

Newsletter „Women, peace, security“ October 2013



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

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Women in Black and Resolution 1325



Insufficient progress

Serbia has reached improvement regarding implementation of 1325 Resolution of UN Security Council, when its up to policies and institutions, but has to work more on achievement of objectives out of this document, was evaluated on a set of independent reporting on the implementation of the Resolution. So far, only one third of the UN membership, including Serbia, adopted National Action Plan for the implementation of the Resolution, which was adopted thirteen years ago, and that was reported at a conference in the Serbian Parliament organized by the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy.

On the `Conference on independent monitoring, reporting and conducting of National Action Plan for the implementation of the Resolution 1325-Women, Peace, Security in Serbia` -results of the implementation of National Action Plan were presented by Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, as well as of Women in Black from the perspective of the achievements of the Resolution goals.

Sonja Stojanović-Gajić, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy director, said that: "We should not speak of National Action Plan for the period of 2010-2015 only in institutional terms and based on the indicators, but since we are on the half of the way(of the National Action Plan implementation), we should see what we have done well and what needs to be improved".

She added that Serbia is second in the region, after Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have adopted the National Action Plan for the Resolution 1325, and that Macedonia did it as well, while Montenegro and Albania are still thinking whether they should predict the activities through Gender Equality Strategy or through a separate plan.

According to her words, Serbia is the only one which has concentrated on a security sector, while in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, question of women's participation is formulated as wider participation in decision-making on security issues, foreign policy and peace. Representative of the UN agency for gender equality in Serbia-Asia Varbanova, said that since the adoption of the 1325 Resolution in October of 2000, only 39 members of UN, less then one third, adopted National Action Plan for the conduction of the Resolution. She evaluated that the implementation of the Resolution has to step up.

Serbian Women`s Parliamentary Network (consisted of women deputies of various parties within Serbian Parliament) coordinator Biljana Hasanović Korać, said the aim of the Network is to involve women in all the spheres of life, including conflict resolution and peace negotiations.

Gordana Subotić, Women in Black representative said that there is no improvement since National Action Plan implementation, regarding 1325 Resolution goals, for the last two and a half years, and that the plan has been



reduced on security sector and only. `In accordance with fifteen indicators of ours, there is no improvement”, Subotic said. She added that National Action Plan was adopted due to European integrations process and for “promotion` on international meetings, and not for the purpose of solving concrete problems”. She also reminded on problem of protection of women in conflict areas, emphasizing women were targeted with purpose in the wars of ex-Yugoslavia, and she also indicated the lack of the activities envisaged for the actual year, with the aim of identification of the problems and needs of women refugees in Serbia. Gordana Subotic informed there were only four verdicts for the crime of war rape, during the conflict in ex Yugoslavia, while in accordance with some of the estimates, there were between 20.000 and 50.000 of raped women in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Women in Black represent the attitude that National Action Plan and 1325 Resolution goals, have not been introduced into practice, and have not exited the institutions which are holders of the National Action Plan. And regarding the activities, they are reduced to education, counting women in the security sector, and meetings whose success we can not measure because they are not transparent. In accordance of Women in Black monitoring Serbia did not `provide at least 30% of women in negotiating teams until 2013. There are no special programs for the provision and funding of programs for the special needs of women and girls, especially among refugees and internally displaced persons, in 2013. Besides, National Action Plan does not deal with transition justice, nor with reparations for the victims of war rape and other gender rooted crimes over women in ex Yugoslavia”, Subotić said.

Gordana Subotić considers there were no achievements in National Action Plan conduction. She suggests involving civil society organizations, women organizations within civil society, with substantial revision of the National Action Plan, as well as their involvement in conducting activities of the National Action Plan. The greatest challenge is to fulfill real goals of the 1325 Resolution, and not just the frame, and to prevent the instrumentalization, militarization and deformation of the Resolution 1325.

Maja Bjeloš, researcher of Belgrade Centre for Security Policy evaluated there was progress in National Action Plan conduction because all the bodies which were scheduled by this plan, were established. She added gender-sensitive language was involved within security services, and that quota for admission of women to the criminal military academy is lifted and softened.

Stasa Zajović, Women in Black coordinator, noticed that according on WiB researchs on field, women in Serbia refuses traditional and military security concept. Confidence in policy and army is the least since 2005. “The new government strengthens the climate of fear among all of categories of women”. She also considers Serbia has no fundamental attributes of the state, monopoly on the use of force, because various paramilitary forces are still significant. The prove for it is the sign of weakness of the state in front of those groups and the ban of Pride Parade in 2013, as well. “Serbia is on European path only in a declarative way, because it is the only one in the region which did not sign the Convention for cluster ammunition ban, the agreement of UN state members regarding trade of all kinds of weapons globally, and has no law on private security services. Besides, European orientation of Serbia denies official and indifferent attitude toward crime in Srebrenica of 1995. Though it was proved beyond reasonable doubt that Serbia was involved in genocide of Srebrenica.



Serbia and Resolution 1325

Within Mission of Canada to the UN-Gordana Subotić in the name of Women in Black on October 31st, presented a report on the implementation of UN Security Council 1325 Resolution in Serbia. Monitoring co-authors are Humanitarian Law Fund and the Women's Autonomous Center. She spoke of programs of reintegration and rehabilitation of the involved in armed conflicts, sexually and gender rooted violence, during wars in ex Yugoslavia, reparations to victims of sexual crimes, verdicts and femicide, laws which protect women and its implementation in Serbia.

Indicator 6 – Number and percentage of SGBV cases reported, investigated, prosecuted and penalized¹

The wars in ex-Yugoslavia and the verdicts by the ICTY for the SGBV committed against women, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina changed international characterization of SGBV forever. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina showed that SGBV was used as a "tactic of war" and as "systematic contribution to ethnic cleansing."² The Statute of the ICTY,³ characterizes rape as a - crime against humanity.⁴ The verdicts of ICTY are important because it was the first time that international law defined SGBV as a crime against humanity.

Some of the types of SGBV mentioned are:

- Rape as a torture and violation of the rights and customs of war (case Čelebić)
- Rape as a crime against humanity (cases Foča and Furundžija)
- Sexual slavery, rape camps – crime against humanity (case Karaman's house)
- SGBV against women – tactic of war.

It is estimated that 20,000 – 50,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵

Rape was committed by all sides but overwhelmingly by Serbs against Muslim (Bosniak) women.⁶ During the period of 1991 to 1995 in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 1999 in Kosovo, courts in the Republic of Serbia brought down only four verdicts for war crimes of rape. Only two of

1 SGBV cases committed during the war

2 More on use of SGBV during the wars in ex-Yugoslavia in: United Nations General Assembly, *Rape and abuse of women in the areas of armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia*, A/RES/48/143, Point 2, 20 December 1993, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r143.htm>, 30.05.2013

3 The Resolution 827 adopted on the 25th of March 1993, after the war in ex-Yugoslavia started.

4 More on the international characterization of SGBV in: Green, J., Copelon, R., Cotter, P., Stephens, B., *171 *Affecting the rules for the prosecution of rape and other gender/based violence before the international criminal tribunal for the former Yugoslavia: A feminist proposal and critique*, Hastings Women's Law Journal, Hastings College of the Law, 1994, p. 2

5 More on rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Gutman, R., Rieff, D. In: Edman, A. *Crimes of Sexual Violence in the War Crimes Chamber of the State Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Successes and Challenges*, p.1, <http://www.wcl.american.edu/hrbrief/16/1edman.pdf>, 30.05.2013

6 Hirsch, M.L. (2012), *Conflict profile Bosnia*, <http://www.womenundersiegeproject.org/conflicts/profile/bosnia>, 30.05.2013

them are verdicts of the court of second instance⁷ (cases Lekaj and Bijeljina).

Impunity for crimes against women and girls committed by Serbian forces during the war in ex-Yugoslavia is very high. This is evidenced by the estimated number of women that were raped, compared to the number of prosecuted cases in the Republic of Serbia.

By 2013, only 22 men had been sentenced for sexual violence as crime against humanity. They were sentenced for raping eight women and one man in the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo during the wars of the 1990s.

Despite all these facts, the NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 mentions sexual violence in only three out of 107 activities.

Reparations⁸

There is no mechanism in Serbia for reparations to victims of sexual and gender-based violence crimes associated with the war. Applicable laws provide administrative compensation for a limited number of victims. Former detainees of prison camps, victims of SGBV and victims of torture cannot pursue administrative compensation, unless the result of the abuse that they suffered was physical injury beyond a certain limit. The victims can seek pecuniary and non-pecuniary compensation through the courts. In practice, national courts apply a high standard of evidence, and in many cases the statute of limitations has prevented the victims from seeking and obtaining compensation for physical and psychological pain. In 2004, the Supreme Court of Serbia ruled that, in connection with an event that caused alleged damage a claim against the state must be initiated within five years. The five-year period has expired for victims of grave human rights violations committed during the nineties.⁹

Despite this, provisions have not been changed in order for SGBV victims to receive justice (regardless of their nationality and country of origin) even as the NAP is being implemented. NAP for the implementation of the R 1325 does not include any reparations for SGBV victims. No SGBV victim has so far claimed any form of damages (judicial reparations) from Serbia.

There are certain mechanisms of reparations for civilian victims and ex-combatants in Serbia but the mechanisms offer more benefits to ex-combatants. Victims of SGBV are not protected by any mechanism of reparations.

The system of reparations can be divided into two categories: 1) judicial reparations; 2) administrative reparations. The first one requires the victim to initiate a judicial proceeding in which the responsibility of the state will have to be proven. In order to prevent the court from applying statute of limitations to the victim's claim the victim will have to prove that the suffering or the medical condition caused by sufferings are ongoing.

⁷ Only the second instance verdicts are final. First instance verdicts go to Court of Appeals and there is possibility for perpetrators to be freed or get weaker sentences after Court of Appeals bring the verdict. Court of Appeals does not have to confirm the verdict of the first court.

⁸ Humanitarian Law Center

⁹ For more information on reparations for SGBV in: Council of Europe, Commissioner for Human Rights (2012) *Post-war Justice and Lasting Peace in Former Yugoslavia*, p.27

Administrative reparations are regulated by two laws:

1. Law on the rights of civilian invalids of war¹⁰
2. Law on the basic rights of combatants and their families¹¹

Law on the rights of civilian invalids of war regulates the basic rights of the victims and gives a legal definition of a victim. Victims of SGBV, victims with less than 50 percent bodily damage¹² and victims who were subject to rape, sexual or other forms of abuse by Serbian armed forces do not meet the definition and are manifestly precluded from enjoying the rights set forth in the law. The law prescribes that the injury must have been the inflicted during the war or a war related incident. This excludes all the victims from 1991 till 1995, since Serbia was not officially in a state of war at that time. Besides the fact that the law itself is of highly discriminative character when prescribing conditions in regards to who can be considered a victim and enjoys the rights set forth in the law, the practice of the administrative organs in charge of enforcement of this law has increased the discriminative character by formulating a strict territorial application of the law. Victims or their families, who are citizens of Serbia and suffered an injury outside of Serbia, cannot enjoy rights set in this law.

RATING: No change

SGBV in post-conflict (domestic violence, femicide, sexual offenses)¹³

In the post-conflict period, prevalent types of SGBV are domestic violence, and the number of women killed in the family context (femicide) is growing.

In the period from 2007 to 2010, the proportion of women in the total number of victims of serious homicides increased from 28 percent to 43 percent.¹⁴ Data of the Network *Women Against Violence* shows that in 2010 26 women were killed; in 2011 29 women were killed; and in 2012 32 women were killed, by their family members or partners.¹⁵ There is no official data, since state statistics do not disaggregate the data by the type of relationship (family ties) between victims and their murderers.

10 Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia No. 52/96.

11 Official gazette of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia No.24 of May 15 1998, 29/98, 25/2000 and Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia No. 101/2005.

12 Damage, loss or disablement of some parts of the body or organs which hampers normal activity of the organism and requires greater effort in performing normal life activities over 50%. For victims of SGBV is rather hard to prove this kind of damage.

13 SGBV cases in post-conflict

14 More on the statistics in: Statistical office of the Republic of Serbia, *Women and men in the Republic of Serbia*, 2011, p. 91, <http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/WebSite/repository/documents/00/00/52/50/ZeneIMuskarci.pdf>, 15.05.2013

15 More about femicide in: http://www.zeneprotivnasilja.net/images/stories/pdf/femicid/FEMICID_Godisnji_kvantitativno-narativni_izvestaj-2011.godina.pdf, 15.05.2013

Indicator 7 – Number and quality of gender-responsive laws and policies

As mentioned, the Republic of Serbia has ratified most of the international documents important for improvement of women's human rights and gender equality.

Strategic documents in the Republic of Serbia and action plans for their implementation are not harmonized enough. There is a hyper-production of such documents and plans but lack of precise distribution of responsibilities and competence as well as an absence of coherent frameworks for implementation and reporting on the results of planned measures and activities. An action plan is rather a wish list than a document clearly directing the implementation of the strategy. We will discuss some examples provided by women's CSOs that monitor implementation.

RATING: Quality of Legislation: Slight progress; Implementation of the laws, strategies and action plans: No change

Indicator 8 – Number and nature of provisions/recommendations in the truth and reconciliation commission (TRC) and other transitional justice reports on women's rights

In the Republic of Serbia there is no state initiated (institutionalized) Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The discussion on truth-seeking and truth-telling mechanisms about the recent past was initiated in September 2005 **as a CSO initiative** by three human rights organizations, the *Humanitarian Law Center* (Serbia), *Documenta* (Croatia) and the *Research and Documentation Center* (Bosnia and Herzegovina), and with participation of experts from the *International Center for Transitional Justice*. In 2008 the initiative developed in to a proposal to establish a regional commission for truth seeking and truth telling about war crimes and other serious violations of human rights in the former Yugoslavia.

RECOM is a *Regional Commission for Establishing the Facts about War Crimes and Other Gross Violations of Human Rights Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia* during the period 1991-2001. It is an extrajudicial body mandated to establish the facts about the genocide, war crimes and other gross human rights violations committed during the wars that followed the break-up of the former Yugoslavia. It is not designed to make any legal assessments. So far, RECOM did not send any official provisions/recommendations to the Government of the Republic of Serbia. The *Coalition for RECOM* is a regional civil society network advocating for a regional commission to be established. It consists of 1900 organizations and individual members

The main objective of the *Coalition for RECOM* is to foster public, media and civil society support for the establishment of RECOM.

RATING: Slight progress

Indicator 9 – Percentage of women (versus men) who receive economic packages in conflict resolution and reconstruction processes

Peace processes that ended the wars in ex-Yugoslavia (*Dayton peace accords* and *Kumanovo military-technical agreement*) did not contain any provisions related to the implementation of DDR programs and economic packages in the territory of the Republic of Serbia. In the *Brussels agreement* signed in April 2013 there were likewise no DDR programs and economic packages to women or any other similar activity.

According to the data obtained by Women in black, until now there are no systematic disarmament programs in the Republic of Serbia.

According to the data obtained by Women in black, the state never took responsibility for the consequences of the wars of the 1990s. To date, there have been no state organized reintegration and rehabilitation programs. Existing programs and activities are conducted by associations of victims of the wars (veteran associations). There are 61 veteran associations that provide reintegration and rehabilitation programs to ex-combatants. They depend on yearly financing from the *Ministry of work employment and social affairs*, and as funding is never guaranteed they are not sustainable. In 2011, the *Ministry of work employment and social affairs* gave RDS59 million to veteran associations to perform programs of reintegration and rehabilitation of ex-combatants and their families. There is a high competition for the limited funds given by the state. The number of associations is increasing and the funds are decreasing. There are also no clear criteria for receiving the funds and scandals related to the allocation of funds are regular.¹⁶ Moreover, the content of the programs performed by these associations are not known to the public. The *Ministry of work employment and social affairs* does not publish the projects, and it is impossible to obtain reports on implementation. The *Ministry for Kosovo and Metohija* also allocates funds for these purposes but there are no publicly available data on how this money is spent. The NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 contains an activity: "Encouraging and financing the programs of reintegration and rehabilitation of men and women who took part in armed conflicts."¹⁷ From the data obtained by Women in black, the Republic of Serbia has not implemented this activity.¹⁸

RATING: No change

16 More on the issue of funding the veteran associations in: <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Drustvo/Bitka-za-podelu-novca-medju-veteranima.lt.html>, 19.06.2013.

17 Government of the Republic of Serbia, *National Action Plan to Implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010–2015)*, December 2010, p. 48

18 Answers of the institutions named in the NAP as implementers of this activity to the questions of Women in black: The *Ministry of Defence*, Number 16-126, 18.03.2013, the *Ministry of Interior*, Number 4766/13-2, 10.06.2013, the *Ministry of Human and Minority Rights*, Number 000-03-00005/2013-02, 08.05.2013, the *Ministry of work employment and social affairs*, 2013-064, 25.04.2013, the *Ministry of Finances*, Number 148-III-650-03-19/2/2013, 22.05.2013, the *Ministry for Kosovo and Metohija* never answered to the questions of Women in black. Due to that Women in black filed a complaint to the Administrative Court for silence of this institution.

Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security



Indifference to crimes of Lovas

On 18th of October, Women in Black activists attended commemoration and marking of anniversary of Lovas crimes-murder of 70 Croatian civilians in 1991.

Eight activists of Women in Black from Belgrade: Stasa, Ljilja, Snežana/Barči, Borka, Mara, Violeta, Goran and Miloš have visited this village of Slavonia. First they laid the wreath with the inscription- `We will never forget Lovas crimes` on the minefield, one of the places in the village where Croatian civilians were murdered.

There, they met Gina, who survived and said to them: "Šešelj`s people told us it is a revenge for Jasenovac. In Jasenovac Ustasha`s were killing and I do not have anything in common with them."

Gina went back to Vukovar to protest against Cyrillic alphabet. It showed that the atmosphere have not changed after two decades. She said she does not mind the alphabet itself, but she minds the inscriptions in Cyrillic saying: "This is Serbia` on the places in Vukovar where people were murdered".

While there were leaving to the center of the village, to laid the wreath on the monument of the perished people, Gina told some other people suffer too, as Palestinians and Kurdish people. `It does not matter I do not know them, but I am sorry for them. I would be ready to take upon myself the suffering, only that there is no more war. Small group of women sang a religious song.

After they laid the third wreath on the cemetery, where out of mass tomb were exhumed remains of the village settlers, they went to the award of appreciation for Natasa Kandić, ex Humanitarian Law Fund director, who did a lot for the trial in Belgrade of the Lovas case. Receiving the award, she said it was a war for territories, in Croatia.

On their way back to Lovas, activists of Women in Black spoke of their impressions: `All women from Lovas said that trials mean to them very much,` `They need to reach the justice,` `How could they do it to those people,` `I thought of people of Serbiagoing to other countries. I have remembered Yugoslav National Army, which have started it and was involved in all of this,` `I remembered the tanks, starting from Belgrade, people throwing flowers in front of them,` `It was an occupation. An invasion from Belgrade. A war against civilians,` `When a group of local people out of the center of the village started approaching the minefield from the direction of the cross road, I saw women in black, and it is not passing away.



It will not. The pain will remain,` ` It is very difficult for the coexistence and trust to restore,` ` By those killings they were killing the idea of coexistence. Erased joint memories,` This meeting showed people feel the need to speak of what have happened to them.`

At the end of the meeting women from Lovas told to Women in Black activists that their arrivals mean a lot to them.

In the statement published just before the departure to Lovas was reminded that 22 years ago, since 10th until 18th of October, members of the aggressor Yugoslav National Army forces, helped by Territorial defense members, local civilian and military authorities and paramilitary formations `Dusan the great` and `White eagles` executed 70 civilians which was the part of the organized crime of Slobodan Milošević.

` Court council of Belgrade Special Court, convicted on 26th of June, 2012 on 128 years of prison fourteen members of ex Yugoslav National Army, Territorial defense members and paramilitary formation `Dusan the great` for the execution of at least 70 civilians of Croatian nationality in Lovas village, in 1991. Prosecution for war crimes demanded 160 years of prison. In accordance to the words of the Presiding judge-Olivera Andjelković, the most of the greatest part of the charges quotation were proved.

Those who survived testified that on 18th of October, 1991, members of self-proclaimed local authorities, forced group of Croats to enter the minefield. Twenty two of them were killed in the explosions. During the months of terror in this village on the border, Croatian majority, had to wear white armbands, they were tortured and beaten, forced to labor, and collecting of the corps of their compatriots. Some were taken to the concentration camps in Serbia. Senior officers of the Yugoslav National Army of those days, under whose command the crime was committed, were not accused. In that way, the character of the war in Croatia was distorted.

It was war of aggression, criminal project of the Yugoslav National Army units, paramilitary forces from Serbia, territorial defense members, because during trial it was proved there was no armed resistance of Lovas locals. The trial began on 17th of April, 2008. The witnesses, 194 of them, together with members of Court Council, and in accordance with Prosecution sources, were exposed to numerous pressures. Women in Black and relatives of the victims were disappointed because the court took as mitigating circumstances for the accused excuses as: `married,` `father of three children,` `has not been convicted,` `though ill, regularly responded to a summons` -it was said in the statement.

It is concluded in the statement of Women in Black: `The verdict for the umpteenth time misinterpreted nature of the conflict on the territory of ex Yugoslavia, relativized is the responsibility of the joint criminal project, in which Yugoslav national Army was involved, the army of all Yugoslav Republics, which attacked in the name of Serbia other Yugoslav Republic. Women in Black want to remind as well that even the judge repeatedly referred to a convincing and credible testimony of Snežana Krizmanić, she did not convict the accused Aleksandar Nikolaidis for the rape of Snežana Krizmanić. It showed once more insensitivity of the legal system for crimes against women in war circumstances.`

Not to forget crime in Sjeverin

On 22nd of October eight Women in Black activists attended commemoration in Mioce, with relatives of the victims. Representative of the local authorities and mullah spoke. Then they laid a wreath on the bridge over Lim river, with reverence for the victims of the crime, and their families. Families of the abducted threw flowers into the river.

At any of meetings between activists and families of the victims, stems cordiality out of community of memories which we create together and it is at the same time warning which could create different future as well.

Persistence of the families in their search for the truth and justice, and solidarity policy of Women in Black shows its reasonableness in the fact that representatives of the local authorities, after so many years, were encouraged to participate in the commemoration.

In their statement, published just before their departure, Women in Black remind that in 2013 it will be 21 years since the abduction and execution of 17 citizens of Muslim nationality, from Serbia-Sjeverin. `Dead citizens of Sjeverin, are not properly buried yet nor the murderers are convicted, and the state of Serbia did not admit its crime. Members of Serbian paramilitary force `Avengers` abducted 15 people from the bus while it was going through the part of the territory of Srpska Republic, on its direction to Priboj-Rudo, in Mioce place, near pub `Amphora,` on 22nd of October, 1992.

They took them to Visegrad where they have been exposed to psychological and physical abuse and they have executed them on the bank of Drina river. Those citizens of Serbia were killed only for being Muslims. The day before, Sabahudin Ćatović was abducted in front of his house.

The executed are: Mehmed Šebo, Zafer Hadžić, Medo Hadžić, Medredin Hodžić, Ramiz Begović, Derviš Softić, Medhad Softić, Mujo Alihodžić, Alija Mandal, Sead Pecikoza, Mustafa Bajramović, Hajrudin Sajtarević, Esad Džahić, Ramahudin Ćatović, Sabahudin Ćatović, Ediz Gibović, and a woman among them Mevlida Koldžić.

Only the remains of Medredin Hodžić were found until today.

Serbian Supreme Court confirmed on 18th of May, 2006, the verdict for four perpetrators of `Avengers.` Dragutin Dragičević was convicted to 20 years of jail, Djordje Šević to 15, Milan Lukić, who was extradited to Hague Tribunal from Argentina, was convicted together with Oliver Krsmanović, who is still on the run, to 20 years of jail.



Women in Black consider that nor Court of First Instance or Serbian Supreme Court either, have admitted that the accused belonged to the army of Srpska Republic, which was financed, organized and supported at that time by Yugoslav National Army. The Courts concealed the responsibility of the state, though it is determined at trial. In the name of executed citizens of Sjeverin, of their families, justice, victim`s dignity, we demand of Serbia to arrest the perpetrators and their commanders, so that Serbian citizens are not the hostages of the crimes in Sjeverin or any other` -it is concluded in the statement.

Deafening silence

On 5th of October Women in Black have laid the wreath in memory of the innocent victims, execution of guards who served the army - Dragan Jakovljević and Dražen Milovanović in the caserne of Topčider, in Belgrade. Even after nine years of their execution, the liquidation remains unsolved, and perpetrators are not caught.

Fifteen of Women in Black activists, among them from Bosnia, travelled to Bela Reka (near Šabac) to attend family memorial of Dragan Jakovljević.

More Office in Belgrade continues to lead the pre-trial proceedings in Belgrade, in this case against unknown persons. Just after the shooting, the army published statement that Milanović shot Dragan Jakovljević, and then committed suicide. After while, Military Justice determined that Jakovljević killed Milanović and then committed suicide.

Due to suspicion in the professionalism of the military judiciary, Council of Ministers and Supreme Defense Council, formed an independent commission which came to the conclusion that both of them were shot by a third person.

The report of the independent commission was confirmed in 2008 by FBI forensics. The families got letter last year, signed with-` Former security of Hague prisoner` and the letter states that for the death of their children Ratko Mladic-Hague defendant is guilty, who at that time, as stated in the letter was in the caserne.

Women in Black were joined in front of the caserne by activists of Euro-Atlantic Studies Centre.

In the joint statement published on 4th of October, it is said that the wreath is laid in memory of innocent victims of the criminal policy which is still in power.



` Due to ninth anniversary of severe assassination of Dragan Jakovljević and Dražen Milovanović, we express solidarity with parents and families of the murdered and once more we support their search for the truth about death of two youngsters. The execution of two soldiers who were serving army at that time, which does not have criminal or any other epilogue is a perfect example of absence of reforms of judicial and security system in Serbia. This example shows the absence of political will and responsibility of the state to clear state apparatus of those who commit, encourage, suppress criminal acts, which is in direct continuity with the way Milošević led Serbia.



It is indicative that in Serbia in 2013, with the exclusion of Commission for investigation of circumstances of executions of journalists, there is no a critical pressure of publicity bring to the justice, perpetrators of such or other criminal deeds as executions of politicians and journalists. Unfortunately, we have heard that Svetko Kovac refused to testify in front of the above mentioned Commission for the case of Serbian Radio and Television` -it is said in the statement. Covers up the circumstances of the murder of soldiers in Topcider, no matter if there are in power DSS, SNS, URS, DS, SPS. State strategy is to exhaustion of the families of soldiers and their legal counsels who are the only one fighting for the truth and justice, instead of Serbia. The state of Serbia considers its cooperation with Hague Tribunal has finalized with extradition of the accused. Euro-Atlantic Studies Centre and Women in Black consider sincere cooperation to be to answer to the citizens of Serbia who used to hide for decades or allowed hiding of Hague defendants, no matter on which of the positions was the person, and no matter if it led to the execution of the soldiers in Topcider` -it is said in the statement.

Women in Black and Euro-Atlantic Studies Centre demand of Serbian state and first of all of Ministries of Police, Defense and Justice to stop hiding the truth of execution of the soldiers and ensure justice for victims families, relevant institutions to find all the responsible for this murder in any way, the end of impunity culture as for the crimes in war as for the crimes in peace time.



Out of the international community we require to put the pressure on state institutions, so those cases are resolved.

Manifest against fascism

Women in Black, Helsinki Committee for human rights and Serbian Anti-fascist alliance addressed the public by antifascist Manifest-`No to fascism!`-on 17th of October, just before the 59th anniversary of the liberation of Belgrade-22nd of October, 1944.

It is said in the Manifest: `Serbian society quarter of a century ago at the moment of disappearance of Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia found itself at the crucial crossroad: to continue along the antifascist, democratic, cooperation and peaceful path, or along nationalism, rehabilitation of Chetnic`s movement, reviving the project of Greater Serbia, intolerance and war adventure. With national-socialist regime of Milošević-Šešelj, Serbian society choose the second one, the ruinous path and still pays high the price due to wrong choice.`

Manifest was presented on press conference `Antifascism is our choice` due to establishment of the Antifascist front consisted of Anti-fascist alliance of Serbia, Helsinki Committee for human rights and Women in Black. The event was held in Media Centre and is opened for all who would like to join the history revision resistance and to resurrection of the idea of fascism.

Staša Zajović, Women in Black activist said that antifascism is the achievement of the most progressive part of the Europe and that this organization joins the front because it strives for solidarity on gender, racial and ethical level.

`We want to preserve the achievements of antifascism because it is a symbol of women`s emancipation against petty-bourgeois moral, bigotry of small towns, and religious idolatry, and all of those which humiliates women.` Erasing antifascism is in accordance to her words denial of women`s liberties, and all of the open-minded people. Women in Black demand of President Tomislav Nikolic to deny his title of Chetnic`s duke, because under the omen of this ideology were executed people of other nations, both in Second World War as they were during nineties.

Sonja Biserko, Helsinki Committee for human rights coordinator, emphasized they are joining the front to draw the attention on the pernicious trend for Serbia, where is the broad activity of extremist organizations, which are supported by the state. `Creating a new past is actual now, within `war memories` since Second World War until wars of nineties. A new picture became frame for interpretation of current events.`

In accordance to her words, Chetnic`s movement becomes antifascist by the right side, and Partisan`s movement is marginalized and equalized with communism. Those relations reflect the values on which the identity of Serbia is being created, and antifascism is rejected, on which the whole contemporary Europe is based on. She reminded that the process of rehabilitation of Chetnic`s leader-Draža Mihajlović, is over soon. And are announced those for-Milan Nedić, Dimitrije Ljotić. This rehabilitation shows Serbia as incapable to face the wars of nineties. Instead, the campaign of denial of genocide and Serbian responsibility for war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is conducted.



Aleksandar Kraus, representative of Serbian Anti-fascist alliance said it is unacceptable the rehabilitation of Mihailović and forces which were on the side of the occupiers. It is crucial for establishing good relations of Serbia with its neighbor countries, and is directly connected to its integration to European Union. All together, he said, have filed a criminal complaint against historians-Bojan Dimitrijević and Kosta Nikolić, by the beginning of August, due to their false testimonies during the process of rehabilitation of Mihajlović. Though, they knew their statements are not true, they have provided false data and claims, it is said in the complaint and it is supported with quotations of their testimonies during rehabilitation process in front of the Court, in Belgrade, in 2012.

It is explained in the Manifest that: `Horrible economic situation and soaring rates of unemployment, insatiable public spending, endemic corruption in public institution, especially in judiciary, general clericalism of society, organized crime, its ties with security services, public opinion reduced on the level of tabloids, policy reduced on demagogy and politicking, unsolved basic Constitution issues, insecure international position of the country, mass apathy, lack of interest in social issues-consequences of incapable political class, and its criminal ideology of Ravna gora.

In 2006 they passed the Law on equalization of Partizans and Chetnics, and in 2008 Law on rehabilitation of Chetnics. By that, crimes of Chetnics are justified, fascism is rehabilitated, fascist`s co-operators are declared as antifascists, and finally the fascism and antifascism, are relativized. With those laws, political class of Serbia did not taunted only to the victims of the crimes, but to common sense, truth and justice. With those laws and statements of the officials that it would have been better for Yugoslavia in 1941 to have remained in the alliance with fascism, a strong encouragement for the flourishing of the right extremism and neo-fascism is provided, and for its aggressive appearance on the scene. Today in Serbia, are active numerous registered and unregistered neo-Nazi, neo-fascist, and ultra-right groups and movements, which initiate street riots, glorify war crimes, attack and execute members of minority groups, human rights defenders. Antifascism is the value of civilization, which is above all ideological and political orientations`, it was said.

It is concluded in Manifest: `It is the last moment for all antifascist and democratic forces of Serbia to stand up and say NO to fascism. There is no oblivion or forgiveness for the crimes of fascism, war crimes do not obsolete. Denial of Holocaust and genocide committed in ex Yugoslavia, is crime itself. Declaring as antifascist or heroes of Serbian people, those who have committed mass crimes over women, children, and elderly people, or organizing official reception of war crimes convicted in Hague, is brazenly inciting Serbian fascism and calling on the commission of war crimes. The Manifest is call to action and joint antifa acting. It will not be successful, if there would not be clearly perceived what enabled fascism reconstruction, if, in the first place are not abolished those shameful laws with which are legalized genocidal Chetnic`s and neo-Chetnic`s movements. These laws are cornerstone and source of Serbian fascism, and any action will be in vain, as long as they are in power and while young people are indoctrinated that those who were collaborators with occupiers were antifascists.



House of free thought

On 25th and 26th of October, in Kotor of Montenegro, in the House of free thought, there was a seminar - `Women`s Court-feminist approach to justice.` With this seminar Women in Black activities continue, as well as activities of Anima from Kotor, connected to Women`s Court. The project is supported by Kvinna Till Kvinna from Sweden. Lecturer was *Staša Zajović* and attendants 18 women from all parts of Montenegro, those who are included in Women`s Court activities, as well as new participants.

First day, in program were issues connected to women`s movement in Montenegro, its future and possibility of joint actions of women`s groups. Second day, the lecturer presented the example from Uruguay, the country where leftists are in power, after military dictatorship. Within this issue, they spoke of nonviolent activities of women in Uruguay, Argentina, Spain and Congo. Video materials supported the lecturing: Women resistance in Uruguay, `Find name for it` - Congo, `Joint dreams` - the example of mothers from Plata de Mayo, `Memory-garden full of women`s hope,` `Women we do not forget 1936-2013` -Spain.

The attendants evaluated seminar as the one which met their expectations. And as significant for its info, inspiration, motivation and their empowering.

Ervina Dabizinović

Women in peace building

On 22nd of October, in Priboj, on Lim river, was held a meeting of activists of Serbia and Sandžak, organized by Binasa Džigal. The attendants-18 women spoke of the role and importance of civil society, as organized and autonomous in relation to the state and which is necessarily critically oriented toward state.

The engagement of Women in Black was presented, in order to show the difference of what should be the role of civil society and what is the actual process in Serbia known as NGO-ism. The process, unfortunately, shows the withdrawal of a critical consciousness and is sort of anesthetic to groups which become service of the state and donors. They spoke of reasons for the absence of civic organizing. The attendants in the first place named the `fear produced by authorities` and then severe economic crisis. On the third place is the `collusion between the media and government` which spreads fear and does not offer right info.

Explaining both of those fears, it was said that within a partitocracy, every day life depends of the will of local representatives of the parties. To be employed, to remain employed, or to loose it, depends in the first place of politicians, whether you are not a member of party in power at that moment", said Zora Čelić. `The feeling of being blackmailed and helpless which citizens feel, is caused by a huge political power in the hands of parties", Džigal said.

The attendants concluded that, despite the obstacles, it is important to organize ourselves locally, and that we can overcome the dispiritedness only through solidarity and networking.

Marija Perković

Strauss-Kahn out of Serbia

On 2nd of October, on Belgrade Republic square, Women in Black protested against the appointment of Dominique Strauss-Kahn for the advisor of Serbian authorities.



Around thirty women and activists of Women in Black held placards with inscriptions that he may counsel the authorities regarding: `To rape women workers,` `To misuse power,` `To abuse sexually women,` `To spread racial hate,` `How to keep unpunished sexual crimes` ...

Protesters shouted: "Strauss-Kahn out of Serbia!" and `Not in our names nor with our money.`

Strauss-Kahn has been accused repeatedly for sexual crimes, and in 2011, he was arrested in New York and accused for sexual abuse and attempt of rape of maid and immigrant, in the hotel`, said Staša Zajović Women in Black activist.

She added that the newest accusation was initiated by French prosecution in Lille in June, this year, because he was caught in prostitution networks in the local hotel, for which a prison sentence of at least ten years of prison is envisaged.

There were placards as well: `How pimp becomes advisor,` `How to terrorize legally disempowered women,` `How to terrorize legally disenfranchised women,` `I say the name of the rapist loudly.`

The central placard was `Women in Black against abuse of human rights.`



Educational activities

On 25th of October Dragan Jovanović, art historian, spoke of `Yugoslavia: totalitarian state-museum artifact-lived experience-alternative?` - as a cultural worker.

Women in Black coordinator, Staša Zajović explained they have chosen Student Cultural Center for the spot of their first vigil on 9th of October, in 1991, as a place of different publicity. For almost one year Women in Black stood there, to show that within a homogeneous public, as well as nationalistic and military discourse, we have to find the place for ourselves. First feminist group-Women and society, had its premises in Student Cultural Center.



Part of the youth with highest moral and political capacities have problem with Yugoslavia for what it became out of it-an extension of Serbian aggressor machinery and so they can not see anything positive in it. For us who used to live in this state it was experience we have lived. I am heart when Yugoslavia is reduced to Dubrovnik, Rovinj and only, and bourgeois kitsch-because nothing cosmopolitan or alternative and crucial can not be seen out of it. Nothing of what Dragan Jovanović will speak about.

`Student Cultural Centre was established in 1968, after student protests. But, Milosević`s wife had ambitions to fit it within her ideological and political engagement, during nineties so it lost its autonomy which he had under the authority of University. Even after 5th of October, 2000, it did not manage to cooperate with NGO`s regarding societal activism, but only to connive to political elites which switch in power. In 1968, the building it was situated in was the first paramilitary object handed for civic purposes in Europe of that time. And then political and ideological apparatus understood that focus of European and global policy shifted and that the time in which army gendarmerie and secret police were used as ideological and political repression is over, that times of mass culture have come. They understood the power of what we call culture industry. This Center was not just one more brick within of socialistic and official culture. It was the place to research and promote alternative practices. Young Marxists, philosophers and dissidents were there. Everything Women in Black are doing now appeared then:conceptual, performative, civic initiatives. Though it was controlled, all the dissident movements were there:`black wave`,`Praxis`,`everyone. In 1970 it was subversive to the system, and in eighties it was conformism of elites of higher strata of society. The subversion was falling down since Yugoslav welfare was falling down too. The state was not afraid of concert in the Center, but of Staša Zajović civic activism and debates`-he concluded.



In the premises of Women in Black, on 30th of October, was lecturing on `black wave` in Yugoslav movies, and case of `Plastic Jesus`-of **Lazar Stojanović**. The guests were: Stojanović, the author of the movie and Dr Ivana Kronja, was moderator. The lecturing was part within series of lectures-`Yugoslavia: totalitarian state-museum artifact-lived experience-alternative?`



During the introduction it was said: `Black wave was very creative period of Yugoslav cinematography, which have produced in 1960 anthology works of Živojin Pavlović, Dušan Makavejev, Aleksandar Saša Petrović, Želimir Žilnik and Stojanović himself. Some of the authors due to uncompromising and radical/critical attitude toward socialistic reality and film art within which they have introduced experiments of European `new wave` became victims of political prosecution and state repression.

Kronja explained it to be always after nationalistic pathos always critical toward heroic past of Yugoslavia in Second World war and `black wave` was also an expression of elitization of cinematography. In whole period only one movie was forbidden out of this esthetic genre, its exponent `Plastic Jesus` was considered to be the deed of anti-state propaganda.

`I am the only connection between `black wave` and `Praxis philosophy` whose all members were further educated in West, because I am the only one who was dealing with both` -said Stojanović.

Lino Veljak said that his parallel between fascism and titoism made out of the movie a deed of enemy. He asked: `In which scale these esthetics is congruence meaning it indicates totalitarianism?`

Stojanović answered: `The esthetic parallel exists. My movie is the only one in Eastern block speaking of homosexuality. The authoritarian patterns served to me as a base. On the trial I was warned for not making clear difference between fascism and socialism. We need synergy of civic space and scene in Serbia and it`s connection to the world` -he concluded.



`Suspicions and secrets` and `The untouchable` are short movies which were shown within educational programs of Women in Black on 23d of October. The first one is about abandoned old people who are often victims of immoral people in power. Suspicious to their relatives, they agree to make risk moves, which end often in a wrong way. And immoral people in power misuse their moves. There is no answer who protects old people in Serbia. Who can be a judge...

`The untouchable` speaks of doctors who are not punished for their mistakes and ill people and their families can not reach the truth. It is analysis of arrogance, irresponsibility and intangibility. The aim of documentary is to attract the attention of the sleepy publicity in Serbia to frequent mistakes of doctors, to lack of responsibility and the sense of it. It is a metaphor of crime without punishment.

Twenty years of Medica

On 23^d and 24th of October in Zenica was held conference about twenty years of Medica from Zenica under the title: `Of initiatives to professional service-twenty years of work with girls and women who have survived war trauma.` There were three representatives of Women in Black.

`The aims of the conference are to exchange experiences, debates on results of twenty years of support to survivals of war sexual violence, recognition of problems and obstacles during activities, next steps and future challenges in work with sexual violence, said Sabina Husić, director of Medica Zenica.

`This conference will help to hear demands of Bosnian women`, Monika Hauser said, initiator of Medica mondiale. Shocked by mass rape of Bosnian women, Hauser went in 1992 to war inflicted territories of ex Yugoslavia, and in April of 1993, with 20 local psychologists, doctors, theologians, sociologists, nurses she opened center for women`s therapy-Medica Zenica.



`Hauser is among first women who came in Bosnia and Herzegovina and recognized clearly the aggression and genocide in here`, reminded Fadila Memišević in front of NGO-Society for people in jeopardy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She added that UN data speak of 50.000 of raped women in war of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Impresum

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

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Layout and illustrations

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Publisher: Žene u crnom

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The *Women, Peace, Security* newsletter is realized with support Global Fund for Women



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