rosa and Tanja were born in Ljubovija. That is the place where many women from Srebrenica as well as their children, were born. We were more then 35, there was babble, but when Rosa started speaking

her story, regarding who killed her son and why, silence reigned in the room.

Her son was killed because of war criminal Ratko Mladic, who was a commander of genocide in Srebrenica. Each and every woman from Srebrenica while presenting herself, with tears in her eyes recited her missing loved ones. One of the mothers from Srebrenica said: ` Lets explain a little bit. Our loved ones did not disappear but they were murdered. And we do know who and when did this.` Women said they sympathize with mother Rosa`s pain that they recognize she is from Ljubovija. Then followed the questions on which Rosa provided clear answers, also commiserating with their pain. It was agreed that women from Srebrenica visit Rosa in Bela Reka.

Haira Catic expressed her gratefulness to us for joining the protest, and especially because mother Rosa found the strength to come and take part in the protest, and commiserate with them.

The snow kept falling, making our return slower, but we realized that in our intensive relations of solidarity and friendship, bad weather can not stop us.

Dream of a different world

` Our dear and dearest Igo, horrified by the news from Kosovo regarding violence of fundamentalists you are faced with as women human rights defender, with sorrow we do remember our blood on the streets of Belgrade in 2001, horrible violence in Sarajevo of 2007, and now there are sad news about you, too,` Women in Black were writing on 17th of December to Igballe Rugova from Kosovo Women Network, after the presentation of the magazine `Kosovo 2.0` was cancelled. A group of people have gathered in front of Youth Sport Center in Pristina on 14th of December, trying to prevent the presentation. Afterwards, the group demolished the stage and the equipment, where the content of the magazine should have been presented and a dialogue with members of the LGBT community should have been organized.

Women in Black remind in their letter on words of joint friend Bisi Adeleje Fajemi in accordance with which `our sexuality decides whether we will live or we will die.`

` Though there is no war any more and all are repeating *never again*, fear and death still are present in our lives. We are so sorry that our region is facing with unpunished homophobic violence. We were together in the hardest times of Apartheid and war of low intensity which Serbian regime led against you in Kosovo. Even in those hardest moments of darkness we managed to hear, see, feel each other and dream despite of all the divisions,` it is said among other things in the letter of Women in Black. And they conclude: ` We still want to walk and meet winds of freedom. It is the only way toward our dreams of a different world in which there is enough space for everyone, in which we will dream of other things and we will remember this only when we evoke memories...We will be helped by our feminist solidarity, sisterhood, activism imbued with courage, adamant, endurance and care for each other.`

The past shapes actuality

On 2nd of December Gordana Subotic took part in Befem-Festival of feminist culture and action, in the name of Women in Black. The festival promotes feminist policies and creating autonomous feminist space. The title of her exposure was: `Do we live in peace?`

She said that peace is not only the absence of war or violence but as well peace within international relations, the absence of the repression of the state, the rule of law, respect of human rights, human security..She considers Serbia to be today in a state of negative peace, because the institutions only prevent the direct violence by the side of individuals or groups or people, in order to assure the security of individuals or groups. The accent is on the control of violence and not on finding the causes of violence. It is so obvious in the case of Belgrade Pride Parade, which was forbidden. Such a negative peace could of lead us to a wider violence, she added.

Subotic strives for positive peace which envisage eradication of militarism, continuous mobilization of society for wars, and structural violence. Through analysis whether Serbia goes toward positive peace, Women in Black determined that Serbia spends 14 milliards of dinars for only one institution per year-BIA (Informative Security Agency). And, at the same time, for helping refugees and displaced persons, more then one milliard per year. Serbia is first in Europe for cervical cancer and Ministry of health wants to limit free health check on once per year. `It does not look as positive peace to me, if people are free to rule their own lives, then there would be more of them who would strive toward peace instead of war,` Subotic said. She raised the question, too: `What would be the meaning of peace activism on the territory of ex Yugoslavia at this moment?`

`The meaning would be facing the past and crimes committed in our name in the war against which Women in Black have protested during nineties. It is also to mitigate the consequences of the war, adoption and implementation of transitional laws, among which the law on lustration is of great importance, reform of the institutions, embodiment of women and their peace policies in security strategies, human rights protection and implementation of human security principles. Without the admittance that wars have happened, conflicts and war violence, there is no improvement. Relation of Serbia toward wars in the ex Yugoslavia shapes all the other processes, laws, the application of laws and implementation of strategies within state. It is my experience regarding 1325 Resolution and monitoring of conducting the National Security Strategy,` Subotic concluded.

Two doctor`s specializations

Women in Black have organized on 29th of November lecture - `Economic war and social crisis in Spain-the resistance and alternatives. ` Mirella Forel was a lecturer, as activist of International Women in Black Network from Seville and Indignados movement, as well. She informed that more then two-thirds of citizens in Spain are unemployed, and business contracts are entered into for several days in order to earn some money and it is allowed by the law. Only 136.000 of people in Spain have guaranteed job until they are retired. Forel says German



working class exports all over European Union and baits Spanish banks to take loans out of German banks. In that way, they are financing indirectly, German economy. She also said that Spain entered Nato, thanks to citizens of Andalusia, and not citizens of Catalonia or Baskia. She evaluated that militarization and economization of European Union go together and that 1.100 of Spanish families control 80% of national wealth. The number of drugs which patients receive at no charge is reducing continuously. And two millions of people do not have any source of income. Doctors are protesting twice a week or they abuse laws by treating people who do not have health insurance. Providing this example, she made difference between those who are fighting for their own rights and only and those who are in solidarity with others.

Against the capital penalty

In the action- 'Cities against capital penalty' organized in cooperation between Serbia against capital penalty, Women in Black, Center for cultural decontamination and Belgrade Assembly, people gathered on 30th of November, in front of Cukur-fountain, and visited home of Ksenija Atanasijevic.

The capital penalty was abolished in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany on 30th of November, in 1786 and for ten years already hundreds of cities all over the world illuminate one of their monuments, in order to show in a symbolic way their commitment to a life, and reluctance to capital penalty. The city of Belgrade took part in this action for the second time, by illuminating Cukur-fountain.

Ivan Jankovic, in the name of organization Serbia against capital penalty, emphasized that in accordance with statistics of the last September, 38% of citizens in Serbia was against, while 31% were pro capital penalty. The rest of them are indefinite.

'Through those actions people are reminded that one overcome institution as capital penalty is, should be abolished. Belgrade joined this strong global movement, because 1.587 cities in 88 countries of the world, have done so, too,' Jankovic said.

After gathering in front of the fountain, people were directed to house of Ksenija Atanasijevic, where her text was read dedicated to death of Danica Milenkovic in 1930, for which the perpetrator was sentenced by capital penalty. Atanasijevic, a first woman assistant professor in Serbia, wrote: '... *Nothing can avenge this gruesome crime.*' So, the execution of the murder is actually meaningless.

Serbia-Kosovo: hand to hand

On 29th of November until 2nd of December in Leskovac, Belgrade and Novi Sad, three Albanian women visited in the name of their organizations: Kosovo Women Network, Women for women.

The encounter attended as well a representative of a Serbian organization-Hand to hand, from Novo Brdo and Women to women, from Sarajevo, too.

They spoke with women from Leskovac-Women for peace, women from Prijepolje-Women's forum, women from Krusevac-Sandglass and Women in Black from Serbia. It was a return visit, since women from Serbia have visited Kosovo in February. Kvinna till Kvinna supports this kind of study visits.

Women in Black representatives introduced them with their activities, cooperation and solidarity, with Kosovo Women Network since 1999. Part of the activities in 2013 will be a research-`What young women of Serbia and Kosovo really want?` It will be conducted by Center for Gender studies from Novi Sad and Women Studies from Pristina. The aim would be to find out the needs of young women from Serbia and Kosovo, how do they live after the war and what could be worked upon in the future.

The guests have visited Befem, too.

The assistance to asylum seekers

Women in Black took part in collecting help for the asylum seekers in Bogovadia, near Valjevo, since 22nd of December until 27th of December. The action was organized by Pescanik, Belgrade media.

In the Center for asylum are accommodated 270 refugees from Afganistan, Siria, Somalia, Erithrea, Siera Leone, Sudan and Gambia. There are 60 babies and small children among them, too. Around hundred of them for which there is no space in the Center are spending their nights outdoor. Nor food or accomodation are not provided for them so they spend their time in the woods nearby or in abandoned facilities.

Most of them were sleeping until recently in the demolished building by the road, but Serbian Orthodox Church, which has been given back the building by restitution, demanded of them to leave.



Impresum

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