

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ March 2013



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

The editorial board

Content

Women in Black and 1325 Resolution

Women's Balance of 1325 Resolution	3
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Activities of Women in Black on demilitarization of security

We will not allow them to intimidate us	6
Marsh through the center of Belgrade	8
Such a big word `home`	10
Under the drains of tanks	10
Women solidarity beyond borders	11
Not one should survive	12
Women pay the revolution price	13
Leftists without equality	14

Women in Black and Resolution 1325



Women's Balance of 1325 Resolution

Canadian mission to the UN in November 2012 presented the review of the implementation of 1325 UN Resolution, in 16 countries worldwide: Afganistan, Burundi, Columbia, DR of the Congo, Fiji, Liberia, Nepal, Holland, Filipini, Rwanda, Siera Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, South Sudan, Sweden and Uganda. The emphasis was on 'women review' regarding specificities of some of the countries, recommendations connected to trends which occur in those countries, so the members of Global women network, peace builders (GNWP) and their partners could use those reviews.

GNWP reports that the indicators of 1325 Resolution implementation are refined in accordance with thematic clusters for the analysis of their regression or progress. Previous sixteen indicators were reduced on 11-poles: 'participation,' 'prevention,' 'protection,' 'promotion.'

We have provided for you in this Newsletter a digest of 1325 Resolution implementation in Afganistan, Liberia, Spain.

Afganistan

Indicator 8: number and nature of regulations/recommendations of the Commission for the truth and reconciliation, as well as other forums of transitional justice, regarding women`s rights.

In Afganistan there is no Commission for the truth and reconciliation, nor any other forum of transitional justice, regarding women`s rights. The implementation of the Program for peace and reintegration in Afganistan, which means reintegration of rebels into communities is the only thing done by the side of Afganistan, regarding transitional justice. This program reintegrates former fighters through financial incentives.

Afganistan Independent commission on human rights made a report on human rights abuse, based on the demand of Afganistan people, that all those who have committed it against civilians should be prosecuted. However, Hamid Karzai`s government protects by the amnesty law all of those who have committed crimes during time of mujahideens.

Indicator 9: The percentage of women who receive financial help during process of conflict resolution.

Reintegration program which is monitored by Program for peace and reintegration in Afganistan-gets funding since 2010 in order to pay financial incentives for the former fighters who live in poverty.

Indicator 11a: disbursed funds for Women, peace, security projects as well as programs for civil society organizations.

Afganistan civil society organizations are mostly working on projects financed by foreign organizations, UN or embassies, with the aim to raise awareness and capacity buildings, but they are mostly based on short terms, and a weak alimony.

Indicator 11b: government funds for the projects

National Action Plan for Afghanistan women, is financed out of budget, support to Program for peace and reintegration for inclusion of the gender, capacity building of gender and human rights, as well as women protection. There is a support for the clusters of peace and justice of the Program of national priorities, implementation of law on suppressing the violence over women, capacity fostering of judiciary department and creating National Action Plan, under the sponsorship of Ministry of foreign affairs. The amounts for these programs are not known.

Liberia

Indicator 2: The percentage of women among negotiators

Liberian women have never been direct signatories or mediators of the numerous peace agreements during civil war but during recent poll with 247 examinees regarding the process of the implementation of 1325 Resolution-242 of them agreed in various levels, that engagement of women in peace building is positive. Liberian civil war have started in 1989 and it lasted for more then 14 years. Women peace movement started in 2003 when women involved in WIPNET-Peace building Network, within the WANEP-West African Peace building Network initiated active protest and defense of peace. During peace negotiations, in Akra women have physically suppressed negotiators to leave the building until they reach the agreement. During the elections of 2011 when it seemed that the country is threatened with violence and state security is falling down, women were again peace advocates.

Indicator 8: number and nature of regulations/recommendations of the Commission for the truth and reconciliation, as well as other forums of transitional justice, regarding women`s rights.

Almost three years ago the mandatory of the Commission expired. Some of the deputies as well as members of the authorities were against its recommendations-who were involved in the conflicts. The Commission have ascertained that `all the parties within the armed conflict have violated, humiliated, abused, taunted women`s rights and have committed gender based violence including rape, sexual slavery, forced marriages, and other dehumanizing acts.` Beside trials and lustration, the Commission recommended reparations, especially for children and women. It focused in efficient way on the involvement of women and gender in the process of taking interviews, statements and documentation. Out of 198 of those who took the statements by the side of victims, 100 were women. Out of 22.000 of statements which were taken, 47% were given by women, while more then 200 of them have testified in front of the Commission.

Indicator 11a: appropriated and allocated funding for civil society organizations programs and Women Peace Security projects

Besides reports on 50.000US\$ which were allocated by Ministry of gender and development to the network of civil society organizations in August of 2012, there are no other information on financing of civil society organizations working on implementation of 1325 Resolution. We should emphasize that most of civil society organizations are very precautious in revealing the sources of their funding in front of those they consider to be `outsiders.`

Indicator 11b: appropriated and allocated funding of the government for the programs and projects of Women Peace Security

Except of 6.000.000US\$ received from (SIDA), a Swedish agency for international cooperative development, the government invests negligible amount in the project of Women Peace Security.

Spain

The country is not involved in the armed conflict except for the tensions regarding movement for the independence of Bask. It has couple of action plans, which are connected to gender: the plan on prevention of gender based violence among migrants, and a plan against sexual trafficking and exploitation. There are two national action plans relating to 1325 Resolution implementation: the plan of the government since 2007 and plan `Women and peace building in Spanish cooperation.`

Indicator 1: index of participation of women in the government

In 2010 there were 46,67% of women within Spanish government

Indicator 3: index of participation of women in the sector of judiciary and security

Women have joined army of Spain for the first time in 1988. Within judiciary there is 47,95% of women.

Indicator 4: the percentage of women within peacekeeping missions.

There are approximately 8% of them, though in the `Atlanta` operation there are 10.5% of them.

Indicator 7: the number of victims of sexual and gender based violence.

Ministry of health, social issues and equality, published the report regarding violence over women. In 2009 there were 55 crimes such as that, which is the least since 2003. Among victims, 29,1% were under thirty years old, 29,1% were between 31 and 40, while 29,1% were between 41 and 64. The most of the perpetrators were between 41-60 (30,9%), 20 of them were older then 64. In the percentage of 56,4% of the victims, were in the intimate relations with the perpetrators, while 43,6% were executed by the side of their ex partners.

Indicator 13: programs for the soldiers and policemen, connected to 1325 and 1820 Resolution, of the international instruments for human rights and the international humanitarian law.

The military personnel of Spain involved in peacekeeping missions, was trained in accordance with 1325 Resolution. The Spain was part of ad-hoc working groups which dealt with relations between 1325 Resolution and NATO, and it resulted through directive `Inclusion of 1325 Resolution and gender perspective within the command structure of NATO, including the measures of protection during armed conflict.` Spanish military personnel trains regarding human rights and international law, and there is a special training on the terrain.

Indicator 14: allocation of funding for civil society organizations (including women groups) for Women Peace Security projects.

Between 2007 and 2011, Spanish agency for the international cooperation and development (AE-

CID), supported initiatives for increasing involvement of women in deciding on peace and security, including prevention and conflict resolution. Civil society organizations in Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Irak, Bosnia and Herzegovina, received helped, coordinated by local Women to women NGO`s in Kosovo, Columbia, Equador, Brazil and Peru.

In 2008, a Fund on gender equality was established together with UNIFEM, in which Spanish government invested 50.000.000E.

(the whole report is available at <http://www.gnwp.org/what-we-do/policy-advocacy/in-country-and-global-monitoring-of-united-nations-security-council-resolution-1325>).

II Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security



We will not allow them to intimidate us

Due to International Day against racism, Week of European struggle against racism and Month of Roma women activism, Women in Black, on 21st of March, on their protest in front of the University of Philosophy in Belgrade, indicated jeopardy in which are the minorities in Serbia. The organizers of the protest wanted to remind the representatives of the authorities in Serbia on racism which is obvious, first of all, in relation to Roma population.

`Disempowered and impoverish citizenship, is divided in systematic way and all those who are different are the threat and enemies. The elite is using fear, in the times of crisis, in order to destroy empathy and solidarity, create distance among people and crash down any sign of civil resistance,` it was said during the protest.

`Despite of international and local documents which are supposed suppress the racial discrimination, Roma people still are the poorest and widely discriminated and totally excluded from our society,` said Women in Black emphasizing that state does not offer alternative solutions and misuses money which is allocated to improve the status of Roma people, and there is no change.

Stasa Zajovic, Women in Black coordinator said: `The racial and ethnic distances are worryingly high, especially when it comes to Roma people, then toward Muslims, and other minorities which are having different style of life, or different sexual orientation-as LGBT community.`

She said that Women in Black cooperate with those who are targeted by fascist organizations `but are tolerated by the side of the state.`

`There is a low level of acceptance, meaning high level of rejection of asylum seekers from Africa

and Asia in Serbia. It shows cynical position of the institutions and the whole society, because asylum seekers are stigmatized as those who violate the society itself` -evaluated Zajovic and added that in rapid process of increasing fascism, the level of freedom is reduced and the right to differences is denied.

Couple of dozens of women, held the placards in various colors with the inscriptions: `We will not let them defeat us!`, `We resist racism! And we exclaim clearly: Stop racism!`

The protest lasted for one hour and was held under downpour escorted by couple of dozens of policemen.

`The unemployment of Roma population is very high, between 90 and 95%...The discrimination is actual in all spheres of life-during the process of employment, health services, schooling. The researches show that Roma population as societal group are to `white population` the least acceptable for marriage. Within the climate of general impunity, racial based violence on the streets is more and more frequent,` -it was said in the statement.

In 1966, UN General Assembly decided to mark 12st of March as the International Day on elimination of all types of racial discrimination, as a symbol of remembrance of 69 persons who have protested against Apartheid and therefore were executed on 21st of March, 1960 in South Africa.

Women in Black representatives travelled from Belgrade to Novi Becej due to 21st of March, in order to express solidarity with Roma population. Members of Roma Women Network waited for them. They have organized together the march against racism through the center of the city, it was ice storm. For the local population it was a significant day and most of them have joined the march exclaiming: `We all are Roma people,` `Stop racism and discrimination,` `Against racism, resist to racism.` After the march in the local center was a performance of the artist collective Dah Theater, performed without words, only with music and sentences recorded previously, which speak about stereotypes against Roma population in Serbia. The actors created portrays with their bodies, not with words, Roma population meets in their everyday lives.

Sofia Vrbaski



March through the center of Belgrade

Women in Black Network activists, as well as Reconstruction Fund activists, walked through the central streets of Belgrade in a protest march, on 8th of March, pointing at abusing of women labor rights of women in Serbia. They were joined by the activists of the association for the support to LGBT population, holding rainbow flags.

Activists out of twenty Serbian cities walked through the streets of Belgrade holding placards: `Why the state is a sleep while my labor rights are violated,` `The law is a dead letter on a paper, I want to earn for a living,` as well as inscriptions of the Labor Law articles, which were abused.

A group of women was reading testimonies on the abuse of their labor rights, near Russian Czar. `With this march we accuse the state for creating laws which are a dead letter on a paper, does not respects the basic labor rights of women and puts them in the position of slaves,` -said one of the organizers of this march, Stasa Zajovic.

One of the stories goes like this: `My name is mirjana and I come from Novi Becej. In one of the private bakeries I saw in the window insertion on which it was written: `Employee needed` ...Since I have finished three years of high school I applied for a job. Owner of the bakery, when I have explained why I came in the first place, did not ask me anything about my capabilities or experience, he said immediately that this position is filled out. I mentioned that the insertion is still in the window, but he said he has forgotten to take it off, and that he will do it immediately. However, I want to the bakery tomorrow, again, and I saw that the insertion is still there. I addressed to the Roma association from Novi Becej and I told them my experience in my pursuit for a job. The `white` activist went to the bakery, saying to the owner that she wants to talk on her employment. He asked



her regarding the working experience, expressed his positive attitude and asked when she could start working.

‘There are so many women who used to work in textile factories and are older than 50, so the state has to pay attention, because nobody wants to employ them and they are not ready for the retirement, yet,’ -emphasized Svetlana Saric, Women in Black Network activist.

With a long, violet canvas, they are wrapped, expressing their solidarity and unity.

They were followed by drummers during march. Certain article’s quotations of law which protect labor rights were on the placards.

The manifestation finished in the Center for cultural decontamination through homage dedicated to the activists, by report from the terrain regarding abuse of labor rights, and through a performance organized by SOS Center from Vlasotince. Sasha Kovacevic spoke on symbolism of a violet color, and Adriana Zaharievic and Marijana Stojcic on the continuity of women’s resistance.

All the participants in the Center for cultural decontamination pointed out that women work more, though they are paid less. They are among the first on the lists for dismissal from work and they are among the last for the employment. And as it was concluded during the program: regulations which forbid discrimination are a ‘dead letter on the paper.’

Women’s Day was established during second International Conference of women-socialists, on March the 8th in Copenhagen and the initiator was Clara Zetkin, a leader of a labor movement. This holiday is marked as a remembrance on demonstrations of women workers in Chicago, USA, who demanded a shorter operate time, better salaries and a right to vote, in 1909, and in the march on the streets of New York, 15.000 of women were involved.



Such a big word `home`

Women in Black representatives visited Zvornik on 28th of March, where they met with Bosnian women and mothers who have lost, each of them, at least one man from their family during the war. They, as victims of war, organize meeting twice a week.

While we were introducing each other, we understood they bear a heavy burden and there is no way for them to lessen the pain caused by war. They have spoken not only about themselves but as well about their family members they have lost, of their burnt homes, and of life they will never be able to live again. During the conversation came up the joint issues, for women from both sides of Drina river. Those were: the unemployment, deficiency of societal help and support, feeling of safety, losses-both the physical kind of until the loss of health, passiveness, and the feelings of guilty, regret, depression and crisis.

It could be seen that the feeling of fellowship and `home` are the most important in their lives. This word means to them the return to normal life, to shelter and security.

Interlocutors debated how they could cooperate within this feminist and antimilitary frame, in order to show to the publicity, that women instead of politicians are capable for peacebuilding.

We, as visitors, were served with a traditional Bosnian dinner-homemade food. Violeta distributed Women in Black literature and posters, and women of Zvornik raised the questions regarding the ethical principles of Women in Black, as well as regarding political and evaluative platform, and actions of ours.

The whole day, we were creating the experience of solidarity, of each of us, both from Bosnia and from Serbia.

By the end of this day, it was obvious are two groups will work as one.

Sofia Vrbaski

Under the drains of tanks

On 15th of March, in Tresnjevac of Vojvodina, there was a working meeting of five Women in Black representatives and five representatives of this local community, which was very active in organizing nonviolent resistance against mobilization of 1992 and creation of Zitser Republic...

During meeting, we spoke on the significance of our regular meetings and the importance of their involvement in the feminist debate in May. We agreed, that on 10th of May, when it will be the anniversary of Tresnjevac rebellion, we will organize a projection of ZDF television movie regarding this event, as well as the contacts between Women in Black and rebels.

Women in Black of Belgrade, have published in 2007 a reminder, under the title: `Remembrance of antiwar resistance-memory as a civil responsibility/Tresnjevac-May of 1992-May of 2007.`

In this way, they wanted to express their deepest respect, admiration, and solidarity with inhabitants of Tresnjevac, for their civil courage and disobedience to a criminal regime.

In the village of Tresnjevac, Backa, near Kanjiza, there was an action against mobilization on 10th of May, in 1992. Women from the village, decided to resist jointly against the shunt of their sons, husbands, fathers to the battle fields. The employed in the local health center, have organized a peaceful meeting, during which have spoken: Nenad Canak, Andras Agoston, Bela Corba. Afterwards women have decided to organize their lives around pizzeria Zvitsler. The very same afternoon, 92 tanks have surrounded the village and the tank drains were directed to Tresnjevac. The gathered people demanded: the termination of the mobilization, the return of the mobilized to their homes, to abolish the deserters, and to establish the League of Peace.

The food for the demonstrators was arriving from all the parts of Vojvodina, and in the evenings, they were visited by politicians and artists. They have established a Spiritual Republic of Zitsler. It was a community of `all who seek for peace, without borders, territory, properties, in which citizens enjoy their rights without limits and the limit is the unlimited right of the other.`

They have proclaimed the Constitution, as well, they elected the Presidency, ambassador and human rights board. The representatives interchanged each month. The first ambassador was a composer, who introduced himself as an `owner of his own songs.`

The emblem of this `Spiritual Republic` was a billiard-triangle, with a specialty of `Zitsler`-pizza, in the middle. The anthem was a `Bolero` them of Ravel, there is no flag, and members are allowed to speak or write in the language of their own choice. The permanent action started, under the parole: `The word is our only weapon.` Soon, deserters from Temerin, Senta, Ada, Moravica and Mali Idjos, joined them. The action lasted for 72 days and federal army retreated.

Women in Black were in solidarity with nonviolent rebel of Tresnjevac since it began. They have held two international meetings, supported by the inhabitants of Tresnjevac, (1993 and 1995), numerous seminars and workshops. During first Meeting of women`s solidarity, held between 18-20th of July, 1992, inhabitants of Tresnjevac provide their testimonies.

Women solidarity beyond borders

On the public presentation of Women`s Court-feminist approach to justice, in Presevo, on 25th of March, 21 women took part. From Presevo, it was attended by women, local activists from Women`s Forum, political parties, and by the side of Women in Black, the attendants were activists from Leskovac, Vlasotince and Belgrade.

The participants from Presevo, are well educated: doctors, professors, scientists and economists. Except one of them, the rest are of Albanian nationality. The language was not an obstacle, they understood each other perfectly. The meeting was held in more than a pleasant atmosphere. In a confident, warm atmosphere, with honest wishes to continue cooperation. Joint actions were envisaged, both with Women in Black Network and with activists from Leskovac and Vlasotince, and women from Presevo.

Local women spoke on domestic violence, patriarchal mentality within the community which suppresses them to speak about it publicly, on injustice by the side of the state, on limits of the institutional justice, and injustice relations on the power positions, globally.

All of them agreed that women`s solidarity beyond ethnic borders and divisions is very important, a` help among women.

Not one should survive

As a continuance of the trial for the crime in Kosovo village Cuska/Qushk, where 44 Albanians were executed, for the crime in Lubenic/Lybeniq, Pavljan/Pavlan, where there were 11 and Zahacu/Zahaqu, where there were 27 victims, witnesses: Besim Huskaj (Huskay), Amrus Uksinaj (Ukshinay), and Sadik Jahmurati, they were questioned by video link from Pristina/Prishtine in Belgrade Court since 25th until 27th of March. Nine of the members of Serbian criminal formations are in front of the court.

Amrus Ukshinay told that a `severe crime occurred` on 1st of April, 1999 in the village of Lubenic. `Two days earlier we were warned by Serbs from the village that there will be a massacre. Early in the morning, police and army appeared and then `Jackals` group as well. They gave us fifteen minutes to leave the village. We took women and children and went on the main road. They let us go with them toward Decani/Decan, when we heard repeater gunfire. Out of fear we did not avert, but we knew what have happened. That very same day, 51 persons were executed near mosque, and 11 survived.`

Besim Huskay explained: `On 1st of April, 1999 in Lubenic village, Serbian policemen and soldiers committed massacre. In the morning, huge military forces appeared in the village and started throwing us out of our houses. We were all civilians: kids, women and elderly people. We were not armed. We thought they are going to expel us to Albania. We did not even anticipated what is there for us. Women and children were divided from men. Men were grouped at one place. Children were screaming, women were crying. Uniformed people were shooting in the air, in order to frighten us. Near mosque, Dejan Bulatovic asked us if we knew that his brother was kidnapped out of the train, by UCK, in 1998. We said it should not have happened and it`s not good that it did. Then one soldier told to another one: `Come on, what are you waiting for? Finish it.` Then he shouted and cursed and started shooting all of us. At that moment I fling myself down. I was injured in the leg and stomach. I pretended to be dead. Then, they started burning the houses. I heard when one of them said to the other: `Go and check if there are survived ones, not one should survive`. Then, he approached us, shooting each of men who showed by any sign that they are alive. He approached me as well and put his leg down on my neck. I kept my breath and tried not to show by any sign that I am alive. When they departed, I stood up and went to the woods, where I stayed until the night. My brother and 11 members of my family were killed the same day.`

Sadik Jahmurati testified: `On 1st of April, 1999, in the village of Lubenic, Serbian military and police came and ordered us to leave our houses and gather in the center of the village. Near the mosque men were divided from women and children. They were told they are leaving to Albania, while we were held. Then the `Dead` appeared and demanded arms from us. Adem Haradinaj said we gave in arms back in 1998. Then he was shot. Dejan Bulatovic asked us if we knew that his brother was kidnapped out of the train, by UCK, in 1998 and someone else said: `Come on, what are you waiting for? Finish it.` Someone cursed and then we could of heard bursts, so we fell down. I was injured. One of the soldiers was checking afterwards if anyone survived, he shot in the head everyone who showed any sign of being alive. When they left, we, who have survived, went to the woods. A twenty

years old boy who was severely injured, died. My father, two uncles, my uncle's son, and my two nephews were killed that very same day.'

Milos Urosevic

Women pay the revolution price

Natasa Lambic, in the name of Women in Black, Borka Pavicevic (Center for cultural decontamination) and dr. Dubravka Stojanovic (University of Philosophy, Belgrade), as well as Maria Dudic, took part in a debate of 'Serbian atheists' association: 'Misogyny as a connection between religions,' on 8th of March, in Belgrade.

We provide you with passages of Lambic's presentation under the title: 'Feminist responses on religious fundamentalism.'

She says that 'religion influences women's lives, no matter if they are or they are not religious. In the name of a woman her rights are abused. The principle of a biologically based differences justifies gender stereotypes, which provide men with the feeling of superiority, and it leads to discrimination of women and violence over them...The church transfers certain value system into the whole society, and then, we, as women, internalize it as servility, silence, invisibility.'

Speaking on experiences of activists who participated in Arab spring, she said, that Egyptian activists for women human rights, are facing now with reactionary political movements and tendencies and increasing gender based violence. Since November 2011 until March 2013, there were at least twenty cases of rape, and women are paying revolution price with their bodies. NAZRA feminist group warned in February, 2013 on the context of violence: political actors operate within patriarchal and class societal reality.

It is not much better in the case of developed countries. Feminists in USA who incline secularism (Equality Now, PATH, Pandagon, Skepchick, ect) try to bate the influence of conservatives in creation of state politics, especially in the sphere of women reproductive rights. A group Religious rights engrafted 916 of amendments which damage women reproductive rights. The most rigorous laws on abortion, are in Ireland and Malta, when we talk of Europe.



She evaluated that in Serbia, under the influence of clericalism, which operates in conjunction with nationalism, the society is oriented on 'tradition' which emphasize family values. There is no awareness yet, that violence over women is human rights abuse.

'Retraditionalization, clericalism and theocratization of the state have led to fundamentalism which implies hatred and dehumanization of other/different, of all those who think differently, and to anti-Western attitude, xenophobia. Secular character of society is necessary to preclude religious influenced laws and societal climate on peoples lives. Women in Black are since they were established, members of international and regional networks of women solidarity against fundamentalism-Wom-

en Global Network for reproductive rights (WGNNRR), Women Against Fundamentalisms (WAF), Secularism Is A Woman Issue (SIAWI) and Women Living Under Muslim Law (WLUML).`

Leftists without equality

Zagreb University, Philosophy professor-Lino Veljak spoke on 13th of March in the premises of Women in Black in Belgrade, regarding phenomena-`Left and Right.` He says those are relative terms but it does not mean that relativism is justified:racism and antiracism are not the same, fascism and antifascism can not be relative, equity and violence are not the same either..

He explained that left and right could be explained in two ways:in the scale of continuance, (modeled on chromatic scale, from ultra-violet until infra-red) or in a more appropriate way, helped by tetragon which is consisted of crossing of liberty and its antithesis-authoritarian with equality and its anti-thesis, the inequality. He emphasized that equality may not mean or does not have to mean-egalitarianism.

There are four, elementary forms of political left:the authoritarian one (bolshevism, Stalinism), non-authoritarian left, whose under-types are democratic socialism, social-democracy, anarchism, pro-free right (liberalism of different forms), authoritarian right (Franco-ism, fascism, Nazism).

He mentioned that ideology and rhetoric frequently dissemble those differences, as it was rhetoric of equality in the time of National-socialist labor Party led by Hitler, calling on values of social-democracy in neo-liberally oriented, nominally socialist parties of the west.

It seems to be that the concept of equality and social justice within authoritarian, nominally leftists regime, in the most of the cases was a cover for establishing of actual inequalities, and a confusion is additionally produced by the ideologies regarding the `end of ideology,` in accordance which the difference between left and right, in political sense, is outdated, he concluded.

Impresum

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

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