

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ July 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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Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security

Srebrenica 18 years later

Funeral of a boy and a baby

On 11th of July Women in Black have organized departure for commemoration in Potocare for the purpose of marking 18th anniversary of Srebrenica's Genocide. That very same day were buried 409 victims. In the Memorial Centre were buried in total 6.066. The oldest victim was born in 1919, the youngest one was just born. Forty four boys, in between 14 and 18 years old, were buried that day. WN parole was 'Memory and responsibility.' And the vigil was in silence and black robes.

Danica Pupovac wrote upon her departure to Potocare: 'In the foggy dawn, on 11th of July the activists are holding wreath, as a sign of sorrow-framed in a black ribbon with the inscription of white letters on it-'WN Serbia.' They are departing to Srebrenica in silence. The list of those who are travelling is long, many of them are travelling for the first time. The journey as every other, so close and so far away. Timbered green hills, a valley covered with tears, drifted with blood, retired by innocent souls. Dark and thick clouds are covering the sky, the rain starts. Drop by drop as the tears of an innocent baby 18 years ago. Heartbreak is immeasurable. Pouring rain. Burial. Caskets, 409 of them, slipping through hands, the unread string. Nobody will relocate it again!'

Ljiljana Stefanovic, activist who went to Srebrenica for the first time said: 'A journey to Srebrenica is a meeting with injured mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, and all those misfortune people who have lost their dearest ones in war madness and killings. I share their pain from the bottom of my heart and soul. The worst have happened to them and my sorrow is even greater because I know who the perpetrators are that they have not been punished. It is horrible for me that those who committed it refer to their people, patriotism and faith, and nobody asked people whether they want war and killings. It is the hardest for me as patriot and cosmopolitan. I think every punishment is lenient for those perpetrators. I stood on Republic Square with an magnificent group Women in Black who deserve grandiose respect for courage and nobleness. We stood, held placards with names of those who were killed in the most wicked way. We stood with sadness in our hearts circled by police cordons. They were here because passers by were shouting horrible things. I am grateful to beautiful Women in Black for they allowed me travel with them and feel how much are responsible perpetrators of this hideous genocide. As much as they are, guilty are those who knew what was to be done and let them selves be observers. To commit and not to commit is the equal responsibility. Police escorted us to the border of Bosnia and Herzegovina, protecting us from those who would stone us because we express our solidarity and compassion. I was horrified when I saw those graves and killed people names carved in stone and their relatives all around with hearts full of sorrow. My tears started when I saw an old woman with her daughter how shaking hands with us and expressing her gratitude and she has lost dozens of her family members. Her heart is great and soul is noble to infinity when she shook our hands so sincerely and with love, to thank us.

I think all the victims of this madness have to reconcile, to punish all the perpetrators, those who were perpetrators as well as those who just observed and approved the evil, and then they can people of good will and who have sincere love in their hearts and tolerance for other people reconcile and live as cosmopolitans` -said Stefanovic.

The traces of the past can not be erased

Five white sheets on the pavement of the main Belgrade square. Beside each of them pot with color. Barefoot woman steps into color and walks down the white sheet. From one to another they leave bloody-reddish trace. Other women and girls walk after her. Dozens of other activists hold in silence placards with names of those executed in Srebrenica`s genocide. On the other side of police cordon passers by are shouting: `Ustashas from Belgrade!`, `Why did you mess with Serbs in the first place!`

Organizers of this manifestation on the Republic Square, under the title `We will never forget genocide in Srebrenica` are Women in Black and Belgrade group Skart, Dah Theater as well as Art Clinics from Novi Sad.

`The idea is to show the trace this horrible crime has left inside of all of us`-explained Diana Milosevic one of the authors of the performance from Dah Theater. Her colleague Maja Vujovic added: `At the end you have to mirror yourself in the past, because the traces are always behind you. They are obvious here in the performance and in our society they are hidden.`

`We demand 11th of July to be proclaimed the Day of remembrance of the victims of Srebrenica and a monument for the victims` said Stasha Zajovic as coordinator of Women in Black to the journalists. `Belgrade has no capacity at the moment to be a post genocidal city. It is up to civil society and intellectual publicity to initiate all over again the issue of moral and political responsibility. It does not depend on Hague, nor criminal justice level, it is up to us. That`s why we will do it until the city starts breathing through new esthetic and moral capacity` -she concluded.

`The vigil was magnificent! The sky bristled, wind blew placards, birds were frightened, and fascists hoped for a total collapse-when suddenly it all stopped and sunshine appeared between the clouds` - it was impression of one of the activists. Ljiljana wrote: `Tonight I stood with Women in Black on the Republic Square in Belgrade for the remembrance of the victims of Srebrenica`s genocide. My tear is dedicated to them. As if part of my sorrow is unburdened, because I have been in a position to say publicly how sorry I am because such a horrible crime was committed over them.`

Sonja added to her words: `Your tear beside the tear of mother (and fathers, brothers, sisters...if they have survived the tragedy)...



There is no oblivion for the genocide in Srebrenica

In the statement regarding 18th anniversary of Srebrenica's genocide, Women in Black inform that supported by art collectives Dah Theater, Skart and Art Clinics they organized peace action 'We will never forget Srebrenica's genocide!' -10th of July, Republic Square of Belgrade, at 19.30-20.30 pm.

'Srebrenica's genocide is the most horrible crime since the Second World War in Europe. Slobodan Milosevic's regime is an accomplice of it by providing huge political, military, logistics and financial support to Republic Srpska Army. International Court of Justice set out the facts that Serbia did not prevent genocide, in 2007. Tribunal of Hague out of any reasonable doubt confirmed individual criminal responsibility of many members of Serb armed forces and political institutions which have acted in the spirit of achieving territorial project 'Great Serbia' and genocide in Srebrenica is part of it.

Dozen of civil rights organizations demand to proclaim 11th of July as a Day of remembrance of Srebrenica's genocide and to sanction by law its denial and to proclaim as criminal deed, was emphasized for the first time in 2009 and last time on 25th of June, 2013. It was not even taken in consideration by the side of the highest representatives of Serbia (President of the Republic, government, assembly). Actual authorities as well as those since 5th of October 2005, continue with denial and relativization of genocide in Srebrenica. In power of actual Serbia are the creators, executors and accomplices of policy symbolized by Milosevic. The formal meet of the EU requirements, the acts of apology and promise of president Nikolic he will kneel present just verbal outburst and cynicism toward victims, even stultify of the meaning and value of justice -it is said in the statement.

'Since for the President of the Republic and other highest representatives of Serbia, genocide is hard to pronounce, we demanded genocide in Srebrenica to be called so-genocide, and in that way they show their respect for the victims but as well citizens of Serbia who are expressing their compassion, solidarity, and responsibility toward genocide victims. Ignoring of our demands confirms the lack of political will of the actual authorities for the essential transformation of the society, creating of sustainable and just peace, neighborly relations and confidence in the region.'

Srebrenica's genocide is paradigm of all Serb crimes-committed in our name. Srebrenica is as well as Auschwitz deepest ethical problem. As long as the denial, relativization goes on, as well as the process of forgetting, humiliation of victims, their dignity and pain of the survived ones. Regardless the unacceptable and controversial last verdicts of the Tribunal of Hague, beyond any reasonable doubt huge responsibility of Serbia for war and war crimes, as well as moral and political responsibility of Serbia should be the occupation of the whole society. Moral duty to deal with those questions



of war crimes and first of all genocide in Srebrenica does not depend of international obligations nor EU standards-first of all it depends of all of us`-it is said in the statement.

In the statement of 10th of July it is reminded that this `peace action is a continuation of creation of a living monument for the victims of Srebrenica. `Moving` Srebrenica on the Republic Square of Belgrade, with 8.732 names of the genocide victims, we warn that eyes can not be shut in front of committed genocide, and that only facing it we establish political culture against impunity. At the same time we encourage dissociation of society from the committed genocide, and not only in legal terms, as well in culture, science, art, education, policy. Positioning permanent monument, Belgrade would gain status of a city which admits and is ashamed of its crimes-the status of post genocidal town.

By scene action on the Republic Square in which we use objects from our every day life (sheets, pot, water...), we express regret first of all because of killing of the people but as well for the killing of life symbols. By this act too, we repeat that executed in genocide of Srebrenica left indelible trace in our lives and that we will foster our memory on them. Compassion and solidarity with victims of genocide-crimes committed in our names we will express by leaving on the commemoration in Potocare where will be buried on 11th of July 409 remains of the victims`-it is concluded in statement.

Reminder

On 8ht of July in Sabac and next day in Loznica silent vigil in black robes was held under the title `We will never forget Srebrenica`s genocide, together with team of bicycle activists who took part in peace marsh from Belgrade to Srebrenica. Organizers were Eva Dinic, Vladimir Jevtic and Nina Djurdjevic Filipovic, in cooperation with SOS Vlasotince, Women in Black Network and Reconstruction Women`s Fund. During action leaflets about Srebrenica`s genocide were distributed. Afterwards, bicycle activists departed to Srebrenica where they joined citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their pain, on 11th of July. Action `Belgrade-Srebrenica 2013 by bicycle` was a tour driven for the first time this year. Nine of them participated from Belgrade. Journey lasts for three days and 220 km were passed over. The participants wanted to remind citizens of West Serbia and Podrinje who were frequently during war logistic support and base for various paramilitary forces which fought on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the role of Serbia in this war, especially on the fact that Serbia was declared as the responsible one for not preventing the genocide in Srebrenica. SY is not satisfied how the crimes are punished in Serbia. She said that everything is happening on formal, under the pressure and technical level. It is about empty rhetoric promises, the climate in the society did not change. Not only the research show the same attitude of the youth but on the institutional level are renewed not only rhetoric but faces of the nineties as well.`



Shame makes us human

In the premises of Human rights house on 10th of July, `Srebrenica 2013` exhibition under the title `Memory and responsibility` was opened. The exhibition was opened until 18th of July which was the date when massacre in Srebrenica ended. The organizers of this exhibition are Women in Black, Center for cultural decontamination, Committee of lawyers on human rights, Humanitarian Law Fund, Helsinki Committee for human rights.



On the ground warnings of world known writers as a specific guide for the visitors of the exhibition: `Shame is nothing less but a fundamental of being subject` -Giorgio Agamben. `How we will build a new house when previously we did not clean cellar of the old one` -Bertholt Brecht. `We can be ashamed even of being people` -Hannah Arendt. `We do not have to understand what have happened but we have to remember` -Primo Levi.

On the walls were photos with names of the victims of genocide in Srebrenica, in the middle those which remind on Women in Black and their marking of Srebrenica`s horror. In front of the exhibition hall Women in Black were delivering leaflets with statements of Bosnian women who have survived tragedy and genocide:

Nusreta Sivac: `Od 36 women 5 of my friends did not survive Omarska. Three of them were exhumed, for the two of them we are still searching. Two of them were exhumed in Bosanska Krupa in the federal part of Bosnia and Herzegovina nowadays. Women were in between 18 and 70 years old.`

Leila Mamut: `In Bosnia and Herzegovina law allows compensation only for the victims on the territory of Federation, while in Republic Srpska it is not possible, because the date has expired in 2007.`

Sabiha Husic: `The case of a woman who have died three years ago, just now the case should be finalized in front of the Bosnia and Herzegovina court. I wonder how many of them have left this world without facing at least minimum of justice.`

Kada Hotic: `I have called my son when he distanced for ten meters. He turned back and I said to him: `Good luck,` then he waved to me and left. It was the last time I have seen him.`

Kada Hotic: `Perpetrators who have not faced justice by people, there is God, and their conscience will persecute them, they will not be able to sleep over the crime.`

Munira Subasic: `Perisic went to kill on somebody`s else threshold. It looks as if those who defended themselves are more guilty the those who were attacking.`

D.D. protected witness whose 14 year old child was taken by Serb soldiers-during trial to Radislav Krstic: `My child taken from my hands of me I am dreaming. He brings to me flowers and says: `Mother, I have come`, and I grab him and ask: `Where were you my son?` and he says: `I was in Vlasenica all this time!` ..So, I would ask Mr Krstic if he knows he might be alive somewhere to inform me.`

Haira Catic: `Across the church which is being build in Potocare near the place where Bosnian people were murdered and burnt was a mass tomb. This church is useless. There are no Serbs there.`

Fadila Ademovic: `They have killed my two sons, two brother in law and my ant`s sons, too.`



Zifa Bumbulovic: `I lost the only son of mine, my brothers, their sons, my brother in law, his son and my son in law. All have gone.`

Fata Orlovic: `Mine as mine, and this church is like a killer! It can never be a church, not even for the beautiful Allah...Nor good or genuine Serb can consider it so...It is a killer not a church.`

Nura Alispahic who have seen her sons murder recorded: `I ask him didn`t you leave and he says he was but then he remembered he did not kiss me and therefore he came back. He is wearing his brother pants, he took with him when he started from Srebrenica. And sneakers...They shooting at him. I see him falling...With my own eyes I see how the enemy kills my child...`

Fatima Klempic Dautbasic: `In 1995 I did not even cared for food. We were drinking water out of the stream. It was bloody, filthy with leaves, with sludge, but still it was the water.`

Hava Muhic, mother of the baby born in the night of 12-13th of July, 1995, identified in mass tomb in 2012: `Now my wish is to bury my child in Potocare. I want her buried beside my husband, two brothers in law and my father in law. All of them are there, so my little girl will be, too.`

Nezira Sulejmanovic, who have lost two sons in 1995: `Beside everything that happened, I have decided to come back. Here is the best place for me. If the dead ones have returned, if they remains did so, why would not those who are alive? Nobody comes to ask: `Mother, how are you?`

Hatidza Mehmedovic: `I embrace three firs, my Almir, Azmir and Abdulah and I dream of them, call them, look for them. If they have come to my dream then I say: `Your mother kisses you-did you came back for real or I am dreaming? And they say: `No, we came back indeed! You are not dreaming mother! And then I wake up and there is no one again.`

Hava, Kozarac village: `Tell me you `hero`, where are my sons? Where is my Mustafa? My Omer? And where are Fadil and Adil? What about my Rasim and Selim? Could you sleep with my six opened wounded?`

N.N. little girl: `Near the fountain was a house whose walls were all covered with blood. A crucified man was beside it. This scene I can not forget as long as I live.`

N.N. mother of four children: `I packed some bread for my children. My husband watched them eating and said: `Eat, because might be we will never eat again together! In Potocare by the end of a meadow, slaughtered women and men are lying. Beside them, one chetnic who slaughters one cow. A woman came to me and then he turned his head and said: `What are you looking at? This cow is bleeding the same way as those who are laying.`



N.N. mother of four children: `When we arrived in Tisca, out of the barrack went out dozen of chetnics. They cursed us and said: `How many you are, we will not slaughter all of you until New Year!`

N.N. born in 1966: `My older sister died running to catch airplane food packages. She was killed by one of those...I have passed behind one truck and saw four chetnics sitting and drinking. Two women were passing by. One of them was pregnant. One of the chetnics asked angry where they have been, and they have shown the bottle with water. The other one stood up and took pregnant woman for the hair, he ripped her stomach with the knife and took out of it two babies. She shouted: `Save me mother!` But she spoke no longer. We jumped over the ropes and started running toward the bus. While we ran I noticed I have crossed over the hand of an slaughtered man.`

N.N. from Bajramovici village: `With my husband and three sons in between 20 and 24 years old, I have started through woods toward Tuzla. Upon our arrival in Tisca, chetnics have taken my two wounded sons away. Seeing them being taken, I fainted, so I haven`t seen where. When I waken I started with other women and children toward Kladanj hoping at least my third son and my husband will reach free territory and Tuzla. My hopes were in vain. Since then I don`t know anything about them.`

N.N.: `My husband was taken with other men, even 12 year boys, on 13th of July, 1995 at 3 pm. At the same time on the pavement, one baby was born. Many people hanged themselves. But most of them were taken away by chetnics. Girls have been taken away and raped.`

Dzenita Mulabdic: `Our dead ones are buried and together with them we are buried though alive.`

Sabaheta Fejzic: `They have taken my child from by force. I could not even cry but my child did. I will never forget his huge tears falling down his white cheeks and out of his dark, olive color, eyes. When I saw I can not do anything any more, I kneeled and bagged them to kill me. One of them prepared the rifle, and I thought: `Thank God, they will kill, everything is well`, but then the other one said: `Why would you kill Muslim woman`. Now it is ten years since I have started



searching for the destiny of my husband and my kid. Indeed, it has been ten years since, and I do not know will I ever find at least one smallest part of his body.'

Suhra Malic: 'I have lost two sons, three brothers in law, two sisters in law, and my sister burnt out inside Bratunac municipality, in her own house and other women, lots of them too. I do not know their names, but my sister Secir Vlasija knows. Our sons, husbands, brothers, fathers and fathers in law, as well as brothers in law, were never perpetrators. No they were not. That is why I say this proudly. I encourage myself. I am having a hard time, but I want to prove what's mine-that I am someone and somebody.'

Shahida: 'One day my brother came to me and brought one liter of milk. A woman who has cow gave him. We have not seen milk for months. Then he told me he would like to ask me something and I saw it's embarrassing for him. He wanted to visit one of our neighbors she had a baby. The baby was crying for days, due to hunger. Then she would pour cold water in the bottle trying to feed the baby with it. Not having anything else. He asked if he could of taken half of it to the baby. I remembered this baby who had big head, hands and legs, and its body was transparent so you could of seen through...Just, it was alive then.'

Tahira: 'Nobody knew what was going on. The people heard chetnics are coming. The city was bombed. Wounded people were laying on the streets. It was a chaos.'

Mensura Osmovic: 'I heard a guy screaming: 'Mother do not surrender me! don't let slaughters kill me!'

Tifa Jakubovic: ''In the casket nb 538 is my husband Mustafa. In 537 my son Sadet. He was 21 when he disappeared. Grandchild Amra says they have found her father Amir Salkic who will be buried next year.'



Afterwrds in front of Serbian Presidency at 12 until 13 pm we were standing in black and in silence with a demand 'Proclaim 11th of July a Day of remembrance for genocide in Srebrenica.'

Those who were standing could have been seen by President Nikolic and deputies. The campaign has started in 2009. But there is no answer yet. The organizers are Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Humanitarian Law Fund, Helsinki Human Rights Committee of Serbia, Youth Initiative for human rights, Committee of lawyers for human rights, and Women in Black. This initiative joined 32 civil rights organizations.

The gap between Serbia and Europe

In an open letter addressed to President Nikolic, government and the assembly it is demanded to proclaim 11th of July as a Day of remembrance of Srebrenica`s genocide. It is stated in the letter that this is the initiative of Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Humanitarian Law Fund, Helsinki Human Rights Committee of Serbia, Youth Initiative for human rights, Committee of lawyers for human rights, and Women in Black in 2009, mentioned organizations have on 15th of January, after European Parliament adopted Resolution for 11th of July-Day of remembrance of Srebrenica`s genocide, have started it. Since February 2009 until July of 2010, every month there were vigils on each of 11th in front of the Presidency and public addressing to the President by reading the letter with the same demand. Though the initiative was supported by 100 NGO`s, but the President disregarded. Serbian Assembly adopted Declaration on 31st of March, 2010, regarding in order to condemned crimes in Srebrenica, but did not fulfill the main demand.

`Taking into consideration the statement of President Nikolic: `I am on my knees for it and I ask you to pardon Serbia, for the crime which was committed. I apologize for any of the crimes committed in the name of our state and people, by any individual` given for the television of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on 26th of April, 2013 and having in our mind decision of the International Court of justice and International Criminal Court for the ex Yugoslavia, with which out of any doubt was determined that genocide was committed in Srebrenica, we would like to believe that it is not just fulfilling the obligation under the international pressure, or pragmatic act and patriotic `sacrifice` without concrete measures, which follow such a significant statement, but of a serious attempt of rapture with burden of crime from the past, based on respect for dignity of Srebrenica victims.`

It is added in the letter: `We want to believe that Judicial institutions of Serbian state and in the first place you as a President respect decisions of international courts, because the denial, breakup and relativization of the genocide would constitute an abuse of the decisions of the international judicial institutions, and to show in practice that you do care for good-neighborly relations, just peace and confidence in the region and that you have moral capacity to call the genocide in Srebrenica as such and in that way respect the victims but as well your citizens who have expressed their compassion, solidarity, responsibility for the victims of genocide.`

It is concluded in the letter: `We, civil society organizations confirm our readiness to contribute to the rule of law and deep transformation of the society. To our opinion it considers punishment of the crime and dissociation of the society from it. In legal, culture, education, science, art. Therefore we demand 11th of July to be proclaimed as a Day of remembrance of Srebrenica`s genocide and denial to be prohibited by law, by declaring it as offense. We are assure you wil fulfill our demands and act as



the responsible state representative. The letter is signed by Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Humanitarian Law Fund, Helsinki Human Rights Committee of Serbia, Youth Initiative for human rights, Committee of lawyers for human rights, and Women in Black. The letter joined as well Girls alternative centre-Krusevac, Women`s space-Nis, Association of citizens Ravangrad-Sombor, Sandglass- Krusevac, The voice of difference-Belgrade, Lesbian organization from Novi Sad, Incest Trauma Centre-Belgrade, Roma women network from Banat-Novı Becej, Women for peace-Leskovac, Centre for EuroAtlantic studies-Belgrade, Centre for civil resources development-Nis, Centre for protection of human rights and tolerance Polimlje-Prijepolje, Civil rights defenders-Belgrade, Civic action-Pancevo, Civil forum-Novı Pazar, Cultural Centre Damad-Novı Pazar, Sandglass-Belgrade, Sandzak board for protection of human rights and freedoms-Novı Pazar, Belgrade Centre for human rights-Belgrade, Kris- human rights board -Nis, SOS telephone for women and children victims of violence-Vlasotince, Independent women centre-Dimitrovgrad, Regional minority centre-Belgrade, Association Brod for women human rights-Slavonski Brod, Centre for women war victims Rosa-Zagreb, Anima-Kotor, Bonafide-Pljevlja, Women`s room-Centre for sexual rights-Nis, Women`s Network-Croatia, National Council for gender equality-Macedonia, INFOTEKA, Women`s informative and documentation centre-Zenica.`

Days of the most severe suffering

On 24th of July, representatives of prisoners of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Women in Black, Humanitarian Law Fund, Youth initiative for human rights, visited Cajetina (Serbia), concentration camp Sljivovica for Bosnians from Zepa. In 2010 Serbian authorities allowed visiting the camp. It was planned to visit Mitrovo Polje concentration camp, but the authorities did not allow it in 2013 neither.

Members of Ministry of Internal Affairs in Serbia, kept imprisoned in the camp since August 1995 until April 1996 couple of hundreds of Bosnians from Zepa and near it, who have tried to find shelter in Serbia after the fall of Zepa, and have crossed Drina river. Dozens of cases of the torture of policemen over Bosnian men were noted down and unhuman treatments in those concentration camps, and five of them succumbed to injuries: Ahmo Krlic, Meho Jahic, Secan Dizdarevic, Nazif Krlic, and a man from Srebrenica whose identity was not possible to determine.

Women in Black, Humanitarian Law Fund, Youth initiative for human rights have called the institutions to mark those two camps so the injustice done to the prisoners is recognized. In December of 2012 First Basic Court declared Serbian state guilty for unhuman treatment of the policemen over prisoners Mujo Vatrés in Mitrovo Polje, and determined 500.000 dinars compensation.

Humanitarian Law Fund initiated a claim in front of Prosecution for war crimes in Belgrade of Republic of Serbia on 6th of September 2011 against 52 members of Serbian Ministry for internal affairs, State security and Yugoslav Army, for war crimes committed over 850 prisoners in those camps. Due to inadequate investigation Humanitarian Law Fund on 4 of April 2013 filed a constitutional complaint in front of the Serbian Constitutional Court in the name of 78 Bosnian men, ex prisoners and family members killed in there. More than 800 Bosnian civilians and soldiers ran away being afraid for their lives, crossing the Drina river toward Serbia and were arrested by border guards of Yugoslav Army.

Ex prisoners have laid the wreath on 24th of July in the name of remembrance for the killed in the prison. Senad Jusufbegovic and Amir Omerspahic visited the place where, as they said, have suffered the

most in their lives. When arrested Jusufbegovic was 17 years old. `They were bringing us at guard position near Jagosnica. There we were threatened and molested, provoked. Serbian authorities say it was private centre but it was not. We were starved to death, our moving was restricted, we used to get one can for six people,` -he remembered. `But the greatest pain of all is Serbia`s un readiness to admit what was happening here.`



`We should see progress regarding admittance of crimes, such as the statement of Nikolic who said if it is needed he will kneel. One day in some way there have to be admittance. Without it there is no reconciliation, future` -said Ljiljana Radovanovic in name of Women in Black expressing hope that Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic will be punished in the Tribunal of Hague which would be contribution to reconciliation between people.

Ljiljana Radovanovic

The cause of humiliation

Before entering concentration camp Sljivovica we met prisoners who survived out of the Association of victims and witnesses of the genocide-Senad Jusufbegovic and Amir Omerspahic represented Network for peace building from Sarajevo. First we laid the wreath and then representatives of two mentioned associations.

`He was 17 years old boy when he came on 31st of July 1995 in concentration camp Sljivovica. He stayed there for two days. They took his statement, finger prints and took his photography. They were beating him to admit that Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina committed crimes over Serb population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Then he was taken to concentration camp Mitrovo Polje where he stayed until January of 1996.

Amir Omerspahic before he cam to the place where the barracks used to be started shaking and talking (the barracks were burnt in the mean time). He was 21 when he passed the concentration camp`s procedure in Sljivovica on 2nd of August, 1995. They have tortured them in various ways but mostly by starving and beating. Watching the football game played by policemen they had to cheer as loud as possible, divided in two groups-Crvena Zvezda and Partizan. They two colored carried stones above the barracks to make the arm with four S letters. At night, they had to sing chetnic`s songs to amuse policemen. When they wanted to go to a bathroom out of usual order, they had to ask for the permit and cross themselves. He showed us the room which was burnt where 30 persons slept on the floor of concrete. There were 400 people in the camp at that time. He showed us barrack where were 42 men under the suspicion to be involved in Bosnian Army and they were especially tortured and beaten. His memories were coming to him and he did not stop talking. All this left on me the impression of feeling shame, as well as regret for belonging to the people who did it in my name.

Ljiljana Radovanovic

Visit to Bela Reka

Five members of Women in Black visited the rural community of Bela Reka on July 27th as a commemoration for the death of 21 years old Dragan Jakovljevic who along with another guardsman (Drazen Milovanovic) was killed by the Serbian army in peace, in Belgrade. Women in Black visited his grave with his family. His death was written off as `collateral damage` in 2005, for what was later revealed as death due to accidentally spotting a war criminal Ratko Mladic that was being hidden in the barrack that he and Drazen were assigned to guard. The death of these two young men has lead Women in Black to announce solidarity with both the Jakovljavic and Milovanovic family and to continue to provide support during their`s search for justice. In Bela Reka where the Jakovljevic family lives, Women in Black had arranged not only a visit to Dragan`s burial grounds but also a meeting with the family to arrange our next steps to justice. Women in Black had agreed to help to organize and archive all media that the family has been collecting since 2005 before Ocotber 5th which will be the eight anniversary of Dragan`s death. This process is integral to the collection of evidence and documentation for the upcoming court dates which are still to be announced.

This visit to the Jakovljevic`s family farm is key part of the grieving process, showing solidarity with the family but also it ties in directly with Maternal Peace politics (evidenced by WIB`s relationship with Dragan`s mother Rosa) and feminist ethics of care-elements that are important to the process of feminist access to justice.

Sofia Vrbaski

Helpless victims

During discussion `ICTY controversies` on 3d of July in the premises of Women in Black, Stasha Zajovic moderated and ascertained that five acquittals of this Court introduce new legal standards, which not only in accordance with opinion of legal experts but some of Hague judges as well, deny every sense of justice:that by repeal of command responsibility it provides amnesty of the states which have planned and helped ethnic cleansing in neighboring countries, and denies the character of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina as led in between peoples, it legitimize war and military interventions for the interest of the military industry complex, global and regional militarism. During debate was said too, that last sentences are weakening International Criminal Court for ex Yugoslavia and that they are offensive. The participants consider the role of the Hague Tribunal to be reconciliation through determined individual responsibilities, regardless last controversial verdicts of the Hague Tribunal. Beyond any doubt huge criminal responsibility of Serbia was determined for war and war crimes and with moral and political one whole society should deal with. The greatest contribution of the Tribunal in Hague are testimonies which are to be left for the future generations, because archives were established for the transformation of the education system, because Head of the State Slobodan Milosevic was extradited to the Tribunal, and because if there were not Hague Tribunal no one would be convicted so far for war crimes in any of the states of ex Yugoslavia. It is concluded that convictions based on command responsibility are avoided for it would mean that the responsibility of the states should be determined too, but as well that war victims remain unprotected.

Stasha Zajovic

Women in Black Armenia

By the end of 2010, during women encounter organized by Kvinna Till Kvinna from Sweden, the whole day was dedicated for lecturing on Women in Black from Belgrade within educational program. There, I met for the first time Nona Arutshyan. Also, great number of women from various women organizations of south Caucasus, Russia, South Osetia and Abhasia, attended as well.

It is significant to emphasize that meeting took place in Istanbul. Data which is unavoidable in this story.

During 2011 we were informed that women have organized them selves and that in this long distanced country exist Women in Black. Those were the most astonishing news, I have received in 2011, an information which accelerates the heartbeat.

Two days of June (27th and 28^{ht}) 2013, on their invitation, lasted the educational program for the future Women in Black coordinators from all the regions. Within the same program, during the first day, were included issues: international movement of Women in Black with review on its chronology, ethical principles, joint encounters, solidarity actions, short and long term aims, achievements and conclusions.

Within this part, which is crucial, future young coordinators shared their short stories of their first vigils. It was rather precious and touchy, listening to their experiences. At times, memories awakened, faces of our dearest women and men, and of those who are no longer with us. Our first step smiles, and daring, a bit floppy but very sincere attempts. Some victories, magnificent and unforgettable, noted down by alternative history and indelible within our memories...

Second day of lecturing related to local Network of Women in Black including vision, mission, priorities and actual context. Our farewell was envisaged after the second part. They were traveling to distant regions of their beautiful country and we had to greet each other. It meant new start to me, that is how I have explained it to myself, because the exchange of our energy and ideas, partly extenuated this moment.



Prvo stajanje Žuc Jermenija, Trg Šarl Aznavur, Jerevan, 3.12.2011.

Meeting with representatives of local NGO`s who wanted to be informed about us, was the third and last in the program. It was significant because we exchanged our info upon the actual moment in Serbia and Armenia, but also regarding our joint actions and encounters of the future.

On this occasion, I want to express my admiration for the audacity and courage, especially for *Nona* who dared and stepped across that red line which eternally separates. To express my gratitude to my dear friends: Ana, Anush and Leda, who warmly welcomed and hosted me.

I want to express my gratefulness to all young coordinators of Women in Black of Armenia in coming days, for they have listened to me carefully and comprehended me. But most of all for the new hope in their eyes and slight impatience which loomed.

Leaving *Hayastan* and long dreamed and unattainable Erevan of my perpetual contemplations, looking at the peaks of *Ararat the fearless*, as a symbol of spitefulness, fight for the truth, justice and liberty, I realized this is the right time, and not any other of the earlier, out of countless in which I desired us to meet.

As for a long, long time...I wished a new homeland, after endless journeys and a refusal of docking in any ones harbor.

('My homeland is wherever are sky and birds and human tears' -Rosa Luxembourg)

Sasha Kovacevic

The power of wondering

In the premises of the Independent journalists association of Serbia (NUNS), on 10th of July the book of a friend and Women in Black activist Tamara Kaliterna was promoted under the title 'False history repeaters.' It is a collection of her articles since 1990 until 2013.

Upon the book have spoken-Jelka Jovanovic, NUNS Vice President, Phd Lino Veljak from Zagreb University, Nedim Sejdinovic as editor of the edition, and the author herself. Nastasja Radovic, editor of 'Republic' gazette. The book was published by Women in Black and IP Cenzura from Novi Sad.

Key note speaker Nastasja Radovic wants to introduce readers with two chapters of this book-the article in the beginning and author's biography in the end. Those two are of the same importance. In her biography she already refers us to her ambitions, life priorities. She is a person with great dynamics of life, she says: 'In Rijeka gymnasium the seaside invoked us, since April I did not go to school, and with 365 unjustified school hours, I lost the right to attend any of school in Rijeka, after my second grade. It is important to emphasize that the authors of her book are as well those who have refused to publish it and other two coauthors are Kada Hotic from Srebrenica who said on 6th of April, 2000: 'And I still long for my Samir ...those are severe wounded' and Zanka Stojanovic whose son was killed during bombing of Serbian Radio Television as well as Women in Black with whom she was visited places of the crimes committed in our names.

Lino Veljak said: 'The book recently published deserves much more attention of the publicity, though I am assured it will happen in the near future. The book which covers newspaper articles written for 23 years, in its content has four chapters: 'Unlearned lessons,' 'One policy's autopsy,' 'The silence cheats the oblivion,' 'No compassion nor admittance.' I choose randomly couple of titles-'A fairy tale for little children,' 'Seselj's wanderings,' 'Meat factory and aBalcan butcher,' 'Sinful conception of Serbia,' 'Babushka and Batiushka,' 'Ours and theirs and theirs and ours,' and at the end is an article on 1968 demonstrations when one of the participants was wounded, Tamara herself.

'Murder with forethought and intent' is an article published in December of 2011, and refers to nineties when Aleksandar Vucic used to work for the S channel at Pale, where was the head office

of Radovan Karadzic, so he says: 'If you kill one Serb we will 100 of Muslims.' That's what he said as a deputy, while Serbs from Bosnia and those from Serbia were exterminating already captured Muslims of Srebrenica during long nine days until they have reached the number of 8372. No one of other 249 deputies his colleagues did not leave the assembly in outrage. Vucic ran to be Information Minister, and now he ran for Belgrade mayor, which is pleading to be European Capital for 2020.

So, the word is about a book which will not be liked by many, because its author is always the vizard of the truth! This book will be remembered as an answer-what was happening and which is the role of Serbia in the evil which occurred in the region and within. It is important because it is in information-documentary form. The articles refer to two periods:since the decay of Yugoslavia until 5th of October and since then until now. None of the texts are a newspaper report. All of them are the expression of profound and relentless reflection of the events and their protagonists, relations of interest and other kind, causes and consequences, as well as with tinge of emotion and sympathy with the victims.

Jelka Jovanovic said: 'It is not usual that somebody of my age feels ashamed, but when I read her book I felt so for what was happening to us and what we have forgotten, we strive even more to forget. Luckily, she resisted! What have touched me the most was her firsthand witnessing, analytical one of our time being, our profession. Most of the articles she could not publish anywhere else. Even in independent media because they were consisted of truth. It is testimony of her gift, she is not journalist and chronicler but an analyst. I thank her for it. The last article was published in 'Monitor' in June, I would extract quotes out of the book: 'When one depart anywhere from Belgrade follows the route of the crime committed in 1991. The road to Srebrenica leads over mass tombs of Albanians in Batajnica, then those which were buried under the high way, then Hrtkovci where there are no more Croats, and the bus station is called 'Seseljgrad,' then Sid were murderers of six boys of Srebrenica were blessed. Bratunac-older then Kosovo battle, from there straight toward Potocare through St. Sava's street then through Nemanjina...' The second quotation: 'On the old road of Novi Sad ten kilometers from Belgrade surrounded with impetus of Coca Cola, shops, shopping malls, less the kilometer away is a polygon of Special antiterrorist unit of Serbian Internal Affairs Ministry, the biggest tomb of Kosova Albanians. Nobody knows what's there. Which depth they have reached?' Third quotation of the text 'There is no peace after war' is the best one on PTSP. It could be treasure trove of information. I demand of NUNS and publishers to put it on our portals in electronic form' -she concluded.

Nedim Sejdinovic admitted he suggested Tamara four or five years ago to make a selection of her articles and prepare them for the book which would be published by 'Cenzura' from Novi Sad. She was skeptical. Mentioning that lately there are books of journalists who collect the pile of their articles, which look as useless scrapbooks. She was right in a way. We find editions whose only sense is the fact they were published



and because it will be found in their bibliography and their CV. The book is always investment in the future, and many of them will lose their value then. Though, even today we could live without them. She, however, underpriced the value of her articles and I'm glad she changed her mind in the meantime. We are in the time and space where the reviews are easily pronounced by the people of 'general practice.' Rare are people who want to offer the evidences, dominates noise of excessive words. There are no many on the other side, who collect facts conscientiously, with the fear it will all be lost in a deafening fog and hope once it will mean something to somebody.

In Serbia and the region under the investigative journalism are considered revealing and analysis of financial malfeasances, criminal groups, collusion between politics and crime. But even this one very important journalism appears only in traces thanks to efforts of some of the organizations and individuals, less to media. It is forgotten that in this dishonor we live in, preceded original crime, horrible produced war and what followed it: genocide, mass crimes, embitter and madness together with enormous robbery...Without investigative journalism on war of nineties, nationalist hysteria which does not ends, without those topics present in main stream media, we will be in the same circle forever, not distinguishing causes and consequences.

Do we know, all of us in here any of the journalists, at least five of them in Serbia, who are dealing with war crimes in a systematic way, with nineties in general, nationalism? I know only one, her name is Tamara Kaliterna. Maybe I am wrong, you tell me.

Couple of days ago I more went through then I was reading a book of one of our colleagues. Those articles made in a long period of time collected in the book, witness upon wrong assessments and assumptions and only at some of the places you can get complete information, but it is known before already from somewhere. What have stopped me reading it was my awareness that it has no value for me in any way and I doubt it will for historians either. An immortalized empty speech. Articles referring to nineties sound as nothing weird have happened in the environment of ours and among us. Dried up and inane topics.

On the contrary, the book of Tamara, sincerely speaking, regarding the same period, interested me, not only I was thirsty for their actuality but they touched me. They witness with info and data we have forgotten or we did not know them in the first place. It is clear they are result of a serious effort and devotion. Without empty words and reliably. Sometimes bitter and caustic, sometimes with humor, always sincere. She is not the only one creditable for it, but our society as well for not solving non of the thorough dilemmas until now days, not even seriously discussing it.

All in one collected, her articles send strong message, her intention is more clear and her attitudes melt in whole. Being through articles, slowly accustomed to reductive sophisticated sentence of hers, the reader will easier recognize her literary gift. Her bitter irony which reaches sarcasm sometimes, some mild cynicism, or simple humor which cheers you up. Metaphor and allusion, games of words, but will stop from time to time to sigh, because the pain and injustice lasting decades which she constantly refers to. Is it usual in newspaper articles? Yes but in the best ones which are so rare in our media, and each day rarer. Literary value is connected to investigative work.

I would draw your attention to two reports form Hague Tribunal since January 2002, published in 'Boulevard' of Novi Sad, and they are in this book. It was the time, to remind you, when we still

believed this Tribunal will bring justice, settle accounts for horrible crimes which took our dreams and hopes. Those two are primarily literary and reveal her sense for details, in which devil hides himself usually.

`S.M. has black socks and shiny black shoes. They are shiny, no way to make them dirty. First he totters constantly with his left leg, and by the fingers of his right hand he clicks on the table. Then he puts one leg across the other, so his knees jut over the table, which is not allowed in accordance with Pozarevac`s etiquettes but is in accordance with salons of Karl May which have extended to the Wright-Patterson base in Ohio, when in 1995 he contributed the most to success of the negotiations which have brought him where he is now. Mostly he prefers two poses-or he is comfortably reclining into the chair, or his spine is slightly bowed, so it is not clear which is the right anatomic position of S.M. after his position as fetus. The audience is more of his interest than those who have taken his future in their hands. He shoots Amanpur with his eyes. The guards for his safety are shifting every three hours, but he is stable as a stone.`

I am sure she will not be offended, and I hope neither will you, for one more intimacy. She is very picky, cautious in her selecting of things and people who are around her. Sometimes even exaggerates with it, might be. Like, as I have said to her, postmodern nun. As she detests the accretion of the objects, the same is with the words. None of them is in her articles. She economizes carefully considering words should not be `erupted` out of our selves because it hides instead of revealing. When I write an article and feel it suffers of word inflation, when it is beaten by the side of phrases, then I ask her to read it. She removes it very precisely. Something like general and annual cleaning of our apartment when old and hackneyed, useless objects which take up too much space and our energy are being tossed away.

Indexes of names, carefully done by our colleague Dusko Medic. Even to those who have not been reading her articles so far, in one glance show the value of the book. On the one side, it witnesses that author did not flinch to call and page with right name. It was never too popular here. On the other side, it reveals that behind this one, relatively small number of selected articles out of the huge number of articles Tamara published during 23 years, is arduous work, but also that book has a historiographical value. `Old acquaintances` are represented the most within indexes of names: Milosevic, Karadzic, Mladic, Sselj, Dobrica Cosic, Franjo Tudjman...but also Paul Klee, Milan Kundera, Ismet Mujezinovic, Josip Juraja Strosmajer, Elie Wiesel, Hannah Arendt, and other artists, writers, philosophers...It shows its authors well education and interest in lots of directions. And our journalism lacks both of them. Usual place for our journalists are the pubs and not the library.

This book testifies one more consistency, and it is a continuous critical deflection from the authorities, political parties and those who possess power. She considers with right it is to be a duty of a journalist and intellectual and this book confirms she has never betrayed this idea of hers. Not for a moment she did not kneel and transformed into a spokesman for the elite. And today? Today we are witnesses that even those media we would never expect from, became passionate defenders of the government and the participants of a new dictatorship in birth. Tamara was frequently lonely due to her consistency.

Mark Twain once said, this is a paraphrase: `As older as we become it is harder for us to differentiate

things which have happened of those which did not. At the end, we remember only those which did not. Serbia today, yesterday, tomorrow, remembers the false and poorly imagined history, and all over again, as a bad pupil, falls in this trap. False history sends wrong messages.'

Books like hers, her persistence all of those years and of journalists and intellectuals, maybe will at least-we hope, contribute that the crime we live and lobotomy which follows after it, is not covered with oblivion in the far away future. We must not lose the hope because such a kind of man is just a shadow ready for everything.



When we are talking about friends I will tell that some of my friends, among them Tamara as well, frequently are more strongly against societal and political deviation than I am. Not because we have different attitudes regarding its deleterious effects, but probably because my temper is different. It is incredible how their power of wondering remained fresh, youthful. I have to admit I was losing it from time to time. My friends teach me wondering again. I am grateful to them for it. Those whose blade have deadened, left whole hope behind them. Tamara did not and I am grateful for it' -Sejdicinovic concluded.

The author expressed the gratitude to those who have presented her book and greeted others who were present. 'The book has many authors. First of all I want to thank Belgrade librarians who, even they were forbidden to, provided me with literature to take home with me, newspaper documentarians who remembered better than I do event I written about, colleagues who provoked me with their superficially articles to search deeper upon the same issue, public figures of Serbian political estrada-Plavsic, Cosic, Nikolic, Karadzic, Draskovic and many others, who thought the same since the very beginning though they were speaking differently, depending on the political situation. I would like to express my gratefulness to Editor in Chief of 'Nedjelja' news from Sarajevo, who excluded in 1991 his grandfather Aleksa Santic out of the anthology of Serbian poets, with the explanation he was poet of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am grateful to Women in Black who took me in Srebrenica and Ovcaru where I have witnessed that sorrow does not change the color with the change of seasons. I am also grateful to Gordana Papic in Tanjug Press Center who used to send by teleprinter my articles to Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, risking her position. Sabina, employed in telephone exchange in Sarajevo who did even the impossible to connect me with my interlocutors during war, in 1992. Biljana Kovacevic Vuco who encouraged me as a lawyer. I did not forget anybody, though I did not mention all of them. I would like to thank especially Slobodan Milosevic and Aleksandar Vucic. The first one, after I would slap him, he would turn the other cheek as well, by his deeds. As well as his communist lady. The other one, Vucic who punished me with his information law and financial penalty, but morally he comforted me to be on the right side, because what to expect of one law whose author is constant right hand of Chetnic's duke. My gratitude for all those who will read, without them those words would be in vain. And to Independent journalists association of Serbia (NUNS) who supported me not only today.

I think as Serbia does

Ivana Ramic, judge from Belgrade, on 12th of July adjudicated 1389 Movement leader-Misa Vacic. He is guilty because he was spreading ideas which `advocate discrimination against LGBT population, acted in state of mental accountability, aware of criminal deed and also want to commit it.` She declared the accused one guilty as charged-causing and spreading racial and any other discrimination, illegal possession of a gun, preventing officer on duty. He is convicted for all the three criminal deeds on a single sentence of one year probation.

The prosecutor said in the closure: `I consider proved that the accused one committed criminal deeds he is charged for, because he fought against homosexuality in Serbia. 1389 Movement campaign `Protect your child` has an aim discrimination of LGBT persons in Serbia. He is, spreading by open hate speech advocated discriminatory ideas. The integral act of the accused is in the contrary with European Convention on human rights protection, Law against discrimination of Republic of Serbia, and Constitution of of Republic of Serbia.

Aleksandar Djordjevic said: `Homosexuality is not universal value. In Iran and Sudan capital sentence is envisaged.`

In the closure Vacic emphasized: `After four years of trial I express my satisfaction for it came to its end and I wonder why the Prosecution did not give up of media`s lynch against me. It is clear since the beginning that this is a political process. It is clear since the beginning that this is political process. I hope that with old Serbian tradition of Dusan`s canon court will prosecute without fear of NGO`s which consider to be stronger than judiciary and state. This trial is for verbal act of my opinion. This will be sentence for 99% of Serbian citizenship, because they think the same way.`

Milos Urosevic

Kneeling before the court injustice

Women in Black are among eight organizations of civil society who have expressed on 12th of July: `Regret and deep concern over the decision of Misha Vacić who was sentenced to one year probation for spreading racial and other discrimination (article 387. Criminal Code), illegal possession of firearms and explosives (article 387. Criminal Code) and preventing officer on duty (article 322. Criminal Code).`

`We consider we believe that this Court's decision could potentially have far-reaching consequences for the fight against discrimination and the empowerment of LGBT people in Serbia. Also, I believe that this court ruling ignored the realization of both general and special prevention of discrimination. Since Court as mitigation circumstance took the fact Vacic was young man at that time and `has not been convicted in the past,` we remind he committed severe criminal deeds as an adult. Unfortunately, often we see that young people commit severe criminal deeds so state has to send clear message that discrimination and violence will not be tolerated, by more serious penalty policy as well as prevention and promotion of tolerance. Bearing in mind that the Court decided to adjudicate

Vacic by minimal penalty, which has been even reduced through unification and then proclaimed as probation, and the fact that himself considers it to be the same as acquittal, it is clear the verdict is shameful and that the Court once more kneeled in front of injustice. By this verdict the Court expressed impossibility to protect in efficient and in accordance with law its own citizens of violence demonstrated in many aspect of life in Serbia, therefore we expect of the Prosecution to complain on penalty within statutory deadline.`

In Serbian civil organization`s statement it is reminded that the ` indictment against Vacic was prepared in 2009 and that 26 of appointed court hearings were delayed 14 times, so the whole process lasted for four years. He was charged, among other, that before the announced Pride Parade in September 2009, he presented and was spreading ideas which advocate discrimination against LGBT population, by giving statements in public of threatening content against LGBT population, and thus directly called for a lynch of those persons and advocated discrimination.

For criminal deed `racial and other discrimination` Criminal code envisaged penalty of 3 months and up to three years, for criminal deed of `illegal possession of weapons and explosive materials` Criminal code envisaged penalty of 6 months to 5 years of prison,` it is emphasized in the statement.

Milos Urosevic

The mosque is not important

Stasa, Ljilja and Milos attended the closure of the trial in the name of Women in Black on 17th of July for burning of Bairakli mosque in Belgrade on 17th of March, 2004. The process against ten of the accused is ended by a verdict with which three of the accused are sentenced and seven of them deliberated.

Three of them have been accused for severe injuries of two policemen. Therefore Rade Radisavljevic was sentenced on 8, Bojan Hrvat in 4, and Milos Radisavljevic 4 months.

Court Council considers not to be proven that the accused participated in burning of Bairakli mosque. `Only the presence of the accused on the spot is not enough for the verdict` - said judge Ivana Ramic.

In the night of 17th of March 2004, when the mosque was set on fire, the damage was more than 23 million of dinars. Approximately 7000 of priceless books burned, all the furniture, four vehicles of the Islam community and out of the cash register 50.000 E were taken.

In this judgement the most disputable is that the accused are not convicted for burning the mosque but for the attack on policemen. In this way the whole case is reduced on conflict between police and hooligans.



It is why out of the accusation was eliminated the violence based on national and religious hatred. Also, in this was it was amnesty of the state and its officials, thanks to whose support and silent approval criminal deeds were committed.

The message of this verdict is that the state continually refuses to condemn the crimes over others and different and in that way the climate of impunity spreads. On the eve of this Belgrade verdict, on the facade of the mosque in Nis were graffiti, inscriptions with name of Ratko Mladic, Hague indictee. It confirms un readiness of the state for the reforms but also codification of hatred and violence. We consider punishment for injured policemen also inappropriately low with which is undermined the rule of law and questions if the state has the monopoly over force apparatus.

Milos Urosevic

Impresum

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