



Dear readers, by publishing this newsletter, we want 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, non-discrimination, security integrations...We expect your contributions on these questions. The newsletter covers the period from June to September, 2011. From October onwards, it will be published monthly in English and Serbian. It is accessible online on the website: **www.zeneucrnom.org**

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Women in Black and Resolution 1325

Indicators of the implementation of the National Action Plan for Resolution 1325

Women in Black (WiB) are the first civil society organisation to have promoted UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Serbia. WiB has been dealing with questions of security, promotion of all forms of demilitarisation, conscientious objection, education, street actions, research projects, legal initiatives and publishing activities since its creation in 1991. WiB stance is that the drafting process of the National Action Plan (NAP) for UNSC Resolution 1325 was not transparent, democratic and participative. WiB research from 2010 testifies about how civil society organisations (CSOs) did not participate in this process. The long-term advocacy by CSOs of education and lobbying for the promotion and adoption of this Resolution was neglected. This is why WiB considers that a more efficient control of the implementation process of the NAP and of all state activities in this matter is necessary in order to make activities related to Resolution 1325 more transparent for Serbian citizens.

Engendering human security

With the *Engendering human security* project, WiB continues, in a feminist-antimilitarist way, to re-examine the traditional, militarised concept of security, to monitor and appeal to the state and its institutions for responsibility. One of the project's aims is to create a feminist concept of security, to build a just peace in accordance with women's needs and with women's human rights in Serbia. Through the project's activities, WiB wants to strengthen the capacity of women's CSOs to monitor the state and its institutions in charge of implementing the NAP and other international documents more efficiently.

As part of the project, WiB organised a training course on the indicators for the NAP implementation on 2-3 June 2011. The trainers were from the New York-based UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. On the first day of the seminar, the participants familiarised themselves with the adopted NAP of Serbia and with the content of the Women in Black Resolution – *Women, peace, security*.

On the second day of the seminar, a training course on the indicators to monitor the implementation of the NAP adopted by Serbia in December 2010. The participants were trained in monitoring global UN and EU indicators.

The participants of the three working groups chose alone the indicators they would monitor from May, 1st 2012, and that are adapted to the Serbian context in accordance with the NAP provisions. Ten indicators were chosen, and participants commented that there would be more.

19 activists from CSOs dealing with the question of security (Astra, Autonomous Women's Centre, Fractal, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, Labris, Women in Black, Women of the South, Women for Peace, Alternative Circle, Roma Women's Banat Network and Roma Association Danica) from six Serbian towns (Belgrade, Leskovac, Pirot, Kragujevac, Pančevo and Novi Bečej) as well as the representative of Serbia's Ombudsman.

Working groups to monitor indicators

On June 30th, Women in Black formed a working group to monitor the NAP's implementation and suggested indicators. The list of indicators grew from 10 to 48 at the working group's meeting on July, 26th and people who will monitor given indicators were chosen. Eight CSO researchers activists from all over Serbia will monitor 48 indicators. The indicators follow the NAP's activities and aims.

Among the indicators are those demanding:

- The greater representation of women in ministries, administrations and agencies in the security sector and their influence on security policy, defence policy and human rights;
- The creation of conditions for greater representation of women in the security sector in the operative system – where means of compulsion are used;
- The greater participation of women in the judiciary, security and foreign affairs sectors, in the parliaments and in ministerial positions;
- The greater participation of women in international negotiations;
- The greater participation in state delegations;
- The inclusion of non-governmental organisations, especially women's ones, in the public debate about the content of strategic documents on defence and security questions;
- Increasing women's influence on deciding and realising women's right to participate in deciding about defence and security questions equally and together with men;
- The affirmation of the importance of women's role in conflict solving, negotiating, attaining agreements and their implementations;
- Securing a greater number of women in peace building and in post-conflict reconstruction of the community;
- Securing a greater number of women in peace and humanitarian missions;
- The effective protection of women and girls from discrimination, violation and endangerment of rights and gender-based violence;
- Contents about gender equality, gender-based violence, gender awareness, sexual exploitation in textbooks in the security sectors;
- Media promotion of problems of gender equality in Serbia.



Women in Black's activities in demilitarisation of security

Solidarity and mutual support

Women in Black want to promote the concept and praxis of human (economic, health, personal, political) security, not based on the power of weapons but on the spreading of values of solidarity, justice, feminism, anti-fascism, anti-militarism, respect of human rights, inter-culturality...



Solidarity with the Roma population

Against institutionalised violence and apartheid against this population so that their activists, together with the representatives of the Regional Centre for Minorities helped four families from the Belgrade Roma settlement Belvil whose barracks had burned down on April, 12th.

On July, 27th Women in Black activists tried but did not manage to prevent the eviction of five Roma families from 15 Skadarska street in Belgrade from premises owned by the Poslovni sistem Stankom AD company.

Antifascist solidarity

Trials at the Special Court: at the council for war crimes, the trials for the crime in Lovas (Croatia) and the crime in Čuška/Qyshkut (Kosova). Fourteen members of the JNA (Yugoslav People Army), TO (Territorial Defence Forces) and the volunteer unit "Dušan the Mighty" were charged with murder, torture, captivity and forced work of Croatian civilians in the village Lovas in October 1991.

Trial for the war crime in the village Čuška started in December 2010. Nine members of the unit „jackals“ and of the Territorial Defence Forces were charged for having murdered 43 Albanian civilians, burned their bodies, and expelled over 400 Albanian civilians (women, children and elderly people) from the village.

Trial of the arsonists of Bajrakli mosque in Belgrade in March 2004 in retaliation for the riots in Kosovo.

Trial because of the violence during the 2010 Gay Pride: trial of fourteen members of the clero-fascist organisation *Patriotic Movement Obraz* led by Mladen Obradović accused of violence during the Gay Pride in Belgrade on 10 October 2010. They are also accused of 'spreading racial and other discrimination and of violent behaviour towards the police.' Trial of Miša Vacić, leader of the clero-fascist organisation *Serbian National Movement 1389* because of the violence during the preparations of the Gay Pride that was supposed to take place in Belgrade in September 2009 but was abandoned because of state unwillingness and violence of clero-fascists organisations. Both trials are being postponed.

(For more detailed information, you can find the reports from the trials on the website: www.zeneucrnom.org)

Attending in the commemorations for the victims of war crimes

As an element of recognition that there is also a collective responsibility of Serbian citizens for the crimes of the Serbian regime in the wars from 1991 to 1999.

On June, 1st eight activists of the WiB Network laid a wreath in Zvornik with the message '*Lest we forget the crime in Zvornik.*' The wreath was laid during the Salat al-Janazah for Muslim civilians – victims of Serbian armed units in May and June 1992 on the territory of the Zvornik municipality.

From July, 8th to 10th, eleven Women in Black Serbia Network activists and international volunteers took part in the peace march *To Freedom via the Route of Death* from Nezuk near Tuzla to Potočari near Srebrenica. After the occupation of Srebrenica in July 1995, Bosnian civilians tried to escape from Serbian armed units under the command of Ratko Mladić, charged with genocide, by this route. Women in Black are the first civil society organisation from Serbia that organised a collective departure for the 110-kilometre-long march.

On July 10th, a vigil was organised in Belgrade for the 16th anniversary of the genocide, with the motto '*We will never forget the genocide in Srebrenica.*'

On July, 11th some fifty activists of the WiB Network Serbia attended the commemoration and burial of the genocide victims in Potočari. They laid a wreath with the message '*We will never forget the genocide in Srebrenica*' at the Memorial Centre in Potočari.

On August, 6th, for the Day of the Camp Inmates of Bosnia and Herzegovina, WiB representatives attended a commemoration in the former Serbian concentration camp Omarska.

Public statements

Women in Black want to criticise and warn, remind and evoke, express solidarity and understanding, empathy and responsibility. Under the title *We will never forget Srebrenica*, Serbia was informed of the pacifist action of the Women in Black Network in Belgrade on July, 10th. "We call for respect of the dignity and humanity of the victims of the genocide 16 years ago in Srebrenica...We will publicly read the names of the 614 victims of the genocide who will finally be buried on July, 11th. We remind that among the 8,372 killed during these July days of 1995, the youngest was 11 and the oldest 94... Through this pacifist action, we show that the killed ones have left the deepest trace in our lives...The Srebrenica genocide is a paradigm of all Serbian crimes – crimes committed in our name...As long as the vast majority of Serbian citizens refuse to confront themselves with the fact that there were criminals within their nation, they stand in solidarity with the criminals. On this occasion, we remind that the arrest and extradition of Ratko Mladić, suspected of genocide in Srebrenica and other serious war crimes by the ICTY, is an exceptionally important act. However, since the arrest was carried out after 16 years, we demand that state institutions start investigating who hid, protected and took care of Mladić..." On July, 7th, Women in Black informed the public that they would join the Peace March from July, 8th to 10th "in sign of remembrance of the genocide against Bosnians carried out by the army and police of Republika Srpska and helped by forces from Serbia," as was said in the statement.

The arrest of Goran Hadžić, the last Hague indictee, was greeted by Women in Black on July, 20th but in their public statement they posed a few questions to the authorities. Among other:

- Will anyone be held responsible for Hadžić's hiding from the law for many years (and this applies to those who helped Ratko Mladić and others as well)?

- After Hadžić's arrest, suspected for the deportation of thousands of Croatian civilians and war prisoners to the concentration camps in Serbia, will the details about these camps (Stajićevo, Begejci, Sremska Mitrovica, Aleksinac, Belgrade, Niš) be revealed?
- When will the establishment of responsibility of the former JNA higher echelons for the crimes in Croatia, especially for the crime of uricide in Vukovar, begi?

Women in Black did not hush up the attack on the mosque in the Belgrade settlement Borča on September, 5th. The Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights and the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia joined Women in Black's statement. The signatories expect "an urgent action by the investigative and judicial organs to discover and adequately punish the perpetrators." The three organisations remind that Bosnians and Muslims in Serbia, still after 2000, are the object of unpunished hatred, attacks and intolerance. "The three signatories conclude that the "greetings of the representatives of the Serbian state to Muslims on the eve of their religious holidays are hypocritical, and at the same time the attack Muslims and their places of worship are degraded and destroyed in impunity. Religious buildings do not represent only their believers, but are the segment of the culture of an entire nation and thus the attack on the place of worship can also be analysed as an attack on all Muslims and Bosnians of Serbia."

Women in Black are the signatories of the statement of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia on September, 6th in which "the bearer of political decisions are called to set as priority a reachable aim, and this the continuation of the process of European integrations of Serbia...The false choice of Kosovo and EU was imposed by this segment of the political elite that has been profiting of the economic and social decay of Serbia for already 20 years...".

"Everything for peace, health, knowledge, nothing for armament"

For May, 24th *The International Day of Women Action for Peace and Disarmament* and for September, 21st *The International Peace Day*, the Women in Black Network demanded of the state institutions to sign the *Convention on Cluster Munitions*. In their statement, Women in Black condemned the militarist statements of the defence minister Dragan Šutanovac and of the expert from the Serbian Army that "the more serious countries in Serbia's neighbourhood did not sign the Convention" and that "we cannot renounce something that serves us." In the statement, it is demanded that the highest interest be investment in peace and not in war.

In the framework of the June Action of Global Solidarity Against Militarism, organised by the *International Action Network on Small Arm (IANSA)*, its member Women in Black joined the international pacifist movement through a number of activities under the slogan 'Stop militarism – for a society without weapons, army, violence and crime.' An additional reason for engagement was the three-day-long strategic conference of NATO and partner countries in Belgrade. On this occasion, Women in Black announced in the first week of June: 'militarism's biggest victims are civilians, first and foremost poor people, women and children...As antimilitarists, feminist, antifascists, we have critical stance towards NATO. This is why, as this conference is taking place, we repeat our disagreement with and resistance to NATO militarist policy, our opposition to the idea that NATO membership is worthwhile and to every other military union.'

In reaction to the news about systematic raping of women in Libya, Women in Black demand that the International Criminal Court charges all those violating the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention,



whose article 27 states that 'women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault.'

On September, 23rd, Women in Black harshly condemned the statement of Serbia's Police Trade Union and Dveri by which the police refuses to ensure public order on October, 2nd. 'We consider that it is extremely hypocritical that the responsibility for the 'endangerment of public order and peace, properties and lives of citizens and police' is transferred to citizens who want to organise the Gay Pride, to which they have the right by the Constitution, and not to the fascist groups that destroyed Belgrade,' announced Women in Black.

In their statement on September, 30th Women in Black condemned the ban on the *Gay Pride* ordered by Serbia's Interior Ministry under the pretext of banning all meetings in Belgrade for the weekend. 'Whatever the explanation, it is clear that institutions have given up Belgrade and Serbia to fascists, whose impact was seen during last year's Pride. The ban on the Gay Pride confirms that the Serbian government, that invokes sovereignty so much in the case of Kosova, has just surrendered its sovereignty and monopoly over the power apparatus in Belgrade. The ban on the Pride, and the authorities' explanation for the ban, exposed Serbia's state policy – the government WILL NOT allow the Gay Pride, and the government will not respect its own Constitution. We demand that that the Serbian Government respects the Constitution and the human rights of all citizens, and that the Constitutional Court bans the work of fascist organisations in accordance with the Constitution that should protect,' it was said in the statement.

When the call to receive war-time placement and military training was made by the Ministry of Defence, Women in Black highlighted in their statement: 'That the government is the first to violate the Constitution in Serbia, by enacting laws that are in opposition to it; that military expenditures are still unlimited and uncontrolled. The decision on ending compulsory military service does not respect the right to conscientious objection guaranteed by the Constitution, and thereby additionally shows the entire arrogance towards its citizens and Constitution. It was also emphasised that 'the right to conscientious objection is an inalienable, basic human rights that cannot be limited by the period that has passed from military service, nor can it be limited to active members of the army alone. This right represents a civilisation value, and our fight to obtain it in Serbia has been a long insurgency and persistent fight against the militarised structures of government. 'Women in Black demanded from the president and institutions that "without further delay they start implementing the constitutional right to conscientious objection, harmonising the laws from this domain of the Constitution, and respecting the obligation that citizens have to be officially informed of their rights."

Democratic form without essence

For the open day *Women, Peace, Security* organised every year by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and for the *International Peace Day*, 21 September 2011, Women in Black and close organisations engaged in monitoring the implementation of NAP for Resolution 1325 spoke with William Infante, the UNDP Resident Representative in Serbia on September, 19th. They talked about what threatens women's and Serbian citizens' security the most.

Staša Zajović, Women in Black coordinator reminded that Women in Black have been advocating various forms of demilitarisation on the institutional, cultural and spiritual levels since the beginning of the war. She said that this feminist-antimilitarist praxis of security constantly provoked the traditional

militarised concept of security. 'As you will hear from my colleagues today, the problems that constantly threaten our security are tightly linked – these are poverty, transitional justice, war crimes, corruption, organised crime, the absence of civil democratic control, the formal fulfilling of European standards and the ill-functioning of state institutions. The state continues to reject some international documents that are in the interest of its citizens, such as the Convention on Cluster Munitions; in the parliamentary delegations and international organisations, there are not enough women.'

Zajović considers that the civil sector in Serbia should monitor state activities but lacks information due to the absence of transparency. At every step the state sabotages independent institutions – since 2005 the State Auditor has not had an office or facilities for work, and the parliament is not adopting a book of rules for the work of state institutions and individuals so that those who mispend government budget would be punished. Every year, half a milliard euro from the budget goes to Serbs' institutions in Kosovo, i.e. 16 euro per second, and Serbian citizens do not have an insight into this.

'We are not satisfied with how the Resolution 1325 is implemented in Serbia and in most states. Serbia does not contribute to peace and stability in the region. We constantly warn that Serbia misuses this resolution and this is why we refused to work with the state on the implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP). The information that you received is from those who worked with are extremely fallacious. The government divides civil society organisations into 'obedient' and 'disobedient' ones. As responsible activists, we will work alone on the NAP. And we know very well what the concept of 'militarised peace' means because we came back from divided Mostar last night,' concluded Zajović.

Gordana Subotić from Women in Black analysed the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) as being 'one of the hundreds of Serbian government's strategies.' The Strategy was formulated in 2003, the first report on its implementation was made in 2005 and the second in 2007. After that, there were no more reports on the Strategy's implementation, although the Strategy prescribes a yearly evaluation of its results, as well as quarterly and yearly reports on the Strategy to the National Parliament. The PRS slogan is 'To half poverty in Serbia by the year 2010.' We ask how come we do not know what the money is being used for, when we do not have reports by the implementers.

Subotić concluded that there is not political will to adopt a law on private security agencies. 'One year after the enactment of a bill on private security agencies, there are no talks about its adoption. This significant economic activity employs between 40,000 and 50,000 people, but is accountable for the security of almost 80% state assets, among which are kindergartens and schools, and meanwhile, this activity is not regulated by any law! It is unthinkable that such a significant work does not have legal framework, monitoring and control,' she said.

Subotić informed Infante on Serbia's attitude to the ban on cluster munitions. She said that the 'landmines and cluster munitions victims in Serbia cannot realise even basic human rights. Long-term support for the victims must be a priority in the plans for reducing poverty in Serbia. Serbia does not have evidence on the victims of this kind of weapons. Ratifying the Convention on Cluster Munitions is significant first of all from the security perspective, and then from the perspective of victims' protection. Niš is the town that has been bombed the most with cluster bombs in Europe. In May 1999, during NATO aggression, between 3,600 and 5,400 cluster bombs were thrown onto Niš. A cluster bomb can explode 30 years after it has been thrown, 97 percent of civilians, and especially children, are victims of cluster bombs. In Serbia, around 16 millions square metres need to be cleared of cluster munitions. There is no visible warning of danger from unexploded cluster bombs in any of these locations. No one from the Serbian government attended the regional meeting about the ban on cluster munitions in Niš in 2011.'

Borka Vasić, from the Regional Centre for Minorities and Women in Black analysed Roma women's position in Serbia. The estimates are that around 500,000 Roma people live in Serbia and 52% of them are women. Roma women do not have the possibility to get schooling, do not have health care, live isolated Roma neighbourhoods, are housewives and are economically dependent on men, they are not aware of their rights and protection mechanisms. 'Although Serbia adopted numerous strategic documents and seek the improvement of Roma people's position, none of these documents or activities relates to women in particular. The statistics are implacable, Because 75% of illiterate Roma are women, 54% of Roma women does not have identity documents, 35% of Roma women finish primary school, 25% of Roma women finish middle school, 3% of Roma women finish university, the average life expectancy of Roma women is 48 (compared to 75 for women in Serbia), 3.5% of Roma women live more than 60 years, 23% of Roma women aged between 15 and 19 years have at least one child. During the Roma Decade (2005-2015) strategic documents for the advancement of Roma's position were adopted. However, means for their implementation were not earmarked, clear indicators to follow their implementation do not exist, indicators are not gender-sensitive, and they are no mechanisms for the revision of the adopted documents,' said Vasić.

Tamara Kaliterna from Women in Black reminded that the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia condemned or made charge against 161 people – out of which 104 declared themselves as ethnically Serbian. Although 80 of them are Bosnian Serbs, the majority escaped to Serbia, which was a safe refuge, after the war in Bosnia. They received Serbian citizenship, and thus took advantage of the republic law of March 2004 on the aid to the defendants and their families. According to the Law, Serbia will finance the salaries, pensions, travel expenses to The Hague every 15 days for relatives, phone bills and pocket money for the defendants and fees for their lawyers. During one week in April 2004, Women in Black collected on the streets of Serbia 22,000 signatures of citizens against the Law under the motto '*Not in our name – not with our money.*' They sent the signatures to the parliament, demanding the abrogation of the Law and the redirecting of the money for Hague defendants into humanitarian aims. They never received an answer. In later October 2005, Women in Black demanded the National Council for Cooperation with the Hague Tribunal to intervene to abrogate the Law. The result was the same – silence. In 2005, the Serbian state paid Hague convicts and their families 400,000€, in 2008 200,000€ and last year 190,000€ while at the same time asking for help for foreign loans and financial injections.

Apart from this, each Serbian citizen, including those in cradle, lost 159€ per month hiding Ratko Mladić for the last 16 years. At one point, there were 46 Hague fugitives in Serbia. They blocked Serbia's way to the EU and closed European funds for Belgrade. As a whole, Kaliterna calculated that this represents a yearly loss of 1.2 milliard euro.

Ana Ranković spoke about Fractal's activities, with the thesis that 'cross-border cooperation is a tool to build peace.' This cooperation can facilitate the admission of states into the EU, accelerated development and democratisation. 'In itself, cross-border cooperation does not create social space for reconciliation, but it is the first step towards the creation of contacts and interaction of social groups,' she said.

Ranković concluded that there is no cross-border cooperation whatsoever between Kosova and Serbia, while cooperation between Serbian and Montenegro is reduced to economic cooperation. She reported that civil society organisations from Serbia and Kosova greeted the dialogue between Belgrade and Prishtina with EU intercession, although they are not included in the dialogue. She concluded that civil society engagement in cross-border cooperation needs stronger support and recognition on the national and international levels.

Jelena Cakić from Women for Peace from Leskovac talked about the femicide by policemen and soldiers in Serbia in 2011. According to data from the Women Against Violence Network, from the beginning of 2011 until 9 September 2011, 25 women were killed in family context, and 8 were killed outside this context. All soldiers or policemen killed a woman in the familial legal context. Out of the 25 women killed in the familial legal context, soldiers/policemen were the murderer five times, i.e. they represent one fifth of the murderers. On the other hand, there are no perpetrators of murder against women outside of the familial legal context among policemen/soldiers, which indicates that the latter control their violent behaviour towards women outside the family and are aware of the consequences of such behaviour.

Policemen and soldiers often are violent towards women in their families. This is rarely punished because these violent people benefit from the solidarity and help of their colleagues policemen. On the other hand, fearing such reactions, women often do not report or retract their charges so that the violent person, often with an official weapon, goes on with such a behaviour with impunity, Cakić concluded and suggested first of all tough punishment of violent people among policemen and soldiers.

Miloš Urošević from Women in Black gave an overview of the LGBT population's position regarding human rights: 'the security of the LGBT population, but also of all those who are different, is threatened the most in Serbia by the political elite that produced the war, and which still legitimate fascism as the norm in public space. Its performers are the fascist groups *Obraz* [*Honour*], *Naši* [*Ours*], 1389, *Dveri srpske* [*Serbian Gates*]. The public prosecutor's office describes their hate speech as freedom of speech. Fascism is not and cannot be freedom of speech. The Serbian State and its institutions, first and foremost the Constitutional Court, do not show political will to confront with fascist organisations in order to ban them. The Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination was adopted in Serbia two years ago, but it remained a dead letter, because the Serbian State again does not show readiness to put an end to every form of discrimination. It is therefore necessary to have constant international pressure because human rights cannot and should not be an internal affair of a country that inherited a criminal past. Politicians who support the October Gay Pride are rare, and even them only pay lip service to it. The city is again, like two years ago, full off graffiti calling for lynching the LGBT population. In this lynching atmosphere, fear and insecurity for one's own life are prevailing in the LGBT population, and especially among LGBT activists who are visible in the media. In such an atmosphere, attacks against members of the LGBT population became much more frequent. On the eve of the 2010 Gay Pride, two fascist with a meat tenderiser broke in Women in Black's office and injured one activist. Women in Black filed criminal charges but the prosecutor has not yet undertaken anything.'

Jovanka Todorović Savović from Labris, an organisation for lesbians' human rights, added a presentation in which she concluded that security is threatened first and foremost for members of minority groups and human rights fighters in Serbia. According to a 2008 research, on the top of the ladder of the most threatened are Roma, then members of the LGBT population, despite the adoption of legal acts on the legal position of this population. She said that reciprocally opposed factors would influence the taking place of this year's Pride on October, 2nd – elections will take place next year, which, along the problem with Kosovo, makes the organisation of the Gay Pride even more difficult. All are counting their votes and define their support to the pride accordingly. The only thing the pride's organisers can benefit from is that European Commission announces whether Serbia is ready to receive EU candidate status on October, 12th – said Labris representative.

Women in Black and international coalitions for peace and security

Women in Black are, among other, members of:

The Women's Peace Platform: composed of the Kosova Women's Network and Women in Black Network. The Women's Peace Platform started their work in 2006 as an independent civic initiative of women's solidarity and cooperation that goes beyond all race-, religion-, sex- or ethnicity-based divisions.



http://www.zeneucrmom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=199&Itemid=54&lang=en

The European Women's Lobby, created in 1990 because of the increased need to defend women's rights in Europe. The European Women's Lobby today has over 2,500 members in more than 30 countries. <http://www.womenlobby.org/spip.php?rubrique43&lang=en>

The Regional Women's Lobby for Peace, Security and Justice in South-Eastern Europe, created in 2006. The Regional Women's Lobby for Peace, Security and Justice in South-Eastern Europe brings together women politicians and activists from the region that are dedicated to the aims of reinforcing human security, promoting women's rights and participating in the process of decision making and breaking the barriers of ethno-centrist politics. http://www.rwlsee.org/index.php?option=com_contact&view=contact&id=1&Itemid=12&lang=sr

Cluster Munitions Coalition (CMC) is composed of 350 non-governmental organisations from more than 90 states. CMC supports the NGOs' efforts to inform governments, public and media about the problems related to the use of cluster munitions, the globalisation and full implementation of the 2008 Convention on Cluster Munitions. <http://www.stopclustermunitions.org>

Women in Black also are automatically member of the **International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL)** – a global network in over 90 countries that works for a world free of antipersonnel landmines and cluster munitions, where landmine and cluster munition survivors can lead fulfilling lives. The Campaign was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of its efforts to bring about the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty. Since then, ICBL has been advocating for the words of the treaty to become a reality, demonstrating on a daily basis that civil society has the power to change the world. As a member of the CMC, ICBL is included in international efforts towards the ban on cluster munition. <http://www.icbl.org>

The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), which bridges the gap between policy discussions and implementation and action on the ground on women, peace and security issues. It is a coalition of women's groups and other civil society organizations from Africa, Asia and the Pacific, West Asia, Europe and Latin America that are directly involved in advocacy and action for the full implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 including the supporting resolutions 1888, 1889 and 1960 at the local, national, regional and international levels. GNWP is a program hosted by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN), a network that aims to strengthen civil society, and women's participation and influence in conflict prevention, social justice, coexistence, and peacebuilding efforts, in situations of closed political space and conflict affected states. GNWP members in Eastern Europe are Anima from Kotor and the Kosova Women's Network. <http://www.gnwp.org>

||| Serbia - Resolution 1325 and security integrations

The army is not of the feminine gender

As activists all over the world earlier warned against the danger of bureaucratisation of Resolution 1325 by the state and a significant segment of NGOs, this resolution was misused in Serbia in order to achieve the political aims of the ruling elite and some NGOs. For the Serbian government, Resolution 1325 represents one more bureaucratic tool creating the illusion of integration and mythomaniac obsession of "leadership in the region": 'Our state belongs to the small number of states that seriously addressed the implementation of Resolution 1325. If we are taking a leadership stance in something, it is in this case.



The idea of Resolution 1325 was firstly accepted by women's human rights activists, and then NGOs more generally and from there, the idea was brought in our ministry,' stated Tanja Mišćević, state secretary in the Ministry of Defence.

Compulsory military service was abolished in Serbia in late 2010. Thereby, the process of professionalisation of the army starts. At the height of propaganda for the professionalisation of the army, women are invited and encouraged to join the army en masse, so that it would gain a "modernising and emancipating" character, in order to fulfil international standards, and so that the government would appear "modern" in the eyes of its own citizens, but also of foreign observers. This is confirmed by official statements, namely by Mišćević: 'This year, we will have schooled women-officers who will command a professional army for the first time. This is a big novelty.' Women were promoted officers for the first time on September, 9th 2011. 19 women became sub-officers. In officials' comments, but also in most of the media, this sounded as militarisation of feminism, reducing the demands for equal access to power to women's participation in authoritarian patriarchal structures – military power exclusively...For the majority of feminist-oriented women's groups, women's participation in armed forces is not a profess from the feminist perspective. However, we consider that there should not be restrictions in rights, in equal access to power, therefore the right to chose should not be restricted for these women who want a military career, even if this choice is not in accordance with feminist stances.

Since 1991, Women in Black have declared themselves against the inclusion of women in armed formations, against the patriarchal aspect of the policy of gender equality or "evenness," considering it "women's militarisation," or as one of the participants of Women in Black's seminars says: 'What does equal possibility in the army mean to me? To look for equality in killing and producing death?'¹ After the wars as well, Women in Black consider that the inclusion of women into armed forces – whether on a professional, voluntary or forced basis – is the most pronounced form of militarisation of feminist demands.

Underrepresentation of women in delegations

Out of nine permanent delegations with 61 members of the Serbian National Parliament's delegations to international organisations, 16 are women. In the permanent delegation to NATO, there is no

¹ Regional seminar From the traditional to the feminist concept of security organized by Women in Black in 2009-2010.

woman. In the permanent delegation to the Council of Europe, only 4 of the 14 members are women. On January, 26th 2011, Serbia was warned and suspended from voting because of the imbalance of women in the delegation, but the situation has not changed. Serbia's delegation attended the Council of Europe Assembly on June, 20th 2011 with the same composition and this time got through without warning or suspension. All four women still are deputies of the delegation's male members.

IV Experiences from the world

Asylum seekers' position

Beside UN, the EU also has indicators to follow UNSC Resolution 1325 from 2000. EU adopted its indicators in July 2010. In Brussels, they are said to be 'one of the pillars of EU policy towards women, security and peace.' Governmental, non-governmental, global and regional organisations such as UN agencies (UNIFEM and UNICEF), the International Red Cross, NATO, OSCE, etc., are included in EU indicators.

Indicators were updated until December 2008. One of the last indicators is the one about the proportion and country of origin of asylum seekers who obtained the status of refugees. EU considers that this indicator illustrates whether women from countries where there are conflicts have international protection. Reports on the monitoring of Resolution 1325 are published every two years in the EU, with the support of the informal EU group *Women, peace and security*. Indicators are subject to revision, taking into account the more or less repressive policy of EU institutions towards immigrants.

Domination of Europe and Africa

The *International Women's League for Peace and Security* published an overview of action plans (NAP) for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in given states. An action plan allows for strategic actions to be initiated, priorities and resources to be identified, competence and deadlines to be determined on the national level.

Since 2000, 25 states have adopted NAP. These are Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chile, Democratic Republic of Congo, Denmark, Estonia, Philippines, Finland, France, Netherlands, Iceland, Liberia, Canada, Nepal, Norway, Ivory Coast, Portugal, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uganda and Great Britain.

Resolution 1325 requires from UN members to start working in the following key areas: participation of women in decision and pacification process; protection of women and girls; gender education.



Humiliation through rape

The UN reported that rebels in Congo raped more than 500 women in August 2010 and blamed local rebels as well as rebels from neighbouring Rwanda for these crimes. In November 2010, UN stated that there were more than fifty children among the hundreds of women raped by the armed rebels in the war-torn Eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Margot Wallström, Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, said that 'the recent mass rapes underscore the need for an end to impunity for perpetrators of such crimes.' The Uruguayan government announced in early September 2011 that Uruguayan members of UN peace forces in Haiti have raped an 18-year-old Haitian boy. The video recording on the internet – in which one can see how Uruguayan marines throw the young Haitian on a mattress and, to all appearances, sexually abuse him – provoked public fury in earthquake-devastated Haiti. The Haitian authorities, UN mission in Haiti and the Uruguayan ministry of defence have opened an investigation about the video recording.

V Reflections on security questions from the feminist -antimilitarist perspective

Resolution 1325 in Germany

Germany has fundamentally altered its peace and security strategy in recent decades. Germany has become an international player. German foreign and security policy has been militarised and is justified on the basis of changing threats in a globalised world. Right on top of the agenda is international terrorism and the possible proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Resources that are becoming more and more scarce, regional conflicts, fragile states, poverty and climate change are considered to be global security threats. In contrast, two other factors are glossed over in political and academic circles, namely the significance of women in terms of peace solutions and the role of gender relations in societies for the dynamics of crises and armed conflict.

Both are, however, essential for a stable and sustainable peace policy. The commitment of women against war, against the violation of women's and other human rights and to the reconciliation of the respective conflict parties worldwide makes a significant contribution to crisis prevention, conflict resolution, the consolidation of societies that have been destroyed and to the development of democratic conditions. Women often achieve, in local or regional groups, what, at present, appears to be virtually impossible in armed conflicts at the highest political level: they work with women from the opposing side, forge peace alliances and develop conflict resolution strategies. However, men still dominate in all proclamations of gender equality.

This applies to the UN, the UN Security Council, UN peace-keeping missions and to peace and post-conflict negotiations, but even more to the traditional conflict resolution institutions, such as armed forces, (para)military organisations or militia. These are almost exclusively male domains. According to sociologist, Rolf Pohl: 'Duty, loyalty, bravery, camaraderie, aggressive readiness for combat, toughness and willingness to make sacrifices are some of the classic hallmarks of military, belligerent masculinity and in terms of military socialisation must be inscribed in a soldier's body and soul.'



International and regional experiences

According to a 2009 UNIFEM study, for example, in 22 peace processes since 1992, only 7.5% of the negotiators, 2% of the facilitators and barely 3% of the signatories were women. In over 60 years of its existence the UN has never had a female Secretary-General, and just one woman – in Liberia – headed up a peace mission in 2008. Not only political decision makers, but peace and conflict researchers too, often plead lack of qualifications or availability on the part of women as an explanation for their exclusion. However, this is often due to their own patriarchal attitude and overestimation of their own abilities, coupled with fear of competition. Decisions based on such a motivation are irrational and have dramatic consequences, as the examples of Kosovo and the Middle East show.

The Kosova Women's Network³ made a futile attempt to apply its cross-ethnic approach to conflict resolution to the negotiations and the Kosovo Status Settlement (1999 and 2007). The interim government formed at the instigation of UN Special Envoy, Bernhard Kouchner, in 2000 remained a purely male affair, in spite of the efforts made by aid organisations on the ground, until a female OSCE worker approached the then UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan. A woman was subsequently appointed to the Interim Governing Council, but the OSCE worker was dismissed. Her mission in support of women's rights appeared too overzealous; a scandal that was barely noticed in the political arena or in the media.

During the Middle East conflict too, Israeli and Palestinian female peace activists developed conditions for reconciliation in the 1990s as 'Jerusalem Link' and later as the 'Coalition of Women for Peace' long before official negotiating initiatives. In spite of all efforts and international support they were also excluded from the Middle East peace negotiations in Oslo in the 1990s and from Camp David in 2000. 'If we'd had women at Camp David we would have reached an agreement,' said then US President Clinton on the failure of the negotiations.

Women – peacebuilders and not only war victims

'Women have an important role ... in terms of preventing and resolving conflict and in peace consolidation,' according to the findings of a UNIFEM study in 2002. When women are involved, the nature of the dialogue changes.

Of course, this doesn't mean that women are 'by nature' and because of their biological sex more peaceful and better peace players. However, in most societies - not just in 'Southern' societies, but in western countries, too - different gender images and gender role allocations traditionally prevail. Men are more likely seen as dominant, aggressive fighters and protectors, whilst women are seen as in need of protection and as peaceable carers. It is women who ultimately assume the care of and responsibility for the livelihood and survival of the family and, from a different realm of experience, develop different skills and behavioural strategies than men. That said, they often play a more mediating role in ceasefire and peace negotiations and bring other subjects and perspectives, such as food, health, education and ownership issues to the table.

Only a critical mass of 30-35% of women can have a sustained influence on and change board decisions. Only then do they have a chance of representing their rights and interests appropriately, influencing the emphasis placed on different subjects and putting forward new subjects and structures.

Conversely, the systematic exclusion of women from official peace processes has 'damaging effects on the sustainability of peace agreements,' according to an EU report published in 2000. Countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq are pitiful examples of this. Political circumstances there are extremely unstable, women at decision-making and control levels in the government, parliament, security and

justice systems are the exception and they have no influence; their safety, primarily the safety of political activists through to female members of parliament, is in extreme jeopardy. Women's rights are non-existent there in spite of being anchored in the constitutions.

Rape of women – a crime in wartime and peacetime

Not only in armed conflicts, but also in the reconstruction phase of post-war societies are women particularly threatened by sexualised violence. It has taken a long time for this gender-based form of violence to be acknowledged publicly and politically as being an element of warfare. Mass rape, violent abductions and enslavement of 'war booty' are intended to humiliate and demoralise the enemy and increase the willingness of individual combatants to engage in violence. Thus, gender-related violence is an integral part of armed conflict and is highly symbolic. Approximately, 20-50,000 women were raped during the course of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Details of sexual crimes of violence of the most brutal nature in 'epidemic proportions' against women in the Congo have been published in recent years. However, only rarely have perpetrators been tried and sentenced.

The »taboo of taboos« is the rape of men, according to Dubravka Žarkov, a social scientist who conducted research into this in the Balkan wars. The consequences are particularly devastating since these acts of violence further fuel the spiral of violence. Violence researchers work on the premise that male victims of sexualised violence are especially susceptible to again becoming perpetrators of violence. This is based on a hegemonic concept of masculinity, that of 'militarised masculinity'. According to this concept, men, whose traditional identities are under threat of collapse, violently approach 'enemies' brandishing weapons in order to demonstrate that they are 'real' men. However, such violence can also be directed against their own wives. After armed conflicts, women often experience domestic violence and rape at the hands of men returning home on an exponential scale during the (re)construction of democratic structures.

Gender-based strategies for conflict resolution are indispensable. Sociologist, Marina Blagojević, analysed, in respect of the former Yugoslavia, how, as a result of the economic changes, many men lost their traditional role as breadwinner and head of the family in the 1990s. The gap between social reality and images of male identity inherent in the culture widened and led to a dramatic crisis of masculinity, since many women were expanding their horizons and were able to consolidate their positions. In order to reoccupy the familiar positions of power, a lively nationalistic, sexist and ethnocentric debate ensued. In general terms, this means that a shift in gender relations within a society and the jeopardising of traditional (male) gender identities may, along with other factors, increase the risk of armed conflict.

What are the consequences, for example, if ex-combatants, e.g. in Afghanistan, whose image of masculinity traditionally includes the possession of weapons, are required to surrender their weapons, and to do so under the supervision of foreign military forces which are themselves carrying weapons? Or if men bewildered after a defeat learn how their wives are encouraged to become independent and more self-confident through empowerment programmes? It is clear that ceasefire agreements and civil conflict resolution programmes to date fall short when they fail to consider the potential dynamics of gender relations.

UN Resolution on the punishability of crimes against women

The exclusion of the gender dimension as well as the marginalisation of women is also a breach of applicable international law, namely UN Resolution 1325 which was passed by the UN Security Co-



uncil on 31 October 2000. Its key content can be summarised using three words beginning with P:

- Participation of women in peace and security policy;
- Prevention of armed conflicts by including gender policy measures and;
- Protection against sexualised violence in the context of war.

In 2000, for the first time, the Security Council officially recognises the significance of civil society women's groups for peace processes. Another P can now be added:

- Prosecution: the criminal prosecution of the perpetrators of gender-based violence during wars and armed conflicts.

Two years ago the UN Security Council set out the details of and extended UNSCR 1325 through a further resolution, UNSCR 1820. According to this resolution 'Rape and other forms of sexual violence can represent a war crime, a crime against humanity or action displaying the features of genocide.' The perpetrators of such violence should no longer remain unpunished and the victims should be given on-going support.

Two further resolutions, UNSCR 1888 and 1889, in the areas of peace, women and security finally set out specific measures in 2009 for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820, including the deployment of special envoys and systematic data collection.

National Action Plans

In 2005, the previous UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, had already asked for National Action Plans (NAPs) for implementing UN Resolution 1325 to be drawn up by the 192 UN Member States. Only 24 states produced an NAP - 13 European and 8 African states. Even Germany, an increasingly significant player in the area of international peace and security policy, refuses to compile one. The reason given by the current CDU-FDP government under Chancellor Merkel is that such a plan is superfluous, gender-mainstreaming, two action plans on civil crisis prevention and violence against women as well as regular implementation reports relating to the Resolution are sufficient. This reasoning shows that the government has neither understood the core of UNSCR 1325 nor of gender-mainstreaming. This stance is all the more dramatic since the Federal Republic of Germany has been a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council since 2010, i.e. the body which had to push for compliance with its resolutions in all Member States. Civil society campaigners, such as the German Women's Security Council, have been demanding from Germany to become of positive example of effective implementation of the Resolution for years.

I conclude that progress in the area of gender policy cannot be achieved without strong pressure from civil society peace groups. It is up to the peace and gender policy players to expand their networks, to make intensive efforts to find allies, tread new paths and seek new forms of interference.

Gitti Hentschel studied Communications (M.A.) and Social Education. Since April 2004 Executive Director of the Feminist Institute (since June 2007 the Gunda Werner Institute) in the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Freelance: publicist, lecturer at, among others, the Technical and Humboldt Universities in Berlin, former co-publisher of the weekly newspaper "Freitag", executive board member of the 4th Berlin Women's Shelter. Full-time Women's Officer at various German universities.

(Note: the sub-titles in this text have been added by the editor. You can read the full article on the following webpage: <http://www.gwi-boell.de/web/peace-security-hentschel-sustainable-peace-security-gender-3419.html>)



20 UVEK NEDOSLUŠNE!



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VI Announcement of events

October, 31st 2011

Women in Black at the Belgrade Security Week

4 p.m.–6 p.m. Feminist-antimilitarist alternatives about security questions – Serbian and foreign activist films and discussion

KC (Cultural Centre) Grad Beograd

4 Braća Krsmanović's Street

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