

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ November 2011.



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

Chapters

I Women in Black and Resolution 1325

Conference on human rights defenders	3
Distorted image in the publicity	3
The silence over women`s suffering	4

II Women in Black`s activities in demilitarisation of security

Political Council and Multi-sectoral coordinating body are formed	6
Belgrade fashism 2011.	7
Serbian crystal nights	8
Munich bear halls	9
Vukovar-three stories	10
Silent publicity	10
Shameful past	10
The execution of children	11
The superiority of the moral law	14
The judge is waiting	14
One more instance of discrimination	15
A different power is possible	15

III Experiences from the world

Snagged On The Contradiction	
NATO, UNSC Resolution 1325, and Feminist Responses	16

IV Announcement of events

25

Women in Black and the Resolution 1325



Conference on human rights defenders

Distorted image in the public

Human rights defenders in Serbia are exposed to violence, attacks by media and it is the obligation of the state to investigate those threats and the violence they endure. State actions should be public and efficient, said the attendants during the Conference on human rights defenders, on 1st of November in Belgrade. Thomas Moore, Deputy Chief of OESC mission in Serbia, said on the Conference. *‘Toward the national politics on human rights defenders’*: *‘Protection of human rights defenders is a precondition for the respect and protection of human rights’*. The Conference was organized by OESC, UN, YUCOM and Serbian government. Permanent UN coordinator in Serbia, William Infante, said that courts in Serbia should solve those cases of attacks on human rights defenders, more efficiently and faster. *‘It is necessary to change the image of human rights defenders. They are threatened and state institutions dealing with the protection of human rights, are attacked. ‘He also added that it is commendable that numerous laws upon human rights be adopted, but there is yet so much to do. ‘Serbia is often on the list of the states which need the arbitration of The Human Rights Court in Strasbourg’, Infante said. Director of the Center for Human Rights in Belgrade, Vojin Dimitrijević said that attacks on human rights defenders by media is a specificum for Serbian culture, as well as for some other cultures. He said: ‘They are represented as ‘snippersnappers’ and weird persons, who are protecting the rights of the others, because they do not know what else to do with themselves. When it does not work that way, then they are attacked because of the financial help they get from abroad and the amounts are exagared. ‘He also added that besides lawsuits and physical harassment, there have been attempts to keep them socially isolated and to representations of the protection of human rights as something abnormal. ‘Human rights’-he added, ‘are mentioned as ‘so-called’, and fictious, as one of the Ministers recently spoke’, but he did not say whom he meant exactly. Director of Administration for Human and Minority Rights, State Administration and Local Government-Nenad Đurđević, said that Serbian budget for the projects of human rights defenders protection is low. Nevertheless, he hopes it will be increased next year. He did not mention that by the beginning of the March, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights was closed down. But he informed that together with the Ministry of Justice, they initiated a power group to develop a strategy for combating discrimination. Đurđević agrees that human rights defenders in Serbia are exposed to violence and attacks by media and that the state has to investigate those threats and the violence they endure. Miloš Urošević informed upon the experiences of Women in Black for the period after the fall of the regime in October of 2000. He said: ‘Their security is jeopardized in the country with a huge legacy of the criminal past, because they strive for the rule of law, which does not exist in conflict societies. Therefore they have numerous problems. They are being accused of shattering the national consensus. It can not be internal question of the state which did not deal with its criminal past and which continues to uphold the same values which were present at that time. One of the greatest obstacles for protection of human rights defenders is the absence of*

political will of the state: Serbia refuses to protect human rights defenders. He divided attacks on human rights defenders in three groups: physical attacks, threats, prohibitions and arrests.

He also referred to some of the attacks on Women in Black activists: Demonstrations of Women in Black for Srebrenica's Genocide and demanding responsibility, were twice interrupted with teargas, in 2004 and in 2005, but the prosecution did not react. Activists Violeta Đikanović and Miloš Urošević were attacked on 21st of January, 2007 in Belgrade. One of the three attackers was recognized in the police station, but he was not arrested. Just before Gay Pride in 2010, two attackers entered the office of Women in Black, holding a hammer, and hurt one of our activists Persa Vučić, shouting: 'Kill the gay'. Once again, the prosecution did not react. In Vlasotince, one of our activists Svetlana Šarić, was intimidated by a local person accused of war crimes, known by his nick-name as Kone, who threatened to kill her in case she continued with her activism. In 2005, throughout that year, we had calls from a local perpetrator from Zaječar, both in our office and in the apartment of a coordinator of Women in Black, accusing us of prostitution. Thanks to the international campaign of Amnesty International, 'targeting' the Serbian government during regime of Koštunica, it stopped. The prosecution remained silent. In 2010 and 2011 we pressed charges because of the threats Ms Zajović got on her mail address. Even then, the prosecution remained silent. The same happened when we reacted to Facebook groups Women in White and Stop the Mental Genocide. Actually, Women in Black have faced all the forms of oppression from the very beginning of their activities. They came up against many prohibitions, as they were banned from work in the refugee camp of Kovilovo, in May of 1995, from demonstrations *For peace in Kosovo in 1999*, activists from abroad, members of the International Women in Black Network being denied entry in the country, the ban on demonstrations on 8 of March in 2008, etc'. Urošević also mentioned the arrest of one of the activists of Women in Black - Marija Perković, on 5th of October, during the evictions of Roma population from the barracks in New Belgrade. He also referred to the presence of numerous police forces during those various demonstrations, which represent members of Women in Black as dangerous. He defined it as strategy of control and separate them from the rest of the citizenship, of stigmatisation, causing insecurity, vulnerability and exhaustion of the activists. Human rights defenders do not have direct law protection. He concluded that human rights defenders will continue defending the fundamental rights of others by working together and affirming the equitability of fundamental rights and freedoms.

The silence over women's suffering

In Veles, in Macedonia, on 15th and 16th of November, we held a seminar entitled 'Women's Court-feminist approach to the justice', which was organized by Women in Black. We talked about feminist approach to the justice, women courts, about the initiative for organizing Women Court for the territory of the ex-Yugoslav region and about Macedonian women joining the initiative. By the end of 2008, we renewed this initiative, which started actually in 2000, and was aiming at crimes against peace. The main initiators were Biljana Kašić, Nuna Zvizdić and Staša Zajović. During 2010 and series of sessions, we had preparatory workshop for Women Court in the Balkans, in Sarajevo, attended by women who participated in Women Courts in India, Irak, Mexico, Cambodia, and the South African Republic.

We had a rostrum too - 'Women's Court - a healing justice', attended by Bosnian women. This initiative is supported now by members of Women in Black from Belgrade, Women Studies from Belgrade, Center for Women War Victims from Zagreb, Women to Women from Sarajevo, Women Network from Kosovo and Anima Kotor. The representatives of the South African Republic were also present. The seminar in Macedonia was attended by 32 women from a few Macedonian cities and seven women from Kosovo. Except for those women who belong to above mentioned NGO's, there were also representatives of the institutions which are involved in gender equality or women rights, covering the whole spectrum: from labour to rights of Roma women. 'Women's Court has to provide us with the tools which will strengthen women to speak about all the injustice which has been done during and after the conflict, so that the war criminals do not remain unpunished. It is an arduous process in which women are supposed to open up and talk about their personal traumas...We should change something in this 21st century, but it is difficult. Women's Court should be established. We had a conflict in Macedonia, in 2001. Neither women from Macedonia nor Albania admitted that they were victims, and that violence occurred. It seems that perpetrators remain unpunished', Savka said. Women from Kosovo emphasized as the greatest problem the exposure of witnesses. They are at the mercy of investigators, women groups, international and local human rights organizations. 'There is no protection of witnesses and no psychological protection. Even before she decides to speak up, she and her family are exposed to aggression in the place they live, Sevdija said.' She also added- 'Our power is only our voice and nothing more.' In Kosovo, there is a special court of EULEX, although the judges' mission is not clear, because the mission of the court is changed every six months and the justice is slow or elusive. Actually, the court does not function. 'Everything is politicized. The situation in Kosovo influences everything, Igo evaluated. 'It is interesting that the most of the conclusions were in the direction of changing the mentality, but without any major critical review on the institutions of the system. The significance of campaigns and media was emphasized. The conclusion of one of the attendants was: 'Production of laws does not promote justice or reduce violence over women.' Once again, we reopened the issue of war rape and the issue of the necessity to 'clean up our own yard.' Once more the patriarchal prejudice was confirmed-that we should not share the pain of others. This educational message produces the silence over the suffering of women. We should always think that women went through the worse period and that talking of it, no matter how hard it can be, contains a healing potential. After we saw the movie 'Sexual crimes over women', some women were shocked with the content of violence in it. Many said they were uninformed about this matter and that it is very important to encourage women to speak up on rape experiences. All the attendants have supported the initiative for implementing the Women's Court and they said it should be situated either in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Srebrenica or Skoplje.

Reported by
Ljupka Kovačević

Demilitarized security



Political Council and Multi-sector coordinating body are formed

As we are informed from the October issue of the Bulletin *Gender and security*, ten months since the adoption of National Action Plan for the implementation of the 1325 Resolution in Serbia (NAP), the Serbian government made a decision on 13th October on forming the two institutional bodies, which are the precondition for introduction of the gender perspective into the security sector. It is about Political Council and Multi-sector coordinating body (further as Council and MKT), which should induce in the political way the continuation of the reforms in this domain and coordinate the institutional activities. The mandate of both of those bodies is until 2015 and it is appropriate for the time needed to conduct NAP. The Political Council, as the highest body, gives the guidelines, as well as recommendations for the implementation of the NAP within the Multi-sector body, considers its reports, evaluates the improvement and regularly reports the government and the monitoring body upon the implementation of NAP. The members of the Council attend the conferences of international importance and which are connected to the Resolution 1325. The Council has a president (State secretary in the Ministry of Defence) and deputy of president (Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs) and eight members from seven institutions: Secretaries of State in the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, Public Administration and Local Self-Government and the Ministry for Kosovo and Metohija. Also, there are the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Justice, Education and Science, as well as the President of the Political Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The government concluded that President of the Parliamentary Committee for Gender Equality, the President of the Security Committee, Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Commissioner for Information of Public Importance and Ombudsman, can join and work with the Council. In the text of the NAP it is envisaged that membership should be broader than the Government Act lays down. NAP also envisaged that Political Council in addition to Secretaries of state, President of parliamentary committees and executives, make gender equality mechanisms, and as well, a BIA representative. In the conclusion, the Government says that the Council will report about its work, to the competent committee of the Government and oversight body, every six months, and to the Government once a year. It is not mentioned, though, that the Council should also provide broader public opinion with annual reports on the implementation of the NAP. MKT directly coordinates all the processes of performance of goals and objectives of NAP, and coordinates actions and activities of the NAP with the politics, strategies and plans, which will contribute to higher gender equality in the society. MKT has the goal to adopt the unique list of indicators for following and measuring the effect of the implementation of the NAP and to engage in the review and take action in accordance with the reports of the analytical groups upon the realised improvement and preparation of the recommendations for the implementation of the NAP in Serbia. The scope of the MKT is the establishment of cooperation with NGOs, local and foreign organizations and institutions, as well as the tasks assigned to it by the Political Council. MKT as well as Political Council, gives the report upon the implementation of the NAP. The report is submitted to the Board of the Government and the Council every six months. Since the MKT is an operational body, as op-

posed to the Political Council, it is necessary that its members be experts in every ministry and to meet regularly. This body does not carry out or start activities, but coordinates the activities of all governmental and nongovernmental institutions that are holders of NAP.

These bodies do not make binding decisions and do not affect directly the policy-making institutions. MKT also has a President (representing the Ministry of Interior) and Vice President (Representative MO) and 13 members. NAP is anticipated to enter into the composition of MKT and representatives of scientific and educational institutions and representatives of mechanisms for gender equality at all levels, which is not the case in the conclusion of the Government. Still, a supervisory body for implementation of NAP has not been established to date.

(the integral text can be downloaded from:

<http://www.ccmr-bg.org/Novo/4182/Preuzmite+peti+broj+biltena+%22Rod+i+bezbednost%22.shtml>)

Belgrade fascism 2011.

Activists of Women in Black organization laid flowers at a monument to the victims of 1941, in Terazije and in Srebrenica street, they had a performance in commemoration of victims of the Srebrenica genocide in 1995. That is how they marked the International day against fascism, on 9th of November. Representatives of Women in Black and Art Clinics were crossing the wooden ledger, created by the Art Clinics, with the number 8.372 highlighted on it, which symbolizes the number of the executed Bosnian men, women and children. The ledger was borrowed from the October Salon, where it is exhibited with the banner `Responsibility` belonging to Women in Black. Crossing the ledger means `leaving an indelible trace`, but also overcoming a difficult situation. The ledger functions as the border between sacred and profane, as a place where significant transformations occur, but also as the point of the rupture. The crossing of the ledger opens the road to a new life. The act of crossing the ledger often symbolizes the crossroad, when we stood by the good and the truth. People experience the metal ledger and as a place of separation of two opposing worlds and believe that it is a passage which leads into a new form of existence, and hence man's desire to `cross the ledger`. With symbolic statement `ledger` Women in Black and their friends want to remind all of us that the right to life and dignity of victims depends on our memories and respect and can easily



be lost if we do not cross the ledger and overcome the frames of our own closed and casual existence, reckless attitudes, that hinder us. Crossing the ledger of Srebrenica in one step, we show that we have escaped from the static safety of silence about the crime - the dynamics of confrontation with the crime, and so we bravely stepped into a difficult reality, say Women in Black.

Staša Zajović, Women in Black coordinator, said that this action is above all ethic in character. `This is our call to the citizens to express their compassion and solidarity with the victims of Genocide in Srebrenica. The day which is dedicated to the fight against fascism is not chosen just by chance, because we think that fascism still lives in this country and one of its manifestations is to deny the Genocide in Srebrenica-she said.` She also added that there is no political will in the country to break away with the war crimes in the nineties. `We do not have any message for the institutions, because we do not expect anything from them. They do not have any moral credibility to declare themselves upon this matter, and they have shown it many times in the past. They do it only when they have some commercial interests`, Zajović added. `With those actions we want to produce the explicit reaction on what was happening and we try to create different publicity-responsible publicity, publicity of solidarity, compassion and care for others`, she continued. Only a few passers-by, stopped by the banner with the inscription `Antifascism is our choice` on it. Red roses in memory of hanging anti-fascists in Belgrade passed a dozen activists of non-governmental organization Women in Black. Police officers were more numerous than they. We raise questions regarding responsibility, where is the ledger, how to cross it. We want to attract publicity, because this situation lasts for more then twenty years`, said Nikola Džafo from the Art Clinics.

Serbian crystal nights

Women in Black have reminded on 9th of November, that even this year Serbia marks International day against fascism in the atmosphere of having fundamental antifascist achievements in jeopardy, as well as the rights of minorities. Violence against the minorities has become legitimate, and in the essence, at work, we have unwritten rules of the impunity of perpetrators. Instigators and disseminators of those ideas are protected by the obscure reference to their right to express their political views; they get space in most of the media, missing their conviction; open calls for crackdown on minorities are freely published on websites and written in graffiti instigating crimes. `One year ago we also wondered why fascist organizations are still not forbidden and now from the Constitutional Court we get the answers that fascists have changed the names of their gangs and they cannot be banned without the new demands. This explanation brings anxiety and doubt in the good intentions of those who should protect the safety of citizens, who fight against any attempts of discrimination without pause`, it was announced. The impunity and the social desirability of fascist activities are testified in the windows of bookshops where the Hitler's `Mein Kampf`, `Protocols of the Elders of Zion`, books of Serbian clerical fascists like Nikolaj Velimirović and Amfilohije Radović, who was promoting his four volumes fascist pamphlet here in Belgrade, therefore we are warning you on this`.

To this atmosphere of violence have yielded a significant proportion of numerous educational institutions that do not lecture on the various forms of fascism and its danger, and anti-fascism is subjected to ridicule. National institutions as Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Serbian Orthodox Church and the Belgrade University are deeply contaminated with these ideas and are responsible

for the burden of war crimes from the past that have created and in whose implementation they were involved.

Under their auspices, and the dangerous influence new generations are exposed to nowadays, and state leaders and the church leaders as well, often insidiously undermine the secularity of the state.

Between the two holidays of anti-fascist struggle in Serbia, the year was marked by an open demonstration of force against members of LGBT community and with a police ban on Pride Parade, which was supported by the strongest parliamentary parties and violent quasi-intellectuals who were given in the media unlimited space. The victims were, as usual, members of the Roma minority whose eviction, without providing the necessary accommodation, testify the kind of institutional racism. On the International Day Against Fascism and Antisemitism, we conclude that Serbia ominously spreads the spirit of Kristallnacht in 1938 and we demand from one of the highest authorities in the country decisive action which will help and identify Serbia as a place where fascism is not welcome.

We demand an immediate ban on fascist organizations, severe sanctioning of hate speech directed at minority groups, especially when used by public figures; immediate cessation of all violent evictions of Roma who are not provided with the necessary accommodation, consistent application of the strictest legal sanctions against bullies who attack and injure members of ethnic minorities and the LGBT population, the institutionalization of educating young people about the dangers of fascism and its manifestations, and prevention of anti-fascist struggle relativization; protection of defenders of minorities and their rights, Women in Black demanded through their announcement of 9th of November.

Munich bear halls

Women in Black alert through their notification since 21st of November, that the recent presentation of the `Programme for Change` of Serbian Progressive Party was not given appropriate attention and that `few of the critics noted that in the platforms of the leading opposition we meet some seemingly exotic ideas, such as the idea of introducing genetic state policy`. The aim of this policy, members of the Progressives Party say, is to reduce the birth of children with hereditary disorders, reduction of occurrence of cancer, cardiovascular and psychiatric disorders for which there are genetic predispositions, as well as reducing the number of children with a predisposition for alcoholism and obesity.

All this, they consider, will lead to a reduction in financial expenses in the field of health and social policy, and Serbia would turn into a healthy and vital nation. Women in Black have noted that there is a predominant ignorance of such proposals, and it is noticeable a slightly ridicule for their ideas, to introduce in the sphere of reproductive policy, principles of hygiene and eugenic genetic engineering. `Once upon a time, many people in Germany and abroad ridiculed weird persons from Munich beer hall, and it all wound up with gas chambers and the extermination of millions of racially and medically unsuitable human beings? So there is no suppression of any mockery, especially when those ideas come from the ranks of a serious party that uses the accumulated discontent of the people and is offered as an alternative for saving the future of the country. For fascism must cause alert before it is too late. And tomorrow may be too late`, it said in a statement.

Vukovar – three stories

Silent publicity

On 18 November 2011, we mark the twentieth anniversary of the fall of Vukovar. During the aggression against Croatia, Yugoslav Army and paramilitary forces besieged the city for 87 days, shelling it from the mainland, from the Danube and from the air. There were more than 1,000 civilians killed, over 25,000 people were wounded, while many thousands of sick and wounded were taken to the concentration camps in Serbia, said Women in Black on 17th of November, in their statement. They reminded the public opinion of Serbia and representatives of the authorities that facing the past must be based on clearly established responsibilities and we have to fulfil the obligations arising from that responsibility. Despite phrases, the practice is different because the judgments of the ICTY to Vukovar three significantly contributed to minimizing the role of the former JNA's attack on Vukovar. The trial for the murder of more than 200 prisoners and Croat civilians from the Vukovar hospital, on the agricultural farm of Ovčara, in the War Crimes Chamber of the District court in Belgrade ended with shameful sentences, criminal charges for camps in Serbia during the nineties are waiting in the War Crimes Prosecutor's Office since May of 2008, and the investigation has not been launched yet. Because of that Women in Black demand that the state institutions determine the responsibility for leadership of the former JNA aggression against Croatia and initiate court proceedings for crimes in Vukovar, for uricide; establish the full truth about the missing people by opening the archives of the Army of Serbia and discover the tombs of people from Croatia in Serbia; initiate court proceedings against the founders of the camps and the killings and tortures of Croat civilians and soldiers in the camps in Stajićevo, Begejci, Sremska Mitrovica, Aleksinac, Niš and Belgrade. Women in Black and Art clinics demand from the authorities to take into account their request urgently and it was signed by more than 30 civil society organizations to place a memorial plaque in places and camps in Stajićevo and Begejci and to support other forms of symbolic reparations to victims and their families, re-examine attitudes about the wars of the nineties and the responsibility of Serbia for them, because the truth about these events must become part of the formal educational system and the undeniable historical truth in order to change the moral order, the value systems and cultural patterns, according to a Women in Black messages to the public of Serbia.

Shameful past

Forty activists, members of NGO's-Women in Black and Art Clinics, on November the 18th, at 18:00 hours, organized a commemorative vigil, dressed in black and in silence, at Republic Square in Belgrade, marking 20th anniversary of the fall of Vukovar and demanding that the Serbian authorities disclose the truth about war crimes in that city. They held banners: 'Solidarity', 'Responsibility' and 'We will never forget victims of Vukovar'. The



event was secured by thirty police officers in uniforms.

Seven women laid candles on the seven letters in the word `Vukovar`. Then they lighted the candles. Women in Black coordinator, Staša Zajović said that the point of the action is to remind the citizens of Serbia of war crimes in Vukovar: `From Belgrade to Vukovar thousands of men have left under the auspices of the Yugoslav Army



and paramilitary forces which destroyed the city and killed its inhabitants. `Some studies show that 20 percent of Serbian citizens still do not believe that the crimes were committed in Vukovar`. Zajović also said it is shameful history of Belgrade in which tanks to Vukovar were sent off and welcomed with outstanding ovations of the citizens. `This shows that the citizens were held hostage by the regime`, said Zajović and blamed the government who are only being declarative about the issue of reconciliation among the peoples in the region. Passers-by, mostly young, walked beside the banners, nibbled popcorn and a young boy asked his friend: `Why they failed to mention *Storm*?'. A doctor from the paramedic ambulance said: `Aha, it is remembrance of our Serbs!`... This Hypocrites'follower certainly ranked his patients by their ethnicity.

The execution of children

On 19th of November, with family members of victims and citizens of Vukovar, activists of non-governmental organizations were organized by Women in Black and visited Vukovar on the anniversary of the crime. With women from all over Serbia were also the representatives of Art Clinics, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and Youth Initiative for Human Rights. The hosts were the association of women, mothers and families of victims of the three-month siege city. In Vukovar we went one day after the commemoration of the country, decorated with relics. We wanted to avoid the Day of a Remembrance of the 18th of November, under the slogan `brave people`, with thousands of `pilgrims`, traditional choir of the Croatian Navy St. George, with Gabi Novak, with three lay chairman and two archbishops. `We want the truth` is written on a wooden board in Sotin, Vukovar suburb, where every tenth Croat was killed, and the list of detained and missing people remains with 31 names. The dead travel with us. And they look at the floor. Lighted lanterns in the window of the post office. That day was macabre – dreary and wet. At the commemoration on the ruins and walls of factory Borovo, which used to have 22,000 employed Yugoslav people, there is a chorus of students singing about the day when



the country, decorated with relics. We wanted to avoid the Day of a Remembrance of the 18th of November, under the slogan `brave people`, with thousands of `pilgrims`, traditional choir of the Croatian Navy St. George, with Gabi Novak, with three lay chairman and two archbishops. `We want the truth` is written on a wooden board in Sotin, Vukovar suburb, where every tenth Croat was killed, and the list of detained and missing people remains with 31 names. The dead travel with us. And they look at the floor. Lighted lanterns in the window of the post office. That day was macabre – dreary and wet. At the commemoration on the ruins and walls of factory Borovo, which used to have 22,000 employed Yugoslav people, there is a chorus of students singing about the day when

they were betrayed by those who they believed in. `On Vukovar fell two millions of shells. Early in the day they would turn us the day into the night. At three o'clock when they would start shelling - dark, pitch dark. Anyone who captured you, could have killed you`, said Danijel Rehak, one of the survived. All citizens of Yugoslavia had their salaries reduced as a contribution to warfare and they were being killed by those shells. Women in Black laid a wreath of white flowers in commemoration of the dead. Before the Ovčara memorial centre was built, trees were hiding clothes of 261 men who were stripped naked before being shot, until to one hour after midnight on 20th of November.

Before we were loaded onto trailers, they took away their money and valuables in the hospital.

Among the executed, there were two women, one in the 9th month of pregnancy. She was killed by a shot, as a beast, so that the child would not survive. Belgrade media accused her husband for wearing handmade necklace of children's fingers, belonging to the executed Serbian kids. Vukovar is a parade in front of lowered blinds. In Borovo village where Serbs were 86.56 percent of the population, toponyms are in Cyrillic, and Our party entered the election campaign with posters for the December elections with four firesteels and with four demands: Serbian name, to employ Serbs, the flats at the same price, the Serbian pensions and a shout: it is so Serbian to win.

Vukovar citizens of Serbian nationality keep their blinds lowered, they want to distance themselves from people and children with candles and flowers, are passing through Borovo and want to pass near the Danube river bank, where they used to dump their countrymen, both dead and alive. After 20 years, Women in Black are throwing flowers into the Danube. Flowers float toward Belgrade where it all began in September of 1991.



Flowers were laid for 24 killed people in Lovas, too. Unofficially, on 2nd May 1991. war started in Croatia, in Vukovar, when 12 police officers of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, were killed. Ten persons who were sentenced to 20 years in prison were liberated by the General Amnesty Law. In 1991, 1800 members of the National Guard Vukovar defended, including approximately ten percent of citizens of Serbian nationality. At that time, 36.2 percent of citizens of Serbian nationality lived in Vukovar. This year in Vukovar Remembrance column, there were no representatives of Croatian Serbs, who, as Serbs, enjoy power. Journalist Siniša Glavašević, whose body was exhumed from a mass grave at Ovčara in 1997., blamed the Croatian government for the death of Vukovar:

`I accuse you, gentlemen Parliamentarians, for the moment of surprise, when here in Vukovar arrived irrefutable physical evidence that the Republic of Croatia had the personnel and all means necessary to make a breakthrough, and the defence of Vukovar, but it did not wish to use it... I accuse you, gentlemen, for the pain of the moment when Vukovar realized that between you the Croatian Parliament, Croatian Prime Minister, President of the Republic of Croatia and the Chetniks, there is no difference..I accuse you gentlemen, you allowed them to starve while you were well fed, because you were warm while they were cold, while you drank and quenched the thirst with the drinks of your choice and as much as you liked, they were sentenced to one tablespoon of water. I

condemn you for all the desperation of fighter who he realizes that he can not fill his arms no more. His son Siniša was born in Vukovar twenty seven years ago, lives in Zagreb, and he said this November: `The fact that Vukovar was not reclaimed by arms, caused the feeling of dissatisfaction among people. Now we have the generational transfer of guilt: little Serbs are blamed for Ovčara, since the moment they start going to nursery school, just as little Croatians are blamed for Jasenovac. In this story we have one big problem-politicians. Persons who like to be seen in Vukovar every year around the anniversary, to speak big words, are generous and have compassion only for the media and their voters, and then afterwards they completely forget Vukovar.` Today, Vukovar has 35.000 citizens, the half of children, of those Serbians and Croatians who were here before the war, are attending nursery and schools, separately, unemployment is high...

On the same 18th November 1991 in Croatia, but on the other part of the country, there was another crime. JNA under the command of Ratko Mladić, supported by paramilitary forces, entered the village of Škabrnja. They tortured and killed 43 civilians and 15 veterans. Until the action `Storm` in 1995, they killed 86 people in Škabrnja. But,

Mladić's indictment does not include Škabrnja. A woman, citizen from Škabrnja has survived the terror of Serbian forces, on November the 18th, in 1991: `In the morning of 18th of November, our people informed us that Serbian tanks were going in our direction, so we went to our neighbors house, barely dressed. It was our neighbor Petar Pavičić's house, and we went to his cellar. There were forty women and children and old men in this cellar. We had seventeen children under ten years of age. The tanks approached the house.

In front of them was infantry JNA and immediately surrounded the house. The owner of the house went out holding the white flag, saying that he has only women and children in the house. At that point they entered the basement masked as Chetniks and ordered us to go out one by one, with our hands in the air. First, old men went out. They executed them all, one by one, immediately. Then they took us out, too, and when they lined us up against the wall before the firing squad, one of the soldiers came and said: `Didn't we say we will not shoot the children?`.

Tamara Kaliterna



The superiority of the moral law

Representatives of the Association of Lawyers `Vukovar 1991` submitted on the 10th of November to the war crimes prosecutor in Serbia, Vladimir Vukčević, a document which, according to them, proves who is among the senior officers of the former JNA, command was responsible for building a camp for Croatian citizens in Serbia since 1991. It is the former chief of the JNA Security Administration Aleksandar Vasiljević, who was charged by the Prosecution in Osijek, and Miroslav Živanović, the camp commander of Stajićevo Begejci in Vojvodina, who was charged, too. Indictments were transferred to Serbian Prosecution. According to a representative of the Association, Zoran Šangut, under the command of the Management Board, led by Vasiljević, centers at Begejci, Stajićevo, Sremska Mitrovica, Niš and Belgrade were formed as camps. These camps were the scene of war crimes – murders and rape. Croatian prosecutors have found that in the camps for citizens of Croatia, in Serbia, 19 people were killed, and that some of them died later of trauma and torture. On the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the fall of Vukovar, a representative of Women in Black, Staša Zajović, in the front of the Prosecutor's Office said: It is very important to revise all the crimes which were committed in our name. Only then can we raise the question of the crimes committed by other parties in the conflict. Refusal to face the responsibility for the crimes here is still very strong and it is especially strongly expressed in the case of the camps on the territory of Serbia. It was also obvious when an initiative was taken to set up a memorial plate at the site of Stajićevo camps, which was strongly opposed in Zrenjanin. More significant of those marks are the investigation and the verdict, and they should not depend of anyone's mood.

The judge is waiting

Representative of Labris- Marija Savić said in the First Instance Court in Belgrade on 25th of November, that she understood the slogan `We are waiting for you`, of the movement `Honour` as a `direct call for lynch and a death threat`. Savić said on trial to leader of the organization `Honour` - Mladen Obradović, accused of discrimination against members of LGBT community, that just before Pride Parade should take the place, before it was canceled in 2009, graffiti started appearing in Belgrade: `Blood will flow through the streets of Belgrade and there will be no gay pride` and `Death for gays`. Beside the graffiti, there was a heraldry of the movement `Honor`, signatures of some of the hooligan groups and of the `Movement 1389`. Nevertheless, she added that graffiti written by the `Honor` movement were the most scary because they were warning that they would be waiting for the members of the LGBT community. It was obvious that it was an organized activity, since Belgrade had been covered in graffiti overnight.

Savić added that Obradović used hate talk in the media for the members of the LGBT community, just before Gay Pride was to take place. `The hardest for me was when he said that we know very well what will happen to us, because he was trying to remind us of 2001, when Gay Pride failed and people were severely beaten`, said Savić. `Almost all the statements by Obradović contain insults because the Pride Parade he defines as `a satanic event` and organizers are, for him, `freaks`, she also said. The trial is scheduled for 3rd February 2012. Gay pride was not held this fall because the authorities did not allow it, due to lack of safety of the participants, which they could not guarantee. The case against Obradović began in October of 2009. According to the standards of fair trial, such a process can be completed within six months.

One more instance of discrimination

With seven non-governmental organizations which joined the Coalition Against Discrimination, Women in Black signed, on 17th of November, a prepared statement regarding the eviction of informal Roma settlements in Belgrade, in the Dr Ivan Ribar street. Residents living in the settlement in which live most of the displaced from Kosovo, on the International Day of Tolerance, received the decision of the Department of New Belgrade Communal Inspection, ordering them to demolish the houses in which they had lived for years, within only one day. In this settlement 33 families are living and for them the concept of basic human rights is an elusive category. For solving the problem over the construction of business and residential properties, the Ombudsman was involved and he initiated a meeting during which it was agreed to form a power group to seek a solution for the residents of this village. The agreement envisaged the full respect of international standards in the area of housing. Adopted international standards specifically prohibit the implementation of forced evictions in bad weather, as well as those that will result with homelessness, it was announced. The statement pointed out that most of the inhabitants of this settlement faced multiple societal discrimination, and actions of state authorities must be consistent with what we provide within the constitution and other laws and they called the authorities to return to dialogue to find a solution for an adequate alternative accommodation and show the respect for the dignity of the inhabitants of the settlement.



A different power is possible

At the first Conference in Sombor on 1st of November, organized by the NGO `Women's Alternatives` from Sombor, representatives of state institutions, international organizations (OSCE) and the Swedish Foundation till Kvinna till Kvinna (KtK) - spoke about the issue `Women, Peace, Security and UN Resolution 1325`. Staša Zajović spoke on behalf of Women in Black on militarily-nationalist concept of security in Serbia, the discrepancy between the normative and actual, about the growing of the impoverishment of the population and the rapid loss of human security against the political elite, which consumes huge security funds for the interest of their party. `Beside this, the government instrumentalizes and stultify the EU integration processes and is doing it deliberately to discourage Serbia from the real changes`, said Zajović.

III Experiences from the world



Abstract:

The article points up the contradiction inherent in the espousal of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a military alliance. It was written to prompt a discussion among women of the 'Women against NATO' e-mail list, a network of women in NATO member-states contributing to the No-to-NATO movement. The author suggests that the framing of 1325, and especially matters it failed to include, left the the Resolution hostage to co-optation by militarist states and military institutions for military purposes. The article explores four major contradictions in 1325 for antimilitarist feminist activism and suggests some questions we might now ask ourselves in moving to transcend them.

Snagged On The Contradiction: NATO, UNSC Resolution 1325, and Feminist Responses

Cynthia Cockburn

Feminist antimilitarists in a host of countries and contexts are struggling with the contradictions inherent in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 of 31 October 2000 on Women, Peace and Security. It was 'our' achievement. It was 'our' project and 'our' success. Yet the more energetically we push for its implementation, the more we see its limitations. Worse, we realize how it can be used for ends quite contrary to those we intended. In this respect, NATO is a thought-provoking case. No... more than that, it's an enraging example of how good feminist work can be manipulated by a patriarchal and militarist institution.

UNSC Resolution 1325 as a feminist achievement

When I say Resolution 1325 was 'our' achievement – it may well be the only Security Council resolution for which the groundwork, the diplomacy and lobbying, the drafting and redrafting, was almost entirely the work of civil society, of non-governmental organizations. Certainly it was the first in which the actors were almost all women. I have written about this elsewhere.[i]

Passing the Resolution involved the Security Council in a two-day debate. It was the first time since the foundation of the UN that this august body, the pinnacle of the UN structure, had devoted an entire session to debating women's issues.[ii] That this happened was due to the brave and persistent efforts of women from many countries. The Resolution was achieved by a wide, nameless, ad hoc transnational network of women in local and international NGOs, joined by women from member state governments, several UN departments and agencies, and academic feminists in universities. It entailed co-operation between women very differently positioned in relation to structures of power, and differently located in relation to wars. It was an informal, unnamed but highly productive alliance, that came together for no other purpose than this specific project. It involved the skilled handling of complicated mechanisms of power at the UN, in which they encountered resistance

from many sources, including reluctant individuals and governments, and the inertia of institutional processes.

Among the international NGOs involved were Amnesty International, International Alert, the Hague Appeal for Peace, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, the International Peace Research Association, the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice and most importantly the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Not all of these organizations, nor their key women activists, would call themselves feminist - although many would. But the work they did in conceiving, drafting and chasing this Resolution through the UN system was certainly feminist work. It was explicitly-feminist Felicity Hill at WILPF's New York office who did a great deal of the leg work. She and WILPF were at the heart of this transnational advocacy network. And it is significant that today she is deeply distressed and angered by what 1325 has become in practice.[iii]

The Resolution's content is brief and its intention easily grasped.[iv] The preamble acknowledges both the specific effect of armed conflict on women and women's role in preventing and resolving conflict, setting these in the context of the Security Council's responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has eighteen brief points covering, broadly speaking, three main themes. One is protection, including the recognition of women's rights, a clearer understanding of gender-specific needs in time of war, the protection of women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and an end to impunity for these crimes. A second is participation. Women's work for peace must be recognized, they must be included in decision-making at all levels in national and regional institutions, including in significant posts in the UN itself, in mechanisms for the prevention and management of conflict, and in negotiations for peace. A third theme is the insertion of a gender perspective into UN peacekeeping operations (PKOs), and in measures of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration after war (DDR).

NATO and UNSC Resolution 1325

So far so good. But there followed the challenge of getting the new instrument implemented, getting governments to commit to it, getting it put into action in peace-making initiatives and peace-keeping operations. That task has engaged many women and women's organizations in a great deal of sustained effort from that day to this.[v] They have had to 'get their hands dirty', negotiating not only with member governments but also with state militaries, for they are the ones who 'man' the aforesaid 'peace-keeping operations'. Who but they can ensure that women's concerns are addressed by the UN 'blue beret' units that work among the distressed populations in conflict and post-conflict situations?

Up to a point, 'implementing 1325' could mean relatively unproblematic and even creative encounters with the 'civil-military' functionaries of relatively benign state armies like those of the Netherlands, a country which sees its army more as a peace-keeping than a war-fighting army.[vi] However, many of the armies of Western Europe (and increasingly of Eastern Europe and even further afield) are marshalled within, and often commanded by, the structures of the North Atlantic Alliance, by NATO. In our No-to-NATO movement we have developed a strong, sustained and carefully argued critique of the Alliance. It may speak the dainty language of 'security', we say, but its actions show it to be an ambitious, expansionist and belligerent war-machine, primarily serving the economic and strategic interests of the more powerful among its member states.[vii]

NATO has adopted UNSC Resolution 1325 with an energy that could easily pass for enthusiasm. A glance at its website will show 47 documents relating to the topic.[viii] A multi-media exhibition has been mounted of NATO's contribution to implementation of the Resolution (September 2010). There are pleasing photos of young women in army fatigues carrying babies, waving to children. NATO even celebrates International Women's Day. Apparently standing shoulder to shoulder with the women's movement, Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen asked, on 8 March 2010, 'Would a world in which women enjoyed rights equal to those of men be safer and more stable? It is difficult to say, but ultimately a lasting peace in many of the world's most troubled areas may depend upon the answer'.[ix]

The Alliance was, it is true, rather slow off the mark at first in grasping the merits of Resolution 1325. They made their first move in 2007, seven years after the it came into effect, and in doing so they addressed action on 'women, peace and security' (WPS), from the start, as a joint policy initiative between NATO and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. In other words the 28 NATO member states didn't go it alone. They decided, for their own reasons, to include the 22 Partnership for Peace states. This would be, they said 'a true partnership policy for an issue of global interest'.[x] They set up an informal 'ad hoc group' to progress the matter. It was the following summer, 2008, that the North Atlantic Council 'tasked' the NATO Strategic Command to provide guidance on implementing 1325. In other words, this was the point when the big political boys asked the big military boys to put their mind to women. The result was Bi-Strategic Command guidelines to be 'taken forward' by the NATO civil and military authorities. All these member and 'partner' nations were urged to adopt National Action Plans on the Resolution. The Alliance envisioned 1325 policy on WPS as 'an integral part of NATO's corporate identity, in the way it plans and conducts its everyday business and organises its civilian and military structures'. It should also be fully integrated into 'all aspects of NATO-led operations' (my emphasis).[xi]

Even now however things didn't move all that fast. In early 2009 when the 60th NATO Summit meeting took place in Strasbourg / Kehl, all they could say was that NATO was 'actively engaged with its partners in supporting' implementation of 1325, and hoped to have a comprehensive set of measures in eighteen months' time, viz. autumn 2010. In early 2010 some NATO nations prompted action, and two reports were written.[xii] In June the Defence Ministers of all the nations contributing to ISAF in Afghanistan and KFOR in Kosovo endorsed action on 1325 in time for the Lisbon Summit on November 20-21. Simultaneously the 1325 policy was extended even beyond PfP to the additional states known as 'Contact Countries' and those participating in the Mediterranean Dialogue and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative.[xiii]

By now a number of the NATO Committees had the implementation of 1325 within their brief. The lead committee on this gender business is the important Political and Partnerships Committee. Significantly the Operations Policy Committee too is involved, integrating WPS into the context of NATO missions and ops. On the soldiering side, NATO's Committee on Women in the Armed Forces was converted in the summer of 2009 into a Committee on Gender Perspectives, and an Office on Gender Perspectives was established in the International Military Staff. Clearly NATO was being thorough. It was making a serious effort to 'mainstream' gender, or more precisely WPS awareness, throughout its structures and activities. And indeed it described mainstreaming as the first of the five strategies

comprising its 'pragmatic approach' to implementation. The other four were co-operation with international organizations;[xiv] operations (most importantly Afghanistan); education and training; and 'public diplomacy', mobilizing the media to tell the world how much NATO is doing on WPS.

So how were they actually conceptualizing the NATO contribution to UNSC Resolution 1325? In January 2010 NATO joined in the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the passing of the Resolution. To mark the occasion, Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen gave a speech at the European Commission on 'Empowering Women in Peace and Security'.[xv] He spoke of 'the ongoing victimisation of women in conflict situations and the marginalisation of women in matters of peace-building' as having a profound impact on global security, and being one of 'the key security issues of our time'. By now NATO was well up to speed, and he was therefore able to say 'NATO has heard this call. Our military authorities have developed guidelines for the integration of gender issues into all NATO planning and operations'. He mentioned a strict 'Code of Behaviour' for all NATO military personnel, a significantly increased proportion of women on NATO's political staff, and he added, 'we have studied carefully the significance of gender issues to the success of our operation in Afghanistan'.[xvi]

There are two areas of NATO activity in which the response to 1325 should be examined more closely. Both were mentioned by the Secretary General in his 10th anniversary speech. One is women soldiers, women in the military forces of nation states that come under NATO command. NATO's stated aim is to increase the proportion of women in the militaries. The Secretary General noted that the percentage of women in the armed forces of member states ranges widely, from as low as 3% in some states to as many as 18% in others. In accounting for the shortfall of armed service women in some countries, he tactfully mentioned 'member countries' military traditions'. The recruitment of more women had to be 'gradual' he acknowledged, but did 'need to be consciously tackled'.

The second area is 'operations' and in this respect Afghanistan is particularly interesting. The Secretary General mentioned the presence today of high-level gender advisers in ISAF HQ in Kabul, and gender experts employed in Provincial Reconstruction Teams. He noted that the US Marine Corps had begun fielding all-women military units in the most troubled provinces, 'with highly positive results'. ISAF were having difficulty recruiting all the gender specialists, female interpreters and women soldiers they believe they need. But the WPS policy in place had already 'allowed us to improve our mission effectiveness; our protection of the civilian population; and the protection of our own forces. And it has allowed us to reach out more effectively to the entire Afghan population'. Dr. Stefanie Babst, Acting NATO Assistant Secretary, is a 'flagship' senior woman for NATO. A week or so before the Lisbon Summit in November 2010, she addressed a NATO conference held in Tallinn, Estonia, on Women, Peace and Security: the Afghan view. She said that 'as a result of our engagement in Afghanistan, we have moved from an organization talking about how to deliver 1325, to one that is actually implementing it' (her emphasis).[xvii]

So what is the kind of thing ISAF do on WPS in Afghanistan? They provide gender awareness training to the civilian and military teams before these deploy on operations. They teach soldiers gender-sensitivity - why it matters to take a different approach when searching an Afghan woman or man, or why male ISAF personnel should avoid looking an Afghan woman in the face. The gender experts in the field advise commanders of what women in local communities need when it comes to providing access to aid and services. Some NATO nations deploy Female Engagement Teams (FETs)

in southern Afghanistan, designed to enable dialogue with local women. They have female soldiers who can conduct searches on Afghan women at checkpoints 'without causing offence', and female military doctors and nurses to run clinics for women. ISAF are, besides, helping train women police, security and even army personnel, some of whom in turn become instructors. They trained 'Khatool Mohammadzai, the country's first ever female paratrooper'. Babst wrote of this achievement, 'Anyone who knows anything about Afghanistan realizes what an historic step that is. It is a real indication of the change for the better we are seeing in Afghanistan'. If more girls are going to school, more women are setting up businesses, more getting the health care they need and more getting elected to Parliament, this is (she implied) thanks to the NATO operation. Babst concluded 'That is UNSCR 1325 in action where it really matters most'. [xviii]

The contradiction inherent in Resolution 1325

As feminist antimilitarists, as women of the No-to-NATO movement, how should we respond to the espousal by NATO of UNSC Resolution 1325? After all, the instrument was universally welcomed by women. Its objectives were irrefutably sound - to draw attention to the impact of armed conflict specifically on women, while at the same time getting women recognized not as mere victims but as actors, capable of contributing to the ending of war, to achieving peace and redefining security. One can imagine that the United Nations Security Council might see NATO as an exemplary institution, implementing the resolution in pretty much the manner desired - and desired not only by the UN (we suppose), but by the women who drafted the Resolution and pressed the Security Council to pass it. Many of the measures NATO are introducing in Afghanistan, as described above, are, in the circumstances, desirable. Given that ISAF is present in Afghanistan, we can only be glad if NATO personnel, prompted by 1325, behave respectfully towards women and try not to make their lives any worse than they need be. If Afghan women are to be searched at checkpoints, it is certainly more desirable that they should be handled by women than men. Yet, how can we who oppose NATO, who deplore its very existence and its war in Afghanistan - how can we welcome its espousal of 'our' Resolution 1325? Especially when that war was legitimated, by those who launched it, in part by its potential for liberating women from fundamentalist oppression.

I would suggest that there are at least four elements in the contradiction that is now anguishing many feminist antimilitarists, not least ourselves in the No-to-NATO movement.

The most obvious and fundamental is the perennial 'equality' dilemma. in feminism. At many moments in the history of the women's movement a divergence has surfaced between women who call for 'equality' and those who assert 'difference'. Those who stress 'equality' believe that the equal treatment of women is simple justice. Those who stress 'difference' believe equality is too easily interpreted as 'equality with men in a men's world'. They call for transformative change in gender power relations and a valorization of women and the feminine. Yet in turn (and here in lies the contradiction) the positive assertion of difference can become an undesirable entrenchment of complementarity in gender relations, trapping us in the gender dichotomy. The divergence between 'equality' and 'difference' strategies becomes seriously divisive when the equality demanded by women concerns access to roles that self-evidently enhance patriarchal, capitalist, nationalist or militarist power. Serving in the armed forces is an acutely troubling case in point. It should be noted that UNSC Resolution 1325 does not in fact call for more women in armies. It urges, in rather careful

terms, an expansion of 'the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel'. In promoting a higher proportion of women in militaries, NATO is not actually 'implementing 1325'. The feminization of soldiering is (in my interpretation at least) rather part of NATO's thrust to modernize and professionalize contributing national armies. It has picked up the ball of gender equality thrown into play by feminists and is running with it for its own objectives. What can we do as feminists in such a situation? We have surely to stress that equality is a matter of justice, and in a just and inclusive society women should not be debarred on account of their gender from doing anything they want to do. (Just as ethnic minorities should not be debarred from the police force for instance.) But we must simultaneously critique and seek to dismantle all the power relations that deform and subvert not only justice in employment, but the quality of human life and relationships – including those of militarism. We should never imagine that the struggle for equality can be pursued, anywhere or ever, except hand in hand with an unrelenting struggle for transformative change in gender and other power relations.

The second contradiction I believe goes like this: NATO is a militarist organization; yet the intention of 1325 is antimilitarist; yet its wording and provisions leave it co-optable by militarism. In fact, back in 2000, in New York, the ink was scarcely dry on the document before quite a lot of the feminist women involved were voicing self-criticism about their failure to frame the 1325 measures within a strong statement about ending militarism, militarization and war itself. They were advised by those close to the UN system, and indeed informed by common sense, that the Security Council would not stomach any insistence from the women on including in the Resolution a sharp critique of militarism, militarization and the pursuit of war policies by member states. That is indeed why the women originators of the Resolution censored themselves. All the same, the UN was created to put an end to war. The Security Council's primary responsibility, under the Charter, is the maintenance of international peace and security.[xix] Some of the women now wondered, 'should we not have called the Security Council's bluff?'[xx] Four years later Carol Cohn neatly summarized the effect of their failure to engage in struggle with the Security Council on this issue. She wrote, Protecting women in war, and insisting that they have an equal right to participate in the processes and negotiations that end particular wars, both leave war itself in place... [1325 is not] an intervention that tries either to prevent war, or to contest the legitimacy of the systems that produce war - that is, 'to put an end to war'. In this sense it fits comfortably into the already extant concepts and discursive practices of the Security Council, where the dominant paradigm holds a world made up of states that 'defend' state security through military means...Letting (some) women into decision-making positions seems a small price to pay for leaving the war system essentially undisturbed.[xxi]

The third contradiction is inherent in the several interpretations to which the word 'security' lends itself. Women have been at pains for a decade or more now to redefine 'security'.[xxii] We readily adopted the critique of military conceptions of security by those who began to speak and write of 'human security'.[xxiii] Then, in the concept of 'women's security', we gave 'human security' gender specificity.[xxiv] This was, for feminists, the meaning of the word in the title of the Resolution: Women, Peace and Security. The ideal of 'security' can however too readily be manipulated by an organization such as NATO that, however it describes security in words, manifests it in action as meaning the militarization of society and a readiness to fight wars.

Fourth, and finally, some of the women who were involved in the movement to obtain Resolution 1325 were self-critical afterwards on the grounds that they had failed at any point to express an explicit critique of men, masculinity and patriarchy in relation to militarism, militarization and war. The Resolution said nothing about the male-dominant gender order in which we all live, the supremacy of men in political and military systems, the affinity of military values with hegemonic masculine values, and the overwhelming statistical preponderance of men in actual acts of violence against both men and women, whether in peace or war. As Carol Cohn put it, to have the effect we desire, as feminists, the women transnational activists in this story would have had to address 'the pernicious, pervasive complexities of the gender regimes that undergird not only individual wars but the entire war system'.[xxv] (I argue that we should go further and recognize gender power relations as a predisposing, and thus causal, factor in militarization and war.[xxvi]) The fact is that just as the UN cannot criticize the USA, capitalism and militarization, so it is quite unable to make any critique of masculinity. Sandra Whitworth would later write in her post-1325 study of UN peacekeeping, 'There is...no discussion within UN documents of militarism or militarized masculinities or, for that matter, of masculinities more generally' (Whitworth 2004:137). It may be beyond the bounds of reason to imagine the Security Council taking the (albeit logical) step from deploring the rape of women in war to pointing the finger at men's perennial propensity for violence and specifically for sexual violence against women. Yet – this silence on men, masculinity and the male-dominant gender order has vitiated Resolution 1325. In the absence of a strong statement against the 'co-production' of hegemonic masculinity and militarism, it becomes little more than an aspiration, on the one hand to make war a bit safer for women, on the other to alert the powers-that-be to the resource women can be in helping them do their job. The Resolution is left hostage to co-optation by militarist states and military institutions for military purposes.

Some questions we might ask ourselves

Some things we might usefully discuss in the context of No-to-NATO and the Women-against-NATO network could now be:[xxvii]

- 1: Has the Resolution become 'reified', even 'deified'? It is as if nothing had been said before about women, peace and security. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have been arguing this case since 1915 and feminist antimilitarism, as an analysis, had already far outstripped this formulation of women's (and men's) relationship to war by the early 1980s.[xxviii]
- 2: Surely we intended the Resolution to create political space for women to express opinions and take assertive action on every war / security issue, in every country, at every moment, including military expenditures (which have been relentlessly growing since 2000) and 'international' military missions which continue today as the 'no-fly-zone' operation unloads Tomahawk missiles on Libya? It has rarely been used as such a lever. Instead the 1325 agenda has shrunk to protecting women war victims and obligingly remembering to use the resource women represent for peace.
- 3: Should we be more pro-active in contesting the way the feminist agenda has been recuperated by armies justifying the recruitment of more women to the military by reference to Resolution 1325?
- 4: Should we be pressing harder for something 1325 didn't mention, ensuring that post-war mo-

ments bring the redistribution of power and resources in several dimensions – wealth, land ownership, economic opportunity, minority rights etc. (all of which of course affect women) and the dismantling of male supremacy, decommissioning masculinity while disarming combatants?

5: Should we be concerned about the way 'doing gender' (mainstreaming) in implementation of 1325 has become a 'soft', ill-defined and easy-option activity in the institutions, to which very often unskilled, unknowledgeable women and men, often interns, or people who already have other more pressing tasks, are appointed as practitioners, consultants or advisers. This not only makes 'doing gender' non-feminist, ie. non-transformational. It leaves it even technically deficient.

6: Were we wrong from the start to place so much reliance on the United Nations, and in particular on the (almost universally) male Security Council? Every time we rousingly cite Resolution 1325 we are acting as cheer leaders for a body that doesn't deserve it. Its increasing closeness to NATO is surely evidence that the UN is not a mechanism for peace and security as women (and other antimilitarist activists such as No-to-NATO) define those things. Is it a waste of time, or worse, to put our energies into the UN? On the other hand, can we afford to neglect doing so?

7: As feminist antimilitarist women do we need to step up more boldly and make ourselves heard raising tough questions about the part played by gender power relations in militarism, militarization, foreign and military policy and war fighting –including the way an institution like NATO functions? Should we grasp the political responsibilities that come with 'participation' in 'women, peace and security'? If so, how and where?

NOTES:

[i] Chapter 5 of my book *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis*. Zed Books, 2007.

[ii] Cohn, Carol et al, 'Women, peace and security', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.6 (1). 2004.

[iii] Personal communication.

[iv] The text of UNSC Resolution 1325 can be seen at <<http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2000/sc2000.htm>>. A useful point-by-point annotation has been produced by the United Nations Development Fund for Women, see 'Security Council Resolution 1325 Annotated and Explained' at <www.womenwarpeace.org/toolbox/annot1325.htm>, accessed 23 January 2006.

[v] See the website <www.peacewomen.org>.

[vi] Dudink, Stefan 'The unheroic men of a moral nation: masculinity and nation in modern Dutch history' in Cockburn, C and Dubravka Zarkov, *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*. Lawrence and Wishart, 2002.

[vii] See <<http://www.no-to-nato.org>>, site in process of development.

[viii] <<http://www.nato.int>> accessed 14 April 2011.

[ix] 'Women's Rights: A Matter of Peace and Stability', speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, 8 March 2010. Accessed <http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_61802.htm> 7.4.11.

[x] 'Comprehensive report on the NATO/EAPC policy on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security and related resolutions'. 20 November 2010. <http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68578.htm?selectedLocale=en> 7.4.11

[xi] As footnote 7.

[xii] As footnote 7. They were (1) a comprehensive report with recommendations on mainstreaming UNSCR 1325 in NATO-led operations and missions; and (2) a comprehensive report with recommendations on the NATO/EAPC policy on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related Resolutions.

[xiii] By now, besides, NATO and other governmental and international institutions were obliged to take account of subsequent UNSC Resolutions on 'Women, peace and security': 1820 of June 2008, 1888 and 1889 of October 2009, and 1960 of December 2010.

[xiv] Naming specifically the United Nations, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

[xv] 27 January 2010. <http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_61040.htm> accessed 7.4.11.

[xvi] As footnote 12.

[xvii] 'Role and experience of international organisations in implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Afghanistan', remarks by Dr. Stefanie Babst, Acting NATO Assistant Secretary at the Conference on Women, Peace and Security – the Afghan View. Tallinn, Estonia, 11 November 2010. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_68078.htm?selectedLocale=en accessed 7.4.11

[xviii] As footnote 14.

[xix] See <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unscl_background.html> accessed 7.4.11.

[xx] Felicity Hill, personal communication.

[xxi] Cohn, Carol (2008) 'Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation' in Rai, Shirin M. and Georgina Waylen (eds) *Analysing and Transforming Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[xxii] My research on movements to end war suggests that a particular contribution by women is, noting the continuation of violence against women into 'peacetime', to redefine what peace means. See Cockburn, Cynthia (forthcoming) *Antimilitarism: Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements*, Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming 2012).

[xxiii] Human Security Centre. 'What is Human Security.' <<http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php>>

[xxiv] See for instance Hamber, B. et al 'Discourses in transition: re-imagining women's security', *International Relations*, Vol.20 (4) 2006. Pp.487-502.

[xxv] As footnote 18.

[xxvi] Cockburn, C., 'Gender as causal in militarization and war: a feminist standpoint', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.12, No.2. May 2010. Pp.139-157.

[xxvii] These questions are derived from a recent exchange of e-mails with Felicity Hill – to whom I am indebted for a much more informed and 'close in' view of the trajectory of Resolution 1325 than my own experience affords. However, the way they are formulated here is my own 'take' on the subject, and Felicity should not be held accountable for any errors

[xxviii] See Feminism and Nonviolence Study Group (1983) *Piecing It Together: Feminism and Nonviolence*. Published by the group in co-operation with War Resisters' International, London.

About the author

Cynthia Cockburn is feminist researcher and writer, active in the international Women in Black Network and the International League for peace and freedom. She is a Visiting Professor of Sociology at London University and Honorary Professor at the Center for the Study of Women and Gender at the University of Varvik. Next year she publishes the book 'Anti-militarism: political and gender dynamics of the peace movement'.

V Announcement of events

On 10th of December is the last action within the campaign `16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence`, which started in Belgrade on 25th of November with the performance at Republic Square `Tired`, symbolizing psychological violence against women. It is organized by Dah Theatre. The campaign will be organized in other Serbian cities as well. Campaign organizers are Autonomous Women Centre, Reconstruction Women's Fund, the activist and art group ACT Women and the Network of Women Against Violence. They will demand the amendment of the Criminal Code making `persecution` a crime too. The organizers will distribute 50,000 leaflets supported by nearly one hundred NGO`s and institutions in more than 50 Serbian cities, during the `16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence` campaign.

You can find more details about the campaign here: www.rwfund.org, www.womenngo.org.rs i www.zeneprotivnasilja.net

The exhibition- `Nazi terror against homosexuals since 1933. to 1945`, opens at the City Museum of Belgrade on 2nd of December. The exhibition lasts until 23rd of December. It is organized by ARTEQ associations from Belgrade and Queer from Zagreb. The program includes a panel discussion on biopolitics, nazi and control strategies, promotion of books and magazines, video installations and film screenings. The exhibition consists of 150 images, texts and documents which show the general and personal history of 100.000 people, who were arrested because of their homosexual orientation, before and during the Second World War. The aim of the exhibition is to raise awareness about the of homosexuals under the regime of Nazis, to enable confrontation with stereotypes about LGBT people in the Serbian society, to promote tolerance for the minorities and to encourage social actors to engage in a dialogue for the promotion of antifascist ideology and also to eliminate prejudices against persons of different sexual orientation. The exhibition is realized in cooperation with the Holocaust Museum in Washington and Berlin.

Impresum

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

Editor

Tamara Kaliterna

Layout and illustrations

Marija Vidić

Publisher: Žene u crnom

Beograd, Jug Bogdanova 18

Tel/fax 011/2623225

email: zeneucrnom@gmail.com

web: www.zeneucrnom.org

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

