

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“



Dear readers, by publishing this newsletter, we wish to contribute to better information about UN documents on security, demilitarization, 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

20 th anniversary of Women in Black	3
--	---

I Women in Black and Resolution 1325

War and gender insensitivity	5
The circle of silence around violence	8

II Women in Black's activities in demilitarization of security

Solidarity and mutual support	11
Solidarity with workers	11
Facing the past	11
Commemoration to victims of war crimes	12
Monitoring the trials	12

III Security of Human Rights Defenders

Squatters, activists and police officers	13
--	----

IV Experiences from the world

UN SCR 1325 Instrument of the peace	15
-------------------------------------	----

20th anniversary of Women in Black

With the song *Always Disobedient* Women in Black started their 20th anniversary celebration. The celebration started on October 7th with a common reflection on feminist-pacifist activism in the former Yugoslavia entitled "*Instead of despair - with resistance towards alternative*". Discussion among panelists Biba Momčinović (Croatia), Ljupka Kovacevic (Montenegro), Savce Todorovska (Macedonia), Selma Halilovic (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Igo Rogove (Kosovo) and Slavica Stojanovic (Serbia) was moderated by Stasa Zajovic.

"*Are there alternatives - about Europe and the world today*" was discussed in the 'round table' by Biljana Kašić (Zagreb), Zoran Solomun (Berlin), Mireille Forel (Forel Mireya, Seville), Lily Traubman (Jerusalem), Gracijela Longoni (Graziella Longoni, Milan), Rebecca Johnson (Rebecca Johnson, London), Athens Atanasiu (Athena Athanasiou, Athens) and Branimir Stojanovic (Belgrade).

Traditionally, on Sunday a one-hour vigil was held at Republic Square in Belgrade with the motto "*Always disobedient - we leave a trace*". More than 170 activists from: Israel (Jerusalem, Megiddo), United Kingdom (London), Spain (Seville), Italy (Milan, Turin, Verona, Udine, Scio, Treviso), Greece (Athens), Germany (Berlin), France (Nancy), Sweden (Stockholm), Croatia (Zagreb, Rovinj, Split, Pakrac), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, Bihac, Gorazde, Tuzla, Đulići, Germ, Bratunac, Zenica), Montenegro (Kotor, Herceg Novi, Podgorica, Niksic, Cetinje, Pljevlja), Kosovo (Pristina), Macedonia (Skopje), Serbia (Novi Sad, Nis, Leskovac, Krusevac, Belgrade, Prijepolje, Vlasotince, Dimitrovgrad, Pirot, Novi Becej, Pancevo) participated in the vigil.

The promotion of the book 'Etika hrabrosti' Ksenija Atanasijević and 'Krivo srastanje' Bojan Tonic published by Women in Black took place in the evening with the motto "*We are creating an alternative history*". Zagorka Golubovic, Dasha Duhaček, Lino Veljak, Ljiljana Vuletic, Vesna Rakic Vodinelić and Zarko Korac spoke about the publications. The evening was a tribute to activists and friends of Woman in Black and exhibition "*Always disobedient - we leave a trace*". It started with the Women in Black anthem "*Always disobedient*" sung by the Women in Black activists, the Choir Proba, and the participants of the anniversary. During the evening you could hear "We are the witches", the anthem of the International Network of Women in Black, engaged choir from Belgrade "Test", "Hocu - necu" anarcho-punk band from Kraljevo, revolutionary songs ...

Sunday, October 9th was reserved for feminist leisure - which was optional, a city tour, coffee, going to the theater or socializing at Women in Black premises.

The atmosphere in a few sentences:

● **"Always disobedient - we leave a trace"**

... "It has never been better, I'm fascinated."

... "It was impressive, sophisticated, marvelous. Everything was great. Magical, artistic ..."

... "Excited, it looked nice because of the salt which was used for writing slogans, and it looked fantastic."

... "The event is recorded in an alternative history."

● **"The power of continuity"**

... "Unforgettable gathering, between 150-300 people, the program was rich, great."

... "I am impressed, great event, just the way it deserves 20 years of hard work. I am proud that I was there, as a citizen. I do not know when I felt so wonderful; because of the energy and everything I had a chance to see and read".

... "The most impressive part was the opening at the Center for Cultural Decontamination, when you could see the history of the movement in the faces of women and reactions of all who have been here longer than me".

... "Equality in diversity: in one place there were women of Srebrenica and the punk band, generational, cultural, stylistic, sexual, an atmosphere of trust and love."

... "It was deeply moving when we came out, and said hello to women from all around the world in their languages..."



Women in Black and Resolution 1325



War and gender insensitivity

The conference *Moving from beyond theory to maximize security in the OSCE* was held in Sarajevo on the 27th and 28th of October. About hundred women from 27 countries and international organizations as OSCE, UN Women, EU, civil society organizations participated at the conference. It was emphasized that only 31 countries adopted the National Action Plans (NAP) for the implementation of UN SCR 1325, 19 of them are members of the OSCE. In the process of drafting the NAP are Croatia, Georgia, and the United States.

Jasminka Dzumhur, Ombudsperson in Bosnia and Herzegovina said that women are not at decision-making positions in Bosnia after the implementation of the Resolution 1325. She wondered how women in countries in transition can struggle with the issue and expect support when it has not been done in the European Union.

Katarina Strbac from the Ministry of Defense of Serbia stressed that the Ministry of Defense had the help of NGOs and the media in the NAP drafting process, and that the NAP is drafted according to the concept of human security. She concluded that the reform of the army is in progress and due to that the overall pace of reform is slow.

Madeleine Rees, a Secretary General of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom emphasized that the NAP can not solve all problems: "We need to focus on the causes of violence, to relate things, for example in which way the sale of arms affected the increase of violence in Libya. In the whole process we have to include men, they have to deal with the Resolution 1325, to support women to enter the security sector. The whole process must be inclusive and non-discriminatory. In post-conflict societies the processes of lustration have to be supported; it should be a part of Resolution 1325 and the NAPs. Without the inclusion of men in all this processes we can not succeed. "

Gordana Subotic presented the views and comments of Women in Black to the National Action Plan for the implementation of the Resolution 1325 in Serbia drafting process. She pointed out that the role of women's peace activism in Serbia is completely invisible. By highlighting only one organization (the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence) the NGOs that are an extended arms of the state are favored at the expense of autonomous women groups, which were the first to stage street protests against the war, who organized the largest number of non-violent protests and who were the most active in bringing down the dictatorial regime, and after its downfall, who worked relentlessly on the building of a just peace. The subjects of the civilian society were not invited to participate in the creation of the concept and practice of a different concept of security, such as human security. The draft Action Plan devotes more attention to state institutions than to the support to the NGO sector mission and activities regarding the recommendations and implementation of R 1235.

Subotic called for NAP analysis undertaken by the activists of Women in Black with the support of the academia, professors from the Faculty of Security Dragana Dulic and professor from the Faculty of Law, University Union, Vesna Rakic-Vodinelic and Sasa Gajin. "Ten years since the adoption of resolution 1325 institutions were ignoring the permanent and long-standing efforts of the civil society. We recall that the Women in Black since 2005 require the implementation of Resolution 1325

and the adoption of the resolution of Women in Black "*Women, Peace and Security*" with the specific political context of Serbia today. In this they were supported by dozens of civil society, but also some members of the Assembly of Serbia, but this issue has never been included in the agenda of the Assembly's session, "said Subotic.

Resolution 1325 is considered to be a valuable tool in the development of the role of women, developing agendas and strengthening of international ties among them, because it applies to all the women of the world. Thus it enables the organization of women on a sub-national, national and supra-national level. The National Action Plan for the implementation of the Resolution and the entire experience concerning the work of the institutions in Serbia regarding Resolution 1325 clearly reveals that the integration of Serbia in the international community, notably in the European Union, comprises exclusively normative institutional mechanisms, rates Subotic.

She notes that the risks and threats to security in Serbia recognized by the traditional model (only external forms of threats, such as the declaration of independence of Kosovo and terrorist aspirations, religious and ethnic extremism, etc ...), without addressing the real problems of the citizens of Serbia. The National Security Strategy puts the transitional problems in the 10th place, but does not elaborate them further. The concept of human security is not taken into account, as well as internal forms of security threats, which are the most dangerous for its citizens (problems as social inequality, economic underdevelopment, poverty, corruption ...).

NAP proposal is made by the uncritical application of neo liberal and militaristic approach to security and gender. Seen from the procedural and political aspect, the proponent of the development and implementation of NAP in the majority of countries is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whereas in Serbia it is the Defense Ministry.

The NAP takes into account the inclusion of women in the *security sector in principle*, although the prevailing concept of 'security' is that which is traditionally applied to armed conflicts. The entire approach to NAP in the implementation of R1325 promotes the traditional/militaristic concept of security, for several reasons:

- *The Defense Ministry is the proponent of the NAP activities for the implementation of R1325, which confirms a militaristic approach to security and is unacceptable from a feminist-pacifist point of view;*
- *Security is reduced exclusively to the military and police dimension, while overlooking the dimensions of human security, which cannot be achieved by strengthening of the repressive systems (army and police), but by redirecting of military expenses to civilian purposes, conversion of the military industry, demilitarization on all levels, etc;*
- *The Strategy of National Security of the Republic of Serbia (2009) advocates a militaristic, rather than a humane concept of security; although the concept of human security is mentioned in the preamble, as a new concept that has been adopted globally, the "problems of economic development" are mentioned at the very end of the list of threats to security, whereas they pose a real threat to national security.*

NAP takes into account only representation and percentages of women in the army and the security sector. Human security is merely declarative, whereas the document does no focus at all on the gender dimension.

In relation to Kosovo, without examining the political context and the issue of the status of Kosovo, that the focus of R1325 is human security and that insistence on the defense of state interests is

harmful precisely in this sphere. Ending political strife and accepting reality will free abundant resources that can be put to use in overcoming problems that pose a daily threat to human security. Subotic emphasizes the stand of Women in Black "for us there can be no 'objective obstacles' that draw us apart and that by creating networks of women organizations ever since the end of the wars we have been paving the way to reconciliation. In this sense, the experience of the *Women's Peace Coalition*, which is made up of the Women's Network of Kosovo and the Women in Black Network of Serbia. The *Women's Peace Coalition* is a civil initiative of women based on women solidarity that overcomes national, ethnic and religious divisions and borders.

In the case of Serbia, this means that one of the priorities of the Resolution must also be the post-conflict social reconstruction, i.e. processes aimed at fact-finding about the past atrocities, establishing individual accountability, incriminating and punishing the perpetrators and conducting institutional reforms that will make possible institutional, but also societal discontinuity with the regime that bears responsibility for genocide and the most serious crimes. .

NAP must be involved much more extensively in activities related to these fields, while their actors, representatives of non-lustrated institutions, primarily the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, must clearly define their attitude toward the wars in the states of former Yugoslavia, toward the Srebrenica genocide and war crimes, pledge for full cooperation with the Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), for the amnesty of all deserters and stripping all members of the military who broke the International Humanitarian Law in the wars of the 1990's of their ranks and decorations. The syllabi of military and police schools should include the in the period of wars of the 1990's in order to raise the feeling of responsibility and acknowledge the position of civilians. The responsibility for the victims of war in the entire region lies with all of us. The state has to undertake all the necessary measures to heal them, literally and symbolically, from the consequences of violence. Therefore, the Resolution has to provide for processes of reparation and reconstruction of situations that are a direct consequence of war.

If we want to implement anti-discrimination laws, mentioned in the NAP, they have to be complemented by serious legal regime which prohibiting discrimination. Civil society is mentioned as the proponent of certain activities in the table of the NAP only sporadically, with other actors, Subotic lists.

NAP takes into account exclusively the representation and percentage of women in the army and in the security sector. Human security is of secondary importance, although it is declaratively present, whereas the gender dimension is completely out of focus in this document. Gender emancipation is understood in quantitative and not in qualitative terms and it is reduced solely to the system of quotas, i.e. the participation of women in the security sector; thus the patriarchal authoritarian power structure is retained (an alteration of the form, but not of the content of power and/or the replacement of male by female proponents); instead of developing the gender dimension of a democratic power, patriarchal power is preserved. Besides, the formal participation of women in the "male spheres" of power, leads to the loss of the gender perspective as a powerful instrument of analysis of the distribution of power in a society (it is considered that the "aims and the demands of women have been fulfilled" by the very participation of women in power structures regardless of the content of that power); this kind of "empowerment of women" is in itself support to militarism and discount of emancipated aspirations of the autonomous women's movement. It is important to educate both women and men through the prism of human security in institutions and in places where decisions are made on security issues.

The circle of silence around violence

Belgrade Security Week (BNB) - a joint initiative of civil society organizations for creating space for a dialogue about citizen-oriented concepts of security was held at the *European Centre for Culture and Debate in Belgrade (GRAD)* from October 27th to 2nd of November. In a series of panel discussions, workshops, exhibitions, and film screenings, visitors had the opportunity to meet with Belgrade Security Week CSO network activists and numerous guest speakers from Serbia and the region, and talk about different aspects and challenges of human security. During the Belgrade Security Week on October 31st Women in Black organized a panel discussion entitled '*Security seen by the eyes of women*'. The discussion was moderated by Stasa Zajović.

Marijana Stojčić, a Women in Black activist, said that " security should be viewed from the perspective of human rights and human security which focuses both on human rights of individuals. This requires demilitarization of security at institutional level, which means reducing the number of troops, reducing the military budget and redirecting the resources for civilian purposes, reduction of production and trade of weapons, disseminating the values of solidarity, cooperation, justice, respect for human rights, interculturalism ...".

She further argues that the contemporary moment, at the global and the local level, is dominated by the neo liberal economic model and its effects - increasing gap between rich and poor, total collapse of the achievements of the welfare state, the growth of all forms of violence, military interventions and strengthening of backward, racist, fundamentalist and militarist tendencies, the abolition of the achieved level of economic and social rights. Such a system affects the poor, including women in particular.

In this system the profits are being privatized while the losses are being socialized. The increase in inequality is just the other side of another phenomenon: possibilities reduction, and there are many forms of discrimination: based on gender, nationality, ethnicity, religion, age, class discrimination against the poor and uneducated...

Rules of neo liberal globalization are tailored to favor the rich: they encourage the states for the competition in the entrepreneurship, which brings the lower taxes for corporations to enter the markets, which further weakens health and the environment protection, and undermines what we once considered "fundamental" rights of workers and people" considers Stojcic, a sociologist by profession.

What started as the 'Arab Spring' is now overflowing to the streets of the cities in the rest of the world. In these societies, very small number of people - less than 1 percent - control the biggest share of wealth, wealth determines power, corruption presents a way of life; the rich often do not allow the improvement of living conditions of the entire population.

"The uprising we are talking about here is an uprising organized without a party, a hegemonic organization and without a recognized leader. In accordance with Women in Black feminist-alterglobalist stand about the links and interdependence between all parts of the world, human security is built through policies and actions of international solidarity and support, "concluded Stojcic.

Borka Vasic an activist of the Regional Center for Minorities and Women in Black said "My people and I - Roma people, we feel very unsafe because of our skin color. Wherever I go, I plan to go home before the dark because of the neo-fascists and Nazis who organize to bully and to threaten

us. They draw swastikas on the walls of our houses, in public transport vehicles and public toilets, reminding us that fascism is still alive. As an activist I work hard and learn from Women in Black and the Regional Centre about human rights violations. I have shown to my people many laws on human rights and their violation, which I received from Amnesty International. I disseminated those materials to make my people, Roma people, aware of their rights” said Vasic.

Tamara Kaliterna, Women in Black activist, spoke about the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) United Nations and the reactions in Serbia. The ICTY indicted 161 persons for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Proceedings against 126 have been completed. The ICTY is the first international criminal court since 1945 and the courts in Nuremberg and Tokyo and the first established by the UN. In accordance with the Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the ICTY has ended the tradition of impunity for war crimes and put the clear message that the international criminal justice is achievable, assessed Kaliterna.

By accusing the heads of state, prime ministers, chiefs of staff, many ministers and other officials on various sides of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, the Court called to accountability regardless of the position and power of individuals. More than 4,000 witnesses told their stories at the hearings, which contributed to establishing the facts which are of key importance in the fight against crime and to prevent denial of revisionism, which is the basis for lasting peace and good relations between the peoples of former Yugoslavia, she said.

Of overall number of accused persons 161, 104 declared as Serbs when asked for their nationality. Although, 80 of them are Bosnian Serbs, most of them escaped to Serbia, which was a safe haven for them. They got the Serbian citizenship so they benefited of the Law on aid to defendants in ICTY and their families, adopted in March 2004 to help the accused and their families. According to this law, Serbia will fund the salaries, pensions, travel to the Hague every 15 days for family members, phone bills and pocket for the defendants as well as attorneys fees, Kaliterna listed.

During a single week in April 2004, Women in Black organized action under the slogan '*Not in our name - not with our money*' and collected 22,000 signatures against this law on the streets of Serbia. Parliament never put the request for abrogation of this law and redirection of these funds to humanitarian purposes in the parliament agenda. Serbian government has paid for the Hague prisoners and their families, 400,000 Euros in 2005; 200,000 Euros in 2008 and 190,000 Euros in 2010. At the same time the state representatives called for international financial assistance.

In addition, every citizen of Serbia, including babies in diapers are loosing 159 Euros per month in the last 16 years for hiding of Ratko Mladic only. At one point there were 46 fugitives in Serbia. They blocked the path of Serbia towards the EU and closed the European funds for Belgrade permanently. This represents total annual loss of 1.2 billion of Euros, according to a serious calculation of Women in Black.

Bojan Tonic, a journalist and an activist of Women in Black said 'Although conscription has been abolished, the military – reserve troopers are being summoned to receive their combat schedule. The penalty for not responding at this call is three months of imprisonment.

Tončić continues: Those citizens who are informed at all, should feel the meaninglessness of the expensive game called war, which causes the government, to squander money from the budget. By inertia, it is used the fact that many people agree with the reporting and reinterpreting of the war

schedule, spending huge amounts of money (calls, transportation, food, per diems), on senseless shooting under orders which are dangerous for those who use them. `The army creates an atmosphere of unity under the archaic slogan `We all are one army` and behaving in that way the army is legitimized as a monstrous growth on the societal body. In the past months in the media, new accomplishments were often celebrated, such as the allocation of housing for young officers. They are obtained by complex illicit operations, because the army provides municipalities with what is not its property. The Army builds homes which are situated in prime locations in all the cities and for them, municipalities provide communal land with infrastructure for housing construction, or finished homes. And, finally, religious service was introduced in the Army in a discriminatory manner and the contracts were signed by military leadership and leaders of all the `traditional` religions. It all costs money, the army has a special administration facilitating contact with God and the realization of this idea will be paid from the budget. The response to this affair, detrimental for the citizens, should be that the secular state must not take issue with religious matters, which should be left to the citizens' free will and expense. Here we are before the election campaign during which we expect to see the abuse of the army in various ways, what is left of the army fleet breaking the sound barrier, and the Serbian president in supine position, dressed in a `Vietnamese` with binoculars in hand, defense minister and other politicians and illiterates wearing boots, will be monitoring if there is shooting in the distance. It is senseless, crazy and dangerous`, Tončić concluded.

Zorica Spasojević representing Women Autonomous Center stated that every second woman in Serbia is a victim of a psychological violence and every third woman is a victim of a physical violence. Every third girl and every seventh boy are victims of incest.

She evaluated that state is a false protector of women and children. Last year, there was 30 women killed, and 40% of them were killed by the firearms. Less than one quarter of the cases were reported previously. In the first nine months of this year, 33 women were killed. One quarter of them have reported the violence to the authorities. One fifth of the violators in this family law context were soldiers or policemen. Among them is also a former Deputy Interior Minister, concluded Spasojević.

Miloš Urošević, from Women in Black, explained what endangers security of human rights defenders. He said that security of human rights defenders is endangered in the country which has great legacy of criminal past. Human rights defenders are fighting against the denial of war crimes and that is why they are qualified as traitors and are victims of various campaigns which are led against them. Those who live in small cities have to face with even greater problems, because they break the silence which covers the violence against women. They are accused for disturbing `national consensus`, face the pressure and are attacked from the institutions and members of fascist groups. Constitutional Court of Serbia does not forbid fascist groups. One of the obstacles for the security of human rights defenders is the absence of the political will. The state of Serbia does not want to protect human rights defenders. I am afraid that the question of security of human rights defenders is going to be marginalized in the next year, because Serbia is getting ready for the elections and human rights are not of any help to our state, Urošević added. He also evaluated that human rights defenders do not have direct legal protection, because the major projects financed by European commission, do not bring any direct protection, they are concerned for standards, technocracy and bureaucracy. Human rights defenders will continue defending the rights of others, cooperating together, because when one of the voices can not be heard, all the others in the group are in jeopardy, too, he promised.

Activities of Women in Black for demilitarization of security



Solidarity and mutual support

Women in Black want to promote the concept and practice human security (economic, health, personal, political) which is not based on the power of arms, but on the values of solidarity, justice, feminism, antifascism, antimilitarism, respect of human rights, inter-centrality...

Solidarity with the workers

Women in Black together with six other NGO`s from Serbia have signed on 5th of October the statement for the demolition of the workers` barracks in New Belgrade and the arrest of one of the Women in Black activists, Marija Perković. The demolition started that very day with numerous policemen, utility workers, city and municipality clerks. They started demolishing five assets settled with 21 families, without providing them in advance with alternative accommodation. Police formed picket lines to stop human rights organizations activists approaching the barracks and monitored the process of demolishing, in order to be sure if it is in accordance with human rights standards. Police also used force, in addition to ID checks, especially in the case of the arrest of Marija Perković, but also toward some of the residents who opposed the eviction. Lawyers` Committee for Human Rights and representatives of the Regional Center for Minorities, demanded the postponement of this process. `Human rights organizations demand that the urban and municipal authorities uphold entirely their obligations from the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which guarantees the right to housing including adequate alternative care in cases of forced evictions`, says the statement.

Facing the past

Non-governmental organizations Women in Black from Belgrade and Art Clinics from Novi Sad, have stated on October the 12th, that they have demanded from the authorities of Zrenjanin to support the initiative of setting up a memorial plaque for Croatian prisoners in the former concentration camps in Begejci and Stajićevo. In their demand, among other things, it is written that now is the chance to rectify this unacceptable failure. On 18th of November in 2011, it will be twenty years since the fall of Vukovar, after a siege of the city that lasted for 87 days, concentration camp Stajićevo being established from the very beginning. `In those camps, most of the prisoners were killed, while the others were treated in inhumane ways, and that is why they sustained permanent damage. By the act of placing the memorial plaque in the places of former concentration camps of Stajićevo and Begejci, we would contribute to the strengthening of the reconciliation process and trust in the region of the former Yugoslavia. Also, we would provide symbolic reparations for the victims of the camps and their families (which is of multiple importance). Also, this would be a step toward freeing Serbia from the burden of the wars of nineties, in which the Yugoslav army under the control of the regime of Slobodan Milošević, together with paramilitary forces, committed severe crimes`, says the statement. `On the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the killing of two soldiers, Dražen Milovanović and Dragan Jakovljević, we express our solidarity with their parents and their families

and once more we lend our support to an investigation which will find out the truth regarding their death, which is obviously connected with the concealing of the whereabouts of Ratko Mladić, in the military installations` says the statement of October 5th. `We have to declare once again that state judicial authorities continue with the unbelievable obstruction of the investigation into this crime and that the public is unacceptably indifferent...It is high time for the government to assume their share of responsibility for establishing the truth regarding the execution of those two soldiers, as well as to do everything in their power so that all of those who stand in the way of justice be prosecuted. Serbia needs to know the truth, in order to implement justice and open the prospect for a normal future, which means life without crime, fear or violence. We demand from the state of Serbia, first of all from the Ministry of Defense, Police and Justice, to stop concealing the truth regarding the death of those two soldiers and to provide the justice for the families of the victims.

Relevant institutions have to punish the perpetrators of this crime and discontinue their policy of impunity for war crimes as well for the crimes in peace`. Gordana Subotić and Miloš Urošević represented Women in Black during the memorial ceremony on the death anniversary of Milovanović and Jakovljević, in the front of army barracks in Topčider. Civil society representatives in Serbia, laid a wreath in memory of those innocent victims of the criminal policy which is still at work in Serbia. Besides Women in Black, the statement was also signed by the Euro-Atlantic Center Studies and the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia.

Commemoration to victims of war crimes

Peace group Women in Black reminded in their statement of 18th of October that this date also marks the 20th anniversary of war crimes in the village of Lovas in Croatia. `War crimes committed by the JNA and Territorial Defense, with the assistance of local civil and the military authorities and volunteer formations `Dušan the Powerful`. From 10th to 18th of the October 1991, as a part of the crimes organized by Slobodan Milošević`s regime, seventy people were killed. In April of 2008, the trial for the crimes against civilians who were forced into the minefield by the JNA started before the War Crimes Prosecution of the Special Court in Belgrade. They are also accused of torturing and executing Croatian civilians who were illegally captured and coerced into forced labor. For the war crimes against civilians in Lovas, fourteen people have been indicted, the statement reminds. Women in Black hope that `All the responsible for the crimes in Lovas, and not just the executors, but those who planned it and ordered them, and not only those crimes, will be punished`. Women in Black representatives were present on the 18th of October during the memorial ceremony on the occasion of the anniversary of the crime.

Monitoring the trial

In the trial session to Mladen Obradović on 3rd Oct 2011 in Belgrade, one of the leaders of the fascist organization `Honor` which is charged with the crime of `racial and other discrimination` during the preparation of the Pride Parade in 2009 (Criminal Code, Article 387), Lazar Pavlović from Gay Straight Alliance testified. He testified about the position of the LGBT population, about the attacks and threats directed against the members of the LGBT population as well as against the NGO activists. Members of the fascist organization `Honor` casually entered the courtroom wearing T-shirts with the inscription Serb, Honor and the image of the war crimes indictee Ratko Mladić. The judge did not react. Pavlović said: `The right-wing extremist associations were calling for violence against the participants of the

Pride Parade`. Obradović said that they would by all means oppose the Gay Pride Parade. Threats against the accused and the organization `Honor` contributed to the police assessment that could not guarantee the security of the participants of the parade.` The witness presented to the judge the material from the site `Honor` which states: `Announcement for Serbian enemies - perverts: For you there is no human or God's mercy. You will be severely punished and eradicated.` Then the prosecutor asked the witness: `How do you comment that Belgrade was plastered with posters `We are waiting for you.` The witness responded: `It is clear that we are talking about physical assault, intimidation, propagating discrimination, violation of freedom of assembly`. The witness explained that the threats have `caused fear for his life and a sense of insecurity. And so, those of us who were on the Parade Organizing Committee pulled back out of fear.` The Gay Straight Alliance had announced demonstrations to the police, but the locations offered by the police were not accepted for political and logistical reasons. Pride Parade should take place in the center of the city. Police stated that the manifestation had not been banned, but that a relocation had been suggested. The next trial session is scheduled for 25th in November. On 21st of October, in the Belgrade Palace of Justice was a new hearing for the trial of Miša Vacić, one of the leaders of the organization `1389`, who was accused of spreading racial and other discrimination in the process of organizing Pride parade in 2009. (Criminal Code, Article 387) and of illegal possession of weapons. This is the first case in domestic law where someone has charged under Article 387 of the Criminal Code because of the violence / discrimination against LGBT people.

`Not guilty` - the defendant began. `That day I was supposed to be on a party of non-violent and sexually healthy people, which was scheduled in the same place where Gay Pride parade was to take place. But the police banned both of the public meetings, so we went to the liturgy in the church of St. Sava. That is where I was arrested. In Old Town Police Station I was remanded for thirty days. Ten days after his release from prison, inspired by the unjust regime, puppet government institutions, I created a poster with pictures of the president and some ministers, with their promises and what they have conducted at the end. When I was putting up a poster on a telephone booth at New Belgrade, a police car stopped and police tried to arrest me.` The accused depicted himself in front of the Trial Chamber as a victim of police and not a perpetrator, by switching arguments. The next session is on 5th of December, 2012.

III Security of Human Rights Defenders

Squatters, activists and police officers

On 5th of October, 2011. around 10 o'clock with the activists of civil society organizations (Women in Black, Regional Center for Minorities, Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, Praxis, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, Reconstruction Women's Fund and the Defense of Philosophy) I was at the corner of Milutin Milanković Boulevard and Youth Brigade Street, where makeshift houses of construction company `Ratko Mitrović`, which are illegally occupied, were to be destroyed `Squatters` are not in accordance with the law, and all residents of the lodgings were to be provided with an alternative accommodation. We were prevented by the police lines from approaching the site, we were practically unable to move, without being shown any document endorsing such actions. However, having



examined our IDs, policeman Vuk Marković (badge number 102,724), to whom I submitted a valid passport, began to harass me because `I do not have a valid ID card.` When I returned about ten minutes later from the yard where the makeshift houses were located, the same policeman roughly grabbed me by my left arm, and continued troubling me because of my valid document. My witnesses for his behavior are activists Nataša Lambić and Zoe Gudović. Two policemen put me in the police car. Policeman Vuk Marković informed me that I was arrested because of `criminal interference with an officer`, under the order of the commander Sredoje Mirković. In the car they insisted that I do switch on my mobile phone, and none of two of them informed me of my rights. Nobody offered me a lawyer. They just listed my belongings and put me into the prison cell, poorly lit and with two dirty blankets, with puddles of urine against the wall. Nobody offered me any water, food, or possibility to go to the toilet, or a chance to make a phone to anybody, and nobody communicated with me, either. The cell, beside such miserable hygienic conditions, has no window, no air supply, and there was no chance for me to call anybody in case of emergency. After about two hours spent in that cell, I got my period. Police officer who ushered me and took me to the inspector, said `here is her lawyer's number...` and showed to the other police officers in plain clothes a piece of paper. Nobody had showed to me this paper and nobody said I could have called a lawyer. The policeman in plain clothes, whose name I do not know, said that there was `no time` for that call and then they took me back to the cell. I insisted that they should provide me with a clean cell and water. They transferred me to a bigger cell, but there was no light either, no air supply, a wooden floor, two dirty blankets and the wall full of urine puddles. After half an hour, a policeman in uniform came with the deposition, which I refused to sign until I was provided with a toilet, food, water and sanitary napkins. After ten minutes a policeman in uniform agreed to provide me with all that, if I wanted to pay with my own money. When I got everything I needed, I left the unsanitary cell, but I refused to sign the deposition, because it was written in my name and in the absence of my lawyer. I insisted that I talk with some of the responsible officers and certain Radoičić received me. However, he did not inform me of my rights, made no record of complaints the police procedure regarding the harassment I endured although I possessed a valid document, to a denial of the right to one phone call, and the denial of the right to inform me why I was detained, withholding my rights, to the placement in a room that posed a threat to human health. I, as a Serbian citizen, pay taxes and give my contribution to the police fund, which should be at my service. When I left the police station, I was informed that my friends (Staša Zajović and Milan Antonijević and Kristina) had come to the police station and spoke with the chief of the shift Boško Stevanović, providing him with the telephone number of my lawyer and demanded of him to give it to me. But, nobody informed me of this. I insist that charges be pressed against those policemen in accordance with the law and that detention cells should be urgently pulled down, or banned from use. Also, I do demand the replacement of a commander of the New Belgrade police station, because of endangering of my health, violation of my legal rights and violation of my fundamental rights and human dignity. I demand the resignation of Serbian Police Minister Ivica Dačić for command responsibility, too.

Marija Perković, activist of Women in Black Serbian Network

IV The experiences from the world



UN SCR 1325 Instrument of the peace Betty Reardon

Founder Emeritus, International Institute on Peace Education

In October 2010, the 10th anniversary of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, the United Nations conducted a session to review progress in its implementation and the Non-governmental Community organized a Peace Fair, celebrating the resolution, lamenting the failure of member states and the UN itself to vigorously pursue its full implementation, and to consider next steps moving toward achieving its purposes. In the weeks of stocktaking following the anniversary, and the passage of Resolution 1960, NGO activists, including a number who had been involved in initiating, drafting and adoption of 1325, perceived a trend overshadowing the core intent of the resolution to advance the political empowerment of women to assure gender equality in dealing with all matters of peace and security. While that trend embodied in resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960 toward ever stronger measures to overcome violence against women in armed conflict, is in itself a necessary end, it is not sufficient to the fundamental circumstance that makes it so difficult to eliminate all forms of gender violence, especially that which results from the interstate system of militarized security, women's essential exclusion from security policy making. Certainly sexual violence is (and always has been) among the most horrendous aspects of armed conflict and must be addressed with the most immediate and strong measure possible. But such measures are in a sense palliatives, in the words of Cora Weiss focused on "making war safe for women." Some who undertook the first steps toward 1325 had intended it as a step toward the ultimate abolition of war. Unless and until this goal is clearly articulated, and the essential need for women's equal political participation to achieve that goal is recognized, the need for one palliative measure after the other will continue.

So, too we must recognize that the goal of authentic, sustainable peace is not one that will be met by the cessation of individual conflicts. Peace means the renunciation of armed conflict as a means of achieving the ends or "defending the security" of states or other political actors. It means constantly focusing on the core purpose of the United Nations "to end the scourge of war." As the essential purpose of all disarmament negotiations was declared in 1962 to be general and complete disarmament, a fundamental requirement of peace, so, too the overarching purpose of all steps toward mitigating militarized violence, should achieving sustainable peace. Peace established with the institutional changes required to maintain a demilitarized security system will be sustainable if it is just. It will be just only if it derives from a commitment to universal human rights and (also as stated in the UN Charter) the equal rights of men and women.

These principles are integral to 1325, but their centrality is often lost in the focus on women as victims of armed conflict without equal emphasis on women and makers of peace and participants in deriving and maintaining a system of human rather than state security. Shifting the focus of the security discourse from the protection of the state to the realization of human well-being makes it imminently clear that security is not possible without the full and equal participation of women.

These are some of the concerns which lead some in the NGO community to bring renewed attention to the wider meanings of the elements of prevention and participation, now overshadowed by the

protection components of 1325. The resolution sought to encourage steps toward the prevention of armed conflict through the participation of women. The purposes of the subsequent resolution are welcome developments in the articulation of the urgency of the issues of gender violence. But the language of those resolutions gives little attention to women's participation, and less to a commitment to prevent armed conflict with a strategy for the abolition of war. It was with the hope of opening further discussion on the equally urgent need to include women and civil society in all peace and security negotiations and in the drafting and discussion of any further resolutions derived from 1325 that a few from the civil society community working with the United Nations drafted an "Open Letter to the Security Council on Resolution 1960." Like 1325 itself, the letter is an example of global citizenship in action and the possibilities for non-governmental agents to take action to influence, even to formulate international standards intended as instruments of peace. It has a place in our curricula.

As a peace educator, I see this Open Letter and Security Council Resolution 1325 to be along the policy documents to be studied along with such others as the UDHR, CEDAW, the Rome Statute of the ICC as the examples of the possibilities for the policy and institutional changes that can move us from a war system to a peace system, by transforming the security paradigm from the state to the human family, and demonstrate the necessity of a gender perspective on these matters. Arms control measures have not produced substantive disarmament. Certainly some such as the land mines treaty have reduced the human consequences of armed conflict, as it is hoped will the vigorous implementation of the resolutions on sexual violence. But neither moves us closer to abolition. These are issues to be addressed in any program of peace education, as they will be by peace educators participating in this year's session of the Commission on the Status of Women, February 21– March 4.

Beti Rirdon (Betty Reardon), Honorary founder of the International Institute for Peace Education

Comments on the Open Letter to the Security Council

This letter has been signed by many more concerned global citizens since it was forwarded to each individual member of the Security Council and other United Nations personnel with responsibilities or interests related to gender equality and peace, including the recently established UN Women, an arm of the world organization committed to integrating women and their concerns into all aspects of UN policy and actions.

While the world organization has called upon member states to establish National Plans of Action for the full implementation of 1325, not even all members of the Security Council have done so. Portugal has promulgated such a plan and The United States has undertaken the drafting process. As peace educators we can call upon our students to inquire into the status of such plans within their own governments and in nations of special interest to them. As citizens we can all express to our governments and UN missions, our support for urgent and substantive action toward the drafting and enactment of the strongest possible plans of action. Quotations from the letter may be useful for those purposes.

Educators and educational institutions and agencies who wish to sign on to the Open Letter may do so by sending their names, titles, locations to the following e-mail address. It will be circulated at the 55th UN Commission on the Status of Women, February 21 – March 4, 2011.

Important Links for Further Study:

- Security Council Resolution 1325 <http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf>
- Security Council Resolution 1960 <<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N10/698/34/PDF/N1069834.pdf?OpenElement>>
- Open Letter to the Security Council on Resolution 1960 <<http://www.gnwp.org/unscr-1960-and-the-need-for-focus-on-full-implementation-of-unscr-1325>>

Commission on the Status of Women - a Selection of Panels and Events of interest to Peace Educators:

- Implementing SC Res 1325 on Women and Peace and Security – Strengthening the CSW 55 Agenda – 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY, USA (February 17, 2011, 2:00-3:30 PM) <http://www.peacewomen.org/news_article.php?id=221&type=event>
- Implementing 1325 on Women Peace and Security: Strengthening the CSW 55 Agenda – UN Church Center, 777 UN Plaza (2nd floor), New York, NY, USA (February 23, 2011, 2:00-3:30 PM) <<http://www.ngocsw.org/parallel-events/schedule/2011-02-23#parallel-events-details>>
- Peace Education for the Girl Child: Scientific Competency for Gender Equality and Political Participation – UN Church Center, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY, USA (February 24, 2011, 2-3:30 PM) <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/55sess.htm#other>>
- Women and Education: Peace Education, Empowerment after Disaster and Beyond – Taiwan Economic and Cultural Office, 1 E 42nd Street, New York, NY, USA (February 25, 2011, 1:50-6:30PM) <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/55sess.htm#other>>

Impressum

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

Layout and illustrations

Marija Vidić

Publisher: Women in Black

Beograd, Jug Bogdanova 18

Tel/fax 011/2623225

email: zeneucnom@gmail.com

web: www.zeneucnom.org

Supplement `Women, Peace and Security` edited editorial corps.

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

