

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ November 2012



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

The editorial board

Chapters

Women in Black and Resolution 1325

Women build peace	3
Discrepancy and misunderstandings	4

Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of the security

Applause in Vukovar	12
So the truth would not be buried with the victims	13
There is no sympathy behind window	15
Fascist offensive	16
The shame pushes into the silence	16
Serbian concentration camps	17
The province won the elections	18
Not one woman less and not even one more dead	19

Women in Black and Resolution 1325



Women build peace

Women in Black have asked on of 7th solidarity support for the Declaration regarding women's participation in the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia in order to achieve a just peace. The Declaration recalls that on 31st of October in 2000 UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on `Women, Peace and Security` which insists on the importance of women's participation and inclusion of gender perspectives in peace processes, the protection of women in war and crisis areas, especially sexual violence, as well as the inclusion of a gender perspective in the implementation of mechanisms for peace agreements. Believing that the interests of peace and security for all the citizens of Serbia and are state supreme national interest; starting from the fact that without active and efficient participation of women in the negotiation we can not obtain a just and lasting peace and human security for both communities, taking into account the tragic experience from the period of the wars in which Serbia participated, as well as the unwillingness of the current authorities of Serbia to deal with the causes, responsibility and consequences of war and war crimes committed in our name in the entire territory of Kosovo and Yugoslavia, signatories are requiring:

- Belgrade to respect documents which were accepted and the initiated institutions connected to the 1325 Resolution (National Action Plan for the implementation of the mentioned Resolution, Political Council and Multisectoral coordinating body for conducting the NAP),
- To ensure participation of women in the delegation which will negotiate and formulation of the initial document for negotiation, in accordance with NAP for the implementation of 1325 Resolution
- State leaders to inform the public in general about the draft national platform for negotiations with Kosovo, because it should not be a state secret - for the human security of all citizens, and especially the fact that the ratio of Serbia towards Kosovo is one of the most important determinants of the European status of Serbia
- That in accordance with 1325 Resolution, Serbia does what it is demanded, meaning to prevent `impunity and prosecute responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, including those which relate to sexual and other kinds of violence, over women and girls
- To raise the question regarding missing persons, which is not just `humanitarian` one for us, knowing that in accordance with international data 1.886 are still noted as missing, of whom 500 are Serbs, members of Roma population and others,
- To respect Belgrade negotiating Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council in 1999. Three postulates, which Contact Group defined in 2005.
- No return to the prior situation of the NATO bombing of Kosovo, no annexation of Kosovo to another state and no partition of Kosovo

- The negotiations in Belgrade recognizes that 92 countries out of 193 UN member states have recognized Kosovo's independence, Kosovo as a sovereign state recognized by 22 out of 27 Member States, as well as good neighborly relations with Kosovo as a condition for Serbia's entrance in EU

We emphasize that Regional women lobby for peace, security and justice in the South East Europe, (within which Women in Black and Helsinki Committee on human rights are active), demands in continuity the implementation of 1325 Resolution in all global agendas for peace and security, as well as women's participation in the negotiations of Serbia and Kosovo.

We remind that until today, the process of negotiations with Pristina is marked with lack of cooperation of negotiating team of Serbia, with women peace networks and other civil society organizations, though NAP for the implementation of 1325 Resolution envisaged at least 30% of women in all the negotiating teams of Serbia, until 2013. Therefore we will keep demanding from Serbia strict implementation of 1325 Resolution and the fulfillment of obligations resulting from it.

Women in Black have been supported in the formulation of the Declaration by the Helsinki Committee on Human Rights in Serbia, Voice of Difference, Reconstruction, women's fund, Esperance-Novi Sad, SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence-Vlasotince, Association of Novi Bečej, Anima from Kotor, Citizens Forum of Tuzla, RAVANGRAD of Sombor, Fount from Prijedor, Incest Trauma Center of Belgrade, Centre for Development of Civil Resources from Nis, Sand glass from Krusevac, Center for Cultural Decontamination of Belgrade, Center for Advanced Legal Studies-Belgrade, DAH Theatre-Belgrade and Roma Women`s Network from Banat.

Discrepancy and misunderstandings

On 16th and 17th of November, Women in Black have organized seminar `Engendering human security toward feminist-antimilitarist security concept,` within the project (`Engendering human security`) which started in June of 2011. The part of the project is monitoring of implementation of National action plan (NAP) of 1325 Resolution, which was conducted by Women in Black and eight organizations of Serbian civil society, as well as within Women in Black Network.

`Independent monitoring of 1325 Resolution implementation in Serbia` contains research results and monitoring of 46 indicators since July 2011. until May 2012. Working group continuously referred to the institutions out of the narrower and wider security sector, but mostly to Ministry of Defense with the purpose of comprising indicators for NAP implementation. Gordana Subotic reported upon their work.

Jelena Jovanovic introduced the attendants how to refer to Commissioner for Information of public importance, when someone denies to provide it.

Profesor Vesna Rakic Vodinelic emphasized that she will divide 1325 Resolution exposure in two parts.

`The first part is about the difference between the real and declarative when we talk of 1325 Resolution and what is regulated by it. I will concentrate myself on what is going on in Serbia in

the past few months. Since I am a lawyer, you will allow me to try to illustrate the situation not only through political moves of the government but through some legal documents, as well as through actions which have political consequences, too. In the second part I would say something of the implementation of NAP and the methods of I would recommend, observing of NAP and its implementation in the local areas.

In the first part, I start with the obligation of the states on various activities in accordance with 1325 Resolution, regarding the overall status of women in the security system. I will not provide you with partial quotations of the Resolution principles, but on some of them we certainly have to stop and reconsider. One of the principles Resolution is based on is a principle of political security, the most jeopardized in Serbia at this very moment. I think we will agree that the implementation of this principle depends of our emotional relations, meaning how do we feel in this moment in our own skin, in the time being and at this place. It immediately imposes the question-which mechanisms are at our disposal, to get rid of the sense of our vulnerability, abeyance and fear for which I think to be determinants of our position in this country. Which are the specific events in the last couple of months which are threatening for the safety of women? To my opinion some of them are the specific court decisions or gestures within the legislation, which amplify our daily uncertainty. I will describe it with just one day as a part of our everyday life. During that day there were three situations which have past through judicial system and have political consequences. The first one is the decision of the Constitutional Court refusing to forbid the organization `Ours,` `1389,` and `1389 Ours.` The second decision which was published was just couple of hours later and it was regarding `Honor` leader Mladen Obradovic, who was First Instance sentenced, but the Appeal court suspended the sentence and remanded for retrial. And the third event was forced eviction of the family in Belgrade, assisted by the police. I emphasize that police intervned as assisting instrument in order to preserve peace and order. But, we were witnessed that excessive and unnecessary force was used against one woman. Now we have to observe in which way the policeman who have done it will be sanctioned.

Therefore, it all happened within just one and it made us additionally disorientated. A lots of things are happening in one moment so that we can not perceive political consequences of those events-what is among them of primary and what is of secondary importance for us. Somehow, I do not think that we could make choice out of those three events, making priorities, because. Because, all of them were of the same direction and with the same political consequences.



Regarding decision of the Constitutional Court to refuse the suggestion of the Public prosecutor to forbid those organizations, though I did not have the chance yet to read the complete annotation, based on the part of it which was published, and based on the observation of the practice of the

Constitutional Court in some other cases, I can say what is the most significant for me, from the legal point of view. When we apply a certain legal standard, on the same or on the similar situation, its implementation should lead toward the same court decision, meaning, the same epilogue. In the first situation `Honor` was forbidden in July of 2012., only five months ago. In 2011., `National Front` was forbidden, too. In both of the cases, forbiddance of the Constitutional Court was based on the fact that they are dangerous or potentially dangerous because: they abuse human rights, inhibit freedom of assembly of the opponents, inhibit their freedom of speech, and by it they misuse freedoms they enjoy themselves. This kind of annotation we could define as a `soft` one. But it at least responds on the Constitutional and legal demands. If we track logically this kind of annotation, as a consequence we do have the forbiddance of the `Honor` and `National Front,` as it was expressed. In the new case, regarding `Ours,` `1389,` `Ours 1389,` the same Court, with the same members and president (all this is very important), only five months later, takes a stand that a forbiddance of a political or para political organization (it does not matter how we will call it), which was proved to be dangerous or potentially dangerous, in this case is not necessary. Within the annotation it is said that the forbiddance would be the last defense of a democratic society, which will follow when it will be determined that previous measures did not give any result, and the result would be, I assume, to limit its exercise of societal dangerous activities. While there is no, at least within the annotation, which kind of measures were those, nor the Court tried to explain the success or failure of these measures and as we see, one of the measures against one of the leaders of the forbidden organization `Honor` was questioned the very same day by the Appeal Court sentence.

However, what is a legal issue is that if you apply one legal standard, you got to do it with the same result on the same or similar situations. We here are the witnesses that it is about the same organizations which have the same or similar goals and the same violent methods, so we can not speak here of different but of the same situations. Now the question is why the Court reacted differently in such a short period of time. I can not find legal reasoning for it, nor this reasoning could be anticipated, and I can not legally invent it, either. My answer to this is unfortunately, rather trite. Since July until today, the government has changed and our Constitutional Court has not only by this occasion showed and keeps showing great apprehension for what they anticipate it could be the wish or expectation of the government. I even do believe that nobody called and intervened by the side of the government, what is even sadder, but the Constitutional Court anticipated, snuffed, if this decision would be satisfying for them, providing certain attributes to the government. It is about obsequiousness of jurisdiction in front of authorities. In this kind of situation we got to be pretty naïve to believe in the independence of jurisdiction in relation with authorities. This rating of mine of the Constitutional Court is sharp, but it is not based upon only those two decisions, it is also based upon numerous other decisions. Here we come to second part of decisions of the Constitutional Court which can unsettle our fundamental, daily, as well as political and economical security. These are decision which have to do with judiciary. You know that kind of ignorant (mild word) reform of judiciary was conducted, with grave consequences on the protection of our fundamental rights. Not only human rights but everyday rights: will you, for example be sued by the utility company, due to claims for obsolete, or will it be reconsidered at all. Banal and everyday situations are under the question thanks to this judiciary reform. Regarding replacement of the judicial personnel, the reform was conducted in 2009. Judges were immediately filed an appeal regarding these decisions, helped



by Judges Association. The Constitutional Court could of done then, what it did actually: due to violation of rules and procedures as well as rights of the participants, abolish all those decisions, and return judges on their working positions in 2009-2010. But no, the same Constitutional Court, with the same president, (who at that time as one of the judges within the Court, separated the opinion, arguing they do not have the right to complain), annulled all the decisions of the High Judicial Council and returned them back to work. But, only in 2012. Within the same state of account, and within the same legislation. Why it was done too late? Does anybody of us, no matter if lawyer or not, could imagine it can be anything else but that the highest court in the country wants to outflank to what the authorities would like to hear. And, then, of course we can not speak of serious and independent judiciary in which we could have trust, not only for our fundamental human rights but as well in protection of our everyday life. Again, I will say it a banal way: weather they will cut our electricity off, or telephone in illegally or as I already said you will, for example, be sued by the utility company, due to claims for obsolete, will it be reconsidered, because we are not those to blame because employees are more interested in drinking coffee then doing their job properly and to do it on time...Do we have in this kind of complexion any anchor at all within the legal system, so that we can asseverate that we are protected in elementary way. Unfortunately, my answer is rather pessimistic, we do not have it.

But if we do not have it in the legal system and in those who should of have the most trust-judges, then we have to search for it somewhere else. And now we are doing it, of course. Where we can find it? In the literature? In Hana Arendt as Stasa said? In some kind of evaluation if it has to do with us or not-something like Constitutional Court decisions...Can we say that those are decisions of the Constitutional Court, it has to do with hooligans and it is far away from us... No, it is not far away from us. `Ours` have put on their web site, just a few days before decision of the Constitutional Court was announced, list of the organizations which should be ordered to be silent or even forbidden. Women in Black are on the same list. The act of putting the list on their web site is equal with period of Middle Ages and placing women in the pillory suspected as witches. Before they were burned they would of been exhibited in the squares in the humiliating positions. It is the same. It is a serious act of discrimination and against the laws which are still valid in this state. Though, we do not have the reason to trust judiciary in this state, I do suggest to Women in Black and to other NGO`s, as well as to the Coalition for Access to Justice, with which it will be demanded something which could seem to you as little, but it is not at all, and it is commitment of the organization `Ours` to take it of their web site. What can we do? We can not obtain a good decision by the side of the Court, but we can show that we are against it, even within the unreliable legal system that we have. It may seem to be small, but it is an activist attitude and it is not a desperate position. While they are plotting around our heads we will compact and weep? We can do better then that! Second thing very important: events which got judicial assistance have piled up and clutter the possibility for every one of us to find reasonable explanation for it. I have already mentioned the example of three controversial decisions in one day,



emphasizing the act of police as controlled by the Court, conducting judiciary and not the regular police role.

Every morning we wake up, we feel as we are in gladiator arena because our Deputy Prime Minister announces, out of all regular legal routes, lists of the people who will be arrested and he is doing it publicly or in media. I would say his parole is `Arrest Serbia` and not the one `Fight the corruption.` Fight against the corruption is crucial in this state and Women in Black have been working a lot in revealing various ways of corruption and not only the financial one, which is the most vivid, but the bribe as societal position, and protection of people who do not have the reason to be promoted or specially protected. The way the fight against the corruption is announced shows that there is no such a thing. And what will happen later, will it lead to a credible judicial outcomes, can we lean on it, nobody takes care of it.

We can not allow ourselves to be observers and only, not to think, those who will connive the arrest instead of administration of justice. It would be simply, turning the converting demos into a mob, transferring us in the mass which can easily be guided by mere ejection of pacifist slogan.

It is all clouded by the general feeling of being jeopardized and it obscures our capability to recognize what it is all about. When it vanishes, then there will be ways to adequately respond on it.

And finally, it can be concluded in some of the announcements of laws that aggravation of irresponsibility, which goes with transformation of justice into gladiator arena-a model of patriarchal and military apprehension of society. Namely, numerous mistakes done by the previous authorities through enacting laws, are tried to be corrected and that`s one part of the story, which goes through technical changes in standards and that is not so bad. But, among it is something which is not a technical change, which will have far-reaching consequences and which will jeopardize our everyday life in the future and we will not be able to decipher it. I will give just one example. The responsibility of judge for the compensation of damage caused by his illegal work goes like this: if the judge makes mistake by adjudication of the verdict or he violates the law by it, for the damage he have caused, state is responsible. The state has the right to refund, meaning if the state have paid the damage, then the payment is dispersed on all of us who fill the budget, because the state pays out of its budget. The state could refund it by the side of judge if he did it out of inattention or by gross negligence. And it is valid in whole Europe. But what our Ministry of justice is doing? It is suggesting the change of the Law on Judges, where the state will have the right to refund only if he did it on purpose and not through inattention. To prove that a judge did it deliberately is just about the crime proven, which is rarely prosecuted. The gross negligence is more easily t prove. So, the state will give back what was paid in the name of judge only in case of proving of what is hard to prove. It shows that by strengthening of irresponsibility of those who carry judicial authority, we go toward weakening of the independence of judicial authorities. Though they claim that civil liability of judge represents his immunity and enhances his independence it`s just a platitude. In this case it is not like that at all. Why would we as citizens who fill the budget be responsible, if it is determined that it is failure of a judge. A judge himself has to be held accountable for compensation of the damage. Further, our law says that the state is to be responsible for the damage which judge seemed with his work. And if he did it by not doing what he is suppose to do, in that case no one is responsible. Only if you refer to European Court of Human Rights, or to the Constitutional Court (when after sometime

it is your turn), and if you appeal due to the long duration of the procedure, then the state will be responsible and in the position to regresses to the judge. But in accordance with the new announced law, only if the judge did it with purpose! But, if the procedure lasts too long without excuse, for example twenty years, and no one filed a complaint nor in front of European Court of Human Rights or the Constitutional Court either, such a violation will remain unsanctioned. No one will be obligated to refund the damage. That is only one detail.

And finally, I come to what have happened yesterday, that all of us have been through. Accordingly, to the second instance verdict which acquitted Gotovina and Markac. I would provide you with more information about it, based on my knowledge. Let me remind first, on the first instance verdict, with which they were sentenced with 24 years of prison (Gotovina) and 18 years of prison (Markac). At that time, if you remember, Cermak was released. Tamara told us what have happened with the second instance verdict. I emphasize that second instance verdict was not brought by acclamation. It was taken from three to two votes. It was an appeals council consisting of five judges. What I could say right now, though I did not read nor decision or dissenting opinion in whole, would be: the facts established by the first-instance verdict were not examined by the appeals council. Meaning-they have decided based on the facts determined in the first-instance verdict. It is about the implementation of law. And the central question here was the existence of a joint criminal enterprise, which failed because it was said that principle of joint criminal enterprise is to be-unlawful destruction of cities, and the persecution of the population. In accordance with the evaluation of appeals council, and it based its position on it, the conclusion of the Trial Chamber is unsustainable saying that failure greater then 200 meters is not necessarily indiscriminate artillery shelling of cities,` said Rakic-Vodinelic.

University Professor Lino Veljak from Zagreb specified which were the `legitimate targets` for judges: `Trial Chamber took as a criteria 200 meters distance from the place where the bomb fell, from where it is a legitimate military target. However, Trial Chamber decided a criteria 200 meters can not be implemented because in Knin were military and police vehicles and with heavy artillery, which circled the city and around the city and so every target was a legitimate military target.`

Professor Rakic-Vodinelic continued: `Secondly, what was important to me was, who were those who had dissenting opinion, who have voted against the acquittal and one of them is Italian judge Fausto Pocar. He used to be a President of the Hague Tribunal. He is a serious author who has written extensively. He deals with human rights and the International Criminal Law. When you read someone`s texts, when you realize how deeply he is in that matter, you obtain professional confidence in him, and when you see some of his decisions, then you obtain human trust in him. For me, the fact that he considered first-instance verdict should be confirmed (I do not know if he thought that amount of fines should be, too), was a serious indicator that something was wrong with the second-instance verdict process. He was joined by the judge from Malta so the decision was taken from three to two votes. Also, there are some informal statements that a lobbying organization was paid with 2.5 million euro, either by the Croatian state or by voluntary contributions, in order to influence the states from which the judges are coming from. And it reminds us on the movie we have seen yesterday. I do not think it should reduce our trust in UN. But, if someone represents a respectable institution does not have to mean he or she should be undoubtedly respected by our side. And now,

it is very important that appeals councils in both of the cases-Blaskic and Slivancanin, as well as in this one, were those which reduced sentences in a drastic way or freed of responsibility. The appeals council is always beyond dispute in comparison with the trial. When you look closer the abutment of the councils in the second instance process, frequently the names are the same.

Political consequences of the second instance verdict of Hague Tribunal, they are not the same in Croatia and Serbia. The consequences of decisions of the Constitutional Court are visible. In Serbia those are strengthening of militarism and right-wing organizations, as well as those groups which opposed Hague Tribunal from the very beginning. On the one side, I consider those which are forbidden as `Honor.` If they did not spill yet into `Ours,` they certainly will. Now comes a period during which such organizations will spill into political parties, which are legitimate part of the political process. I believe, in that way extremist underground will `wash away their political past, by getting out on a political scene legally. In the same way, as they were `washing` dirty money through privatization, creating socially acceptable tycoons. This is one of the political consequences of the future. As far as we are concerned, NGO and civil society, I do consider we are feeling betrayed and defeated by the decision of the Hague Tribunal. And that now, only few of all those things we used to stick to in the past twenty years, remains as a real fulcrum for our further activities. We have all understood that national courts of the countries which were involved in war, will not react on war crimes, therefore we were satisfied by the establishment of the international Tribunal in Hague. We thought the answer will come by the side of a international institution of justice, though it was ad hoc. In none of our countries additional facing with the past, was not conducted, as it was establishing of respectable reconciliation commission. We got only one commission, the aborted one. Rekom initiative is not particularly successful, which was said by Natasa Kandic herself, she confirmed it is accepted only in a formal way, but there is no work upon its content. So, there are only few areas which provide for us the opportunity to lean on so far accepted methods of dealing with the past. What is encouraging is the reaction of some of the NGO`s from Croatia and some of them from Serbia. I got to emphasize that Natasa Kandic who used to and still is, putting her sincere efforts in affirmation of the Hague Tribunal, expressed her disappointment with the work of Tribunal in Hague. But, we must not forget that she after all, emphasizes our accidence of strives in facing the past which remains as respect for the victims. This is still a highly legitimate aim of ours. This is still the point in which we can relay on our future work. Fine, we were betrayed by the national legislative, we were betrayed by the side of the international judiciary institutions to some extent, but what we can not do is to betray victims of those wars. And we got here both moral and legal backbone for our work. It raises us from a state of resignation, maybe that is why we are starting doing something new. One of the concrete suggestions of mine would be this suit. What we should fight for is that the unquestioned part of the work of the Hague Tribunal is preserved and available.

And finally I come to NAP and to the report we have heard. First of all, what we could observe as a fundamental problem would be difficulty



of collecting basic data with which Women in Black met through 48 indicators, which were chosen. Jelena will help in their further resolution. And the second question would be further strategy of NAP monitoring. I think that so far, it stems out of the report: it is necessary to reduce the number of indicators, it is necessary too to obligate for each of the indicator a certain person so it would not result with the situation Nada had, who was questioned by her superior, because nobody should be a victim of the research. Third, we should reconsider again alternative methods of research, not only through direct poll tet a tet, (which should provide authentic data, but as we see it does not due to certain excuses).

Here I think of internet kind of poll, when the authorities have forgotten they have put something on the internet, so it could be reached, and they reveal themselves in that way. There are also other methods if we could find some technical possibilities, on the other side, if we encounter serious silence, then there is UN agency, which certainly has more possibilities to influence the institutions so that they will provide the answer, then NGO do by them selves.`

Kaliterna spoke of UN International Criminal Court for the ex Yugoslavia, and its reflection in Serbia. Since its establishment on 25th of May, 1993., it convicted 161 for war crimes, crimes against humanity or genocide. The procedures against 126 of them are finalized. Out of 161 of the accused, 39 are Croats, (12 of them from Croatia and 27 from Herzeg Bosnia). Regarding the accused of Serbian nationality, there are 104 of them, and out of them 4 are from Croatia, 80 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, while 20 are from Serbia or were within Yugoslav National Army. Out of 80 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, most of them escaped to Serbia after Dayton agreement, and they were provided with Serbian citizenship. Also, they benefit out of the law of 2004., regarding help for the accused and sentenced, with which their families were provided. During one week in April of 2004., Women in Black have collected 22.000 of signatures of citizens, under the slogan-`Not in our name, not with our money.` They sent them to the Parliament demanding this money to be redirected for humanitarian help. In vain. During three years, state of Serbia provided to its prisoners in the Tribunal of Hague, 800.000E. It is the same amount sent to Tazikistan by the UN World Food Programme, for the 85.000 of citizens, in order to be able to face severe winter, which they merely survived. It was two months ration of beans, flour, oil and salt for them.

Chief Prosecutor Serge Brammertz criticized the statement of Tomislav Nikolic on 7th of November, though the president gave this statement for the first time on 1st of June. Then, he repeated it two more times. Brammertz said: `The statement is `in absolute contradictory with the verdicts of the International Court of Justice, as well as the International Criminal Court for the ex Yugoslavia. It is impiety of the victims of those crimes and does not contribute the reconciliation process nor peaceful coexistence.`

The meeting in Becej occurred only one day after the acquittal for Croatian generals.

Stasa Zajovic by this occasion recalled on the humiliating punishment for the three responsible for Vukovar as well as that 82.000 of Serbian soldiers were storming to Vukovar. Veljak evaluated that behavior of the international community in the Hague and in Mostarr its , was a test for its successfulness. The idea of united and multicultural Mostar have failed, and the Hague did not succeed to prosecute in the first place the organizers, and then the perpetrators of the crimes. He evaluated the verdicts for Naser Oric, Ramus Haradinaj, three from Vukovar, Gotovina and Markac

as scandalous. He claims that the last one, has cemented the truth about the homeland war, and for the murder of at least 240 citizens during and after the action `Storm,` no one was convicted. `This verdict is bad for Croatia, and even worse for Serbia if it leads toward homogenization. He reminded what Borisav Jovic said to Franjo Tudjman in Karadjordjevo, in 1991., regarding Croatian Serbs and in accordance with the testimony of Stipe Mesic: `You can freely empale them.`

Movie projection was organized for the attendants of the seminar. `Whistleblower` based on the experience of the USA citizen Catherine Bolkovac, who used to serve within IPTF as a police officer in Bosnia and Herzegovina, after the war. She revealed uncovered involvement of the UN international police forces in women and children sex trafficking and prostitution. Starring: Rachel Weisz, Monica Bellucci, Vanessa Redgrave.

But, there were also projections of documentaries of Women in Black video activism group, regarding sexual crimes against women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, action `We return tank to you,` in front of the Serbian Assembly, together with artistic collectives `Skart` and `Art Clinics.` About the action `Stop cluster bombs,` and actions of solidarity with Roma population in Becej and Belgrade, as well as regarding women`s labor rights.

|| Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security



Applause in Vukovar

On 19th of November Women in Black have attended the anniversary of crime in Vukovar, with their members and citizens. After the day of remembrance of Vukovar victims 1991., as well as 21st anniversary of urbid during homeland war on 18th of November, families of the executed had their own day of sorrow and memories. Instead of 50.000 of people, presidents, Prime Minister, deputies in Parliament, diplomatic core, Archbishop and Nuncio, on 19th of November have gathered 2000 people, 18 peace activists, who came with Women in Black, the parson and dozen of high school pupils.

`We are tired of those who equalize the aggressor and the victim, even if they are called human right defenders` -said Manda Patko in front of place of tortures and executions of `Borovo Commerce` in Borovo lodgement. Mendicant Vjenceslav Janjic said: `Beside Vukovar mothers, we have to greet Women in Black. They are mourning those from the other side of Danube. They have demanded of Serbian President to apologize publicly to Croatian people. Even here, many do not trust them and there, on the other side of Danube river, they do consider them traitors of their own people.` All the present applaud.

Women in Black delegation lead the wreath as the third one, under the ruins of `Borovo Commerce.` The second wreath they are carrying for the killed in a mine field on the Lovas farm, ten kilometers from here.

Women in Black are visiting Ovčara, where 260 people from the hospital of Vukovar were executed, wounded, soldiers, medics. Jelena from the association `Mothers of Vukovar` is with them. Still, the destiny of 436 of civilians and city defenders is unknown. Jelena had three sons. One of them was identified thanks to DNA, so she waits for Goran and believes he will return through dewy meadows.

This 19th of November, on the Danube bank, Women in Black or `those who care` have lit the candles, threw the flowers in the river, on the place where hundreds of people, and among them children, were shot or were thrown into the river alive. Women in Black have brought from Belgrade bouquets of red roses and threw them down the river, so that they reach Belgrade, where the crime was initiated.

The information that Bac in Vojvodina and Vukovar, became twin cities, one can find out in England, instead out of Croatian city biography. The reconciliation should not be expected out of citizens, who even after 21 years do not know where are the bones or which was the destiny of their or their dearest ones, and those who have committed crimes in Vukovar are peaceful citizens of Serbia.

Out of the accused in Hague Tribunal, for massacre in Vukovar, two of them have died unconvicted, and the two of them have served their sentences. In Serbia, fourteen of paramilitaries were convicted for crimes in Vukovar. But, the same court convicted 44 Croats for crimes in Vukovar, as well.

So the truth would not be buried with the victims

Women in Black have published the statement under the title: `We will never forget crimes in Vukovar,` on 18th of November. It is said in the statement: `Vukovar was under the siege of Yugoslav National Army and paramilitary forces, for 87 days in 1991. More than 1000 of civilians were killed, more than 25.000 were wounded, while thousands of sick and wounded prisoners were taken to the concentration camps of Serbia. The process of facing the past must be based on the clearly defined responsibilities and to meet obligations that arise from these responsibilities. Serbian President is the first who should declare for it and to how with his own example that he is leading Serbia toward European path. But, his statements that `Vukovar used to be Serbian city,` and that `there is no reason for Croats to return there`, are not in accordance with this obligation. In the name of the peace of the region, we demand again his apology to the citizens of Croatia, and to all of those who resisted criminal policy of Slobodan Milosevic.

The trial for the execution of more than two hundred prisoners and Croatian civilians who were executed on Ovčara farm, was finalized in Council on war crimes, within the District Court of Belgrade, with shamefully low penalties. In May of 2008., Prosecution for War Crimes in Belgrade, received criminal charges for the concentration camps in Serbia, where war prisoners from Vukovar were held. Investigation procedure in relation to it, has not yet begun. It leads to the conclusion that they try to minimize the role of Yugoslav National Army in the attack on Vukovar. On the same trace is the conviction for the three of the accused in front of Hague Tribunal, for Vukovar, which have indubitably minimized the role of the above mentioned army. The verdict to general Sljivancanin and others in Hague Tribunal, was insult for the victims and their survived relatives. Tribunal in Hague undermined its credibility caring more of logics geo-strategic interests, then for truth, justice and satisfaction of victims and families.

Its credibility was also undermined by the verdict of 16th of November, with which generals Gotovina and Markac were acquitted of any guilt for the crimes committed during action `Storm` in 1995. In that way, the victims of the committed war crimes by the side of Croatian armed forces, were left without the fundamental fulfillment of the justice. The priority of logics of geo-strategic interests, taunted once more to victims and their families. We remain devoted to war victims regardless their nationality, race, religion or political affiliation. We still do feel political responsibility for the crimes committed in our names. We know they were committed by other sides, too, but every perpetrator deserves the punishment equal with the gravity of the committed crime, as well as every victim deserves compassion and solidarity,` it is said in the statement.

In the statement are repeated demands in front of the Serbian institutions:

`to determine command responsibility as well as the criminal one, of the leadership of the Yugoslav National Army, especially for the urbid of Vukovar,`

`to determine the whole truth regarding missing persons, by opening the archives of the Serbian Army, and regarding tombs of Croatian victims on the territory of Serbia.`

`To initiate judicial procedures against those who are responsible for opening of concentration camps and tortures over prisoners in Stajicevo, Begejci, Sremska Mitrovica, Aleksinac and Belgrade.`

`To accept the requests of Women in Black and Art Clinics (supported by 23 other civil society organizations) to set up a memorial plates, in the places were crimes were committed in Stajicevo and Begejci and to provide for the victims and their families other kind of symbolic reparations, as well.`

It is expected by the side of Croatian civil society to `put more efforts so that all crimes which were committed during `Storm` action and afterwards, are thoroughly investigated, to identify and punish in a proper way all the commanders and perpetrators. We in Serbia, will strengthened our commitment for just and appropriate punishment in front of court of Serbian Republic, for all of those who have committed war crimes. Only in this way, we can create conditions so the truth will not be buried together with victims of the wars of nineties, of the last century and that its instigators, organizers and executors avoid their moral, political and criminal responsibility,` it is concluded in the statement.



There is no sympathy behind window

On the day when Berlin war was destructed, 23 years ago, and 74 years ago `Kristallnacht` have happened, when Holocaust started, Women in Black activists, together with Art Clinics and LGBT organizations marked International Day against fascism-9th of November. Organizers were delivering leaflets with the inscription-`Serbia denies its recent criminal past,` `Actual government is the same one which initiated wars and is the most responsible for genocide in Srebrenica, as well as other crimes all over ex Yugoslavia, emanates fascism and clericalism.` Demonstration started in front of Serbian Presidency, on the same place where in October of 1991., lighting of candles started `for all who were killed in war.` Then the participants have pointed their slogans: `I am ashamed that Serbian President is Chetnics dukedom,` `Vukovar is not a Serbian city,` `Genocide took place in Srebrenica,` `I admit Kosovo independence,` `Fascism executes with the word and act, here and now,` `I demand ascent of the monument for the victims of genocide in Srebrenica,` `I admit Draza Mihailovic to be war criminal,` `I admit that war profiteers are the political and economic class in Serbia.` Then they passed through Terazije with their rainbow flags and placards, laid flowers on the monument for the executed patriots in 1941.,who were hanged afterwards in the main street of Belgrade. Entering Knez Mihailova street, they have exchanged opinions with the activists of the Serbian Radical Party, who were selling books of Vojislav Seselj, Hague Tribunal indictee.



Stasa Zajovic, Women in Black coordinator, said: `On the International Day against fascism, here gathered responsible citizens, antifascists, who show they are against the denial of the crimes, done by actual government, violating international agreements.`

In front of the Serbian Orthodox Church Patriarchy, they showed their slogans: `I am an atheist,` `I admit being ashamed because Serbia is theocracy.` Nikola Dzafo, painter, in the name of Art Clinics and Stasa Zajovic in the name of Women in Black, have placed a black placard with the inscription-`8372-the number of the victims in Srebrenica`s genocide,` on the fence of destroyed library. The performance took place on the corner of Srebrenicka and Zadarska street. Near Croatian city of Zadar, in the period of 1991-1995. have occurred crimes inspired and supported by Belgrade. The protest of peace activists was also peacefully observed by citizens in those two streets, behind closed windows, without sorrow or sympathy.

On the placards they carried through the city was written: `I admit-antifascism is my choice,` `I admit that Serbia was aggressor on Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo,` `I admit I am Serbian and the crime was committed in Srebrenica,` `I admit I demand the ascent of the monument

for the victims of genocide in Srebrenica and that 11th of July should be proclaimed as the day of remembrance of Srebrenica's genocide, 'I admit fascism to be manifested in various ways.'

Fascist offensive

On 10th of November, pro-fascist organization 'Honor' demanded of Serbian Prime Minister and Minister of Police-Ivica Dacic, as well as of Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Vucic, to arrest urgently all the responsible in Women in Black organization because they carried placard 'I admit Kosovo independence.' They have emphasized that this kind of act should be punished with minimal punishment of ten years of imprisonment in accordance with article 306. of Criminal Code of the Republic of Serbia.

Rightist Movement 'Ours' have published on 11th of November a list of 'anti-Serb NGO's' and demanded of government to forbid them urgently. On this very list is 20 NGO's, known by their promotion of human rights and peace activism. They have also demanded forbiddance of their funding by foreign governments and embassies. Beside Women in Black, on the list are too: Humanitarian Law Fund, Center for cultural decontamination, YUKOM, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Sand glass, Exit Foundation, Youth initiative for human rights, Sandzak Board for human rights, autonomous Women's Center, Reconstruction Women's Fund, Belgrade Center for human rights, Amnesty International, Civic initiatives, Queer Center, Gay-Straight Alliance and Dokukino.

The shame pushes into the silence

On 3^d and 4th of November Women in Black of Belgrade organized a course on war crimes, genocide and culture of memories. Genocide researcher Janja Bec Neumann (Neumann) was a lecturer, and prepared the proceedings of 'war crimes, genocide and memory: The roots of evil-I want to understand' by the authors from the region and the world. Anthology is part of the 'School Sophie Scholl - we will not be silent'. Janja Bec explained what is genocide, a term elitocide, proving intentions of genocide, which are preconditions for genocide denial as the final stage of genocide, as well as the status of victims, perpetrators, observers, rescuers.

She explained in details the case of genocide in Argentina, where without external inducement, by the end of 1983. started Commission to determine the fate of 60,000 missing compatriots since 1976. to 1978. The victims were mostly leftists, but also those who as good people wanted to provide help for the poor ones. They used to declare 'night of pen', which is code name for the execution of students, 'necktie night,' when lawyers were killed. When the catharsis started through the courts of Argentina, daily newspapers were published in the state, whose contents were only reports of the trials. Janja also described the case of an Israeli researcher Dan Bar On, who have talked with the families of high Nazi officers in 1984.

Afterwards, he published in the book 'Legacy of Silence' that out of 100 children and wives he spoke to, only son of Martin Ludwig Bormann, personal secretary of Adolf Hitler, expressed he feels guilty because of his father, and only two wives told they knew what their husbands were doing during

Second World War. Bec said it is harder emotionally for the children of perpetrators than it is for the children of the victims, that fear is the most significant reason of silence regarding committed crimes and that with increasing feelings of helplessness, and increasing influence of media (television) in the category of the `observer` of crime, also increases the number of `distanced observers`.

Victims of crime are silent and feel ashamed because they have survived. She concluded that the level of self-esteem of some people is favoured for the creation of cult of being victim in whole.`

Roman Polanski's movie was shown- `The death and the maid,` regarding torture in an unnamed Latin American country and as well as a documentary regarding commissions for truth and reconciliation in South Africa and Peru, where in the last century civil wars have occurred.

Serbian concentration camps

Women in Black and Art Clinics have sent on 4th of November to the councillors of Municipal Assembly in Zitiste and Zrenjanin the requirements to appropriately mark concentration camps of Begejci and Stajićevo in which in the early nineties were Croatian civilians as war prisoners. This year the request was joined by 23 civil society organizations from Serbia, too.

The request was repeatedly directed by the side of families of the victims, associations of inmates survivors, as well as a number of civil society organizations from Serbia, including Women in Black. Requests were rejected which is unjustifiable and certainly not in line with the declared European and democratic commitments of Zrenjanin and Zitiste.

The message for the councillors was delivered: `By placing memorial plaques at places where there were camps of Stajićevo and Begejci you will contribute to strengthening the process of peace and confidence in the former Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, many times were repeated outrageous statement by Serbian President on `Serbian Vukovar` which undermine already fragile relations of stability in the region, and above all, offend the dignity of the victims of Serbian aggression on Vukovar. By placing memorial plaques to we provide a symbolic (but significant in numerous ways) reparations intended for the victims of the camps and their families. Setting up a plaque would be a significant step in terms of the liberation of our country from the burden left by the wars of the 90's, in which the Yugoslav National Army, under the control of the regime of Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian paramilitary forces, committed terrible crimes. Crimes were committed on the other sides, too. However, we must face up to the crimes committed in our name. In order to deal with crimes committed in their name. Without that confrontation and without establishing the truth about these crimes, there is no hope that there will be a change in the moral order, value systems and cultural patterns. Without these changes Serbia is convicted on moral and any other disaster.`

Instead of stubborn continuance of denial of crimes committed in our name and relativization of the recent past, it is high time of admitting our responsibility for crimes, for the start: against the victims in the concentration camps, Serbian citizens, in whose names they were committed, against the state we all live in. We repeat: placing memorial plaques, would be an act of moral and human responsibility of the councillors of Municipal Assembly of Zitiste and Zrenjanin, as well as Serbian state.`

The province won the elections

Women in Black have invited on 14th of November, historian Latinka Perovic to discuss the situation in Serbia. It was noted at the outset that Serbia for 116 years led 11 wars, and now, even though the paradigm has changed, the war remains a basic postulate. Now the politicians are saying: `What we lost in the war, will be restored in peace.` Peacemaking politicians today say: `We will revenge Serbs in Kosovo, instead of deliberating them.` Serbia is always ready for war, but of logistics gives only the human material. Nikola Pasic used to say: `The victims will mark the borders of Serbia.` In other words, the more victims, the greater Serbia. After the introduction of the multiparty system, Serbia did not develop into a plural society, and in the presidential campaign, there was no political crystallization`, said Perovic among other things.

The motive of voters in May 2012. was `just to see your back` and it was not important who will come in place of those who will leave. `Blank papers` were `criticism of all that exists.` Post-election situation is such that the entire previous authorities are demonized, and there is no a word of new programs and ideology. At the local level the government recomposes by force. Among supporters Serbian Progressive Party is 70% of EU opponents, including members of the Socialist Party of Serbia-78%. And the leaders of these parties are the loudest in the promises that they will just take Serbia into the EU. All who inclined in Serbia toward Europe, were killed-(from Obrenovic until Djindjic)`, historian noted.

`The province has triumphed in the elections`, says the historian. Even Vice President of Serbian Academy of Science and Art said that the choice of academics this month was affected by street. She agrees with some politicians from the last century that Serbia needed anti-corruption law more than Constitution. As for the current campaign against corruption in Serbia, she says that it looks more like a raid rather than a systematic engagement. If you do not define the balance of war, or admit defeat, there is no progress in Serbia, Serbian each war was anachronistic, invasive and in conflict with reality, she added, too. Slobodan Milosevic in the former Yugoslavia wanted to stop social change, while Slovenia was rather for political solution, economic and reform of the federation, said Perovic. Latinka Perovic concluded pessimistically: Serbia still does not change the subject of its changes, nor it has a condensed political opposition.`



Not one woman less and not even one more dead

Women in Black of Belgrade, Vlasotince, Nis, Leskovac, Pirot participated in a multi-day project 'Defense,' campaign- '16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence', which runs since 25th of November until 10th of December. The campaign involved six organizations: Women Against Violence Network, the Autonomous Women's Center, Reconstruction Women's Fund, Women in Black, Skart and Rehearsal, and ACT Women. This marked the 10th anniversary of ACT Women and 10 years of street performances in Serbian within the campaign. On the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, 25th of November, in Belgrade, on the Republic Square, memorial for the women, victims of violence was placed. There is an inscription on it: 'Do you see the violence? Not one woman less and not even one more dead,' and it was set in the place where 16 years ago killed brother in law killed daughter in law.

On the Square were set in red wooden doll with a yellow female form explaining why they died. The oldest, 72-year-old husband was killed. In Serbia, this year, 25 women were killed, and according to Autonomous Women's Center, about 1,500 women, new victims of violence are seeking for help each year. Police filed 2555 of charges criminal for 10 months this year against violence over women. Statistics show that about 54 % of women in Serbia have been exposed to some kind of violence. During gathering at the Republic Square, mostly women were present, men were just passing by.



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: zeneucrn@gmail.com

web: www.zeneucrn.org

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

