

# Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ October 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](http://www.zeneucnom.org)

The editorial board

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# Women in Black and Resolution 1325



## The tragic experience of rape

On 18<sup>th</sup> of October, 2012. Regional women`s lobby (NGO which gathers politicians and activists out of the region) Conference was held. They discussed the status and role of women in conflict and conflict resolution within UN Security Council 1325 Resolution. Regional Women`s Lobby was founded in 2006. in Zagreb.

‘We believe in women`s potential and that women bring new values in politics and governance,’ said Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo and the current President of the Regional Women`s Lobby, Edita Tahiri, while opening the conference.’

Rape in war is one of the most serious elements of the legacy of the wars of nineties and was one of the issues discussed on the conference. Croatian President Ivo Josipovic has suggested why the majority of rape cases during the war in Croatia has not yet been processed: ‘For various prejudices among women, among the witnesses and the judiciary, appropriate actions were not taken to prove to the perpetrators their own crimes, actually in an appropriate manner,’ he said. Regional Women`s Lobby Board member from Bosnia and Herzegovina-Memnuna Zvizdic believes that punishment of rape is not a top priority in her country.

The executive director of Medica, support group for women rape victims from Kosovo, Vepore Shehu said that they now support 103 women victims of rape during war, so that they could appear in the court: ‘Women have to testify about their tragic experience, and it`s hard to find another woman which would confirm it, as they have often promised to each other not to tell anyone about how they were raped and abused together.’

Sonja Biserko, a Regional Women`s Lobby Board member, warns that implementation of the Resolution 1325, which proposes greater participation of women in decision-making conflict resolution process and at the same time seeks protection of women in armed conflicts, is very slow in southeastern Europe.

Stasa Zajovic from Women in Black of Serbia spoke about ‘Accessing justice for the survivors of sexual violence against women in war’ and its implications. She reminded that Women in Black with related feminist organizations have appealed in 1992. to Belgrade feminists and among other things demanded that rape and all other forms of sexual violence against women in war have to be declared as war crimes and that international court which should prosecute those who are responsible for rapes in war, has to be established immediately.

Court should be composed exclusively of women. For more than 20 years Women in Black have not ceased their demands for justice, for women victims of sex crimes. Since the ‘institutional legal system does not meet the justice in the most of the cases, civil society takes responsibility for justice by creating an alternative legal system made of people`s and women`s tribunals.’

‘In Serbia, by the end of 2010. a National Action Plan on 1325 Resolution was used selectively and arbitrarily by the side of Serbian authorities, rather than in accordance with the Resolution, Article

12, Serbia pledges to prevent impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls,` Zajovic said.

Zajovic claims that Angelina Jolie`s movie `In the Land of Blood and Honey` regarding rape of Bosnian women turned into a threat to national security in Serbia and she also mentioned defamation of prof. Dr. Dragana Dulic, a former dean of the Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade. Professor is criticized for cooperation with Women in Black, supporting Pride, and the most she is criticized for offering to students a variety of literature on the rape as war crime. Women in Black have strongly objected to smear of Professor Dulic, and have initiated campaign of solidarity with the professor. Dulic was supported by dozens of prominent members of academic society, as well as civil society organizations from Serbia and all over the region, explained Zajovic.

## **The second round against cluster munitions**

After the first petition and more than 850 signatures collected all over Serbia, Women in Black continue action to pressure on institutions of Serbia to STOP Cluster bombs and sign the Convention on Cluster Munitions. Women in Black have organized a new petition to sign the Convention. `Action of the petition is the highest act of civic responsibility and solidarity with all the victims of cluster munitions. The signing of the Convention is important because victims of cluster bombs in Serbia are not eligible for international assistance, because Serbia is not a signatory of the Convention,` it is said in the statement of Woman in Black, issued on 25th October.

It is evaluated in the statement: `Continuing Action of the petition we remind institutions and citizens that Serbia is the only country in the region that has not signed the Convention yet, as well as that during the NATO bombing all over Serbia 300,000 cluster bombs were thrown around and in 97% of cases civilians were the victims of cluster munitions.`

Except of Women in Black from Belgrade the statement joined Women in Black from Serbian Network(Hourglass-Krusevac, Independent Women`s Center - Dimitrovgrad, Roma Association-Novalja, Roma Association Danica-Pancevo, Women for Peace- Leskovac, Esperanca-Novi Sad, Women Alternatives-Sombor, Help for women and children victims of violence-Vlasotince, Women`s of the south-Pirot, Center for girls, Women`s Space, Olivera Nosov-Nis, Phenomena-Kraljevo, Alternative Circle-Kragujevac).

They invited the public to join the action of 25th October and as a responsible citizens contribute towards signing a petition for Serbia to become a country of peace, health and solidarity! For: `In Serbia, there are more than three million pieces of illegal guns.`

The participants of the protest in Belgrade carried placards with the inscriptions: `Serbian government is responsible for signing of the Convention`, `Sign the Convention on Cluster Munitions`, `The signing of the



Convention=HELP FOR THE VICTIMS` ; ` Stop exporting weapons` , There must not be new victims` ,  
` Disarm Serbia-sign the Convention` , ` One signature changes everything.`

By signing request in Serbian towns, some of the victims explained why they do it: ` I lost both legs and sight in my right eye therefore I lobby to ban and promote the Convention` ; ` In Nis children sick and pregnant women were killed by cluster bombs. It just shows what kind of relationship country has toward those who were lucky enough to survive.`

On the anniversary of the passage of Resolution 1325 – on 31st of October, submitted postcards and petition signatures by the citizens will be delivered to the Minister of Defence of Serbia Aleksandar Vucic.

## Commencement of Safety Charter

Women in Black on 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of October have organized a seminar `Engendering human security-toward a feminist anti-militarist notion of security` within the project `Engendering Human Security` (Engendering Human Security), which began in June of 2011. Within the project was carried out and independent monitoring of implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP) for the UN Security Council Resolution 1325., conducted by Women in Black who worked since June 2011. with eight civil society organizations from Serbia and Women in Black Network

Based on the research made on `shadow report` - `Independent monitoring of the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Serbia`, which contains the results of research and monitoring indicators since July 2011. until May 2012. The Working Group continued contacting institutions in narrower and wider security sector, the Ministry of Defence in order to prepare NAP indicators for use. Institutions, primarily the Ministry of Defense, remained silent on the most of our requirements.



The seminar was attended by 27 participants from Belgrade, Nis, Leskovac, Pirot, Doljevac, Vlasotince, Dimitrovgrad and Kragujevac. The participants had the opportunity to meet with the monitoring of 1325 Resolution in Serbia, Women in Black Resolution `Women, peace and security` issued in 2005. expressing what threatens their safety the most. Jelena Simic from the Law School of Union University in Belgrade, analyzed and responded to questions about the abuse of international instruments in the field of health. This seminar of Women in Black began to write feminist antimilitarist Security Charter in cooperation with women's organizations of civil society.

*Gordana Subotic*

# Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security



## Punishment of love

‘There is no political will of Serbian state to get in the way of homophobic violence’ -Women in Black representative Milos Urosevic stated on 3d of October and he also added: ‘Fascist groups which are threatening to LGBT population are part of that state.’

‘I am a radical feminist. The first important thing is that we have to understand what it means to be homosexual and what it is to be heterosexual, which therefore decides for us whether we will live or die. For, we as homosexuals, in the most of the cases, are more dead than dead ones. The second important thing is that we who live as gay or lesbian do know that our experience is not transferable. The third important thing is constant fear that we feel. Physical attacks on physical integrity of ours shatter our sense of ourselves. Consternation, loneliness, isolation are at the root of our experiences. We are always in the state of war which is not declared, but refers victims’ - Urosevic said during panel discussion within Pride week, under the title: ‘Gender and sexuality, the causes of violence over LGBT population and women.’

As the fourth, Urosevic mentioned facing the hatred, as ‘a message of desirability of our death’ which was delivered to us at the moment of our birth as homosexuals, because of our arrogance to assume that we have any right to live. We are unique group being killed all over the world only because of those that we love. The fifth important thing is living within the unpunished violence and impunity of violence. We are exposed to violence, because we speak the truth. And at the end, there is facing the silence: silence about us, erasing of our existence, our absence from the history, ect. The silence produces vulnerability, and so we, in order to survive, have to break this conspiracy of silence, constantly.’

In his closure, he gave an overview of the actual Serbia: ‘We who are dealing with human rights have the responsibility to appoint various rightist, clerical, nationalist, hooligan groups as fascist ones. ‘Honor’, ‘Ours’, ‘1389’, ‘Doors’, are fascist groups which act as non-state actors, but actually are under control of parts of the secret services of Milosevic’s criminal regime and are not disbanded yet. Those are the same who have rid of life Vukovar to the ground, who were shooting on Sarajevo for 1.425 days, the same who have raped 30.000 of Bosnian women, committed genocide in Srebrenica, organized deportation of more then 800.000 Albanians from Kosovo. During war they were killing those with different names, and in so called peacetime, they are killing us. They are the same who broke Pride Parade, in 2001., those who were delivering us messages in 2009. such as: ‘Kill and slaughter, so the fagot that does not exist,’ or ‘There will be bloodshed, but not Pride Parade in Belgrade!’, as well as ‘We are waiting for you!’ in 2010. And in 2011. the message was: ‘Gays in blender!’...One more proof that they are fascists is a ‘Proclamation to Serbian enemies’ on the site of ‘Honor.’ In the part dedicated to ‘sexually perverted’ it is written: ‘There will be no human nor God’s mercy for you. You will be punished severely and eradicated.’ The key word is eradicated. It considers physical destruction of all of us who are different. Those

are the fascists who are part of Serbia and Serbia uses them when needed. Fascist organizations are on the payroll of Serbian authorities. They have transparent support by the criminal institutions such as Serbian Orthodox Church, who at war blessed `Scorpions` who have slaughtered those with different names, blessed genocide, Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, whose members provide transparent support for fascists. There also deputies of nationalistic parties: Serbian Radical party, New Serbia, Democratic party of Serbia. Fascist groups are executors for the national workers, and in the name of the national cause. We must not allow state of Serbia to abolish our lives once more, by forbidding Pride Parade. We must not allow state of Serbia to bury us once more, silently. We invoke to the state of Serbia: `Fascism is not freedom of speech. It can not and must not be so. Freedom of speech for antifascists and for the fascists-be silent!`

Representative of the organization Center E8-Aleksandra Maldziski, informed regarding results of the research in accordance with which 58% of young boys, 14-19 years old would not like to have a gay as a friend, 66% of them are disgusted when a man acts like a woman and 38% considers that violence over homosexuals is always justified. Rade Buncic, representative of Kultur Park organization, informed upon the project Museum of violence. He concluded that it is of great importance to finally introduce crime out of hate.

## **Who said security?**

`If state forbids Pride Parade, it will mean it lost monopoly over force or has become weak. Or it cooperates very well with paramilitary and parapolice forces, which threaten with violence and intimidate the public,` said Jelena Milic, Director of the Centre for Euro-Atlantic Integrations, during discussion `Who said security?`, held on 2<sup>nd</sup> of October in Belgrade Media Center. The discussion was a part of the manifestation `Week of pride,` which have started on 1<sup>st</sup> of October, and should of finished with Pride Parade-walk through the streets of Belgrade. But it was forbidden just before.

`When you speak of reasons for which Pride Parade should be forbidden, politicians then use a term security risk. Here we do not have security risk but security threats. Risks are related to natural disasters which are difficult to predict and with the threats you got to monitor work of the extreme groups and react. Both Aleksandar Vucic and Ivica Dacic depersonalize source of threats, and those are, to our opinion, paramilitary and parapolice forces, not hooligans. Those extreme groups do have structure, chain of command, communication equipment, relevant data,` emphasized Jelena Milic.

`Within Serbian national security strategy, security threats regarding Pride Parade are not mentioned, which shows that Serbia considers security traditionally, and deals with human security only in a declarative way. In focus of the traditional security concept are state safety, national unity and integrity, and in focus of human security is human life and realization of human rights. Human security observes security problems of the community through human focus and emphasizes security of human life, security of an individual, realization of human rights regarding life threats, health threats, contamination, personal security and human dignity. Human security concept starts with survive and human dignity, which demands `freedom of fear` as well as `freedom of scarcity.` It also demands protection and promotion of human rights instead of protection and promotion of the rights of state` -said Gordana Subotic in the name of Women in Black.

She added that human security concept was explained for the first time in 1994. in UNDP report on human development, when it was defined through seven dimensions: economic security, safety of food, health, environment, personal security, social and political.

‘Security risks’ listed within the Strategy of national security (threat of armed aggression, separatist aspirations, Kosovo independence...) security risks due to which Pride Parade 2011. was canceled, are not mentioned. Personal and political security are dealt by the side of Serbia only before Pride Parade. Human security concept considers, though, a continuous work on improvement of human rights and safety of all the citizens in all dimensions of human security, no matter which of the communities they do belong, and not only when realization of their rights is threatened with physical violence,’ Subotic concluded.



Milan Antonijevic, Director of Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, also emphasized that Serbian government do not want to deal with human rights in a proper way. ‘Safety of the citizens is lightly regarded and used only to ban Pride Parade. Crime out of hatred is not introduced in the Criminal Code of Serbia, yet. Trials for attacks during and before previous Parades, were initiated by NGO’s, but the procedures are too slow,’ concluded Antonijevic.

### **Candies instead of rocks**

As a sign of support to LGBT organizations from Macedonia, Serbian LGBT activists, and among them Women in Black as well, protested on 30<sup>th</sup> of October, 12 o’clock, in front of Macedonian embassy, in Belgrade, with the placards, which contained inscription in Serbian, English, Macedonian and Albanian language. They were holding flags and umbrellas with rainbow colors, as well. Demonstrations were organized by Labris and Queeria center. In accordance with the research of the International gay and lesbian association, Macedonia is the state with the highest degree of homophobia in Europe.

Organizers consigned the letter Ljubisa Georgievski, Macedonian ambassador in Belgrade, in which they criticized members of Macedonian government, clergy and the media, for increasing the intolerance toward LGBT community in Macedonia.

Attacks on LGBT community in Macedonia started on 12<sup>th</sup> of October, when Minister of Labour and Social Policy Spiro Ristovski, defined strives of LGBT community for greater visibility of their rights as ‘demand for legalization of same-sex marriages’ which he and his government ‘will not allow’ because they ‘promote healthy nation’ in which ‘a child should be raised within marriage, having a mother and a father, as the only real biological basis of life.’ Daily news ‘Evening,’ published on 15<sup>th</sup> of October, on the front page, title ‘NO to same-sex marriages in Macedonia.’ This homophobic campaign joined Minister of Internal Affairs, unions, athletes, pensioners association. On 23d of October, with help of Holland embassy, first LGBT center in Macedonia was opened. But it was stoned next morning.



## **Nobody wants Pride Parade**

Women in Black together with Coalition for Access to Justice and Coalition against discrimination, invited on 3d of October Serbian authorities to speak up publicly: `are the members of LGBT population citizens of third class citizens, are they the only group whose right to gather publicly and express attitudes is constantly deprived, are state authorities free of obligation to respect and protect their rights guaranteed by the Constitution.`

Coalition for Access to Justice and Coalition against discrimination have noted that for years the most responsible representatives of the authorities emphasize the same: `Conducting of Pride Parade is a question of security, and not human rights.` This sort of attitude which is weird and which contradicts to the right on personal security of people, has an aim to cover up in publicity analogy of political ideologies of those who recourse to violence in the society and whose name is hooligans, and those who are entrusted to care about protection of violence in society within in limited time, and whose name is actual representatives of state authorities` -it is said in the invitation.

`None of them want Pride Parade because they have developed toward it personal, political animosity...Coalition for Access to Justice and Coalition against discrimination demand of Serbian Republic authorities to make a decision courageously this year and step out of this vicious circle of violence which bears reactive policy. Resist to violence, stand for the rights and freedoms, as basic values of society, show your teeth to political extremists...If not, you will be accomplices in human rights abuse,` Women in Black stated through those two coalitions in Serbia.

## **Crime in Lovas after 21 year**

On 18<sup>th</sup> of October, 2012. Women in Black representatives will attend the commemoration and marking the anniversary of crime in Lovas, 1991., it was announced.

`Women in Black peace group reminds that it will be 21 years since war crime in Lovas village, in Republic of Croatia, whose perpetrators are members of Yugoslav National Army, helped by members of Territorial Defense, local civic-military authorities, as well as members of paramilitary forces `Dusan the great` and `White eagles.`

`Since 10<sup>th</sup> until 18<sup>th</sup> of October, as a part of organized crime by Milosevic`s regime, 70 persons were killed in the village. Court Council of Special Court in Belgrade, sentenced on 26<sup>th</sup> of June with 128 years of prison, fourteen members of ex Yugoslav National Army, members of Territorial Defense, local civic-military authorities, as well as members of paramilitary forces `Dusan the great` and `White eagles,` for at least 70 persons executed in Lovas village in 1991. The prosecution demanded 160 years,` it is said in Women in Black statement.

`In accordance with the words of Presiding Judge Olivera Anđelković, most of the allegations are proved. Survived ones have witnessed that on 18th of October members of self-proclaimed local authorities forced group of Croats into the minefield in order of demining it. In those explosions 22 civilians got killed. In the months of terror, in this border village, majority of the population who are of Croatian nationality, had to wear white straps on their arms, they were tortured and beaten

up, forced into slave labor and collecting corps of their compatriots. Some of them were taken to concentration camps in Serbia. Senior officers of Yugoslav National Army of that time, under whose command this crime was committed, were not accused. In that way, it was distortion of war character in Croatia,` it is considered by Women in Black.` It was criminal, aggressive undertaking of Yugoslav National Army units, paramilitary soldiers from Serbia, territorial defenders, because during trial it was proved that there was no armed resistance of residents of Lovas,` it is stated in the statement.

The trial for crimes in Lovas have started on 17<sup>th</sup> of April, in 2008. During trial procedure, 194 witnesses were examined, which according to the Prosecution, together with members of Court Council, were exposed to numerous pressures. Women in Black and relatives of the victims are disappointed, because as mitigating circumstances for the accused were used explanations as: `married,` `father of three children,` `no prior convictions,` `although ill answered back regularly whenever invited to trial,` Women in Black stated.

By this sentence, character of the war on the territory of ex Yugoslavia, was once more interpreted in a wrong way: the responsibility of the Joint Criminal Undertaking is relativized, in which Yugoslav National Army was involved, the army of all Yugoslav Republics, have attacked one of those Republics, it is said in the statement.

`And the last but not the least. Women in Black would like to remind, although judge several times called on to testimony of Snjezana Krizmanic who was raped, Alexander Nikolaidis was not sentenced as a perpetrator of such a criminal deed. This showed once more, insensitivity of the legal system for the crimes over women during war,` it is concluded in the statement of Women in Black.

## **Slavonian death fields**

Two days after trial to Goran Hadzic have started, as Prime Minister of something which was used to be called `Serbian autonomous area Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem,` in Lovas, small village near border of Serbia, a commemoration of 22 killed in the minefield, was organized. Six representatives of Women in Black, went to Lovas, in order to show to their residents, that they are not alone.

On 18<sup>th</sup> of October, 1991., members of Serbian paramilitaries, have forced 51 Lovas residents to enter into minefield, holding their hands, and `clean` it with their own lives. When the first mines exploded, Serbs started shooting those who have survived and 22 of them were killed. One of the civilian was executed previously being unable to walk and therefore incapable of entering into minefield. The minefield was set up by Yugoslav National Army engineers on 11<sup>th</sup> of October, one day after they have conquered the village and after six days they did not need it any more. They did not left the map of the minefield, either.

Hadzic`s Prosecutor described how in Ilok, the closest Croatian city to the border of Serbia, 50 non-Serb prisoners, were taken into the clover field mined by Serb forces. `Prisoners had to take each other hands and walk through the field waving their legs, in order to locate mines and `clean` it. When the first mine exploded, Serb soldiers started shooting prisoners and they executed 21 Croat. The most of the rest was wounded,` said Prosecutor Douglas Stringer.

`Killing fields` were imported to East Slavonia from Asia. On the Cambodian `killing fields` two decades ago, `The Khmer Rouge` executed at least 1.386.734 citizens. There are still trials going on down there against genocide and crimes against humanity.

After four trials, and 21 years since the crime was committed, 14 of the accused for the executions of 70 civilian in total, in Lovas, were sentenced all together with 128 years of prison in Belgrade. The Prosecution demanded 160 years.

In 2003. 18 of them were prosecuted in Croatia in absentia, for Lovas case. Fourteen of them were in Serbia. They have been reasonably absent from the country. One of the accused testified from Belgrade, ex officio.

Serbia prepared logistics for this testimony. Serbian and Croatian lists of defendants did not fit. Culprits are still among us. Serbian Prosecution for war crimes can find who was forgotten out of the accusation for Lovas here [www.centar-za-mir.hr/uploads/LOVAS\\_izvjestajisa\\_sudenja.doc](http://www.centar-za-mir.hr/uploads/LOVAS_izvjestajisa_sudenja.doc).

Hours later, to those who have survived in the minefield, it was allowed to collect the wounded people. Then they were transported to Sid by private vehicles. Ambulance staff, Hippocratic`s Oath signatories, did not want to provide help for them. And Oath reads: `In the performance of my duties no considerations will affect me, patient`s religion, nationality, race, political affiliation or class. I will absolutely respect human life from the very beginning.` Eight kilometers from Sid is the monastery Privina glava whose abbot Gavriilo blessed `Scorpions` paramilitaries, who have executed six persons from Srebrenica, out of which three were juvenilles. On 18th of October, 2012. a placard totters on the frontage of the church St. Nicholas in Sid: `Holy Prince Lazar pray for us.`

Executions in Lovas lasted until 20th of October. They have stopped because Belgrade celebrated deliberation of fascism. The rest of Lovas residents escaped on Christmas Eve, in 1991. Massacre in Lovas was also in the accusation for Slobodan Milosevic. It included as well executions in the village near by-Opatovci. In Lovas used to live 85,7% of Croats and in Opatovac out of 550 of residents, 43,4% were Croats and 21,1% Hungarians. Out of 75 civilians murdered in Lovas and Opatovac, twelve were women. Four of them were under 20 and 32 under 50 years old. Tihomir Pavosevic bagged his mother, sister and grandmother in vain on the day attack occurred, to leave. All of them were killed. Out of 68 persons who were exhumed from a mass grave in Lovas, except those three women, there are four persons from the same families-Sabljak, Luketic, Krizmanic.

Mihaela Sabljak found her husband dead in the woods, this summer, after 21 years. Lovas was a rehearsal for Vukovar battle, on 18th of November, 1991., twenty kilometers southwest.

Lovas is on the Croatian slope of Fruska Gora and Opatovac on the opposite side of the Danube river from the direction of Apatin. Both Croatian Opatovac and Serbian Apatin are the toponyms of the same origin: `abbey`-the place where the governor is the one lower in rank of the hierarchy of the Catholic church. There is a happier village named Lovas, too, on the north, in Hungary, with 300 residents.

A witness on the trial Zeljko Cirba, said the first unpleasant situation was at the time of harvest in 1991., when Yugoslav National Army stopped harvesters, tractors, trailers. `It was unpleasant to finish the harvest and at the same time be targeted by rifle tubes and arms.` Nobody believed that neighbours could bring `Yugo-army` and chetnics in the village. People were killed in the garages,

chapels. Priest Burik advocated subsidence of the situation but was murdered couple of days later,` - said Cirba. As deputy county of Vukovar-Srem county, on 28th of October, he says on the minefield: `To whom we have done anything wrong. To execute even one person is too much.` Whisht was interupted by the silence.

In the summer of 1997. a mass grave of those who were executed in the minefield, was founded in the common grave on Catholic graveyard. They were thrown into the channel 25 meters long and one meter wide. Vukoman Jovanovic witness, saw their hands and legs were peeping out due to soil shrug. They were buried properly next spring. The channel is now an green uplift, 25 meters long and one meter wide.

On the building of Lovas farmers cooperative, there is a memorial plaque dedicated to the victims of `Serb-chetnic ocupation.` Local reading room has been converted into a prison, Catholic church which was old 250 years was razed, the graveyard dishonored, four houses in the same center were demolished to the ground in order to build an Ortodox Church, Croatian home, minicipal building, `Borovo` factory, farm, dryers and silos, INA drive destroyed, machines taken to Serbia with approximately 200 tractors.

Emanuel Filic, witness, was beaten on 22nd of December, in the celler of a private house where `police` was situated. They were beating him with baton, baseball bat, and board since noon until tomorrow morning. He could not walk, they had to take him home. That very same day, on Monday, he was told he has to move out, otherwise he will be executed. Ivan Antolovic, witness, was beaten in the minicipal celler, on Catholic Christmas Eve. Vjekoslav Babic, tractor driver, witness, was beaten 18 hours in the garage. Father of the accused, a mechanic, maintained his tractor before the war. Josip Grcanac, witness, heard that one of the first who were killed was Milan Latas, 80 years old. At distance of hundred steps he saw four corps. Parents were interrogated by the armed ones, where their sons are. Josip`s grandfather was captured in Lovas, after in Sid, and afterwards in Stajicevo in Vojvodina. The property of his was robbed, his house and house of his son was burnt. They got all the mechanisation and market.



Local doctor, Serb, who is son in law of the main accused in the Belgrade process, who is sentenced with 20 years of prison, said some of the Lovas residents were in `Dusan the great` unit. The village was attacked by Yugoslav National Army cannons. When the wounded ones were returned from Sid in the surgery without electricity or medicines, Yugoslav National Army captain ordered him to destroy records of the wounded. Tomislav Selebaj, witness, war drummer, said that those who were invited to approach the minefield, were besieged by the reservists from Valjevo, in colorful uniforms.

Ljubica Adamovic was with her minor children in the cellar: `Petronije asked of us to deliver him everything we got in the house. He took out of his pocket three golden teeth and showed us. In order to avoid torture we gave him money and gold we had. They took my father-in-law. I want to know who killed him.`

Stjepan Peulic witnessed that Serbs demanded from Croats to mark their houses with white straps. He saw when a woman with surname Momcilovic, pushed cart with things taken out of Katica Pavlicevic`s house. She drove those things into the house of defendant`s mother. They took of witness his daughter`s golden coins.

Martin Safarik told that all the residents had to come each day to the farmers cooperative, if they are not of Serb nationality, where they were deployed to work. First couple of months they had to wear white straps on their sleeves. Except of feeding the cattle, they had to drive woods out of the forest and collect corps form the minefield, which were in the truck for 4-5 days and bury them. They had to go in the houses and garrets in order to collect corps there, too.

Marin Pejak, witness, said: `The army ordered to Croats to wear white straps on their arms and mark their houses with white sheets and towels.` Branka Balic, witness, said that out of the courtyard of her uncle, `Trnda` and a soldier took car with the things of her children and all the documents. She saw out of her neighbor`s cellar how D.G. kills her father on 10th of October at 9.40.

On the wall of the dining room, on 18th of October, 2012., which welcomed less then 30 people from Serbia who are ashamed, is the picture of the protector of the village: St. Mihovil holds ruffled wheat and not a soar as his courterpart archangel Mihail.

V. M. walking on crutches said: `No one of the 20 chetnics was from Lovas. I would say by their nicknames they were from Zemun. Chetnics detachments were entering my house, they have stolen all the valuables and they have beaten my wife and my child. Three of the residents have died due to torture. They cut off their arms and legs with a chainsaw. The army did not interfere in the torture.`

In the building where the witness was captured with the rest of the residents, at the same time was Hadzic, too. He was arrested in Serbia last year. He is the epilogue of the Tribunal of Hague.

Since 1993. the Tribunal have sentenced 161. It would be in percantage 58% of Serbs, 25% of Croats and 9% of Bosnians.

On our way back, they shoved just rugosed apples in our hands.

As Plato explains in the seventh epigram: `To give or to receive an apple, means to accept love you have been offered.`

*Tamara Kaliterna*

## Patriotism in the form of crime

On 22nd of October was twentieth anniversary since the abduction of 16 Bosniacs passengers, citizens of Social Republic of Yugoslavia, from Sjeverin (Priboj municipality, Serbia), by the side of Republic Srpska Army members and `Avengers` formation members. They have started their everyday work travelling to Priboj, by bus, through the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The commander of `Avengers` was Milan Lukic and they have stopped the bus, while it was moving over Republic Srpska territory, in the place Mioce. After they have checked the documents of fifteen men and one woman, they have transported them by truck to motel `Vilina vlas` in Visegrad. There they have tortured them and then took them on the bank of Drina river and shot all of them.

Mehmed Sebo, Zafer Hadzic, Medo Hadzic, Medredin Hodzic, Ramiz Begovic, Dervis Softic, Modhad Softic, Mujo Alihodzic, Alija Mandal, Sead Pecikoza, Mustafa Bajramovic, Hajrudin Sajtarevic, Esad Dzahic, Ramahudin Đatovic, Ediz Gibovic, and only woman among them Mevlida Koldzic, all of them from Sjeverin village.

District Court of Belgrade sentenced in July of 2005. on twenty years of prison Milan Lukic, Oliver Krsmanovic, (in absentia both of them) and Dragutin Dragicevic. Đorđe Sevic was sentenced on fifteen years of prison. Lukic was arrested by the beginning of August in 2005. in Argentina and extradited to Hague Tribunal, where he was sentenced on life imprisonment for the crimes in Visegrad.

Krsmanovic was arrested on 31st of May last year on the territory of Visegrad. Prosecution of Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted investigation against him regarding crimes over Bosniacs in Visegrad. Explaining the verdict, chairwoman of Court in Belgrade Vinka Beraha-Nikicevic emphasized: `Dead people from Sjeverin are not buried decently yet, all the executors are not sentenced yet, and the state of Serbia did not admit its own crime.`

It is added in the statement that all those citizens of Serbia were executed only because they were Muslims. `Women in Black consider that Court of First Instance as well as Supreme Court, did not accept that the accused belonged to Republic Srpska Army, which was financed, organized and supported by Yugoslav Army, as it used to be then.` The Courts covered up responsibility of the state, though it was determined at trial. In the name of Sjeverin residents who were killed, in the name of their families, in the name of justice, dignity of victims, we demand of Serbia to arrest the perpetrators and their commanders, so the citizens would not be hostages of the crime in Sjeverin, `it is said in the statement of Women in Black.

Women in Black activists marked with relatives of victims anniversary of crime. On the place of memory of the crime, in Mioce, were Priboj municipality representatives and Bosniac National Council. Women in Black have laid the wreath on the bridge over Lim river. Attendees were approaching and thanked them for their presence. There is no mark for the citizens who were brutally murdered.



## Eight years since the murder of guards

In front of the entrance in caserne in Topcider, on 5th of October, ten activists of Women in Black, laid a wreath of white flowers, that morning. With them here were members of families of the murdered guards, Dragan Jakovljevic and Drazen Milovanovic, as well as legal advisers of the families.

Two guards were killed on 5th of October in this caserne under unclarified circumstances. It reasonably suspected that they were executed because they have seen ICTY fugitive Ratko Mladic.

Immediately after shooting, the Army informed that Milanovic shot Jakovljevic and then committed a suicide. Later on, an independent state commission reached the conclusion that a third person shot both of them. This commission report was confirmed by FBI forensics in 2008. For the first time, families were delivered an anonymous letter signed by `former escort of the Hague indictee,` in which it is stated that Mladic is responsible for the death of their children, who at that time, as it is claimed, was in the Karas military facilities, near caserne.

Lawyers of the families of victims, said that Constitutional Court ascertained that there was abuse of the right of families to fair trial for this crime, and by it, as they say, it is also ascertained that they were executed, too. Constitutional Court brought decision on 18th of July, but still the families were not informed upon it.

Parents of guards-Janko Jakovljevic and Petar Milovanovic said that after eight years of waiting they do expect the justice and do not have any confidence in actual authorities, since nobody provided them with the answer who is behind the murder of their sons. Olgica Baltic, lawyer of the families, informed she will demand as a deputy to set up an inquiry committee in Serbian Parliament, because there is a political responsibility for covering up of this crime. Aleksandar Đuric, lawyer, said that military personnel who have information about this crime should be freed from the obligation to keep state secrets.

Women in Black and Center for Euro-Atlantic studies, one day before expressed solidarity with parents regarding eight anniversary of the execution of Jakovljavic and Milovanovic and once more supported their search for the truth of their death.

`Topcider case-murder of two guards of Serbian Army while they were on their regular military service, which do not have criminal or any other epilogue for eight years already are the excellent example of lack of judicial reforms and security department in Serbia in whole. This crime confirms the lack of political will and state responsibility, too, to clear state apparatus of all those who committ, encourage and cover up criminal deeds. It is indicative that in Serbia 2012. still there is no critical level of pressure of the public opinion, so that culprits of this one and other criminal deeds, such as execution of journalists and politicians, would be brought to justice,` stated Women in Black and CEAS.



CEAS, supported by other organizations of civil society, from year to year, collect proves that state

covers up systematically circumstances of death of soldiers in Topcider, regardless the fact that actual government is DSS, SNS, URS, DS or SPS. State strategy is to exhaust families, because they are the only who are fighting for the truth and justice, instead of state itself, it is concluded in the statement.

`Serbia considers cooperation with Hague Tribunal ended with deportation of the indictees. CEAS and Women in Black consider that true cooperation means obligation of of Serbia toward citizens to inform who was hiding Hague indictees, or make it possible, regardless the position they are on. First of all, from Ministry of police, defence and justice, and then of state of Serbia, we demand to stop hiding the truth about executions of guards, and justice for the families regarding execution, as well as to find all of those who are in any way responsible for it. We demand the end of impunity, as for the war crimes, for crimes in peace time, too,`-it is said in the statement.

## **Women resistance to war**

In Belgrade on 27th and 28th of October, as part of `Women's Court-a feminist approach to justice` we discussed on `From maternal politics of peace to feminist anti-militarism.` During the discussion we spoke about militarism and if women are peaceful, by their nature or how Serbia reacted to forced mobilization during wars because `Serbia was not involved in war`... Discussion was attended by Rosa Jakovljevic, mother of guardsman Dragan, who was killed on 5<sup>th</sup> of October in 2004. in Topcider caserne of Belgrade, during a regular military service: `He went to serve the military, and it would be better if he did not, because he would be alive today,` said Dragan's mother, who is in mourning.

In 2010. the members of the Initiative Board, consisting of: Women to Women, Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), the Center for Women and Peace Education Anima from Kotor (Montenegro), the Center for Women's Studies and the Center for Women War Victims in Zagreb (Croatia), Kosovo Women's Network , Women's Studies and Women in Black of Belgrade, initiated the organization of the `Women's Court - a feminist approach to justice.` During meeting of the Initiative Board of Women's Court in September 2012. it was agreed to include in the membership Council for gender equality of women in Macedonia and `Lara` from Bijeljina, Bosnia Herzegovina.

Woman in Black are holders of program activities of Women's Court. At October meeting, 2012., we talked of militarist violence against women in the world, the crime of forced mobilization, especially in Serbia, and elsewhere, about the resistance of women and militarism during the war and collective creation of the anti-feminist alternatives.

The meeting was a combination of workshops, debates-interactive lectures, film screenings and meetings. Forced mobilization is one of the unrecognized, hidden, silenced war crimes against civilians in Serbia, the highest burden on the back of women. Essays out of the recently published textbook, published by Women in Black regarding women's politics of peace, the struggle of women against war, dictatorship, forcible mobilization experiences in Serbia, deserters resistance and rebels against the war and support of women etc, were the foundation and impetus for discussion at this meeting. A reader is intended for school `Sophie Scholl / Sophie Scholl - we will not be silent.`





Movies: `Common Dreams` (Suenos compartidos) produced by association Mothers of the May Square, in 2007., on the occasion of their thirty years of searching for their missing children during the military dictatorship in Argentina since 1976. until 1983., and short film about the anti-war movement: `Mother of Russian soldiers,` `Mothers of Beslan`, `Mother of Sri Lanka, Rwanda,` `We are searching for our missing-not to forget the genocide in Srebrenica`, `We deliver you back the tank-women ask`, regarding street-antimilitarist, feminist action in front of the Assembly of Serbia in cooperation with artistic collectives Art Clinics and Skart, were shown.

By this performance in front of the institutions of Serbia, we demanded answers about the facts related to war and war crimes. We have also shown a film about the murder of two soldiers in Belgrade, and video work by Maja Bajevic from Bosnia and Herzegovina `flushing the weight of history`, a documentary about the trial in Tokyo in 2000. on the mass sexual crimes of Japanese military against women during World War II in the Pacific. Film about women's courts since 1992.

The meeting which lasted for two days ended with a conclusion that resistance of `angry grandmothers knows no boundaries, no divisions, no age.`

### **Silence louder than hate**

As a fragment of artistic engagement of Woman in Black, in Belgrade Museum of Applied Arts, organized by Skart, on 9th of October, we have promoted the album photos of Srđan Veljovic under the title `Women in Black in the context of the city.`

Surrounded by Skart art group posters- `Only imprint of the second and third, will tell about the first`, `Snow just used to winnow,` `Who is crazy to be smart,` `Your shit, is your responsibility.` Monography was an opportunity to talk about the engagement art.

Stasa Zajovic, Women in Black coordinator said: `The photographs of Srdjan Veljovic (*Srđan Veljović*) cover a period of the last couple of years, when this artist collaborated with the Women in Black. The events that these photographs represent mostly involve street actions - questions of interest to the Women in Black from the very beginning (1991). Those are primarily topics that concern dealing with the past - the crimes that were committed in our name, as well as all other crimes, the responsibility for war and war crimes. Feminist/anti-military/anti-fascist/alter-globalist actions are also included.`

The photographs are in black and white, not just because of an aesthetic preference, the clearer re/presentation of the grayness, the hopelessness of a post-war city in transition, but mostly because of economic reasons.

*Low prices/frugality/sparingness/poverty/scantiness* is a political and ethical deed of the Women in Black, together with the artistic - activist collective that we collaborate with. We take this opportunity to thank the Optimus collective from Novi Sad, that makes printing of our circulation possible beyond all market laws in accordance with economic capacities.

Taking a public space for the disclosure of what is hidden, falsified, suppressed, denied, cleared... `Is my moral responsibility and obligation. I stood on the street and I stand as a witness of my moral decline, but people did not want and do not want to see, feel uncomfortable about our

presence. I can understand people's desire not to know, but I can not accept it!-it is written in the introduction.

In Belgrade where the square or squares in the last twenty years (with the exception of short ascents of emancipatory rebellion) have become places dominated by a politics of a homogenized, uniform public, losing their substance and the meaning of the word 'agora' - places of gathering, sharing news and ideas, where citizens would meet..(L. Mumford) In Belgrade, the center of 'relevant national' institutions that mobilize and shape the national being, instead of the city becoming 'an organ of conscientiousness' (L. Mumford) or 'an organ that will express and realize the personality of a citizen of the world' (J. Kotkin).

In Belgrade, the center of a nation state that 'rests on the dangerous idea that a political community is made up only of members of a culturally and historically defined nation, others and the different are very often excluded, sometimes even from life

'*The city is an organ of memory*', and Belgrade lives in oblivion and denial.. The photographs in this monograph testify about erased topics that the dominant political/social public and cultural production didn't and still doesn't want to know about: the innumerable atrocities done in our name (for instance the genocide in Srebrenica, the crimes committed during the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina, the crimes in Vukovar, Strpci, Sjeverin..). Belgrade lives in erasing the sufferings of others, patching up atrocities but we 'don't want the war to be forgotten, to end the memory of the victims of war, to have the amnesia about the war crimes continue - we remind the world of that through our protests'. The photographs testify about those who were and still are excluded, banished, erased, they show those individuals and collectives outside of the dominant national/state/aesthetic code/model - the antifascists, independent feminists, Roma, LGBT people..' Women in Black 'perform' their actions, on the square/street in which relevant national institutions mutually 'compete' - places of patriarchal power - The National Theatre, The National Museum, The Prince Mihailo Monument ('the pretentious monument holds an inaugural place in the nationalistic mainstream history'). The Women in Black - actors of non-violent rebellion with bodies that scream, think, feel and dynamically intervene with the static context, 'take over' the space from the dominant discourse and from those who promote it in public places, they create a subversion of patriarchal traditional symbols. Placing on the same level in almost equal scale the non-violent actors of The Women in black and national/nationalistic buildings, Srdjan Veljovic questions the patriarchal balance of power, emphasizing the political character of the ritual. The 'political' and the 'aesthetic' are inseparable, simultaneously present..'

These photographs also testify about how Women in Black are not moving from the square and have no intention to move from the square/agora. Because, Women in Black have over 20 years of experience in taking over squares as places of public appearance, an experience of modest attempts for direct democracy and that has certain similarities with global, transnational rebellions since the spring of 2011. As M. Hart says '*today's protests are sedentary, rooted in the territory. In essence, not only do they not move, they do not want to move!*

It is concluded in the introduction of the photo monography of Women in Black activities.

Then, was organized the talk regarding monography. First, the Women in Black Milos Urosevic explained as activists of Women in Black using three symbols in the public space: mourning, silence

and body to build protests policies and physical presence. `Our women's resistance to the war build combining black with silence and the female body. Blackness and silence are evidence of resistance at the time of the war while the war lasts, until the crime happens. It is an intervention in reality, getting in and out, presenting denied in the public sphere, on the square. After stopping of wars, we are still in the context of the intervention, but this time against the denial/oblivion. We are in a public space-and this is an area that does not belong to women in the patriarchy, it is reserved for men-so we are engendering square with our presence. We are in the public space and mourning huh. Mourning is not reserved for public spaces. In those rituals of mourning, in this town, we return again the bodies of those killed for the sake of the city and in our names. In these rituals we establish a symbolic link with the dead,` said Urosevic.

Women in Black activist Goran Lazin spoke of `minimalist aesthetics of Women in Black` and Nina Dusper from Germany, member of the organization `Courage` told how they celebrate three dates: International Women's Day, May the 1st and International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women.

Vanessa Janekovic considered very important street event `in Die` from 2003. in the United States, protest against the war in Iraq. Fake bodies were placed on the street and sprayed with artificial blood to awaken citizens. `Women in Black do emphasize what is left of the city, it is the place where they live, where there is social life,` said the guest from the UK. She added that Women in Black `began scooping, reconquering city space` in which emotions are commercialized.

Sasha Kovacevic, Women in Black activist, considers Women in Black have stepped out comparing to antique Agora, because public political reflection used to belong to men and only, in a dominant mainstream discourse while the position of women at that time was rather more complicated. The members of Women in Black in the most deleterious moment for themselves, dared to occupy the public space and the purpose of their silence was to win the hate speech. `Very important element of Women in Black performances was introducing policy of emotions, which are presented by new-liberal concept as a surpassed thing. Women in Black performances were always multiple subversive. Numerous times we held our performances, although police did not allow them. Militarization of our protests last years could of estrange even further Women in Black from the citizens, because it looked as they protect city from us, the monsters, as it prevented even minimal communication with the public. But, through negotiations, Women in Black have succeeded to convert a totally military approach of police. For example, `A pair of shoes-one life` action in the middle of Knez Mihailova street, was conducted with a discreet police presence in civilian clothes. It means that our demands and proposals were met. The police was present in a wider range much more, but not on the spot, as much obviously as in previous cases,` - Kovacevic explained.

In the evening, at the premises of Women in Black, was friendly night in honor of their 21st birthday. Two films were displayed about their activities, and there were cakes, too.

## Human and cabbage heads

In Serbia, on 10th of October, Women in Black have marked for the first time World Day Against Capital Penalty. Four NGO`s from Belgrade (Serbia against capital penalty, Center for Cultural Decontamination, Women in Black and ACT Women, in cooperation with Ombudsman, set the performance `And there goes a head!`. Children actors, led by acting studio of Sandra Rodic-Jankovic played a scene from Sophocle`s `Antigone` in the yard of Center for Cultural Decontamination. Milos Vasic, journalist, presented important facts and audience was provided with slides on the history of capital punishment in Serbia. ACT Women performed the story of executioner and displayed four possible forms of executions. At the end-cabbage heads, disguised as a human ones, were delivered to the audience.

## III In memoriam

### Remembering Nena Kostic

In Leskovac, representatives of Women in Black, have marked in October, a first anniversary of death, of their activist Nevena Nena Kostic. On the eve of the anniversary, Women in Black from Belgrade together with Women for peace in Leskovac published a book titled `She has left a trace`, in which are Nena`s reflections. Nevena Kostic speaks of herself as an Women in Black activist since 1999. : `All those years, I am cooperating with Women in Black. My commitment is the result of civil resistance on the local level against the regime of Slobodan Milosevic, after war in Kosovo. When Stasa heard that citizens do not want this regime and have started initiatives, she came and gave us support and we saw we can work together.`

`We want the change, not the false one, but sincere change in our society`, Nena explains her activism: `A change will not come if we do not face the past and wars in the region. In our society there is a change for the worse. Values are perverted, big problem is violence, corruption, neo-fascist organizations which are increasing. Models which are offered to young people are negative because they glorify murderers and those who committed war crimes. Empowered and a strong woman who does not live in violence can make a difference... Dealing with the past is part of the transitional justice ... Ordinary citizens are trying to forget, and shift responsibility to other people ... It is said: `Yes, we did that, but they have done this to us`...and `Others have started the war, not me!` Why there are supremely Serbs in the Hague? ...Because of our militarist culture!`

Speaking of the NGO sector, Nena envisaged: `There are organizations which exist only pro form, whose activities are confined only to the projects, and we in Women in Black are doing otherwise. To me, the best experience of street actions are our visits to Srebrenica. These are positive experiences. And the day before going to Srebrenica, we are experiencing negative experiences at the Republic Square in Belgrade, where we have a police escort...What I mean when I say I am an activist, it means I have an attitude to clearly and loudly speak what I think, and to make change...My way of



life does not fit into the story of ordinary woman from Leskovac, a housewife and mother, who puts all of her energy to prove herself as such, while the political topics and issues are not those she should be worried about.'

At Women in Black Serbian Network meeting in June 2010. Nevena said: 'The majority of my fellow citizens during the NATO bombing were in Kosovo and it was sure that many of them have done bad things, which have contributed to suffering of Albanian people... We made a parallel between a woman victim of violence, and a violent man- Kosovo is a woman who seven years ago left her abuser, and a violater tries persistantly to return her back. And we came to conclusion that it is difficult to do it and that any woman who is a victim of violence and comes out of it, does not want to return to her violator. Therefore, probably Kosovo will not do it, too...Recently I met a friend from Leskovac, who told me that he was called by Albanian from Gnjilane who asked for help to buy auxiliary parts for his vehicle... After that I started to make inquiries and obtained information and found out that every Saturday is market day when citizens of Leskovac and approximately hundred Albanians of Kosovo, come to Leskovac, it means, that there is some trade, market between citizens of Serbia and Kosovo, and unfortunately our country does not notes and do not want to admit it... I spoke with reservists, many of whom were in Kosovo, experienced very bad time and were not protected by our state. They were often left without food, they often shared one pack of cigarettes between four of them. Now when I ask them if they would go back to Kosovo, they answer 'no'. It is a positive fact, that people, at least people in the south of Serbia are not willing to die for ideals, which just are not real and are not what we need.'

Nena Kostic said during 'Kosovo panel' on 27<sup>th</sup> of September, 2006: 'While I was delivering leaflets and putting up posters against the Constitution, passersby were trying to humiliate and insult us, because single-mindedness is the only value they recognize.'

After Women's peace coalition meeting in Struga in 2007., Nena said: 'When we organized ten years ago anti regime rebellion, Women in Black were the only one who came and provided a hand. Since then I feel safe...I would like to say too, that I have lerned in Women in Black what I would not be able to learn anywhere else.'

During meeting of Women in Black in Bela Crkva, on 5<sup>th</sup> of December, 2009., Nena expressed her moral attitude: 'I am responsible because my fellow citizens who are deserters had to leave the country, because Albanian-owner of a pastry shop had to leave the country, too.'

At the seminar 'Women, peace and security,' on the mountain of Kukavica, on 12<sup>th</sup> of June 2010., she recounted: 'I met a number of soldiers from Leskovac, who were on regular military service during



the war. They said: ' If there were not Croatian women who at night delivered food to us, so that no one sees them, we would not survive' ... RECOM coalition I see as the prospect of opening a new page of history and the possibility of strengthening the links between women's groups and if we achieve the set of goals, then criminals and their actions will become visible, and I expect prosecuted, too. So it would be easier for me who come from the country which has committed many crimes in my name, to look my friends into the eyes without discomfort I do feel in my stomach when we talk about the past.'

At the meeting of Women in Black Network, on 24th of September in Vrnjacka Banja, in 2008., Nena said: 'As a feminist and antimilitarist, I have to be disobedient to all forms of ethnic homogenization, all armies.'

In Leskovac during promotion of book 'Transitionaljustice-a feminist approach' on 25th of February, in 2008. she explained: 'To keep feminist meeting in such a luxurious hotel (Becici) was more than unpleasant. I have an old backpack, which was torn, and I really felt very bad and miserable, when the bellboy came to take it out. I felt miserable, in relation to the environment. I hardly gave it to him...I simply did not belong to all of it.'

During seminar 'Women's Court-feminist approach to justice' in Sijarinska Banja, April 2011. Nena concluded: 'New cultural and national models have imposed return to the 'roots,' fostering of 'real' Serbian tradition. This wave turned into fascination of society through wearing religious symbols (crosses, chaplets), as well as consecration of everything, celebrating city, school, party and hospital religious celebrations. Such a tendencies jeopardize emotional, spiritual, political integrity of women, which is manifested the most through reduction of women on giving birth for the sake of the state, church and nation. It is constantly emphasized by politicians and demographers that giving birth will rescue the nation from Serbian 'withering away' and that this is a kind of 'defense of our territory', which threatens the reproductive rights of women and their right to choose.

On the way to Leskovac and commemoration to Nena Kostic we stopped in 'Tito' pub. Some women were in that place for the first time and wanted to be photographed next to picture of Tito and blazon of the former Yugoslavia. At

the cemetery in Leskovac we from Belgrade waited for friends from Leskovac and Vlasotince, Nena's family and friends... There were about seventy people. Roses were laid on Nena's grave.

We tried to remember Nena by screening two films about her, in the presence of her mother, brother and husband. 'Nena was



exceptional, very smart and brave woman. I was touched by her mother`s words and I could not hold the tears`-Mara Basic wrote down on her return back to Belgrade. Her impression was that `Nena`s Leskovac seems quite dirty. I think it used to look like that in 1999., too, when Nena began to do what she did until her early death. After leaving the highway from Leskovac the sad picture prolonged. Wherever you look, as in some spooky movies, tenement houses, dead leaves, dry grass. Like Serbia before 1999. I know Nena would say the same.`

## IV Experiences of other



### **Nikolic is denying genocide and pushing Serbia in isolation**

Serbian President Tomislav Nikolic for the third time in his short career of President stated in explicit way that there was no genocide in Srebrenica. This week he said it while giving an interview to Corriere della Sera.

`In Srebrenica there was no genocide. It was about individual culpability of members of Serbian people. Serbian Parliament has condemned this crime, but did not say it is genocide. No one among Serbs admits genocide, so I do not, too,` stated President of Serbia.

Before this, he expressed himself in a similar way twice, on 1<sup>st</sup> of June talking for Montenegrain television and on 8ht of June giving an interview to Tanjug.

`In Srebrenica there was no genocide. It is very difficult to prove in court that something had form of genocide,` he said in interview for Montenegrain television, for the first time as Serbian President.

After the first statement, Sarajevo and USA, as well as Brussels, have reacted. They informed new President that denial of genocide in Srebrenica means denial of Hague verdicts. He did not pay attention to it, with the exception that he stoped mentioning Srebrenica`s genocide for three months. And then October came and his message that there was no genocide.

Previous government did not name Srebrenica`s tragedy as genocide, too, but predecessor of Nikolic did not deny it directly, he showed his respect for victims in Potocare-twice. What implies this statement regarding policy of the new authorities towards neighbours, is it one step back relating to reconciliation processes those last years?

He refers to Parliament Declaration in 2010. in which the word genocide is not mentioned.

Parliament deputy Zoran Korac, who did not vote for it then, considering it euphemistic, said for our program that this kind of direct genocide denial means not only disrespect of Hague verdicts, but as well unilateral interpretation of Parliament Declaration.

` Within the Declaration in a very cunning way the qualification crime is avoided, and there is quotation of Hague verdict without mentioning word genocide. But it recalls the Court which have qualified it as genocide. So, Nikolic does not provide correct interpretation or gives unilateral interpretation of Serbian Parliament Declaration. Within is international verdict which he is obliged to respect, because they are practically part of our internal legal system. In other words, he shows disrespect of this Court decisions which was founded by the side of United nations,` Korac is warning.

Is this expression of his one step back relating to process of normalisation of fragile regional relations?

Previously, Boris Tadic visited Potocare twice, showing respect for the victims of Srebrenica, and Serbia, besides Declaration, in which condemns the worst crime, extradited two most responsible leaders of Bosnian Serbs-Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. But, even the previous President never pronounced word genocide.

Enver Kazaz, Professor of University of Philology in Sarajevo, observes continuity on Serbian political scene:

` Out of pseudo truth of Boris Tadic upon reconciliation, we fell to truth of Tomislav Nikolic who calls things by the names of his ideology. For Tadic it might be or might not be genocide, but for Nikolic it was`nt and that is our political capital. Nikolic speaks what Tadic have thought and now it is clear both to Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, to whole region as well, that we need to face finally with war crimes. On all the sides. It is not different on the side of Bosnia, either,` says Kazaz and refers to example of Rasim Delic, who was sentenced for war crimes in Hague but who was never called war criminal in Bosnian public space.

Zarko Korac says Nikolic made step back in relations with neighbours. He can not imagine him going to Potocare in order to show respect for the victims. With such statements he reminds on his past as member of Radical party during nineties. He leads Serbia toward isolation in the region and beyond.

` By this radicalizations of his attitudes, and it is what he always thought while he was in Serbian Radical party, he puts under the question seriously the position of some of the analysts that this is party which have changed tremendously. Every day we see it, that they are very aggressive. He acts not as President of the country, but as president of former Serbian Radical party, and Korac explains why it is additionally problematic.

` Srebrenica became symbol of Bosnia and Herzegovina`s war. To deny character of this war or to deny verdicts of international court, leads to isolation of Serbia. Tomislav Nikolic is not aware that he is under observation of civilized world. They are watching and say: ` Will you complete what Tadic have started or you will at least stay on the same level or you will go backward? It is evident: he goes backward,` Korac concluded.

Enver Kazaz observes that in Serbia is going on for years, process of redrawing of history, and not only regarding 90-ies. In that sense there is no discontinuity in Serbia, consideres our interlocutor from Sarajevo: ` This kind of policy costed Tadic, in a way it was rehabilitation of war crimes, and it went not only in the direction of recent crimes, but deeply in the past, so finally Draza Mihailovic



turned to a symbol of antifashism,` Kazaz stated and immediately showed why the relation toward past is so delicate for the whole region, which reflects in Bosnia and Herzegovina: `The result of this policy is statement of Milorad Dodik, that in Srpska Republic was built-in struggle against fashism of Serbian people. In the essence, it is a vampire twist of the truth, while euphemisms have opened space within political field for radical political elements such as Nikolic,` considers renowned intellectual from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who is not spared of contestation as all the independent reasoners of Balcans, by the nationalistic circles in his ethnicity.

*(Radio Free Europe, 10<sup>th</sup> of October)*

### **The monster at the door of Andric`s Venac**

Oliver Antic, legal advisor of Serbian President, couple of days after funeral of prince Pavle Karađorđević in Oplenac, stated that for Kingdom of Yugoslavia would of been `wiser` if it would of remained within Tripartite Pact with Hitler, signed by chaplain Pavle Karađorđević, because in accordance with this new history revisionist: `We would of protected couple of million of Serbs, Croatian Independent State would not of existed, and integrity of our country would of been preserved. Later on, Parliament monarchy would of been established, and today we would of been on the same level as Spain, Sweden or Belgium. If we have been through the war as Romania, Hungary or Bulgaria, there would not be oppression, suffering from Ustasha`s knives.` He also added, Serbia would have, in that case, access to the Aegean Sea, because Serbia would have then, beside other territories, Macedonia, as well.

Oliver Antic is allegedly a legal advisor of Serbian President. I do not know how much he is trained in historical sciences, since the time he `as a good student and even better comunist` took part in the persecution of some of the professors of Law Faculty, in the beginning of XX century, due to their chauvinism. But I do know-at least it was said so in public, that he was imposed by President Nikolic in order to advise him regarding law and not history (including its revision).

As a lawyer, however, Antic should of known something on revision of history and its consequences as well as consequences of denial of Holocaust and other crimes in Europe. I will remind him. Today, specific incrimination of acts of Holocaust denial and other nazi war crimes, exist, for example in Austria, Belgium, France, Israel, Germany, Spain and Switzerland. In the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania, within the general frame of causing hatred, exists as indicative of certain incrimination of Holocaust denial, meaning genocide and other war crimes. Incriminations are various: in the most of the states matter of criminal deed is exactly a denial of Holocaust conducted by nazi regime, before and during Second World War. In some of the states, the argument of the incrimination are `other war crimes,` too.

France is specific regarding this matter: genocide denial is forbidden as well as denial of other war crimes which are determined by a final court judgments or for which the sentenced ones are declared guilty, if the judgements were brought by French or the international court. The act of crime has various descriptions. In the most of the cases, the formulation which is in use, in accordance with which the deed is consisted in denial or significant denial of Holocaust and other war crimes, expressed publicly.

Sentences are punishments by fines or imprisonment. The lowest punishable sentence by imprisonment is ten months in those states and the highest one is ten years.

Or, if he does not want to deal with Comparative Law, the revisionist adviser has to be reminded on article Article 1. of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia:

Republic of Serbia is a state of Serbian and all the other nations which live in it, based on the rule of law and social justice, principles of civil democracy, human and minority rights and freedoms, as well as belonging to European principles and values.

Though at last place in this regulation, the Constitution determines that Republic Serbia is based on belonging to European principles and values, nazism luckily is not either European principle or value any more. On the contrary, antifascism and antinacism are significant values on which actual Europe is based on, to which allegedly these authorities are striving toward.

Will President Nikolic keep legal advisor Antic without raising certain questions (though he is not lawyer nor historian, but citizen of Republic of Serbia like all the others):

1. Did Hitler, with whom it would be `wise` to maintain access to Tripartite Pact, kept his contract and agreement regarding nonaggression with former Soviet Union? If he did not then why the adviser thinks that he would with former Yugoslavia?
2. Does the advocacy of constitutional monarchy is in the authority of legal adviser and in accordance with which of the law acts it is, and in his responsibility to advocate for it?
3. How does the adviser scopes to connect his `wisdom` regarding Hitler and eight thousand of pupils executed by Germans (Hitler`s Germans) on 20th of October in 1941. in the town where the President used to live and used to work for years?

But the President will not raise any of these questions because he started himself with history revision and by denial of Srebrenica`s genocide which was already determined as war crime by the side of Court. Unfortunately, this revisionism did not start with this. During his official visit to Spain, President of Serbia Boris Tadic, beside usual pronounced formula which was until now in the exclusive domain of authentic radical gene: `The only obstacle of entering European Union is unflexible attitude of Holland regarding Serbia`s cooperation with Hague Tribunal. The reason for the `bad conscience` of Holland is because they did not prevent Srebrenica`s massacre in 1995.

`Holland is considered to be guilty for tragic events in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that is why Holland punishes democracy in Serbia,` he stated (Danas, 11th of March, 2009.) So, he elaborated at that time as President that Holland has `bad conscience` because its armed forces did not prevent Srebrenica`s massacre, while Serbia, in accordance with new formulas, has clear conscience, though International court of justice in Hague determined: Serbia has violated the obligation to prevent genocide, in accordance with Convention on prevention and punishment of crime genocide, related to genocide in Srebrenica in July of 1995. (see point /5/ pronouncement of the verdict of International Court of Justice in Hague in the case Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbia).

No chief of the state must not neglect that beside legal guilt there is moral, political and national responsibility which have laid France State council to admit state responsibility for deportation of

Jews in the Second World War, though number of those who like Le Pen, (honorary citizen of Zemun), support or justifies Peten`s regime, in actual France is not negligible number, nor are insignificant and could of influence someones mandate.

But France do have State council, (which is actually the highest court within administrative branch of law), and Serbia has adviser of murky bolshevik-fascist past and presence. And a strong revisionist urge, which is renewed in regular cycles.

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Impresum

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