

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ January/February 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

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Women in Black and Resolution 1325

Second part of the analysis

On 29th of January was agreed the continuation of the project 'Engendering of human security,' as a part of realization of UN Security Council 1325 Resolution. The research will last since January until June and four researches will be involved in this process. Until 15th of June the results of the research have to be finalized, and until 10th of July the book on results of analysis has to be finished. Biliana Brankovic will be a counselor of the researchers. Street presentations of the results of research are planned in Belgrade and Novi Sad, and citizens should answer the questions: What the security is for you? What puts security in jeopardy the most? Are the women secure in Serbia?

During the meeting of 5th of February, researches have worked upon the methodology, dates, shape and the content of the report, as well as of the book in which the report will be published.

The President does not interfere in his own work

On 31st of October, 2012. Women in Black have sent a demand to Serbian President Tomislav Nikolic to put on the agenda of the National Security Council the decision regarding signing the UN Convention on ban of cluster bombs. They also delivered with their demand 2.046 signatures of Serbian citizens who support it. On 5th of November the President provided his response: 'In accordance with the Constitution and law, the president does not have the authority within the issue which is the subject of the demand.'

Women in Black emphasized on 27th of February that his response is not in accordance with the Law on foundations of systematization of security services (law-further in the wording) because:

The authority of the National Security Council (Council-further in the wording), is to look after the national security through considering defense department issues, internal affairs, and functioning of security services (article 5, page 2, point in the law 1.)

Council members are the President of the Republic, President of the government, Minister of Defense, Minister of internal affairs, Minister of justice, Chief of staff of Serbian Army headquarter, security services directors (article 6).

The session is convened by the side of President of Republic (article 9, law department 1).

Agenda suggestion of the session is determined by the President of the Republic as well as the President of the government (article 9, law department 2).

It is added in the letter: 'Since our demand is the decision on signing the UN Convention on cluster bombs ban should be included in your agenda, we ask you to envisage for your first session and urgently the question on deciding of signing the UN Convention on cluster bombs ban.'

It is also demanded in the letter for the President to inform regarding the time of the Council session-when it will be held, and if not, Women in Black will ask for the explanation.



It is reminded in the letter too, that it is their contribution to National Action Plan conduction, for the implementation of the 1325 UN Resolution in Serbia.

Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security



Rightists offensive

Since 8th until 10th of February, Women in Black Network meeting was held in Banja Vrujci, attended by eighty guests from Kotor to Maribor. The activities of Women in Black were presented through words and graphics, covering the period since September in 2012., when was theirs last Network meeting.

It was concluded that the last year there were 32 street actions involving approximately 1.240 participants, 15 visits of the places where crimes were committed, out of which 11 were in Bosnia, together with 144 visitors. During 38 days they were monitoring trials for war crimes, also for the members of the clerical-fascist groups. Ljiljana Radovanovic spoke on solidarity, how to get closer to the victims, regardless the fact they became victims in the war or post war time, such as the execution of the guards in Topcider, or the fate of sixteen workers of Serbian Radio Television. Mother and aunt of one of the guards-Dragan Jakovljevic were present on the meeting, too.

Gordana Subotic spoke of the continuation of the analysis of the implementation of the UN Security Council 1325 Resolution-project and of the action of collecting signatures for the petition on ban of the cluster bombs and the answer of the President Tomislav Nikolic that it is not his authority for this Convention.

There was a discussion regarding `black lists` for Women in Black and similar organizations, so the help by the side of the European human rights defender was demanded. This new offensive of the rightists is thanks to allowance of the authorities. Meeting attendances concluded that deterrence, and the lack of the cooperation with media has as the result the withdrawal of activists, lack of solidarity between NGO`s, and there was a comment that there is no civil society in Kraljevo any more.

Regarding book `Geopolitics of emotions: how culture of fear, humiliation and hope shape the world` of a French author-Dominique Moissi. It was translated by Zagorka Golubovic, anthropologist from Belgrade. Slobodan Sadzakov-philosopher from Novi Sad and Lino Veljak-philosopher from Zagreb, spoke about this book.

Golubovic in the afterword of the book emphasized: `It looks like Moisi speaks to us with his book, since we are among societies which are not developed enough, subjected to depression on a long term, due to constant fears of numerous wars, our history is imbued with. And the fear is connected with the feeling of humiliation, too, so there is a question in front of Serbian citizens: will they succeed to regain the recent short term soar of hope. The author is warning it is possible only if we are capable to get rid of the burden of humiliation, and build self-confidence and self-trust.`

Foreign Affairs gives a quotation of Moisi: `The culture of hope in USA has been repressed by the culture of fear. Returning to hope USA can regain the position they have lost.`

Sadzakov said, regarding the role of emotions within geopolitical motions, that thanks to the irrationality of the emotions, they are the means of manipulation by the side of the government and the most striking example is Kosovo, and in Serbia dominant emotions are humiliation, fear and desperation.`

Veljak said it is not right when Moisi says that certain emotion culture is inherent to for certain people and territories. He added that it is a wrong thesis saying that conflict of ideologies in the previous times is now replaced by the fight for the identities, because it is a certain justification of an ethnic cleansing.

Ervina Dabizinovic, psychologist from Kotor, considers that this book favors the theory of `soil and blood,` and human emotions are the channel of manipulations. She also spoke about demonstrations of Montenegrain students and unions, as well as members of civil society and opposers during 2011. and 2012., and civil front there was exhausted due to the lack of cooperation with the institutions, which were protecting the law, as Constitutional Court did.

Veljak spoke upon the issue `Alternatives in world and in Europe` of student demonstrations in Croatia, under the title `The knowledge is not goods,` against the legislature which envisage that academic education does not depend of state budget. Students have occupied a solid part of University space and the government decided to annul temporary, for the next year, the scholarships.

Metka Rosandic from Maribor was explaining `fourth uprising of Slovenia` which took over the parole of Belgrade, since 2000., interpreted in their dialect, against mayor of Maribor, and his venality.

She started her exposure with the words of a hygienist: `The price of food determines my menu.` She also said that unorganized civil society can not supersede the political action.

Representatives of the organizations: Roma Association from Becej, Women of the South from Piro, Alert from Belgrade, Youth Club 019 from Zajecar, spoke of their everyday experiences. It was the part of the discussion `Regarding the autonomy and fellowship.`

Tamara Kaliterna have prepared for the attendants the summary of the Tribunal in Hague work, for the period between 1993. until 2013. It is said in the text, among other things, that the International Criminal Court for the ex Yugoslavia was/Hague Tribunal, was established by Security Council of United Nations, on 25th of May, 1993. Hague Tribunal was the first court on war crimes,



founded by the United Nations, as well as the first international court on war crimes after Nurnberg and Tokio. On its accusations were heads of the states, presidents, chiefs of the headquarters, internal affairs ministers. Those accusations are dealing with the crimes committed since 1991. until 2000. against members of different ethnicities in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo

and Macedonia. In total 161 persons were accused. Also, some of the achievements of this court were listed:

Hague Tribunal gave the opportunity to thousands of victims to be heard, to speak on their sufferings. Many of them have shown courage during their testimonies regarding their moving experiences. More than 4000 of witnesses have told their stories.

The Hague Tribunal cooperates with the courts in the region by forwarding the evidences and the jurisprudence, as well as knowledge, accelerating establishing of specialized courts on war crimes in the ex Yugoslavia.

It determined beyond any reasonable doubt the key facts on war crimes, which were the subject of the argue, supported by the evidences in the court, the admittance of the accused contributed to the ascertainment of the facts, and were the sources of the additional evidences which otherwise would be inaccessible.

The Tribunal of Hague made a significant progress regarding the legislative and punishing of sexual violence in wartimes-defined rape in war as a war crime.

The testimonies of the survived ones are of a crucial importance in the cases where there are just few available documented evidences, which would prove the involvement of the perpetrator.

The ascertainment of the facts regarding crimes in the ex Yugoslavia is crucial for the fight against the denial and to prevent revisionism.



The Tribunal of Hague elaborated data base with a complete jurisprudence and allows the approach to a huge amount of judicial documents, out of international procedural law, as well as criminal law.

It also specified fundamental characteristics of genocide as a criminal deed, determined that enslave and expulsion are the crimes against humanity.

It contributed a lot regarding protective measures for witnesses, in secrecy and publishing information relevant for the national security of the states.

Stasa Zajovic prepared the analysis of movements involved in the protests. The first one was 15M: Indignados, connected to peaceful demonstrations which started in the times of local elections in Spain, on 15th of May, 2011. First of all young people went to the streets and then citizens of all generations, too, boycotting the elections. PSOE, as the ruling party lost the elections together with its president Zapatero. The name of the movement is due to their disappointment with the parlia-

mentarian democracy and economic problems, especially with high percentage of unemployment among young people (around 43%).

It is consisted of people of all social background, of the citizens who consider since long time ago that the greatest problem of Spain as well as further is a political class. They agree that parliamentary democracy is in crisis, that the power of corporations and financial capital directly leads to decrease of public consumption, higher jeopardy of social rights and increasing of poverty.

Indignados are kind of direct democracy, the squares become the places of civic assembly, where they are deciding directly through plenary sessions, regarding various segments of life, there is no leader of the movement, and the leaders of parties are not allowed to speak and propagate their ideology. Besides social problems they are clearly against increasing of military expenditures, armament, militarization.

They are demanding deep changes, consider politicians to be in the hands of bankers, that contemporary democracy is not functioning, and that it has to be changed in a radical way. Other characteristics of this movement are also: nonviolence and persistence, capillarity and horizontality, on thousands of places citizens are thinking what to do. There is a support for the poor, immigrants, joint production of alternatives through collective reflection, exchange, discussion...

The movement 15th of October, 2011 means internationalization of nonviolent insurgency and solidarity. For only five months they expanded all over the world and on 15th of October they have become popular all over the world. On that very same day, protests were organized in 951 towns, within 82 countries. For the first time in the world civic initiative managed to coordinate a global action, a global response on financial crisis. Their demands are well accepted by most of the publicity, which endures great sacrifice due to unequal distribution of wealth.

People have protested in Spain in 80 cities under the slogan `United in global change` -protesting against politicians, banks, financial capital, cutting the expenditures for the education and health service, as well as against the unemployment. Mostly, demonstrations were conducted without violence, except for Rome and New York, where students and police had conflict.

Under the title: `The wonder in Marinaleda-Let capitalists pay for the crisis,` Javier Marias published an article in El Pais about two hundred activists of SAT union (working union of Andalusia), who, led by Huan Sanches Gordillo (member of union and mayor of Marinaleda, as well as deputy of United leftists parties, in the Parliament of Andalusia), took the blame for stealing, or to be more precise, expropriation in numerous supermarkets in Seville. In the name of the organizers of this action, Gordillo said: `This is an act of expropriation, let capitalists pay for the crisis. The groceries were distributed to national kitchens and to the poorest citizens of Seville. In the next few days they conducted similar action in other towns of Andalusia as well, in Kadis, and the police was getting ready to arrest them, but the citizens prevented it, and the management of the supermarkets have donated everything they were ready to `appropriate.` Every day, the number of persons, first of all union representatives but also representatives of the leftist associations, who are in solidarity with the action and rancorous with the announcement of arrests, are presenting themselves to the police. They consider `burglary` to be an act of civil disobedience against the social injustice. In accordance with the information of January 2013., due to those actions, criminal charges were

emerged, against over 500 member of union, but all of them are disobedient in front of the judge, so the court does not know what to do with them.

Marinaleda is situated 110km away from Seville, and 90km from Cordoba. Since Gordillo became mayor (1979), Marinaleda never had a single unemployed citizen. Until then 90% of the plot of ground was in hands of 2% of wealthy owners and since 1976 people in Marinaleda (3000 of them) were organized and fought everyday, so the state had to provide them with 1.200 hectares as `national property,` they made eight cooperative movements, all of the people in the city found job, the salaries were the same for all (50E per a day), and are helping eachother...To those who are coming, or do not have the apartment they are rented social flats, with the price of 15E per a month, or they are offered a loan with the same amount for the next 60 years! Since 1979 there was not a single attack on immigrants.

The mayor Gordillo (1952) is anthropologist, lives in Marinaleda with a cad. In accordance with the information since January 2013, SAT union with 20.000 members are collecting money through concerts and membership, because singers and artists who are close to them are organizing concerts for free, and in that way are helping them and supporting. Marinaleda is considered to be a `communist` or `anarchist` community. `We are inspired by the nonviolent fight of Gandi, and we will never stop to discomfort the authorities` -said Diego Canamero, SAT leader.

The draft of the celebration of 8ht of March was outlined in cooperation with Dah Theater. The topic will be labor rights of women and the title `Why the state is sleeping while my labor rights are abused.`

There were two book presentation: the presentation of writer and activist from Krusevac-Snezana Jakovljevic`s book, and promotion of new and small edition of Women in Black-`Poets`-book of Ramiz Berbic (Tuzla) and Olivera Nosov (Doljevac).

Under the title `Activists art` were documentary projections made by video-activism group, showing Women in Black movies: `White straps`, `We remember`-performans for the victims of war rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina, `Storm-we remember!` (the action was organized by Women in Black and the Association of citizens Srebrenica`s women from Tuzla), `We all are Pussy Riot`-regarding performance conducted with Act Women, `Instead of despair a creative protest`-regarding meeting between artists from Dah Theater and activists from Women in Black and women from Roma women network from Banat, who have presented their cultural heritage through dance and songs, `I admit`-the action due to International Day against fascism and antisemitism, as well as video about women`s court.



A French documentary under the title `Indignados` was presented, too. It was based upon the idea of Stefan Hessel`s essay `Rebel`. The movie follows an African immigrant searching a better life.

There was a feminist carnival, too.

The perpetrators without punishment and oblivion for the victims

Women in Black, Humanitarian Law Fund and Youth initiative on human rights marked an anniversary of the abduction in Strpce, in front of the entrance of the main railway station, on 27th of February, 2013. The manifestation started at 15.30pm. It was twentieth anniversary since 19 Serbian and Montenegrain citizens were kidnapped. The perpetrators were members of Republic Srpska Army on the railway station of Strpce (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Srpska Republic). The only convicted for this crime was Nebojsa Ranisavljevic. Serbia did not recognize to the victims the status of civilian victims of the war.

Only three of all the victims were found, it was 2009. when Halil Zupcevic corp was founded in the village Sjedaca, on the bank of Perucac lake, and remains of Rasim Coric and Jusuf Rastoder were found in the same lake in 2010.

The victims of this crime are also: Esad Kapetanovic, Ilijaz Licina, Fehim Bakija, Secko Softic, Rifet Husovic, Sead Zecevic, Ismet Babalic, Adem Alomerovic, Fikret Memetovic, Favzija Zekovic, Nijazim Kajevic, Muhedin Hanic, Safet Preljevic, Dzafer Topuzovic, Zvezdan Zulicic and Tomo Buzov.

Around thirty women and men were holding placards in front of the railway station, with the inscriptions: `We remember the crime in Strpci,` `The truth and the justice,` `The train stopped at 15.48,` `The death train 671 started from here.`

`People were kidnapped only because they had different names. And those who knew and could of



prevent it, continue spending their quiet retirements here in Belgrade. It is unpunished crime and derision to the justice`, said Stasa Zajovic from Women in Black to the journalists. She added: `There is no justice nor truth for the victims even after twenty years. The families do not have elementary right to bury their beloved ones. We will keep demanding the justice.`

During the trial against Ranisavljevic, in front of the Higher Court in Bijelo Polje, it was determined that a group of members of Visegrad squad of Republic Srpska Army, led by Milan Lukic, in the afternoon of 27th February, 1993. stopped the train on Belgrade-Bar line. After identifying the passengers, they took 18 Muslims and one Croat to the village of Prelovo. In the local primary school they searched, robbed and bitten them. Then, they tied them with wire, put them to do truck and drove toward Visegrad. In one of



the garages, Milan Lukic and Boban Indic executed them, ordering them to lay down and shooting in their direction. Ranisavljevic guarded in front of the garage. When one of them tried to escape, he wounded him, then Lukic approached and slaughtered him.

During the trial to Ranisavljevic, it was determined that kidnapping was planned whole month in advance, that state institutions were informed upon it, but nobody did anything. During the prosecution, names of other perpetrators as members of the same Army, were mentioned as present that very same day in this station, but they were not prosecuted. The Tribunal of Hague has convicted Milan Lukic on a life sentence but for the crimes against Muslims in Visegrad, not for Strpci case.

Republic Srpska do not recognize for the victims of this crime the status of civilian victims of war, because kidnapping took place on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Republic Srpska Army is not considered as the enemy army. Humanitarian Law Fund calls the authorities to change the law, first of all the law regarding disabled due to war, and after twenty years of neglecting families of the victims, and not recognizing the responsibility for the crime, express elementary responsibility and solidarity for the families of the victims as well as victims themselves.

Shame on you Rasim!

Families of the victims from Sjeverin wrote under the same title a letter to Rasim Ljajic, president of a National Council for cooperation with the Tribunal of Hague. The letter written on 21st of February, we provide you with in its integral version.

`Regarding information issued in media that the National Council for cooperation with the Tribunal of Hague, leaded by Rasim Ljajic, will allocate a significant financial and other kind of help, since March, to the accused in the Tribunal of Hague, we as families of the victims from Sjeverin, Strpci, Kukurovici, can only bespeak: `SHAME ON YOU RASIM!`

Is it really possible that Rasim Ljajic, who on every elections won, among others, votes of the families whose beloved ones have been killed by the hands of criminals in the Hague, among which is Milan Lukic as well, now sends plenty of money in order to make it easier lives of those who have slaughtered our brothers, sons and fathers. Rasim Ljajic cares for the families of those criminals, buys tickets for the airplanes, and to us who are waiting for the justice for twenty years already, and who harrow within poverty and misery, can not buy even a pair of peasant shoes. We are asking ourselves if there is more Bosniacs in this country who have voted for Rasim, and did not bow their head out of shame. Could those Bosniacs ever look in the eye us, the victims. Resign Rasim of all the functions and disappear from our lives!` -it is said at the end of the appeal which was signed in the name of the families from Sjeverin, by Sakiba Hodzic.

Judges as accomplices of the crime

Due to finalizing of the process of rehabilitation of Draza Mihailovic, Women in Black have protested in front of Belgrade court, on 22nd of February, though the court did not finish the process on that day, because the exact date of his death is unknown.

On Friday, Branko Latas, a historian and member of Association of fighters of antifa war, delivered his book to the court-`Cooperation of Draza Mihailovic and occupiers and Ustashas-1941-1945.` He managed to pronounce that Chetnics have shot 305 prisoners, arrested partisans, on 30th of November, 1941 and that Draza Mihailovic gave the instructions on 20th of December, 1941. to create ethnic clean and `Great Serbia.` He also emphasized that Pavle Đurisic informed Draza Mihailovic, on 13th of February, 1943, how Muslims have been executed in three counties of Sandzak and their houses were burnt.



In front of the court building Women in Black activists have shown the parades: 'Mihailovic-genocid-Srebrenica,' 'Antifascism is my choice,' and the Chetnics had parades: 'Proud on Cica's deeds-the whole Serbia,' holding flags with the face of Mihailovic, sign of 'Honour' movement, of Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic's faces, photos of Vojislav Seselj. Songs of 'International' song as well as 'Serbian anthem,' could have been heard, while both activists and Chetnics were singing at the same time, and it could be the illustration of the protest. On one side, there was an indifferent police cordon, and on the other side were 50 members of different rightist organizations members, Chetnics movement and opposing Radical Party.

On the other side of the street was Stasa Zajovic and twenty Women in Black activists and Communist Youth, as well. Women in Black are standing in silence and are not responding on the insults, and communists are singing their songs and from time to time exchanging shouts with rightists.

Stasa Zajovic in the name of peace organization Women in Black monitoring rehabilitation process since it began, said that crimes during nineties have been committed under the Chetnic's marks, and that rehabilitation would eventually bring severe consequences to the society.

'As antifascists and activists we have to say that there is another kind of Serbia which is antifa and nonviolent and which entails long antifa and nonviolent tradition. We think one of the preconditions for EU integrations is antifascism, as a foundation of a modern Europe,' said Zajovic.

In their statement, Women in Black have published a day ago, they say:...'rehabilitation of Mihailovic is the annulment of the antifa past of Serbian people, and an additional humiliation for the victims of the crimes which were inspired by the ideology and practice of Chetnics, during nineties. It is a deeply immoral act, Those who have made such a decision should be aware that by rehabilitation of crimes which are will not obsolete, they are becoming their accomplices.'

Women in Black have expressed their protest to Serbian jurisdiction for the fact that 'it was forbidden for the victims of some of the formations of Mihailovic's Chetnics, to express their truth in front of the court, regarding the alleged antifascism of theirs.'



'We evaluate that media focused the most in their articles, the unfounded affirmation of Chetnics movement and its commander, except in some of the cases, with, at the same time, denial of the achievements of the antifa movement, and Partizans guerilla fight, or by giving the antifa attributes to the Chetnics movement. The so called pro-chetnic's historians overcame the undoubted facts in front of the court council, on mass crimes of Chetnics movement, a collaboration with the enemy, in fighting with Partizan units, ethnic cleansing of Muslim population in Eastern Bosnia and Montenegro,

of Croatians in Bosnia and Croatia, Jews and Roma population, as well as executing families from which were Partizans. For their `truths` they were given a lots of space in the media, and by that they made the impression among the citizens that it is historian redress, that the rehabilitation of the first of villain among Chetnics is to be state affair of national interest, ` it is emphasized in the statement.

They added: `Despite of the interest of citizens, the public, especially the professional one, was almost excluded from the trial, by choosing with the purpose a small courtroom, for this process.`

`There were no superfluous questions of the court council, despite contradictories in predicates of the rehabilitation representatives, as well as their attempts to reduce the attacks on the civilians on ideological disagreement of the perpetrators and communist idea,` Women in Black stated.

They defined trial procedure as `deeply unjust` and waits for its outcome with anguish and it is justified because `how can court council bring the right decision based on this kind of process and a mere defile of historians`... and warns out on the positive attitude of the authorities toward Mihailovic and his movement, and the prove are the facts: passing the Law on equalization of Chetnics and Partizans in 2005, and Law on rehabilitation in 2006.

A letter to the President of one part of Serbia

Women in Black together with Helsinki Committee on human rights and Serbian antifa alliance, are the initiators of an open letter to the President Nikolic in which they demand of him to reject his Chetnic dukedom title publicly, which he gain in 1993 in Romania. The letter was sent on 13th of February, 2013.

`Your gesture would be of a great significance for Serbia and Serbian people and their relations with other nations, states. The basic cause of all actual difficulties of Serbia is incapability to make a decisive rapture with the darkness of the nineties, with myths and aberrations of that time, in which Serbia was in conflict with whole world. Further more, in the last couple of years it looks like Serbia is even going back to those myths and aberrations, come back on the political scene of those who were its creators and implementers, and together with them politicking of the lowest level. If this tendency is not urgently stopped, we should be afraid Serbia will be fighting with new temptations again. You are not the only one, but you are the most responsible, to confront it, make a rapture with what is a disgrace of all of us, and of what we are ashamed of. It has always been that the gesture of the first public person in the state was the example to follow, and your symbolic rapture with the past would encourage all the others. Whatever one might thing today in Serbia upon the phenomena of Chetnics movement, it will at least remain questionable and controversial, while our closest neighbors, especially during nineties, will think in the worst way. The most of the members of new-chetnics finished on various courts accused for war crimes, stigmatizing all of us. We will be any way guilty for the crimes our compatriots have committed but at least we owe to ourselves and to the others to call things with their proper names and to make a rapture once for all with what made us ashamed in front of the whole world.

The conclusion of the letter says: `And finally, President, you have said that you want to be president of all the Serbian citizens, and the Constitution obliges you the same, but as long as you got dukedom title, until you tear apart publicly your `certificate`, you can not be that. A great part of

Serbian citizens, not only those who are signing this letter, simply do not want to identify themselves with Chetnics movement, nor they want to be represented by anyone who belongs to that part of the society. The fact they did not vote for you is not the problem, division in parliamentary democracy is usual. What is a problem is a division between a President and a great part of the society regarding fundamental preferences in values of that society. It is not good for Serbia, for you, nor for those who think differently. But, in order to overcome this dissidence, it is your duty to make the first step, rejecting what makes you a president of only one part of Serbia.

The letter was also signed by: Youth initiative for human rights, group Monument, President of political council of the fourth convention of Zivan Berisavljevic in Vojvodina, Committee of lawyers for human rights, Center for cultural decontamination, `Biljana Kovacevic Vuco Fund`, Association of independent journalists of Vojvodina, and Center for Euro-Atlantic studies.

Silence on crimes for decades

We have talked on 30th of January about the `silence of Banja Luka,` here in Belgrade. The lecturer was Nada Peratovic from Center for civil courage from Zagreb. There was a projection of the movie `Back to Bosnia.` Women in Black could of found out that this Center is a feminist and free-minded association established in 2011. With the aim of promoting and incitement of civil courage, feminist activism, consecrated values of secular and evolutionary humanity and liberality, as well as consecrating and strengthening human and especially women rights, gender equality, minority rights and LGBTQ individuals. The Center actively resists to all kinds of patriarchal violence, fascism, misogyny, heterosexism, ethnocentrism, militarism, racism, xenophobia, clericalism, and strives for strengthening of culture of responsibility, facing the past, against impunity culture of war crimes, and feminist solidarity with all have been through to any kind of violence. They are cooperating with Women in Black in organizing Women`s Court for the territory of ex Yugoslavia.



Peratovic who used to live in Banja Luka, too, projected a documentary of an ex resident of Banja Luka-Sabina Vajraca, under the title `Back to Bosnia` showing the return of her and her parents to Banja Luka in summer of 2003. Sabina left the city in 1992 and through the main role (her father Emir) she tells the story of what was going on in the city since 1992 until 1995. By the end of the movie they are visiting their apartment, where still lived people who expelled them out of it.

`Everything will be fine when we get rid of the scum which have littered here,` said Radoslav Brđanin in 1992. He became a President of the government of Bosnian Serbs and he was convicted for ethnic cleansing of Muslim and Croatian population in 1992 on the territory of Autonomous region of Krajina, in the northwest of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to war crimes and crimes against humanity he is convicted on 30 years of prison in the Tribunal of Hague.

People were running out of their town humiliated, bitten up, exhausted, without job and property, in order to avoid mobilization, forced labor, imprisonment and death. There was a change of 240 toponyms, with the explanation that within a `Great Serbia` there can only be 2% of non-Serbs. Radislav Vukic, as a staff of Serbian Democratic Party announced it is forbidden for non-Serb women to give birth within Banja Luka hospital, that all the mixed marriages should be annulled and divorced and that kids of those marriages are only good for `preparing soap.`

The mosques Arnaudia and Ferhadia were destroyed in the dawn of 7th of May, 1993. Ferhadia was under UNESCO protection, for its slim minaret it was considered to be the most beautiful among mosques in the whole Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Using data from the book of Aleksandar Ravlic: `Historical papers of Banja Luka2`, she mentioned `Resoulution of courageos Muslims of Banja Luka of 1941.` Probably in November of the same year, the most prominent Muslims of Banja Luka, about seventy of them, among them a mayor of Banja Luka at that time, in the Resolution they have delivered to the Vice President of Ustasha`s government and its Minister of trade, raised their voice against Ustasha`s policy and crimes over Serbs and Jews, demanding cease of persecution and execution either based on national or on religious basis. One of the proponents of this Resolution-Muhamed Tabakovic, was executed by Chetnics during Second World War, they fastened him up for his house and burnt him.

`Execution of priests and other prominent people, without trial or conviction, shooting and exhaustion the crowd of, frequently, innocent people, women and children, persecution of masses out of their homes and beds, the whole families, giving them deadline to pack their things in one or two hours and leave, deportation in unknown direction, conversion and robbery of their property, destroying churches often with their own hands, forcing to accept Catholic faith, all of it are the facts which have astonished every decent human, and which have affected us as Muslims of this region in a tedious way. We have never expected or wanted these methods of ruling in our region. During our turbulent past, we have never used such a kind of methods, and it was not just because Islam forbids it, but because we used to believe, as we still do, that those kind of methods lead toward disruption of public order in any state and jeopardize its subsistence. We do consider that this violence must not be conducted even over the worst enemies, because what was done here, can not be found as an example in any history of any other nation,` it is written in the Resolution.

`As a former citizen of Banja Luka, I do not forget the gestures of courageous individuals who

have resisted fascism through their acts or words, but I have to raise the question why civic Banja Luka was silent-intellectual elite, writers, scientists, professors, journalists? Where was the resolution in the past years of the XX-th century? Why they are still silent on what have happened in our hometown?` -Peratovic asked.

In accordance with roster of 1991, on the territory of the north Bosnia and Herzegovina used to live 625.000 Serbs, 356.000 Muslims and 180.000 Croats. The appraisal of UNHCR say that around 719.000 of Serbs now live there, while the number of Muslims was reduced for 90% and the number of Croats for 85% In the city, in 1991. Used to live 143.079 citizens: out of which 49,03% were Serbs, 19,35% were Muslims, 15,28% were Yugoslavs, 10,98 Croats and 4,8% were other nationalities. After the war, the city was totally Serbian, through ethnic cleansing. Those Serbs who could not agree with SDS policy, have left the town. It was 20.000 of them during war. At the same time, 80.000 Muslims and Croats were expelled out of the city.

` Banja Luka faced ethnic cleansing during nineties, of the past century, those citizens of Banja Luka who highlighted loudly their Serbian nationality, as just discovered, have expelled with their words, deeds or being passive all those who were of other nationalities, worldviews, opinions. They have killed, tortured, humiliated and expelled other citizens of Banja Luka. They have robbed, destroyed and demolished Banja Luka. The citizens of Banja Luka were silent, while other citizens of Banja Luke were conducting ethnic cleansing of Benja Luka out of their neighbors in Banja Luka. They are still silent about it. As a former citizen of Banja Luka, myself, I take the right to tell two words about it,` Peratovic concluded.

Tradition as a constitutional category

The Constitutional Court of Republic of Serbia, on 7th of February, rejected as unfounded the suggestions on determination of unconstitutionality, and rejected as well the initiative for proceedings for appraise of the constitutionality of the law on churches and religious communities. The decision is regarding four proposals, of which one was provided by the side of Women in Black.

The Constitutional Court calls on European Convention for the protection of human rights and basic freedoms, but is interpreting it in a way that it ensue that detachment between the church and state does not mean the freedom of the state from the interfering of church within public affairs. Admitting that the elementary terms in the opposed law are not defined at all, in a weird logics it decides that this lack is not sufficient reason for its unconstitutionality. It is especially strange because the Constitutional Court declares the tradition as constitutional category, based on what it concludes that the division is between the religious communities on traditional and others in accordance with the Constitution.

The right to immunity of religious officials is explained with the same weird logics, which could be reduced to an attitude that the church does not jeopardize nobody and so the state should guaranty an immunity for the religious officials in exercising their curves and to protect the honor of their official robes. Financing of religious officials is justified with the fact that the state pays tributary for the health and pension insurance for some freelancers-artists, without observing anything disputable in privileges they are provided with by this financing in case they are religious officials (the logics: if it is possible for

the artists, unemployed and ill then why it would not be the right which belongs to religious officials, too).

It is not unconstitutional either to conduct religious services in the state institutions (logics: if members of some of the institutions would like an religious service in the public space, then conducting of the service is the expression of their right).

Religious education is justified by the right of the parents to breeding of their own children, but as well as by the totally wrong interpretation of the European Council Convention, that in the name of establishment of tolerance children should be provided with religious education.

The Constitutional Court confuses confessional religious education, which teaches children that only their religion is the right one, and all the others are false, with the religious culture, as it is educated in the most of democratic states, and which provides for the pupils the basic knowledge upon different religions (and not only of dominant religion within the certain country).

This instrumental comprehending of the idea of religious tolerance could not of brought any other decision of the Constitutional Court except this one, with which it is definitely legalized as the obligation of all of the citizens, to finance the dominant church, independently of the religious affiliation and their beliefs, indoctrination by its side, and the salaries of its officials.

Policemen in their heads

Women in Black guests on 22nd and 23^d of February were writers and analysts from Podgorica, who have presented their books. Lino Veljak have talked on `Altervision, Balkan postmoderna 7,` written by Milan Popovic, professor of Law Faculty in Podgorica. Also, the book of Filip Kovacevic, professor on Faculty of Political Sciences in Podgorica, under the title `Onfre in Podgorica,` was talked about. And the ensemble of Esad Kocan- `Cliff nowhere,` editor in chief of weekly news Monitor, was spoken by the side of Bojan Tonic and Tamara Kaliterna. As the reader of Monitor, but as well as the colleague-journalist since its startup, she said: `I have accepted with an anguish to participate in presentation of the book of the editor in chief of a weekly news, and with a huge dismay in order to avoid slithering in pathos or in praises. I am grateful to you Esad, for your audacity to say immediately who and for what reason runs over Montenegrain identity, and after almost one year since the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started, that Karadzic is a war criminal. And to say that social services of Montenegro provided families of the reservists with 2.000 dinars for the offense on Konavle. You have counted that at that time, for this miserable amount of money, one could of bought just a bit of milk, and family providers were bickering on Stradun. All of them with the aim to come back with gold and smoked ham, but some of them came back in horizontal position under the common flag. You have written in 1993, that within the year when the crime happened, there was no quorum in the Parliament for



the issue `Strpce` in Assembly of Montenegro. If you are on a Belgrade railway station on 27th of February, 2013, from where have started 671 death train, twenty years ago, then you will see that nobody will stop by, while we hold placards as a reminders. The phenomenology of the street near Markale, in which a granny sells chewing gums more expensive then on this damned market, because it is `dangerous` to work in this street, is an extraordinary sociological description of the whole Sarajevo, in which you have entered through the tunnel, after the journey over 4 or 5 states.

You have written a text about crime in Pakrac thirty days before the bloody Easter in Plitvice, which is counted to be the beginning of war in Croatia...I remember Sveto of yours who was selling until the war watermelons, almost as a beggar on the beach of Slano, in order to provide for his family in Montenegro, and then in 1991 he marshes in Slano, armed and on the wings of state propaganda and dies. Maybe Serbia and Montenegro have split in May 2006, but they are not apart. War crimes since 1991 until 1999 are the fraternal link. Like one handcuff for the two of arrested...I would say something more about Monitor and its school of journalism. Esad is right when he says that independent journalism in Serbia was executed in 1999. Independent media in Serbia is financed by Chetnics duke, and a `third man` of Seselj, state journalist association. When Kusturica sued Monitor, the money for the penalty was collected by para-olimpic team of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Shortly, independent journalism of Serbia fell on its knees. It was devided since 1989, expressed through Montenegrain topography, on combative of Niksic, and dove-gray of Cetinje. Now it is Budva `s- eclectic, criminal, empty, false shiny, which dazzles petit bourgeois.`

Veljak, who was presenting the books of both of the University professors, says that: `Review of all existing does not mean `spitting at all`, but to divide nice and ugly, good and evil. The task of criticism would be to find within evil the element of the truth. Not to exclude anything out of questioning, but to do it in a cautious and delicate way.`

Popovic claims that oligarchic-taycoon capitalism, associated with fascism are the constant of the post Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Montenegro does not have the capacity to jeopardize anyone, and nationalism of a great Serbia, does not have the strength to become unbearable in Montenegro. But he deduced that: `Montenegrain oligarchy could loose a lot.`

Janja Bec, sociologist, reminded on a book- `Fascism and Democracy in the Human Mind: A Bridge between Mind and Society,` of Israel W. Charny, resuming that fascist spirit hates and democratic one respects life.`

During the `second round of the panel discussion, under the title: `Montenegrain spring-the fact or the fiction?` -Popovic claimed that Montenegro has not lived for 23 years already, a democratic transfer of power. There were only seven futile civil protests in 2012, after the Parliamentary elections of the same year, and the pro-Serbian opposition joined the rest of the opposition. Radical pro-Serbian parties did not even enter the Parliament, and long lasting government was defeated in major cities.

Sasha Kovacevic, politicologist, Women in Black, ascertained that: `In Montenegro, there is an increasing number of stigmatized juveniles, empty-handed poverty who have nothing but heartiness, humiliated by those who got everything except the heartiness itself.` So she asked the guests: `Are you afraid that they will, in their searching for the answers to police torture and the repression of the authorities, defer the part of the youth in Serbia which is already recruited through schools,

churches and media, and are part of rightists, clerical-fascist organizations, which are extremely militant, and thus would be formed a wider rightists front, operating on the same platform?` She also raised the question: `Will Montenegro sneak out and instead of facing the past in achieving the justice, in accordance with neo-liberal concept which has its fundamental principle that everything can be purchased and paid for, avoid the lustration, as it already happened in some of the cases?` Sasha concluded with her last question: `How could we explain the appalling fact indeed, that even Arab spring occurred, and only Montenegrin regime, both in the region and beyond, kept its position? Does it have to do with free intellectuals of Montenegro, who even when they are free, suffer from the syndrome `policemen in the head` and auto-censorship?`

The deed of a defeated Serbia

On 19th of February, there was a discussion, organized for Serbs from Kosovo, regarding Brussels talks between Pristine and Belgrade, because Petar Miletic, as Vice President of Kosovo Assembly, said: `The most of the issues which are discussed, concern them the most.` He is an official of the Independent Liberal Party, too, the only party which is participating in government of Pristine, and is ignored by the side of Belgrade.

The discussion under the title- `Where is Kosovo today?`, was organized by German Forum of Civil Peace Service and Helsinki Committee on human rights, whose president Sonja Biserko warns of the burden with which Serbian Prime Minister departures to Brussels. He was sent off with referring to `Serbian titles` in Kosovo or clear advocacy of freezing the conflict.

While everybody waited for the fifth handling of Kosovo Prime Minister and Serbia, under the watchful eye of EU, a deputy of Liberal-Democratic Party, which insists since long time ago in changing the policy on Kosovo-Zoran Ostojic, emphasized that the essence of the changes which have occurred after the transfer of the power in Serbia, is giving up the catchword-*No recognition at any cost*, on which have insisted the previous government of Boris Tadic. Director of the Center for Foreign Policy-Aleksandra Joksimovic said: `It is important that the process goes on, the results count, not the intentions or the excitations.`

Accentuating that state attributes to Kosovo are given by NATO, as well as recognition by hundred states, including leading democracies of the world, editor of KTV Kohavision-Adriatik Kelmendi, underlines that situation in the Balkans is a result of series of Serbian defeats: `The actual Serbian borders are the result of the collapse of Serbia during wars of nineties, and the decision of various organizations and powerful states of the world. It is unchangeable reality of a New Millennium for Serbia.`

`Now, when those who were blind and deaf for human suffering, became leaders in the reconciliation process, we have to ask ourselves, which is the role of the civil society, of those who were not quiet while the crimes were happening. We do not want to be just the transmission of those who produced war during nineties, meaning: Dacic, Vucic, and the rest of them,` said Stasa Zajovic in the name of Women in Black. `Greater accountability is on our side, and it is to be in front of them. How we can build a new house, if we have not cleaned the basement out of ruins of the old one? How can we forget the state of the organized crimes, whose successor is the current government?` -concluded Stasa Zajovic.

Against the indifference

A group of independent activists supported by Women in Black and Women`s Network against violence, have organized on 14th of February, in Belgrade, performance: `Miliard against the violence over women.` Together with men who support them, at 14pm and all over the planet on the streets of their cities, they have danced all together and in a symbolic way demanded that violence has to stop immediately.

This action on Republic square coincided with the same one in 187 towns worldwide. `Dancing on the streets, squares, and in public spaces, we show to the world how strong we are and how many of us there is! Solidarity is our strength! Solidarity is our protest against the violence over women` - was the message of the action.

In accordance with UN statistics, one third of women is beaten up during their lives, raped or psychologically abused. This data leads to devastating awareness that at this very moment over milliard of women on the planet is exposed to physical or psychological violence. Since October 2012, 23 women in Serbia lost their lives due to domestic violence.



Global activist movement, V-day (Vagina, Victory and Valentine), founded by the author of `The Vagina monologues` -Eve Ensler, started campaign by the beginning of 2012- `One milliard rises,` in order to raise the voice clearly and loudly against the violence over women and girls.

It was held beside Belgrade: in Novi sad, Novi Becej, Novi Pazar, Kikinda, Krusevac, Kraljevo, Leskovac, Nis and Vlasotince, and in the region: in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Pristine, Banja Luka, Mostar, Zenica, Bijeljina, Doboj, Skoplje, Podgorica.

Support for the commissioner

Women in Black were among 21 NGO`s who have signed the statement in order to condemn campaigning lasting for days in daily news `Kurir,` which damages the reputation of the Commissioner on gender equality-Nevena Petrusic.

`As the organizations which everyday on numerous fronts, strive for the freedom of press, advocate for the freedom of journalists, it is our duty to point at every disclosure of private photos and personal records, as well as data obtained from a single source, in such a delicate circumstances, could not be subsumed under the freedom of press and have to meet the public condemnation as well as state institutions. Also, by non-disclosing of the respond of the Commissioner it is violation of the right to hear the other side, too, which is the violation of the law on public information and violation of the code of ethics of journalist`s associations, which should oblige all the media, while unauthorized disclosure of personal data might be unauthorized data processing,` it is said in the statement.

`Threat to independent institutions, which advocate human rights in Serbia, as a country in transition with a high degree of violence, is extremely dangerous, and demands clear reaction, solidarity with the target of the attack, as well as support. We remind that in the same daily news have been published photos of Danko Runic with Albanian flag, which have been placed in the context of betrayal of Serbia, initiated hue in numerous media, accusations for betrayal of Serbia, followed with threats. Journalists, and even more media editors, have to be aware of the consequences of publishing inaccurate and incomplete data, private photos, personal electronic correspondence, with which they contribute in creating the atmosphere of lynch, which may jeopardize individuals or the institution.

As we are devoted to transparent and public work of all of the institutions, we do expect that the final evaluation on these allegations will be turned back to institutions, out of media. It will help to avoid the atmosphere of lynch, and the public would be for certain introduced with all the facts. As we used to in the past, we must not be silent on any hue, any attack, any indication of the collapse of the institutions.

Expanding the mandate of the Commission

On 18th of January, Women in Black, among 25 members of civil society in Serbia, have joined the demand of CEAS-Center for Euro-Atlantic Studies from Belgrade and Zanka Stojanovic, representative of the families of workers killed in Serbian Radio-television (RTS), during NATO bombing in 1999., that International Commission to investigate murder of journalists, should investigate the death of sixteen workers of Serbian Radio-television.

CEAS and families of the victims are inviting Veran Matic, as editor in chief of B92 television, to initiate the formation of the international commission, the first Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia-Aleksandar Vucic, who was Minister of Information at the time of their death, and competent ministries to include, as the mandatory of the international commission, the case of the death of the employed in Serbian Radio-television.

Impresum

The *Women, Peace, Security* newsletter is edited by the editorial board.

Editor

Tamara Kaliterna

Layout and illustrations

Marija Vidić

Publisher: Žene u crnom

Beograd, Jug Bogdanova 18

Tel/fax 011/2623225

email: zeneucrnom@gmail.com

web: www.zeneucrnom.org

The *Women, Peace, Security* newsletter is realized with support of

