Resolution 1325 – 10 years

women, peace, security
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INTRODUCTION

I Political and socio-economic context of the war

The death of Josip Broz Tito (1980) was followed by a strong economic crisis, and the ruling elite lost its legitimacy; in search for lost its legitimacy, it resorted to nationalistic ideology. Serbia was at the forefront of that process, especially since Slobodan Milošević came to power (1987).

The period from 1991 to 2000 was marked by the deepest upheavals: first all, the aggressor military campaigns of the Serbian regime (1991 -1995, against Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina), continued by a low intensity war against the Albanian population in Kosovo, after which, in 1999, the NATO Alliance carried out a military intervention against Serbia and Kosovo.

The Serbian regime is responsible the most for the break up of Yugoslavia, primarily because the armed forces of the former Yugoslavia - Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) sided with the Serbian regime and, together with various paramilitary formations, committed numerous war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The Serbian regime led a war against civilians, but also predatory wars for redistribution of national wealth.

The regime of S. Milošević spent huge budgetary means to wage the war, answered by international sanctions imposed upon Serbia from 1992 (because of the aggression of the Serbian regime on Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and because of direct financial, military and every other assistance to the puppet Serbian regime in the so-called Serbian Republic in BiH) until the end the regime of S. Milošević, in October 2000. In this period, all economic and social resources for development in Serbia were exhausted. In early nineties, economic production fell of almost 50%, compared to the one in 1989. During the international embargo, Serbia was a closed system characterized by total economic regression and proliferation of war mafia. At that time Serbia faced one of the greatest inflations in history; precisely the third highest inflation (in January 1994, the daily growth of inflation was 64.6%; prices doubled in 1.4 days). Although serious studies of the losses have not been done yet, it is estimated that, during this period, due to war de-
struction of material, natural, cultural and biological resources, Serbian lost between 200 and 300 billion dollars. NATO military intervention in Serbia and Kosovo (1999) led to further catastrophic destruction and the devastation of the economy in Serbia.

II Belated Transition after the fall of the Regime of Slobodan Milošević

The policy of war and aggression has a price and everything invested into warfare was paid by ordinary people. The ruling elite used the global economic crisis as an excuse for the economic disaster.

Serbia’s transition began with a delay of ten years and with a completely wrecked economy. Wealth acquired through plunder was legalized after the war, and transition in Serbia is carried out under the sign of the sale of the biggest state owned enterprises (SOE) to war profiteers who earned their money during the international sanctions, mostly through various criminal activities. This type of criminal privatization leads to workers’ discontent, which the ruling elite neither wants nor can solve.

III Impact of wars and crises on women

A lot of women in Serbia paid a high price for the nationalistic and militaristic policies of the Serbian regime. Mainly women cared for the war victims, refugees, deserters; women were the first to go to the streets to complain against the war, women have organized the largest number of non-violent rebellions against war, and they were the most active in the overthrow of the dictatorial regime.

Unfortunately, the fall of the regime of S. Milošević (October 2000) did not bring the expected change nor did it meet its promises. Today, women in Serbia are paying the biggest toll to war, to transition, and to unjust privatization and, of course, omnipresent inequalities between men and women in the spheres of labour rights, economic and political power, and in the sphere of education, must not be forgotten.

IV Serbia and European and international integration processes and standards

Serbia became a member of the United Nations (UN) in 2000, mem-
ber of the Council of Europe in 2003 and an OSCE member in 2006. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) enlisted Serbia as a new country with developing economy. Serbia is expected to join World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2010. The Stabilization and Association Agreement was signed in April 2008 while in December 2009 Serbia submitted a membership request to the European Union (EU). Serbia is a member of The Partnership for Peace within NATO, while its officials declared it to be military neutral country; this status has not been internationally recognized, since Serbia has not signed any international agreement in this regard. As for the laws regarding transitional justice, Serbia adopted *The Law on Cooperation with the ICTY* (2002), while in 2003 it adopted *The Law on Organisation and Jurisdiction of Government Authorities in War Crimes Proceedings*; during the same year the Special War Crimes Chamber of Belgrade District Court began to operate.

Several laws related to human rights have been adopted, first of all the *Anti-Discrimination Law* (March 2009) and the *Law on National Minority Councils* (2009). In 2002, the Criminal Code for the first time characterized domestic violence as a specific criminal offence; The Family Act (2005) confirmed it. Serbia also adopted the National Action Plan for the Advancement of Women and promoting gender equality (2007-2010), and the National Strategy for the Advancement of Women and promoting gender equality (2009-2015), etc..

Regarding supervision of the implementation of laws connected to discrimination, independent bodies and institutions were established: the Commissioner for information of public interest and for protection of personal data, Protector of Citizens or Ombudsman, and the Commissioner for the protection of equality. The Serbian government established the EU Integration Council (2002), the EU Integration Office (2004), etc..

**V UN SC Resolution 1325 – institutional level in Serbia**

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 ‘Women, Peace and Security’ on October 31st, 2000. It is the first time that the UN Security Council advocates at such a high level the inclusion of women in peace processes and implementation of peace agreements.

As for Serbia, ten years after the adoption of SC Resolution 1325 not only that state institutions did nothing in terms of implementation
R1325, but they remained deaf on permanent and long-term efforts of civil society organisations to implement the Resolution. Women in Black, starting from 2005, have been demanding the implementation of SC Resolution 1325 and the adoption of Women in Black’s Resolution ‘Women, Peace and Security’, with the requirements specific for political context in Serbia. In fact, we had the support of dozens of civil society organisations, and also of several MP’s in the Parliament of Serbia. Unfortunately, our requests were not included in the agenda of the parliamentary sessions, which testifies to the extremely scarce democratic capacity and lack of political will of the current institutions in Serbia to acknowledge initiatives and efforts of autonomous civil society organisations in Serbia and of their failure to comply with international obligations. Out of very pragmatic reasons of adoption of international documents, in early 2010, the institutions of the Serbian state began the drafting process of NAP for the implementation of Resolution 1325. Activists around the world have been giving us early warnings of the danger of bureaucratization of R1325 by States, even by some NGOs; that happened in Serbia - Resolution 1325 has been misused by the ruling elite and some NGOs, in order to achieve certain political goals.

NAP drafting process testifies to the absence of autonomous civil society organisations from the process; it also testifies to the fact that the state representatives do not acknowledge lasting efforts and initiatives of civil society organisations to educate, promote, and lobby for the implementation of SC Resolution 1325 in Serbia.

The whole drafting process of NAP in Serbia was non-transparent, undemocratic and non-inclusive, which is proven by the results of a research survey, prepared by Women in Black, along with other numerous activities, in order to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the SC R1325. Complete report about cited research survey shall be given later in this publication.

The state of Serbia will adopt the NAP for the Implementation of the SC Resolution 1325 in order to meet yet another formal request by the international community and Women in Black will, with the support of related autonomous civil society organisations, monitor the implementation of the Resolution 1325 and will notify all relevant local and international institutions about the process.
The experience in working on Resolution 1325 proves that:

Just peace and security cannot be achieved without punishment of all war criminals: first it is necessary to complete the process of dealing with the past of the nineties, and to implement all transitional justice mechanisms in order to punish the perpetrators and condemn war crimes, first those committed in our name, and then all the others. In this sense, it is necessary for Serbia to meet all international obligations towards The International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and for international institutions to support autonomous civil society organisations in the process.

EU integration is a necessary condition for the democratization of Serbia, but democratization does not only imply the adoption of normative mechanisms, but also their implementation and monitoring of the implementation: for example, in Serbia there are more than 70 different national action plans, but they have almost no effect on the change of social consciousness or on the improvement of the lives of the population.

Fulfilling the European standards must lead to the establishment of the rule of law and of a culture of accountability, to the defeat of impunity and to full respect of human rights, and not merely pragmatic policies of ‘normative optimism’ and creation of numerous laws that fulfil formal standards but do not bring change of the value system of the society.

In the so-called standardization and integration processes, the state (and also international institutions) must respect the autonomy of civil society, instead of favouring certain NGOs that directly transmit the will of the state or of the ruling parties.

Civil society has the obligation and responsibility to: actively operate towards creating a just and lasting peace: it has to permanently pressurise state institutions, in order to establish the rule of law, a culture of responsibility and criminal liability, and has a role to monitor, evaluate and assess government steps in law enforcement; civil society must preserve its autonomy and critical distance towards the government representatives on all levels. The strengthening of civil society depends on the power, organisation level, and solidarity level within the civil society and on its ability to correct, criticize and put pressure
on institutions and to influence the changes of the value system. If civil society organisations become the long arm of the state, if it does not preserve autonomous position in relation to the government, democracy cannot be strengthened.

The networking and expansion of female peace organisations in Serbia and throughout the region must be recognized and supported internationally: women must actively participate in peace building, peace keeping and negotiation processes, and must create female solidarity networks for mutual support, regardless of their nationality, ethnic or religious affiliation.

Staša Zajović
critical remarks and activities of women in black related to the drafting of the National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UN SC R 1325
Propositions and suggestions for the drafting the National Action Plan on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Serbia

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is one of the most debated Resolutions. It deals with women, peace and security. For the first time, those issues are put in a relation of interdependence and in the same order of importance. Decades of activist and theoretical work by women on the questions of peace have led to clarification of the confusion that, from the time of the suffrage movement, has been circulated as a choice between women’s rights and questions of war, peace, national, racial and class interest.

Resolution 1325 was passed on the threshold of the new millennium, in years that offered new confusions: security vs. human rights; security vs. human rights, the liberal interpretation of gender, the bureaucracy of gender mainstreaming, the concept of human security limited by strategic development politics, etc.
As critical communication is accelerated, and experience considerable, a lively analysis of the implementation of the Resolution has developed revision of the plans, debate about its potential of international and global interest for reform and emancipation. It is a pleasure to responsibly participate in it.

The importance of taking into consideration the experiences of civil society is emphasised in the debates. Attention has been drawn to the advantage of linking CEDAW to Resolution 1325, because of the preservation of human rights framework and because of the advantage of using an elaborated and credible system of reporting to the Committee. CEDAW is concerned with global security of women so that it is indeed the appropriate place for inputs about the progress of human security (with which women identify as exceptionally important actors and as a group for progress), about the respect of women’s human rights and about the treatment of the female defenders of human rights. We will mention as well the Recommendations of civil society on the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Europe (September 2009) which also speaks about the practical preconditions for good implementation: policy 1325 must be highly ranked in relation to other policies, care for and commitment to the drafting of the official public report and responsibility for the implementation, with a transparent budget, a precise follow-up and reports on expenditure.

The key precondition is a clear **localisation (planning from the context)**, through the dynamics of various actors that reflect both experiences and limits.

The only available document for the moment, the Recommendations for drafting the NAP (BFPE, February 2010), does not establish standards for a coherent and inclusive plan, but is carried out through uncritical implementation of the liberal, developmental and militaristic approach of security and gender. Viewed from the political procedural angle, the implementer of the drafting process and the proposer of the draft NAP is in most countries the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while in Serbia the Ministry of Defence has been recommended. International cooperation is not in the focus of the Recommendations, although Resolution 1325 deals with the global question of security and opens questions of human security that are holistic and global.
Political analysis of the text and of the process of drafting the Recommendations

Civil society

In the Recommendations for drafting the NAP, civil society has an unspecified influence. The experience of peace activism is completely excluded and it is set aside in the report of the working group which dealt with the participation of women in conflict Resolution, post-conflict situations and peacekeeping operations.

The drafting process of the NAP testifies to the absence of civil society from this process, not acknowledging the long-term efforts, initiatives and dedication of civil society organisations in education, promotion, and lobbying for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Serbia. (In attachment, we have included a short account of the activities of Women in Black and of related organisations in the field of security and Resolution 1325).

The whole process is developing with the full approval and participation of international organisations, in the first place UNIFEM, which gives to the process all kind of help, and ignores the experiences, knowledge, and commitment of NGOs on Resolution 1325 in the last 6 years, ignoring the contribution of female activists to peace-building in the last 20 years, as well as the security risks of not confronting the criminal past, the condemnation of genocide in Srebrenica, etc.

The experience in other countries of the region (ex. Bosnia and Herzegovina) shows that the drafting process of the NAP has been ‘public and clear,’ that woman’s organisations working for a long period of time on Resolution 1325 were included from the beginning in this process. The short deadline for submitting comments, suggestions and objections (from the end of February to 15 March 2010) is yet further evidence of the non-transparent and non-participative model in Serbia. (In Bosnia and Herzegovina a working group for drafting the NAP worked for a year and a half, meeting every other month.)

The Ministry of Defence as the recommended implementer

The Ministry of Defence has been appointed as necessary implementer, which symbolically shifts the meaning of Resolution 1325.

The Ministry of Defence as the implementer of the drafting process
of the NAP testifies to the militaristic approach to security, an approach that is, among others, characterized by: army and police dimension, militarization of society – the transmission of military values and organisation to all spheres of life; absence of civil society in the creation of the notion and practice of security, marginalization and victimization of women, etc. In short, in this traditional militaristic approach to security, the main subject of security is not the citizens but the state, or more exactly, its political and economic elite. Apart from that, the experience of the wars of the 1990s in ex-Yugoslavia and particularly the role of the Armed Forces of Serbia that have inherited the burden of the Yugoslav People’s Army (of the Military of Yugoslavia, of the Military of Serbia and Montenegro) as one of the main executive organs of the regime of Slobodan Milošević, calls into question the credibility of this institution as the implementer of the drafting process of the NAP, and this is particularly unacceptable from the feminist pacifist point of view.

Namely, the Ministry of Defence is required, on the basis of article 11 of Resolution 1325 (“Emphasizes the responsibility of all states to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions”) to take a clear and unequivocal stance towards the genocide in Srebrenica, in line with the decision of the International Court of Justice (February 2007), to support, following the Resolution of the European parliament, the proclamation of July 11 as the Day of Remembrance of the Srebrenica genocide. In this case, the Ministry of Defence would obtain a higher degree of confidence on the part of civil society organisations that continuously advocate the punishability of all crimes, first of all those committed in our names, and then of all the other ones.

Also, the Ministry should recommend the inclusion of women’s experiences from the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the curricula of military and police schools, in order to heighten the sense of responsibility and recognition of the civil position. With the exclusion of women’s peace experiences, the regional chances are even more substantially impoverished.

Which concept of security?

The formulation that ‘the working groups recommend the Ministry
of Defence as the main implementer of the drafting process and the proposer of the draft National Action Plan for implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325 in Serbia because the greatest part of activities is related to areas under its jurisdiction’ completely neglects changes in theory and practice of security, achievements in the field of human security such as:

- **The basic subject of security are citizens, not states** – the whole process of drafting the NAP must aim at achieving human security, and this security cannot be achieved without the active and autonomous role of civil society organisations.

- **States are required to ensure the security of their citizens:** in so far as a state orients its security towards people and not towards repressive institutions (army, police), the assurance that this state will take care of and protect them is higher.

- **Recognition of the importance of civil society, i.e. non-state actors:** civil citizens’ organisations request a higher possibility and a higher responsibility in the promotion of human security.

- **Request for the punishment of those who violate human rights and humanitarian laws:** the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal, as well as of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda, represents an important step in the field of human security. Including also the active advocacy for the implementation of the UN Resolution on human rights defenders, which is in the case of Serbia highly disputable since the reports of UN special reporters on the position of human rights defenders in Serbia are unfavourable and since the state has not taken adequate measures for the security of human rights defenders.

- **Human security requires a multidisciplinary approach:** this implies the cooperation and coordination of institutional and extra-institutional activity, as well as citizens.

- **Women are actors of peace and not only victims of war:** the major part of antiwar actions in Serbia since the beginning of the 1990s, and after the war, and the actions for the punishability of war crimes have been initiated by female peace activists and human rights defenders, but they have been the most frequent target of attack both from state and non-state actors. Animosity towards
female activists of civil society is still present, especially towards those who request responsibility for the war and for war crimes: demonization by the state apparatus and media and attacks by clerical-fascist and neo-Nazi organisations. In this regard, the role of the implementer if the drafting process of the NAP is enormous – in the sense that it requires the penalisation of all those who jeopardise the security of human rights defenders.

**On the basis of all the above-mentioned points, we give comments on the plans of the working groups:**

Resolution 1325 is related to the *reform of the concept* and to the *reform of the sector* of security with an emphasis on civilians. Analysing the thematic division in working groups for the drafting of the Recommendations, the working groups II and IV worked in the domain of the reform of the sector, the group III on the reform of the concept, while the group I developed one strategy in detail.

**Working group I – The role of women in the decision-making process**

The slowness and uncertainty of the implementation of the Gender equality act (harmonization, Act amendments, etc.) must not block or blur (so that it will take the central place, that is the position of condition) the potentials offered by Resolution 1325. Progress in the framework of the strategy of achieving gender equality should be posited as a compatible process with a common aim.

For a quality process, it is necessary to include the experiences of peace groups that have been working on peace-building on the national and regional planes, as well as on confrontation with the past.

*Implementers of the drafting process and proposers of the draft NAP 1325 in this domain: all the gender mechanisms and the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia, civil society organisations.*

**Working group II – Participation of women in conflict Resolution, in post-conflict situations and in peacekeeping operations**

**Assumptions:**

- *Normalisation of violence in society – normalization of violence against women;*
- *Impunity of war crimes – impunity of violence within the family;*
• Rights and obligations of intervention for violence, both in the family against those committing violence, and in the state against war crimes (Hague court).

We can sum up those assumptions in the following way: since in Serbia, the principle of impunity in the sphere of family violence is dominant, such a value position is transmitted to all the spheres of society and is reflected in the impunity of perpetrated war crimes.

Propositions from the context of Serbia 2010:

Use of the Army of Serbia and of other defence forces in operations outside the borders of the Republic of Serbia:

To enact an ordinance on the lustration of potential participants from the ranks of the army, police and other defence forces, and of all individuals with whom contracts for employment in peacekeeping missions are concluded.

To provide a single compulsory programme of training in relations towards civilians, in human security, in respect and protection of women’s human rights and of their female defenders. To involve peace and educational groups for the work on the curriculum and for participation in the education. (Including the training of the personnel of peacekeeping missions for work with women victims of sexual crimes.)

To promote the participation of women in peacekeeping missions and gender awareness in relations and communication with the local population, acknowledging the specificities of cultural identity and its non-homogeneity.

To produce a precise code of behaviour towards civilians as a part of the contract with the Army, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other services, with the establishment of effective mechanisms of supervision and punishment.

Civil democratic control of the army, police and other security services, including the secret services and the private security sector:

By a strategy of national security and by a strategy of defence, through precise discussion with civil society actors, including women from peace groups, to define the role of civil society in the domain of defence and security and to create a clear legal basis for effective civil control.

To establish a strict and effective parliamentarian budget control of expenditure in the sector of defence and security, and mechanisms of
responsibility for the omissions of both reporters and inspectors.

It is indispensable to regulate by law the private security sector and private security agencies in Serbia, since they are the source of structural insecurity and jeopardise the state of rights and the rule of law.

To carry out a wide debate about civil responsible economy and economic orientation of the state in connection to the dependence on the income from military industry on the one hand and about the military expenditure on the other.

We suggest starting again some of the initiatives in the promotion of human security, the culture of punishability of crimes, the rule of law, among which we point out:

**Not in our name**: national initiative started by a group of female citizens against the Law on financial aid to the Hague defendants and their families; in one week time in April 2004, more than 18,000 signatures (the number of signatures required by law) were gathered and handed over to the National Parliament of the Republic of Serbia; the network Women in Black organised the gathering of signatures throughout Serbia; the national initiative has not been included in the agenda of parliamentary session – for this reason, Women in Black have organised a number of protest actions.

**Recommended campaigns and decisions:**

To ratify the Landmine Ban Convention; to open the possibility of conscientious objection; to secure work and security conditions of women employed in the military industry; to establish strict control and measures for the reduction of the number of firearms among people with risk of violent behaviour.

The conversion of military industry into a civil one – in the spirit of the “dividends of peace”: redirecting the military budget in the benefit of peace; introducing peace and non-violence education in schools; monitoring of the Law on the confiscation of property acquired through organised crime and war crimes – a part of the means can be directed at peace and non-violence education.

To have at least 50% of women in truth and reconciliation commissions; to penalise rape as a crime of genocide in Criminal law; to create an ad-hoc parliamentary group of MPs in the Parliament, to be imperatively consulted when the subject under discussion is a problematic from Resolution 1325; to put the Serbian Delegation in the
Parliament of the Council of Europe under the obligation to request the establishment of the function of reporter of the Council of Europe for Women, peace and security; the establishment of the same function on regional level.

*Implementers of the drafting process and proposers of the draft NAP 1325 in this domain:* the Commissioner for information of public importance and personal data protection, civil society, especially female activists and experts of the peace movement, of peace education, of security and civil control of the army, the parliamentarian Committee for security, the representatives of the Army of Serbia, of the Ministry of Education, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and of other forces responsible for the enforcement of the Law on the use of the Army of Serbia and other defence forces in multinational operations outside the borders of the Republic of Serbia.

**Working group III – Instruments of legal protection of women**

The concept of human security is a key part of Resolution 1325. In view of the complexity of the process and of the time framework of the NAP (2010-2015), it is necessary to harmonise values, to define the priorities and actors/division of obligations, and to synchronise the activities for the given period.

*Implementers of the drafting process and proposers of the draft NAP 1325 in this domain:* on the basis of wide consultations of the civil society and of the state, to define implementer for the given period on the basis of the agreed-upon priorities.

**Working group IV – Awareness campaign of female and male personnel of the security sector about gender questions**

The suggested analysis is by an analyst. In order to advance the position of women and to protect their interest in the security and defence services, it is necessary to form consultative groups (women with experience in the services of the army, police, customs and others, of different generations, including retired women inspectors).

For the purpose of achieving a multi-sector, multidisciplinary and participative approach in the drafting of the NAP, and first of all for the purpose of acknowledging the exceptionally important contribution of the women’s peace movement in the demilitarization of consciousness and in the institutional demilitarization, it is essential to include in the curriculum of the training the *Awareness raising of female and male*
personnel of the security sector on gender questions, education on the following themes:

**Gender character of armies and wars – inclusion of women in armed forces**

*Modern warfare and the inclusion of women in the army*: reasons for the inclusion of women in the army;

*Women’s units in the police*: importance and advantage for the population, especially for women;

*Inclusion of a higher number of women*: positive contribution to the functioning of peacekeeping operations by way of increasing the number of women in the peacekeeping missions with the purpose of furthering dialogue with the civil population.

**Feminists and the inclusion of women in the army**

*Women and armed forces: emancipation or militarization?*

*Stances and reactions in relation to the participation of women in armed forces;*

*Feminist dilemmas connected to the participation of women in the army – strengthening or weakening of militarism?;*

*Feminist-antimilitarist criticism of the inclusion of women in armed forces;*

*Feminist-antimilitarist alternative*: demilitarization of the concept of security and defense, demilitarization of patriotism, demilitarization of the educative system, conscientious objection to military expenditures, conversion of military industry into a civil one, reexamination of the notion of masculinity, (nationalism, militarism, sexism, racism, homophobia, xenophobia), education for peace and nonviolence, change of the value system, etc.

Implementers of the drafting process and proposers of the draft NAP 1325 in this domain: female practitioners, activists of the peace movement, ombudsmen, representatives of the Army, of the relevant ministries and services.

**Technical analysis of the Recommendation**

The chapter Structure of the drafting process and content of the NAP, part 3 (Possible bodies, indicators and surveillance mechanisms) and
part 4 (Operative steps) abound with omissions and imprecise points of a legal-technical nature. There are too many indicators (at times mixed up with activities), often incoherent, with unclear effects. The different competences are not clear, from the fact that it is not known to whom complaints should be addressed to the fact that the supervisory body has no right of interference. Monitoring, reporting and statistics are not integrated as mechanisms but would fall into the order of project tasks. Promotional activities and campaigns are without a focus and include enormous resources.

**Conclusion: role of the international peace movement**

The women’s peace movement through international cooperation exchanges reports and develops civil indicators of the global implementation of the Resolution Women, peace, and security.

It is essential that the experience of peace activists in Serbia has an influence on the process of drafting the NAP, on the quality of its implementation and on its improvement in order to achieve the aims of the Resolution: reforms of both the concept and sector of security, as a single civil Resolution.

**May 13th, 2010 Belgrade**

Critical review of the drafting process of the National Action Plan for UN SC Resolution 1325 in Serbia - process, context and concept

According to the guiding principles of *Women in Black*, we wanted to base our critical approach towards the drafting process of the National action plan (NAP) for UNSCR1325 upon facts, which is why we took part in numerous conferences and meetings related to the drafting process. We were invited to some events, and attended other ones without invitation. We found out about most of these ‘public debates’ from the media. We felt that we have both the right and the obligation to demand government officials’ accountability regarding the development of NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325, bearing in mind the importance of this Resolution for the issues of women’s participation in peace building processes and for women’s peace activism.

We will list in chronological order the local, regional, and international meetings that have influenced the creation of our critical perspective, and/or caused our reactions to the process of NAP for implementation of the Resolution.

- **Round table – Resolution 1325**
  (4. X 2009, Belgrade, Serbia)\(^1\)

- ‘**Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Serbia’ – meeting regarding the creation of UNSCR 1325 NAP**
  (25. II 2010, Belgrade, Serbia)\(^2\)

- **Press conference – “Recommendations for drafting the National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Serbia”**
  (31.III 2010, Belgrade, Serbia)\(^3\)

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\(^1\) The meeting took place in the Parliament of Serbia and it was organized by the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellency (BFPE). Women in Black were represented by Staša Zajović.
\(^2\) The meeting was organized by the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellency (BFPE), representatives of the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Interior Affairs and the Council for Gender Equality. Women in Black were represented by Ivana Vitas and Saša Kovačević.
\(^3\) The presentation (press conference) of the recommendations for UNSCR1325 NAP, organized by Belgrade Fund for Political Excellency (BFPE) and the Ministry of Defence.
- **Conference „For better future: Gender and Reform of Security Sector in Serbia“**
  (29. IV 2010, Belgrade, Serbia)

- **„Reaching out to make a change“, international conference on women’s peace activism**
  (5-8. V 2010, Bečići, Montenegro)

- **International Conference "Women and Peace building“**
  (25. VI 2010, Skopje, FYR Macedonia)

- **Global Open Day for Women and Peace – international action organized by UN representatives**
  (8. June 2010, UNDP, Belgrade, Serbia)

- **Meeting with UNIFEM representatives**
  (31. August 2010, Belgrade, Serbia)

- **Meeting with Zorana Šijački, OSCE mission to Serbia**
  (7. September 2010, Belgrade, Serbia)

- **International conference „Gender and Security Sector Reform“**
  (30. September 2010, Belgrade, Serbia)

Women in Black were represented by **Nataša Lambić**.

4 Women in Black were represented by **Nataša Lambić**.

5 International conference organized by the Swedish Foundation **Kvinna till Kvinna**. Women in Black were represented by **Staša Zajović**.

6 The meeting was organised by the Regional Women’s Lobby for Peace, Security and Justice in Southeast Europe. Women in Black were represented by **Staša Zajović** and **Ljiljana Radovanović**.

7 Meeting was attended by: **Sonja Biserko** (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia), **Staša Zajović** (Women in Black) and **William Infante**, UNDP, Resident Representative and UN Resident Coordinator.

8 Meeting was attended by: **Sonja Biserko** (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia), **Jelena Milovanović**, **Erika Kvapilova** and **Asya Varbanova** (UNIFEM) and **Ivana Vitas**, **Staša Zajović**, **Diana Miladinović**, **Gordana Subotić** and **Nataša Lambić** (Women in Black).

9 Meeting with **Zorana Šijački** (OSCE, National Program Officer) attended **Saša Kovačević**, **Persa Vučić**, **Ivana Vitas**, **Diana Miladinović**, **Staša Zajović** and **Nataša Lambić**

10 Conference organised by the **Belgrade Fund for Political Exelency**, **Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)** and **Belgrade Centre for Security Policy** attended **Gordana Subotić**
**The common denominator of our criticism is:**

1. **Formal, non-transparent and non-democratic way of drafting the National Action Plan (a mere formality in meeting European standards)**

   The drafting process revealed a significant new negative tendency – the so-called *standardization*, which excludes value-oriented NGOs from the processes, because a few dependable NGOs are enough for the state (or the party in power) to meet the standards of the participation of civil society organisations in the democratization processes.

   On July 1\textsuperscript{st} 2010, the creation of an official body, a working group responsible for the construction of final version of the NAP, was announced in “Službeni glasnik” (Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia).\textsuperscript{11} This moment was the beginning of the official drafting process. So far, only government officials and one OSCE representative have been included in the working group. By the recommendations suggested to the government representatives before this stage of the process, several civil society organisations granted legitimacy to the process and “proved” its “democratic capacity”.

   **Formal partnership** of civil society organisations working with the government representatives is followed by *normative optimism*. Hence, the legitimacy of the process of drafting the national action plans in Serbia (so far, over 70 of them) does not originate from communication with numerous autonomous civil society organisations, but only from communication with those who are willing to obediently follow the state’s needs. Further, this tendency divides civil society, or more precisely the “civil sector”, to disobedient and obedient ones, and, instead of solidarity, it generates a gap and actualizes the principles of patriarchal competition. The drafting process of the National Action Plan for the Resolution 1325 is an excellent example of the “kidnapping” of important international issues, documents and/or conventions, such as Resolution 1325, whereby, in the process, they lose their point and meaning.

   **A formal meeting of “European standards” is the main motivation** of state representatives for the implementation of legislative reforms and for the harmonization of the national legislation with European legislation; in that process, non-governmental organisations are being used to ensure the “participation and inclusion” standards. In all

\textsuperscript{11} Meeting with Zorana Šijački
official statements, primarily those from the Ministry of Defence, as a party responsible for the implementation of the Resolution, and from non-government organisations that have taken part in the process, we constantly hear that ‘it is of great importance for Serbia, on its journey to EU, to adopt the NAP that will increase women’s participation in the security sector and their engagement in peace processes.’ In order to acquire the capacity of ‘Serbia as the leader in the region,’ the state officials have been repeating the phrase “Countries in the region have still not adopted action plans...” even after August 2010, when Bosnia and Herzegovina actually adopted UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan.12

**Short time to submit comments, suggestions and complaints (from late February to March 15th, 2010)** is yet another proof of non-participative drafting process. Women in Black, nevertheless, in cooperation with security experts, and with the participation of activists of the Women in Black Network in Serbia and other related civil society organisations, have developed a political analysis of the drafting process and have suggested recommendations, in order to contribute to the quality of the action plan; also, Women in Black have been repeating these suggestions whenever there was a chance, above all during the meetings mentioned above. However, none of our recommendations, up until October 2010, has been included in the action plan.

2. **Context - The absence of topics related to dealing with the past**

Women in Black, determined to be maximally involved in the context of the implementation of Resolution 1325, to advocate for active and equal participation of women in transitional justice processes in the region, which we have highlighted in each discussion Women in Black have participated in. However, the document does not mention any issues related to Serbia’s responsibility for the wars of the nineties. During the debates, when asked about these issues, government representatives avoided answers, i.e. the question “Did female members of the Parliament have any influence on the adoption of the Declaration on Srebrenica?” remained unanswered, with the explanation that the

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12 The drafting process, at its beginning, was carried out with the full consent and complicity of international organisations, who provided all sorts of help, ignoring the long experience, knowledge and involvement of NGOs with the issues related to Resolution 1325, their contribution to peace building in last 20 years, security risks of dealing with criminal past, and to the condemnation of the Srebrenica Genocide...
issue had nothing to do with the theme of the conference.\textsuperscript{13}

The document has not touched issues such as lustration and accountability, and it is clear that the political climate, i.e. the relations with the members of the international community, who are now favourable to Serbia, determine the extent of political will in dealing with the past. As soon as there is no external pressure, there is no political will to deal with these issues.

Precisely because of the context and of their experience, the organisations that have been engaged in the issues of dealing with the past and peace building in the region cannot be ignored while implementing this civil Resolution (whose subjects are citizens and not national security). Also, the mechanisms that can guarantee civilian control of military, police and other security services, including the Secret Service and the private security sector, must be secured.

3. The concept - Militant (traditional) approach to security

The security policy is created as before, according to the needs of the state, and not to protect the freedoms and rights of citizens. The prevailing approach to security issues is the one that shows complete alienation from the needs of the people in whose name it speaks, and distance from the problems of ordinary people and from the problems that, in reality, undermine our security (i.e. organized crime, poverty, corruption, etc...). The document reflects a militaristic approach to Resolution 1325 and security in general, since it does not include important elements of human security and, in particular, gender dimensions of security. The emancipation of women is understood more quantitatively than qualitatively – it is exclusively expressed by the system of quotas, although it is clear that the number of women involved in the security system (as in other systems) contributes neither to improving the quality of the system nor to gender equality.

Women in Black’s follow up activities

Women in Black believe that there was plenty of time for joint work on the creation of security concept based upon the context we live

\textsuperscript{13} Press conference – "Recommendations for drafting the National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Serbia" (31.III 2010, Belgrade, Serbia)
in; since numerous opportunities were not used, we do not want to take part in the final stage of NAP drafting process, knowing that our participation is wanted for mere purposes of meeting the formal standards and “inclusion” criteria. After the representatives of the state institutions adopt the document, UNSCR1325 National Action Plan, our activities will be focused upon the monitoring of the implementation, through shadow reporting. In order to design and implement an improved security concept, we are ready to organize a series of debates with the representatives of the Ministry of Defence and other government institutions involved in the implementation of Resolution 1325, with the intention of introducing Women in Black’s feminist-antimilitaristic security concept.

Nataša Lambić and Staša Zajović

14 In order to train independent civil society organisations for proper monitoring of the implementation of UNSCR1325, UNIFEM representatives will organise training on global indicators for Women in Black Network activists.
Comments and suggestions of Women in Black concerning the draft of the National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia

1. Absence of the civilian society

According to the NAP for the implementation of R1325 the role of women’s peace activism in Serbia is completely invisible. By highlighting only one organisation (the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence) the NGOs that are an extended arms of the state are favoured at the expense of autonomous women groups, which were the first to stage street protests against the war, who organized the largest number of non-violent protests and who were the most active in bringing down the dictatorial regime, and after its downfall, who worked relentlessly on the building of a just peace. Nor were the subjects of the civilian society were not invited to participate in the creation of the concept and practice of a different concept of security, such as human security. Indeed, the process of creation of the NAP unfolded apart from any influence of the civilian society and acknowledgement of the year-long efforts in the field of education, promotion and lobbying for the adoption of Resolution 1325. The draft Action Plan devotes more attention to state institutions than to the support to the NGO sector mission and activities regarding the recommendations and implementation of R1235, and the obligation of the government to inform the NGO sector annually about the dynamics of the implementation.

As long as ten years after the adoption of Resolution 1325, not only have the institutions done nothing concerning the implementation of R1325, but they have also ignored the persistent year-long efforts of civil society organisations. Let us remind of the fact that Women in Black has been seeking the implementation of Resolution 1325 since 2005, as well as the adoption of the Resolution “Women, Peace, Security” that it proposed with demands that are in accordance with the political context of Serbia. In this attempt, their appeal was supported
by dozens of civil society organisations, and also by a number of female deputies in the Assembly of Serbia. Unfortunately, this issue has never been placed on the agenda of the parliamentary session, which is indicative of an utterly poor democratic capacity and lack of political will in the institutions of Serbia to respect the initiatives and efforts of the autonomous civil society organisations.

International cooperation is not in the focus of the NAP proposal, although Resolution 1325 addresses the issue of global security and tackles issues of human security as holistic and global. Resolution 1325 is considered to be a valuable tool in the development of the role of women, developing agendas and strengthening of international ties among them, because it applies to all the women of the world. Thus it enables the organisation of women on a sub-national, national and supra-national level, which would not necessarily involve exclusively the women belonging to their countries’ educated and leading elites. The draft Action Plan does not devote enough attention to the issue of coordination and cooperation among these organisations.

The entire process of drafting NAP in Serbia lacks transparency, a democratic approach and inclusion. Exact research has been conducted in this respect, which, like many other activities accompanying the tenth anniversary of Resolution 1325, has been initiated by Women in Black. The short deadlines that were set for the submission of comments and objections confirm the absence of good will to respect the public opinion, and especially the opinions of organisations that deal with peace, security and women’s human rights. By adopting such a National Action Plan, the State of Serbia merely formally fulfils yet another requirement of the international community.

2. Conforming to norms

The National Action Plan for the implementation of the Resolution and the entire experience concerning the work of the institutions in Serbia regarding Resolution 1325 clearly reveals that the integration of Serbia in the international community, notably in the European Union, comprises exclusively normative institutional mechanisms. In addition to this NAP, there exist over 70 action plans in Serbia, but they have practically no impact on the change of perspective or improvement of living conditions of the population. The formal fulfilment of
international standards does not necessarily result in the rule of law, a culture of accountability and respect of human rights that does not tolerate impunity, This is also the case with this National Action Plan, because it is guided solely by the principles of a pragmatic policy of ‘normative optimism’, ‘multiplication’ of laws’ devoid of an underlying system of values that would serve as a basis for the achievement of gender equality and justice. Thus the Strategic survey of the defence of the Republic of Serbia defines priorities of the system of defence of RS, primarily the Army of Serbia until 2015. The risks and threats are recognized according to the traditional model (of exclusively external types of threats, such as the proclamation of independent Kosovo and terrorist aspirations, religious and ethnic extremism, etc...), with no reference to the citizens’ real problems. Women are mentioned only in the formulation ‘According to the provisions of the conventions on the respect of human rights and gender equality and the experiences of the NATO member states and the Program of Partnership for Peace, the process of creating conditions for greater participation of women in the structure of professional armies...’, which does not even offer an explanation as to how their numbers will be increased by means of this strategic survey. The Strategy of Defence of RS, as well as the Strategy of National Security, ranks the transition related problems in the tenth place (without any elaboration). The dominant concept in strategy of defence is the traditional concept of security, where the main actor is the Army and the notion of defence refers to the state as an entity, and not to the citizens. The concept of human security has not been taken into account, nor the internal forms of threats to security that are more dangerous for the population (social inequality, economic underdevelopment, poverty, corruption ...). In view of the fact that the Poverty Reduction Strategy envisages a reduction of poverty by fifty percent until 2010, and that over the period 2003 – 2010 poverty was curbed by merely 2%, it is clear that the objectives have not been met. Bearing this in mind, the question arises how such a blatant threat to the security of the poor (the majority of whom are women) can be so grossly neglected.

3. The militarist approach to NAP

The draft of NAP does not adhere to the standards for a coherent and inclusive plan of reform of the security sector in Serbia. Instead, it
is the result of an arbitrary application of the neo-liberal and militarist approach to security and gender. Seen from the procedural and political aspect, the proponent of the development and implementation of NAP in the majority of countries is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whereas in Serbia it is the Defence Ministry.

The draft NAP does not mention in its normative framework, some of the important international documents relevant to the Resolution 1325, such as: Resolution 2025 (2000) of the European Parliament on “the participation of women in peaceful conflict Resolution”, Resolution 1464 (2005) of the Council of Europe “Women and Religion in Europe”, Resolution 1580 (2007) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe “The Dangers of Creationism in Education”, the Resolution of the European Parliament on Srebrenica (2009), UN Report on Sustainable Growth from 1994, which explains the new concept of human security, the UN Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and which is widely referred to as the Human Rights Defenders Declaration, EURO Guidelines on Human rights Defenders (2004).

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

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

4. Militarization of gender issues

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

5. Kosovo – misuse of the Resolution

In relation to Kosovo, without examining the political context and the issue of the status of Kosovo, that the focus of R1325 is human security and that insistence on the defence of state interests is harmful precisely in this sphere. Ending political strife and accepting reality will free abundant resources that can be put to use in overcoming problems that pose a daily threat to human security.

We wish to emphasize that for us there can be no “objective obstacles“ that draw us apart and that by creating networks of women organisations ever since the end of the wars we have been paving the way to reconciliation . In this sense, the experience of the Women’s Peace Coalition, which is made up of the Women’s Network of Kosovo and the Women in Black Network of Serbia. The Women’s Peace Coalition is
a civil initiative of women based on women solidarity that overcomes national, ethnic and religious divisions and borders. The Coalition monitored the negotiations on the status of Kosovo from a gender perspective, demanding that women rights, peace and feminist activism issues are included in the future status. The experience of organisations of the civilian society in peace building is a clear indicator of sustainable strategies, which we hope will find their place in Resolution 1325.

6. Confrontation with the past

Talking about the inclusion of the gender perspective in the existing systems is sheer formalism unless they are previously reformed, legally and essentially. The contextualized character of Resolution 1325 means that it has to be adapted to the specific circumstances in particular countries where it is being implemented. There must avoid identical (copy-paste) objectives and ways of implementation. Rather, the priorities in the implementation of the Resolution have to be set depending on the context.

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

Therefore we believe that NAP must be involve much more extensively in activities related to these fields, while their actors, representatives of non-lustrated institutions, primarily the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, must clearly define their attitude toward the wars in the states of former Yugoslavia, toward the Srebrenica genocide and war crimes, pledge for full cooperation with the ICTY, for the amnesty of all deserters and stripping all members of the military who participated in the wars of the 1990’s of their ranks and decorations. The syllabi of military and police schools should include the in the period of wars of the 1990’s in order to raise the feeling of responsibility and acknowledge the position of civilians.

The responsibility for the victims of war in the entire region lies with all of us. The state has to undertake all the necessary measures to heal
them, literally and symbolically, from the consequences of violence. Therefore, the Resolution has to provide for processes of reparation and reconstruction of situations that are a direct consequence of war. According to Resolution 1325, article 12, Serbia has the obligation to “prevent impunity and prosecute all those who have been charged with genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, including those that refer to sexual and other forms of violence against women and girls, and in this respect emphasizes that this type of crime should be ‘exempt from all provisions on amnesty wherever it is possible. In the light of this, without listing the numerous social groups that were directly affected by the war violence, we wish to remind the representatives of the institutions responsible for the implementation of R1325 of the scope of this problem and to ask them in what way they plan to organize, financially support and implement, for instance, programs aimed to help women victims of war rapes, whose numbers are assessed to be around 20,000 only in Bosnia and Herzegovina? We support ideas such as programs aimed at informing the public about the International Humanitarian Law and at spreading objective facts about events from our recent past. We hope that the representatives of state institutions will manifest a genuine political will to fully implement all the afore mentioned programs and incorporate in them the experiences of civil society organisations, of women who, ever since the period of wars, have maintained links with women fro other communities, thus building sustainable peace based on justice.

Finally, it seems that the problem with this National Action Plan is difficult to resolve in the existing political and social climate in Serbia and with the behaviour of its political elite, above all the ones in power, but also the opposition. In view of the fact that present day Serbia is practically a party state, the issue of inclusion of women is no longer a matter of strategic options the government has, because the candidacy of women is a matter of party nomenclatures, which is invariably a means and not a goal – either as a populist concessions before an electoral campaign, or as sheer trade among those who share the power.

General anti-discrimination provisions in the laws have to be accompanied by special rules banning discrimination in the sphere regulated by the law and these provisions have to refer to specific categories of discriminated groups, women in this case. Also, there must be installed mechanisms of legal protection from discrimination, so that
the laws could be considered to be anti-discriminatory in the full sense of the word. Otherwise, principled declarative provisions will remain on the level of sheer judicial decoration, without any legal consequences. In this case, our objection refers to most of the laws that are mentioned in NAP as anti-discriminatory – for them to be such; they ought to be amended by a strict legal regime forbidding discrimination.

A conspicuous incongruence between the text of the draft of NAP with the table of implementation that contains a survey of special goals, proponents of activities, associates and time frame. The question arises as to why the table is not compatible with the narrative part.

Women in Black in cooperation with the Centre for Advanced Legal Studies (CUPS), Prof. Vesna Rakić Vodinelić, PhD. and Saša Gajin, PhD

November 15th, 2010 Belgrade
Analytical review of some security issues
II ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF SOME SECURITY ISSUES

On the Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia

Or - security is for the poor to starve and in that way solve at least one source of human insecurity

Introduction

In April 2009, the Republic of Serbia adopted a Security Strategy in the introduction of which, praiseworthy, the concept of human security is mentioned as a new concept adopted in the world, and – behold, here. Exhaustively enumerated are the aspects of human security, where economic security is clearly emphasized in the first place, but it all ends with Kosovo as the biggest security problem, where separatism, general corruption, arms trafficking, drug trafficking rule and slaps are given also to religious sects and other non-integrated (unnamed) minorities.

When the state adopted the Strategy, in the very same month, worker Zoran Bulatovic (Novi Pazar) in protest against the breach of his labour rights, completely unsafely, cut off his finger with tools from the factory workshop, despite the Strategy. Then a wave of strikes started in Serbia, which intensified in the autumn, but the State had an answer – all workers, who had doubts in understanding the economic security as part of the concept of human security from the national Strategy - were hushed with fear of the football fans, who demonstrated their violence in the first round regarding the Pride Parade and the second round – the murder French citizen. The last lap was the case of the “Insider” by Brankica Stankovic on TV B92. In the meantime, we were intimidated with the flu (epidemics are mentioned in the Strategy). To enable us to catch breath from the fear, the Government organized two
memorial services, one was a decentralized (modern, across Serbia, in each individual church) and other centralized (in Belgrade, from hotel Moscow to the Patriarchy building).

Serbian state Security Strategy in practice has proved itself as a strategy that fabricates fear (from the ravages of the flu “and-some-fans”) and concealing the real economic situation. The real situation is that, according to the World Bank, about 200,000 people in the period between 2001 and 2005 lost their jobs (report from September 2006) and that 79% of unemployed did not find a job for more than a year of waiting. According to the trade unions, from the total number of laid-off workers most of them are women – close 70 percent.

In April 2009, the unemployment rate was 16.4 percent, almost two percent more than in 2008. Also, according to the report of the Statistical Office, out of the total population between 15 and 65 years (6 350 000), almost half are inactive and about 2.6 million are employed.

**Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia**

Since its introduction, the Strategy has placed emphasis on economic security as being the key factor, hereinafter referred to as the threats to safety. The Republic of Serbia ranked economic development merely as the 11th item. The first eleven items are:

- Danger of armed aggression
- Separatist aspirations
- Unlawful unilateral proclamation of Kosovo independence, which poses the greatest threat to the security of the Republic of Serbia
- Security of the Republic of Serbia may be compromised by armed rebellion
- Terrorism
- Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
- National and religious extremism
- The presence of foreign intelligence services
- Organized Crime in the Republic of Serbia, especially in Kosovo and Metohija, manifests itself particularly in the areas of illicit drug trafficking, human trafficking and illegal migration, as well as in the economic-financial sphere, the proliferation of conventional arms and possibility
of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Corruption

Problems of economic development

But what really happened is that the Republic of Serbia recognized as “terrorism” the action of the anarcho-syndicalists (ASI), which threw a “Molotov cocktail” at the Greek embassy on 3rd of September 2009. After a two-month detention for them, the court extended the detention for another 60 days. For the acts of setting fire to several foreign embassies and the death of a young man in the riots at the rally “Kosovo is Serbia” in 2008, no one was accused of terrorism. After six months (February 2010), the above-mentioned group accused of “international terrorism” was released from prison.

This further highlights the fact that the Republic of Serbia has put in its list of sources of danger to security “national and religious extremism” in the seventh place and probably bearing in mind only of the extremism of non-Serb and non-Orthodox groups.

Terrorism is emerging as the fifth element which threatens national security and it is a frequent topic in the media, and several issues of the journal of the Centre for Security Studies has it as a theme. The outcome - a few members of ASI, a marginalized organisation, with virtually no impact on the public, have been accused of international terrorism.

Of the first seven items of threats to national security worth mentioning is the proliferation of arms (also, as understood by the Ministry of Defence, mainly taking place in Kosovo). It is valid to state that the Republic of Serbia, (i.e. the Ministry of Defence) is responsible for deaths of six workers at the production facility in the weapons factory in Uzice “Prvi Partizan” which it owns, and that the workers were working in appalling conditions, 12 hours a day without a contract and in unsafe places.

In the Strategy, as a threat to security, the 18th item is the spread of infectious disease that we have seen in autumn 2009 as hysteria due to influenza H1N1 because of which the schools were closed down to allegedly stop the spread of the infections, so that ten days later, amid the alleged epidemic, the largest gathering since 5th October 2000 was organized – the funeral of the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Fear of the epidemic was again present in second half of December, because the vaccine arrived late and the school holidays would start early.
What seems as the ultimate outcome of this production of fear is the extreme earnings of Miroslav Miskovic, who imported the respective vaccine on behalf of Serbia, i.e. at the expense of its citizens. And of course the extreme earnings of pharmaceutical companies abroad.

The Ministry of the Interior has had an extensive police action against organized crime in October - breaking the chain of drug trafficking. However, despite the “wise men” from the Government, the action took place in Serbia, not Kosovo.

Corruption: The Anti-Corruption Agency was established, which the Anti-Corruption Council evaluated as bad. What about that?

Therefore, by the eleventh item national security is affected by something that is named “problems of economic development”. From April to December there was no aggression or armed rebellion or separatism. Kosovo declared independence much earlier, terrorism, despite the Court decision, did not take place or even the proliferation of weapons, although the production of weapons on behalf of the state has taken the lives of the citizens of Serbia. There was ethnic / religious extremism (preventing the Pride Parade), but it was not named so by the competent authorities. It is sure that the foreign intelligence services are present, from as far as anybody remembers, and they are likely to have laughed at the list of “threats to security “.

However, what is set just as the eleventh item, is what really threatens the security, what has shaken Serbia this year, and will continue to shake it - problems of economic (under) development.


Marija Perković
Civilian democratic control over the security sector in Serbia

Many believe that public control over armed forces first appeared with the modern political systems. But “Who guards the guardians”, was a fundamental dilemma which ancient Greek and Roman Empire were also facing.

The basic component of civil-military relations is civilian democratic control, and it is an essential component of the security sector reform. One of the most important conditions for accession to European structures for which Serbia opted in 2000 is exactly the security sector reform, creation of security environment, and democratization of civil-military relations and establishment of civilian control of the security sector.

In the text that follows, the security sector reform in Serbia will be explained more closely, with regard to the institutions that are intended to perform civil democratic control and what consequences the citizens of Serbia are suffering because of the non-functioning of these institutions, which are designed to assure and improve their human security.¹

In order to provide security effectively in countries in transition, an extensive list of institutions to exercise control and supervision in favour of citizens is also required. These are: professional security elites, democratically elected government, control and supervisory bodies, non-state actors (citizens, developed civil society), especially for bud-

¹ Dulic D., Human security, Collected Papers, Fund for open society, Belgrade. 2006., P.61.;

**Human Security** is a security which in its broadest sense includes much more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care, and ensures that every individual has the ability and choice to realize its potential ... freedom from poverty, freedom from fear, and freedom for future generations to inherit a healthy environment – that are interdependent construction materials for building human, and therefore national security.

UNDP Report of 1994 defines **8 dimensions of human security**: economical security, environmental security, health and nutrition security, educational and social security, political and institutional security, security of community, cultural security, and personal security.
get expenditure control.²

Democratic control of the security sector has a few basic modalities. These are: the control of executive power, judicial inspection, and supervision of independent institutions, internal control, and public control and in the end essential for the process of democratization, parliamentary control. Without effective supervision and parliamentary control over police, the army, intelligence services, private security agencies and all other private or public entities that have authority to use force or coercion, consolidated democracy in Serbia will never exist.³

Security sector governance includes transparency, orientation towards the interests of the people (not political parties), impartiality, the rule of law, public consultations, public decision-making, compliance with international standards, participation of civil society and media in security matters, and of course gender equality. The security sector in Serbia has not met any of these requirements for years. There is an archive of about 400,000 files of political opponents, ⁴ and proof that the services of the security sector (Unit for special operations - JSO) have been the perpetrators of various crimes: assassinations, murders, tortures, kidnappings witnessing this fact... These services, in the 1990’s, during the sanctions, were a significant factor in “grey economy” of Serbia and the organizer of profitable activities such as energy purchasing. ⁵ However, further on, we will put an emphasis on security

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3 Site, on the day , October 21st 2010: http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljton/sest_modaliteta_demokratske_kontrole.24.html?news_id=173141

The security sector includes organisations within society that are responsible for the protection of the state and its citizens, and bodies that are responsible for the managing and control of security forces. In the narrow sense security sector is consisted from militarized formations which have the approval of the state to use force for protection of the state and its citizens, and in the narrow sense that are: the army, paramilitary forces, police forces and intelligence services. In broad sense that are: private security agencies, the judiciary, and civil society.

3 Site, on the day, October 21st 2010: http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljton/sest_modaliteta_demokratske_kontrole.24.html?news_id=173141

4 Site, on the day, August 28th 2010: http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljton/organizator_sivih_mreza_i_poslova.24.html?news_id=173066

5 Site, on the day, August 28th 2010: http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljton/organizator_sivih_mreza_i_poslova.24.html?news_id=173066
sector reform, \(^6\) and its dimensions, \(^7\) from 2000 till 2010, which means today.

**Who is in charge of the civilian democratic control and how it should be done?**

The armed forces should be subordinate to civilian authorities, which mean that control over armed forces is done by civilian authorities. And that means:

*Parliament* is responsible not only for passing the law on military and defence, but also for formulation of defence and national security policy. In many countries, the Parliament is the main actor of the overall system of democratic and civilian control. A Parliamentary committee in which all parties are represented is one of the main holders of so called *vertical control*. In vertical control, besides the Parliament, based on precise legal and constitutional authorities also participates the government, courts, and other government bodies. The Parliament controls spending of military, which prevents ill-planning and abuse of the military budget, the surplus of officers and soldiers, and promotion of officers by subjective criteria. \(^8\)

Role of the Parliament in civilian democratic control is signifcant in controlling the executive power, the armed forces, legal regulation of the security sector, enhancing the legitimacy of the armed forces and security services. Parliament is responsible for ratifying internation-

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6 Baev, J., E. Micewski, *Civil-Military Relations - teaching guide and curriculum*, National Defense Academy Bulgaria, Sofia, 2005, Page 8: *Security sector reform* can be understood as transformation of defense and security area in the country in an effective and efficient manner, in accordance with democratic principles and under democratic civilian control. The security sector is consisted of security forces and civil institutions, so security sector reform must take into account the both dimensions. *Security sector actors* are: the military, the police, security intelligence agencies, bodies with police authority, the National Assembly, judiciary, prisons, private security companies, and civil society.

7 Hadzic, M., Timotić M., Milosavljevic, B., The sense of security sector reform, Centre for Civil-Military Relations, Belgrade, 2004., Pp. 22-43.: *Dimensions of security sector reform* are: changes in the way of thinking and the practice of security, constitutional changes and institutional arrangements, establishment of democratic and civilian control over armed forces, reform of the armed forces and security cooperation and integration.

8 *Antimilitarism and women*, Women in Black, Belgrade, Page 31.
al documents, overseeing the authorities by adopting the legislation, modifying the existing, and deregulation of outdated and inappropriate legislation. Voting about the public policy proposed by the executive power is not the only role of the parliament. The Parliament is also responsible for approval of government programs and budgets in terms of how they spend public money. That is one of the most powerful functions of the parliament – the monitoring function.9

Military doctrine is not determined by the military; it is determined by the Parliament and in its preparation the civilian and military experts are also participating. The military doctrine includes: what we expect from the army, why it exists, and how it will be developed in future. In developed democratic societies public debates are conducted on this topic, in which prominent civilian initiatives come to the fore, aimed at reducing the military (until its complete abolition), its transformation and the establishment of non-violent alternatives of national defence.

Ombudsman (a person you trust) for the military and the public: all members of the military - soldiers and officers – can address this person if they are exposed to human rights violations or other illegal acts or in case of discrimination during the regular procedure – the duty of the Ombudsman is to inform and warn the Parliament about violations from military members and to recommend sanctions against those who are responsible, including estranging from the military. Ombudsman has his expert staff with a lawyers, psychologists and social workers.

Horizontal / horizontal control: it is done by the civil society (NGOs, religious organisations, media, research institutes, as well as the general public). Key requirements for this kind of control are the transparency of the military, as well as legally guaranteed access to public information. Institutions that directly perform public control of the security sector, and allowing the general public to have an insight in developments in the sector are: the media, governmental and academic organisations whose main activity are security issues, academic institutions, independent experts, Institution of the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance, the Ombudsman, the Supreme Audit Institutions and other related institutions.

Police: democratic civilian control over the police is also important and it is carried out by local self-governments, through relevant parlia-

9 Site, on the day, September 5th 2010: http://www.Centre for civil military relations (CCMR)-bg.org/upload/document/pojmovnik_skupstinski_nadzor_p.pdf
ment committees, public control through citizens’ initiatives, and Com-
mittees for human and minority rights.10

A positive effect of the reforms of the military, as an actor of the
security sector, was the subordination of the General Staff to the Min-
istry of Defence in 2004. That was one of the preconditions for efficient
civilian democratic control. From that time, the real command over the
military was in the hands of the President through the Ministry of De-
fence. That is the way that the requirement of hierarchal responsibility
of the military to the Parliament through a civilian government author-
ity, i.e. the Minister of Defence, was met.

In the period from 2000 to 2008, not one state fund was created
which would deal with the reforms of this sector or at least its most
expensive and largest elements like the military and the police.11

The initiator of all activities in Serbia dealing with the category of
the reform of the security sector and the civilian and democratic control
are foreign or international institutions. Regarding the topic of civilian
and democratic control, we can hear about on the seminars organized
by foreign and international institutions like the ISAC fund, embassies
or the ministries of defence of the Czech Republic, Norway and the
Netherlands, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (ex Centre for Civil-
Military Relations, CCMR) encouraged by the same organisations, Mis-
sion of the OSCE to Serbia, Regional Cooperation Council (ex Stability
Pact for South Eastern Europe), Geneva Centre for the Democratic Con-
trol of Armed Forces (DCAF), Development Program of the UN (UNDP),
NGO’s who deal with this matter, but not by the institutions of Serbia.

The Government should show its own will to reform the institutions
for the benefit of the citizens who are in essence the financers of this
sector. It is very important that the people employed in the security
sector understand the reasons for the reforms. Reforms in the security
sector cannot be successful unless the employees (members) of the
security sector are fully aware of need for reform.

Civilian democratic control was introduced in the Serbian constitu-
tion in 2003, at the time of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro
and it was transferred into the Constitution of the Republic of Serbian of

10 Antimilitarism and women, Women in Black, Belgrade, Page 31.
11 Site, on the day August 29th 2010: http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljton/da_li_je_
predjena_kритicna tacka.24.html?news_id=172439
2006, although in both cases there were not ensured the mechanisms and instruments for its establishment.

From the Constitution of 2006, the conditions for the reform of the security sector improved and in 2007, with the new Law on military civilian and democratic control, which was much more specific. This law contains a provision that civilian democratic control of the military has been entrusted to: “the National Assembly, Ombudsman and other government authorities in accordance with their competences, citizens and the public.”

“What prevents the Parliament of Serbia from performing its functions is the fact that some bills were introduced into parliament under emergency procedure (because of the harmonization with the EU laws) so there was no time for a debate. One gets the impression that the members of parliament have not read some bills nor understood them and that throwing shoes and hurling insults at one another was more important. That is a problem for any democratic outlook, and it is not surprising that according to the latest polls, only the closest relatives of the members of parliament trust them and that was in 2008 and 2009 only 2% of the public.”

The tradition of parliamentarians is not rooted in the Serbian political culture, the constitutional role of the parliament is weak and the political elite does not show an interest to make the legislative branch more powerful at the expense of the executive and the power of the political parties. The higher degree of the political culture, the more powerful the civil society is, the better the civilian democratic control.

Parliamentary control and supervision over the military, Military Intelligence Agency, (VOA), Military Security Agency (VBA) and Security Intelligence Agency (BIA) is conducted through the Security and Defence Committee, which has 16 male members and only one female member. It is a very worrying fact that women are invisible in this very important body (about that in more detail in the separate part of the text). Since 2004, the Committee has had 58 sessions and parts of the sessions were closed to the public and those were (symptomatically) the parts concerning VOA, VBA and BIA because they (understandably?) were “classified information”.

13 Site on day, August 29th 2010: http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/183861/Poslanicima-veruje--samo-bliza-rodbina
The Committee since March has not had a president and the previous one was the radical Dragan Todorovic. The members of the Committee amongst others are Bozidar Delic, ex radical, now a progressive and before all, a military commander on Kosovo during the NATO bombing and a defence witness for Slobodan Milosevic, Branimir Djokic from the Serbian Radical Party, president of the Association of Pop Artists of Serbia, Natasa Jovanovic, who spilled water on the Speaker of the Assembly and destroyed the microphones in the Assembly, Jadranko Vukovic from the SRS, who for 5 years has been passing the reports of the Security Information Agency to Vojislav Seselj in prison, Zeljko Tomic from the Democratic party of Serbia who is charged by the tenants of a apartment building in Novi Sad that he has inflicted damages to the Republic of Serbia of 3,2 million RSD because he reported the he resides in Novi Sad, whereas in fact he has been residing in Belgrade for 5 years, Miroslav Markicevic from the New Serbia Party of Velimir Ilic, who goes to the polls in coalition with the association “Naši” from Arandjelovac and who hates Peščanik and the Pride Parade.\(^\text{14}\)

The poor functioning of the Committee, as a supervisory body, is the result of the fact that the members of the Committee do not have the necessary knowledge for efficient and in the interest of the citizens perform the control they have been appointed to perform. The Committee has not controlled the expenditures of the security sector. Everywhere in the world the institute of purse power is the strongest instrument of parliamentary control. Serbian members of parliament in this period did not ask questions or raise interpellations to the members of government about the security sector. No investigations have been conducted nor was there established a survey committee in the field of security. At last, not all security sector agencies submit reports to the Committee. For example, the Ministry of Defence has not submitted a single report and other agencies submit reports occasionally.\(^\text{15}\)

Also, the Committee for Defence and Security and the Committee for Finances have not informed the Serbian public if the consumers of the budget, like the military, police and the security agencies have spent it in a lawful and purposeful way.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^\text{14}\) Analysis of Tamara Kaliterna

\(^\text{15}\) Site, on day September 21st 2010: http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljton/poslanici_ne_koriste_svoje_nadleznosti.24.html?news_id=173234

\(^\text{16}\) Site, on day September 21st 2010: http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljton/transpar-
The Law on police of 2005 made it possible for the competent ministry to interfere in the operative work of the Police, which was noted by the public, so the polls now show that 74% of the citizens of Serbia think that the government and the politicians have a great influence on the work of the police.\textsuperscript{17}

The Law on the basic regulation of the security agencies of Serbia from 2007, the supervisory role of the Committee for Defence and Security was specified and expanded. The Committee, amongst other, is authorized to supervise the legality of the use of special procedures and the measures for the secret gathering of information and to directly perform the control of the security agencies.\textsuperscript{18}

With this law, the parliamentary control has been expanded. The Committee will be able to request insight into all sorts of documents, the finances of the security agencies, to supervise the legality of the use of the applied measures, to request from the agency to submit a report at any time the Committee deems fit. However, the Law stipulates which questions the members of parliament cannot ask the directors of the security agencies: questions about the identity of the current and former collaborators of the agencies, members of the agencies with a hidden identity, third persons to whom the revealing of information could be of detrimental, the methods of acquiring information, actions that are underway, the fashion in which special procedures and measures are conducted and last questions about information acquired by exchange with foreign security agencies and international organisations. Upon reading this list, many members of parliament have said: “What can be asked?” The answer to this question is anything that is not prohibited by the law and that is: to seek information about actions, whether human rights violations have happened, where court orders issued for every action of wiretapping.\textsuperscript{19}

The very important \textit{Law on lustration}\textsuperscript{20} was passed in 2003 and has

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17 Site, on day September 21st 2010: http://www.danas.rs/danasrs/feljtont/instrumenti_nadzora_se_nedovoljno_koriste.24.html?news_id=173979
18 Site, on day September 7th 2010: http://www.ccmr-bg.org/Godisnjak+reforme+sektaora+bezbednosti/3526/%22Dva+potpuno+razlicita+zakona%22.shtml
19 Site, on day September 21st 2010: http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=546006
20 \textit{Law on lustration} – Law on resposibility for the violations of human rights.
\end{flushleft}
not been enforced to this day. Till today no one\textsuperscript{21} was subject to this law because there was not a qualified majority in the National Assembly to elect members of the lustration commission. And when the board was elected, they made public that “it is not capable of carrying out the necessary previous procedure to establish the responsibility for the violations of human rights of the candidates for the members of parliament because it would breach the deadlines set in the law and violate the rights of the participants of the procedure”. The Commission was never given the necessary workspace or a budget. This law is not selective enough, although the countries who were most successful in applying similar laws (the Czech Republic and East Germany)\textsuperscript{22} returned quickly to the club of developed European democracies. Lustration is the precondition to establish criminal responsibility in a country filled with crime.\textsuperscript{23}

The fact that the authorities in Serbia are not concerned with the criminal past is obvious. It is not in the interest of the Serbian authorities for Serbia to become a developed European democracy. In the following text we will find out that this problem prevents the work of the institutions that are competent to implement civilian democratic control and enforce laws. There have been numerous attempts of such obstruction by the authorities.

We can describe the strong link between crime and the people who have been in power since 2000 in a few examples. Each one of them depicts the inherited state in the institutions, which ought to be reformed and should be under civilian democratic control:

The death of Momir Gavrliovic, highly positioned member of the state security\textsuperscript{24};

Armed rebellion of the JSO (Red berets) and the blockade of the highway in Kula and Serbia when they demanded the resignation of Minister of Interior Dusan Mihajlovic and brought about the replacement of the head of state security Goran Petrovic and his deputy in 2001;\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{21} Site, on day September 6th 2010: http://www.e-novine.com/index.php?news=22987
\textsuperscript{22} Site, on day September 6th 2010: http://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lustracija
\textsuperscript{23} Lilić S., site, on day September 6th 2010: http://www.e-novine.com/index.php?news=22987
\textsuperscript{24} Site, on day September 6th 2010: http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=294898
\textsuperscript{25} Site, on day September 6th 2010: http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=301595
The assassination of the Prime Minister of Serbia Zoran Djindjic by the members of JSO, Zemun clan criminal organisation and some members of the state security in 2003;26

And other attempts of assassinations, murders and kidnappings.

In 2002 the passing of the Law on combating organized crime27 followed, as well as the formation of the Special Prosecutor’s Office for organized crime (Special Court, 2003.) passing of the Law on Security Information Agency (28 Articles) by which State Security was transformed into the Security Information Agency and put under control of the Government of Serbia (if 2 annual reports to the Committee on Defence and Security can be called control) in 2002. All that did not help the reform of the security sector and with the following events it can be said that there was no reform then. It is important to mention the Law on security agencies of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 2002, which in the experts’ opinion introduced some order in this field and for the first time put security agencies in a legal framework. Military agencies were subordinate to the Minister of Defence and the Federal Government, a rule was introduced that for secret following and wiretapping the military agencies need to get a court order, the military police was separated from the military security agencies, which is a democratic standard28, the position, functions and control of the VOA, VBA, State security service (SDB) and Agency for exploration and documentation (SID) with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.28

Instead of civilian democratic control in Serbia in 2010, in the years after the fall of the authoritarian Milosevic’s regime repressive legislation was introduced. The new Law on electronic communication allows the Security Information Agency and other authorities to control the communications via telephone and the Internet without a court order. The Law was passed in emergency procedure, disregarding the amendments of the Ombudsman, protests of numerous professional associations and NGOs, who warned that some provisions of the Law make way for abuse and that it violates the right of communication guaranteed by the Constitution. Organisations of civil society appealed against

26 Site, on day September 6th 2010: http://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atentat_na_Zorana_%C4%90in%C4%91i%C4%87a
28 Horvat Z.
this law before the Constitutional Court. By instating repressive police and security control, the authorities in Serbia are deviating from the democratic principles set in the Constitution and instead of pursuing institutional reforms (lustration, opening of the secret dossiers, civilian democratic control of the armed forces, passing a law on private security agencies etc.) are introducing control of citizens.

In 2007, after only 6 days of deliberations, the Law on the basic regulation of the security agencies of Serbia was passed. It regulates only the supervision and coordination of the security agencies, while the aims and competencies will be regulated by a special law on civilian and military agencies.²⁹

With this Law the Council of National Security was established,³⁰ whose task is also to coordinate the work of civilian and military security agencies in the capturing the fugitive Ratko Mladic.³¹ The Council on National Security was formed in the fourth attempt. Croatia, Montenegro, USA, Russia, Israel and Turkey have a similar body. In the USA, the Congress is competent to control this body. The Council on National Security was created because of the need that the main decision makers assemble in one place and in that way establish a coordination of elements in the security sector. In that way the security system would be defined and civilian democratic control of the subjects of this sector would be improved. What worries (the civil society, the citizens and NGOs) is the fact that the financing of this body is derived from the budget of the Republic of Serbia, but nowhere in the budgets for 2007 so far (2010) has it been mentioned how much money annually the taxpayers pay for this body. The question of financing is not unimportant! The law that established this body does not contain any provision which relates to its control, so it is easy that it can stay outside the scope of civilian democratic control, while all other sectors have to cooperate with the Council, the Council itself is of advisory character.³²

²⁹ Site, on day September 7th 2010: http://www.ccmr-bg.org/Godisnjak+reforme+sektora+bezbednosti/3526/%22Dva+potpuno+razlicita+zakona%22.shtml
³¹ Site, on day September 7th 2010: http://www.voanews.com/serbian/news/a-34-2006-01-12-voa8-86963072.html
Yet another degree of control was instituted with the adoption of a single amendment out of thirty on Article 3: “The work of security agencies is under supervision of the National Assembly, the President of the Republic, the Government, the Council on National Security and other authorities in accordance with the Law”. In this way citizens, through the Ombudsman and the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance (whose work will be discussed in the following text) will be able to seek information from the agencies. Till now the agencies, in particular the Security Information Agency, have ignored such requests and even court orders. It is all well said in the law but it would be better if another amendment were adopted that would oblige the lawmakers to pass a law on the opening of secret dossiers that the agencies have kept on citizens for political reasons. This law represents a setting in which new laws on all three agencies should be fitted into.

It is certain that a Law on opening secret dossiers must be passed in order to overcome the recent past.

This was partially, like everything, done in Serbia in 2001 by the Regulation on removing the confidentiality of the records kept on citizens of the Republic of Serbia State Security Service, which was later renamed to the Regulation on the disclosure of certain records kept by the citizens of the Republic of Serbia State Security Service, but even then only “internal enemies” i.e. “internal extremists and terrorists” could see their dossiers and only the written form of the dossier without any explanation, coping or audio and video material.

Adding insult to injury was the fact that a great number of documents from the dossiers were missing. Zoran Mijatovic, deputy chief of State Security in 2001 said: “After the events from October 2000, there was mass destroying of documentation”. It is a sad fact that the Government ten years after doesn’t realize that that dossiers or what left of them belong to the citizens. Serbia isn’t the only country in which these dossiers have been destroyed, that also happened in the

34 Site, on day September 20th 2010: http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=546006
Czech Republic, but what remain of the dossiers even tempered must be made public. That is a way of overcoming the past, the beginning of the end of political manipulation of citizens, the beginning of the reform of the security sector (or one of its parts) and the establishment (as set by the Constitutional Charter of Serbia and Montenegro) civilian democratic control.

The new shamefully unrealistic *Strategy of national security* was presented to the women, activists and Serbian citizens at workshops held in whole Serbia. The amazing fact is that the study of the Ministry of Defence (and other public authorities like the Government, Security Information Agency, Ministries of Interior and Foreign Affairs) failed to provide a broader picture of the reality in Serbia. The makers of this strategy either live in another country or have written this strategy for another country. What the citizens of Serbia identify as threats to their security does not agree with the top five threats as identified by the Ministry of Defence. What worries the citizens of Serbia is: problems of economical development, corruption, uneven regional and geographical development, unresolved status of refugees and internally displaced persons and some other categories that the strategy failed to identify as threats to security.

**The Consequences of the Bad Reform of the Security Sector on the Citizens of Serbia**

In Serbia today the civilian democratic control is reduced to the political power struggle of various political parties. The citizens are mere bystanders and onlookers of usurpation and political bickering.

The authorities in Serbia have not yet undertaken strident measures against those who pose a threat to national security (war criminals at large, members of organized crime organisations, the bond between the remains of the war mafia and the wealthy businessmen, those who have committed or are committing crimes in the process of privatization, leaders of clerical-fascist and neo-Nazi organisations etc.) because they are not (or do not want to be) seen as that.

I have to note that Serbia is the only country in South-East Europe which has not regulated by law the operations of the private security agencies, which is a factor of (in)security of its citizens. The number of their employees is by far bigger than the number of policemen in the
country and the government in Serbia does not see the need to create a legal framework for this gray area of security, although it is well known that in the wars in former Yugoslavia certain security agencies, paramilitary organisations and the military committed war crimes and this unregulated security industry employs persons who have participated in the aforementioned units. For example, Committee on Security has no control over private security agencies. Rough estimates are that this sector employs 20 to 60 thousand persons\(^{37}\) in 3,200 agencies\(^{38}\) out of which only 470 are registered.\(^ {39}\)

The basic attributes of the unreformed security sector are: lack of transparency and high corruption, high costs that burden the national economy, neglect of the principle of the rule of law and the non-existence of legal framework, lack of professionalism, the inability of security structures to respond to contemporary security challenges and threats, political abuse of the security agencies (espionage of political adversaries), low motivation and frustration of the military corps as a result of low income and unprofessional conduct, the understanding of the recruits that the compulsory military service is a waste of time, abuse and a hassle of recruits.\(^ {40}\) Fortunately for recruits, compulsory military service is being abolished by the end of 2010 in Serbia, unfortunately even 10 years after the democratic changes, most of this attributes are still present.

The shame on the democratic changes in Serbia is the fact that the public does not know who and why killed the two army guards in the army barrack “Karas” in Topcider on the 5\(^{th}\) of October 2004. This is an example of shameful, criminal, non-transparent and extremely inhumane behaviour of the Military of Serbia. To achieve certain standards set by the European institutions, the reforms of the security sector should be directed at establishing political responsibility and transparency of the security sector,\(^ {41}\) in this case the Military of Serbia, which

37  SALW research, UNDP, 2002., pg.10.
38  SALW research, UNDP, 2005, pg.88.
39  Information of the Serbian Business Registers Agency, on the day August 17th 2010
41  Recommedation 1713 (2005) on Democratic oversight of the security sector in Member States adopted by the Venice Comission at its 64th Plenary session, (Venice, 21-22 October 2005), Venice Comission.
even today six years, later, does not deem it necessary to find out who are the murderers of the two youngsters, citizens of Serbia, who would not be dead today if they had not had to serve in the military and for that reason found themselves in the barracks that night.\textsuperscript{42} From this we can deduce that public authorities, especially the judiciary are obstructing the investigation of this crime for a certain reason (the assumption is that the Military is hiding the fugitive Ratko Mladic in the buildings it controls). Criminal procedures are still in their initial stage and the public is still intolerably indifferent. In this instance, we can conclude, there has been violation of judicial independence and judiciary supervision on the security sector, principle of transparency and civilian democratic control, a number of laws, the principle of political responsibility and we can conclude that the Military of Serbia still pursues personal politics and considers itself a “state within a state”.

Another shameful example of the abuse of the citizens by the Military of Serbia is the explosion in the Uzice factory “Prvi partisan” of 3\textsuperscript{rd} of September 2009, which killed 6 female and male workers of this factory. The tragedy in Uzice reviled how the state itself, which should respect the labour rights, exploits workers. The workers in the Uzice factory “Prvi partisan” worked without a contract and up to 12 hours a day in unsanitary conditions in high risk jobs. Ammunition factory in Uzice is practically the only factory which operates and the high unemployment rate in that town is an excuse for the state, as an employer, to blackmail the workers. Moreover, the minimal wage (about 20 000 RSD) is not even a fraction of the profit that the military industry as the most profitable industry in Serbia and in the world makes. While the Military of Serbia in the spirit of patriotism and nationalism is bragging that it is “the leader in the Balkans” in the export of military products that the exports from this industry fill up the budget with foreign currency and how just in 2008 Serbia earned 400 million $ from this industry and in the last two years about a billion $\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42} Site, on day September 21st 2010: http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/135/Hronika/185951/Bati%C4%87%3A+Odbijanje+ve%C5%A1ta%C4%8Denja+potvr%C4%91uje+da+su+gardisti+ubijeni.html?email=yes

\textsuperscript{43} Site, on day September 21st 2010: http://www.mod.gov.rs/cir/aktuelno/izdvajamo/vojna_industrija_19072010pdf
The Gender Dimension of the Security Sector Reform

The reform of the Military of Serbia and the system of defence in the light of gender equality does not contain any measures which would encourage gender equality. Although today the conditions for entry in the professional service in the military and the pay are equal for men and women, the state of gender equality is not satisfactory.44 Till June, 2010, 1,240 women applied for the service in the military.45 The Military Academy admitted 30 women for the first time as late as 2007/08 and only after the international conference “Women in the Military” organized by the Ministry of Defence and the Mission of the OSCE in Serbia in 2006. Concerning the ethnic structure of the members of the Military of Serbia, 91.21% of the have declared themselves as Serbs, which tells us that there is no proportional representation of minorities in the system of defence.46 In 2009 742 men and 240 women applied for the Military Academy.47 The percentage for admitting women in the Military Academy is coordinated with the needs of the General Staff, starting from 17.3% in 2007 when the first generation women were admitted to 20.07% in 2009.

Amongst officers 0.333% are women, 0.38% amongst non-commissioned officers and 4.86% of soldiers. Of the total number of civil and military officials and appointees in the Defence Ministry and the Serbian Military women are represented with 46.88 percent.48

The need for reform of the police aimed at achieving gender equality again has been focused and initiated by international institutions, the OSCE and the Council of Europe, this reform was best carried out because there was an interest of the Government in its implementation. Increasing the number of women in the military sector was supported by 68.8% of the public.

44 The principle of representativeness and security sector reform in Serbia, Extract from the Yearbook of security sector reform, CCMR, Belgrade, pgs.13,14.
45 Site, on day September 25th 2010: http://zena.blic.rs/Poslovna_zena/3871/Dame_u_vojnickim_cokulama_Kako_se_zene_snalaze_u_vojsci
47 Site of the Military Academy
48 Site, on day September 25th 2010: http://www.studiob.rs/info/tema.php?id=222
A negative feature of all efforts to increase the number of women in the police is the limit of the quota for admission of women in police training (30 participants). In the basic study of the Academy of Criminology and Police Study, girls make up 10% of the enrolled students who are financed by the state. Not all levels of police training are available for both sexes. There has been emphasized the need to abolish the upper threshold for admission of women to training and education in the Ministry of Interior. The current percentage of women in the Ministry of the Interior is not known because the police did not answer this question for research purposes. Transparent human resources management system that values expertise and initiative does not exist in the Ministry of the Interior.49

When it comes to gender equality, we will emphasize the fact that women make up 51.4 percent of the population of Serbia and their representation in management positions in the ministries (ministers, state secretaries, and assistant ministers) who are directly engaged in the field of security is significantly below the overall average for all ministries.50

As for the gender and ethnic equality and minority representation in the security-information agencies for the needs of the research of the CCMR, the aforementioned agencies have not provided data for 2009.51

Who guards the guardians - Independent bodies are disfavoured by the Serbian authorities

Level of democratic control over security sector in general is an important condition for integration into European structures. Control mechanisms - bodies for control of authorities of Serbia have been introduced since their existence is in accordance with European standards (as well as some of Law’s mentioned in text above). These control mechanisms - bodies are the Anti-corruption Agency, the Commission for Protection of Competition, the Ombudsman, and the Commissioner

49 The principle of representativeness and security sector reform in Serbia, Extract from the Yearbook of security sector reform, CCMR, Belgrade, pg. 19.

50 Site, on day September 25th 2010: http://www.studiob.rs/info/tema.php?id=222

51 The principle of representativeness and security sector reform in Serbia, Extract from the Yearbook of security sector reform, CCMR, Belgrade, pg. 29.
for Information of Public Importance and Personal Data Protection, auditors and other control bodies. Their function is to guard the guardians and to be at service to the citizens of Serbia. It seems that these bodies are just a stone in the European shoe of Serbia.

On its European path, Serbia has received a number of institutions that are supposed to control power and protect the rights of citizens. However, these institutions are not actually in possession of premises or budget or subject of a law that defines their responsibilities. Also, there is no political will to cooperate with them. The authorities in Serbia perceive the controllers as annoying guests they have received merely because they did not want to make some wealthy relatives abroad angry. This is witnessed by the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance Rodoljub Sabic, who petitioned the Government to enable him to work, not getting answers to questions, although it is the legal obligation of government to provide any information he seeks. In the opinion of the government, these control authorities, whose role is to exercise civilian democratic control, have taken their role very seriously. Another example is the fifth year of existence of the State Audit Institution Law, but the mentioned Institution is not operable because the Government has no interest in someone controlling the budget.52

The Law on the State Audit Institution, which has been assigned by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia to control the manner of spending of the budget practically, has not yet been implemented. This institution has not been provided with conditions for operation, so there is no systematic control of the budget spending of all state authorities. This means that the financial transparency and control of the budget expenditure of Serbian citizens 10 years after the democratic changes are at the same level as the in 2000.

One of the most important prerequisites of transparency is the right of free access to public information, which is guaranteed by the new Constitution of Serbia. Law on the Free Access to Information, as well as lower legal documents (bylaws), allows the realization of this right by using the newly introduced institution of the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance. According to this law, all state bodies are obliged to publicize and make available to the public the information bulletin about their work. The experience of Rodoljub Sabic (the Commissioner) tells us otherwise.

52 Verica Barać, president of the Anticorruption Council, interview to NIN, 18th of May 2010
The experience of the Ombudsman Sasa Jankovic, president of the Anti-Corruption Council, Verica Barac and the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance Rodoljub Sabic have something in common – the failure of the Government to respond to their attempts to enable them to work and that is “only” to control the Government on the behalf of the citizens and do their job!

Let us as citizens of Serbia ask ourselves, what has our ruling elite been talking for the last ten years, what reforms and what civilian democratic control? Perhaps it is why one Western official described the Serbian reforms after talks with a handful of local officials: “You have it all at first sight, but when one looks more carefully, we see that barely anything actually exists.”

**Conclusion**

The biggest problem in the European integration of Serbia and achieving a satisfactory level of civilian democratic control over all the sectors and the security sector as one of the most important is the lack of transparency. This is particularly evident in the spending of budget funds. Citizens have no information available about how much the Army, Police and other security services spend. The laws, on the other hand, create too little obligations to be transparent. There is no clear visibility of how much the security sector actors spend. For example, the Defence Ministry, Interior Ministry and security services are exempt from the statutory procedures for public procurement.

Institutions that are intended for civilian democratic control and monitoring are often prevented from doing their work for a number of the now well-known reasons: Committees do not have adequate capacity, or they have too broad a field that should be monitored, no professional team to advise them on professional issues closely related to the field of supervision, or in the most common case, the potential lack of political will to seriously address the issues of the security sector institutions.

The National Assembly, as the most powerful organ of the civilian democratic control often does not use all the mechanisms at its disposal as guaranteed by the Constitution to exercise civilian democratic control on behalf of the citizens of Serbia. Is this due to the lack of political will or political culture, incompetence or ignorance? Certainly, it is to the detriment of the citizens!
Due to lack of political will, some laws have not been enforced (usually these are laws dealing with such important issues for citizens as lustration, corruption, privatization, monopoly, war crimes etc.), because the government does not determine the budget and the institutions for their implementation and the assembly as we have already mentioned too easily adopt the budget.

The broader public does not have a positive attitude on civil society and all that civil society organisations have done even ten years after the democratic changes. According to a poll conducted in 2008, only slightly more than half of citizens (54%) knew what it is meant by the term civil society, while nearly half (47%) of respondents had negative associations related to this term. A very small percentage (14%) believes that civil society organisations are working in the best interest of Serbia. Party media contribute to creating a bad image of civil society, mistrust and hatred production by quasi patriotic, clerical-fascist and neo-Nazi organisations.

The right of civil society to participate in the control of the security sector is not defined by the constitution. The Legislation which stipulates that citizens exercise civilian democratic control does not define sanctions for those who do not comply; the state has kept some space to ignore the request of civil society organizations CSO.

Equal participation of on the one hand civil society organizations and, the government, on the other hand does not exist today even 10 years after the fall of Slobodan Milosevic’s regime. To continue marginalizing those organizations that are the main counterweight to the arbitrariness of the state benefits someone.

Gordana Subotić
Private security agencies in Serbia

Serbia has one of the biggest sectors of private security in the region of Southeast Europe but is the only country in Southeast Europe that has not put in legal order the management of the third armed force in the country, which represents an important factor of (in)security of its citizens. The number of employees in this sector exceeded long ago the number of policemen in the country. The concept of privatization of this sector also means the existence of suitable legislation on organisation of the private security sector. The industry of private security in Serbia appeared in the early nineties as a result of inefficiency and erosion of former security authorities and it also follows the global world trend of expansion of private security. Companies that provide services of physical-technical security are economic subjects and as such are part of the market. Their owner is not the state, but private parties; therefore they cannot be controlled or supervised as a civil service. These calls for an appropriate legal framework that would control the establishment, existence, supervision and control of these security subjects in Serbia, because of their bearing on the security of citizens of Serbia: their work is not sufficiently controlled by the state authorities, army, police, safety committee, parliament, etc. This sector in Serbia has not been integrated into the security system and it functions in the grey area of the security, uncontrolled by the state.

Private security organisations that dominate the security market of Serbia are companies for physical-technical security and some detective agencies. Companies for physical-technical security are more common and they offer services of physical and technical security for people, objects and estates, while detective agencies are engaged in the search of the missing persons, struggle against the destructive religious sects and other detective activities. While registering a security and protection agency at the Business Registers Agency a license for detective activity can also be obtained.53

The lack of law on private security agencies panders their owners and it does not benefit the state of Serbia and its citizens. The reason for this lies in the fact that in this very profitable market they can operate according to their own laws. They freely put together agreements on business cooperation for the protection of objects so that

53 From the interview with the owner of the registered agency for security and protection that operates at the territory of Belgrade and Mladenovac
the agency would not be responsible if something happens in the ob-
ject.\textsuperscript{54} They hire active police and military officers for personal security
and also persons with suspicious criminal past that we could see in
the street showdown between the member of security of controversial
businessman Predrag Rankovič Peconi and protected witness Ljubiša
Buha. Owners and employees are often former members of JSO, wives
of criminals\textsuperscript{55}, former members of paramilitary formations that oper-
ated in Bosniā, Srebrenica\textsuperscript{56}, and Croatia.

A very important fact is that in wars on the territories of former Yu-
goslavia some security agencies, paramilitary and military formations
are responsible for crimes against human rights and this legally unreg-
ulated security sector also hires staff like that so very important prob-
lems here is the checkups of persons that are engaged in this work. The
checkups by the police (officially) is performed only for persons that are
registered as employees in the agency, and does not comprise those
who are employed part-time (practically) and it consists only of check-
ing the existence of a criminal file.\textsuperscript{57}

The police checks if some person has ever been convicted before
and issues a license for carrying weapons that is valid during the work
hours and only at their work place. Weapons are different depending on
the job the person is doing (in case of accompanying money transport,
it involves long-barrelled or automatic weapon, whereas in securing
people or estate, it involves the gun). Particularly worrying is the fact
that some persons that, during the nineties, were very close to the
former government can very easily disappear from the list of convicted
felons because it is common knowledge that the government of Serbia
has always been connected in one way or another to individual criminals
and criminal groups, who had also participated in the wars and jeopar-
dized human rights of the citizens of Serbia. The police also checks up
the statute of the agency, but only if that agency is registered under
the code 74600 as an agency for security and protection (although it

\textsuperscript{54} From the interview with the owner of the registered agency for security and protec-
tion that operates at the territory of Belgrade and Mladenovac
\textsuperscript{55} SALW research, UNDP, 2005, page 91
\textsuperscript{56} From the interview with the owner of the registered agency for security and protec-
tion that operates at the territory of Belgrade and Mladenovac
\textsuperscript{57} From the interview with the owner of the registered agency for security and protec-
tion that operates at the territory of Belgrade and Mladenovac
is illegal to operate without a registration in The Business Registers Agency)\textsuperscript{58}, which is an additional reason for a legislation on private security agencies, because there are only 10\% of agencies registered under that code, while things in the real world are very different.

For them, without this legislation, the registration depends on their good will. When it comes to training, there is no specific legislation, so the training is sometimes insufficient and unprofessional and it lasts, depending on the agencies, two days per six hours (it is provided by the former lieutenant colonel of the army of Yugoslavia, which is the case with the agency that I mentioned above)\textsuperscript{59}, or it comprises one-hour training for handling weapons.\textsuperscript{60}

It has been estimated that between 20,000 and 60,000 people work in this sector.\textsuperscript{61} However, it is very difficult to obtain accurate information about the exact number of people working in this sector because of the lack of legislation that would require these agencies and subjects to be registered legally under the above mentioned Labour Law for the activities they conduct. This number is highly disputable because, unfortunately, the market of the private security in Serbia is a great mystery even today, considering that the only official information that I obtained and in this report mentioned, is from a few researches from UNDP in 2002 and 2005, from CENTRE FOR CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS (CCMR) and OSCE in 2008 Official information and the number of employees and registered agencies are simply impossible to establish.

Legislations that are governing in this sector in Serbia are:

- The legislation on self-protection issued in 1986 (that pointed out the assignments and responsibilities of economic subjects of the security system of Serbia, among which are obligatory police control of the existence of a criminal file and the psychophysical condition of the employees), that was along with some other legislations, cancelled in 1993. After that no other legislation was issued to replace the former ones.

- Ministry of interior’s proposal of the legislation from 2003 that entered parliamentary procedure, but was never adopted (the

\textsuperscript{58} SALW research, UNDP, 2005, page 92

\textsuperscript{59} From the interview with the owner of the registered agency for security and protection that operates at the territory of Belgrade and Mladenovac

\textsuperscript{60} SALW research, UNDP, 2005, page 94

\textsuperscript{61} SALW research, UNDP, 2002, page 10
Proposal of the legislation on civil organisations that are dealing with the given matter:

- Schemes of Centre for civil military relations (CCMR): Proposal of the legislation on the private security and a draft of the legislation on the private security of people and estate and the legislation on the detective activity from 2006.
- Scheme of the legislation on the private security of people and estate from the Board of the association of companies for physical-technical security from 2006.\(^{62}\)

There are also legislations that are referred to certain segments which in this sector have to be followed:

- The legislation on weapons and ammunition (it regulates permissions for carrying, possessing and holding weapons).\(^{63}\)

Of course, there is still no comprehensive legislation that would contain all the specifics and characteristics of a private security sector. Partial adherence to the legislation is definitely not the best solution.

In the best interest of the citizens of Serbia is that this security sector be under a strict supervision of a Security Board of Ministry of interior, as far as establishing control, issuing licenses and setting suitable internal standards for this sector. It is necessary that in drafting the legislation on private security agencies, beside these institutions, interested civil organisations that are dealing with these questions also participate: insurance companies, trade unions, FTO associations and clients that can give useful advice in this process. Minister of the Interior, Ivica Dačić announced the drafting of the legislation in April of 2010\(^ {64}\)

In the Chamber of Commerce of Serbia, the Association of private security is registered with 77 agencies as its members.\(^ {65}\) This Association gathers a lot of companies and entrepreneurs that are engaged in private security, coordinates and protects their professional interests.

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\(^{62}\) Private security companies in Serbia, challenge or threat?, CENTRE FOR CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS (CCMR), 2008, page 35

\(^{63}\) Kekovic Z, Systems of defence, Faculty of defence, Belgrade, 2003, page 216

\(^{64}\) http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/184108/Dacic-Izrada-zakona-o-privatnom-obezebedjenju

\(^{65}\) Information that I obtained in the Chamber of commerce of Serbia from the Association for private security at the date 19.08.2010
es, coordinate interests arrange common activities, initiate convenient initiatives for improving business and realization of projects.66

Serbia urgently needs a legislation that would regulate private security sector and separate the spheres of private and public security, so the police and private security agencies would be made complementary by law and not competitive factors. Furthermore, it is requisite because Serbia is the only country in the region that does not have this kind of legislation.

The areas that urgently need to be regulated are:

1. Much stricter criteria for license issuing – precisely defining the field of operation and issuing licenses to a limited period of time, so that they could be submitted to scrutiny again at renewal.

2. Control of the hiring (of all the employees and not only the permanently employed ones), taking into the consideration the fact that in Serbia in all sectors, including this one, people work without a license.

3. Defining clearly the legislation on police that forbids independent private and professional activities but it does not mention that policeman cannot work for someone and conduct the same professional activities.67 The legislation on the military permits independent professional activities and paid work upon permission from the chief of the general headquarters, which is the Secretary of defence.68

4. Rigorous control of issuing licenses for carrying weapons for persons that work in this sector (it has been estimated that this sector owns 47000 weapons, this information is from the year 2002 with a rising tendency).69

5. Control of the employees training (setting the appropriate standards for all private security agencies: who is handling the training, how much it lasts, who decides whether the person is appropriately trained for some job, etc.)

6. Control of the psycho-physical state of the employees in this sector (it is common knowledge that these physicals are easy to pass and to obtain an appropriate certification).

66 Taken from website of the Chamber of commerce of Serbia at the date 19.08.2010
67 The legislation on police, Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia, 101/05, clause 133
68 The legislation on military, Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia, clause 52.w
69 "Living with a heritage- research of SALW Republic of Serbia,” UNDP, 2002, page 10
7. Precise record of the private security agency contracts, registration of the employees, amount of the salaries and fees (an hour at work in these jobs ranges from 120 to 150 RSD, and in case of VIP security, somewhat higher). Set the right conditions and control. It is preferable to establish an institution connected to the police that would deal only with private security agencies.

8. Improve the transparency and bring closer to the public the work of these agencies, from the number of employees to the contracts. The number of private security agencies in Serbia is 3200 according to assessments from 2005, 170 of which are registered. There are 470 economic subjects registered under this activity today, with some small differences in cases if it is only about the security or the investigative activity because, at the moment, the compliance with the classification laws of Europe Union is in progress, so it is not possible to obtain the exact information because the subjects have not chosen the sub-activity yet (investigative activity, suppression of the destructive religious sects, security). Therefore, this information does not allow us to infer whether this increase actually represents the increase of the number of agencies that are engaged in this activity or a positive trend of increased number of registered agencies in Serbia (in a law-abiding manner).

It is questionable, even if the law is enacted, whether the public institutions in Serbia are strong enough to implement it, because if there is no strong political will for its enactment at present, there is no hope that it will be implemented in the future. In the case of Serbia, it is necessary to take into consideration all the specific characteristics of this sector. It would therefore be of great importance that as many as possible relevant state and civil organisations take part in legislation drafting and that more of them participate in control and supervision of a legislation implementation and this way contribute to the reform of the security sector in Serbia, which is also in the best interest of its citizens.

Gordana Subotić

70 From the interview with the owner of the registered agency for security and protection that operates at the territory of Belgrade and Mladenovac
71 SALW research, UNDP, 2005, page 88
72 Information obtained from the Agency for commercial registers at the date 17.08.2010
DRAFT PLATFORM ON THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS IN SERBIA

Noting that violence and a lack of tolerance and respect for others – especially ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities – has become dominant in behaviour and communication in all segments of modern Serbian society, seminar participants emphasized that the media and state institutions, especially The Prosecutors’ Office and the Ministry of Justice act with impermissible benevolence and approval towards this social climate. They even build relationships with political parties. In this way, these institutions express and confirm their lack of readiness to confront the causes and consequences of the wars and war crimes committed in our name in the former Yugoslavia.

Women activists with nongovernmental organisations that work for discontinuity with the criminal past and for respect, protection, and the advancement of human rights as an essential part of safeguarding the dignity and integrity of individuals, groups, organisations, and society as a whole are especially exposed to prosecution, public stigmatization, belittlement, and even physical attacks.

Women who every day work and fight for their rights, the rights of other women, human rights, and the rights of everyone who is subject to discrimination marginalization, injustice, and violence – women who oppose the prevailing norms – are subject to risks. Patriarchal structures isolate and silence human rights defenders. The women in this group are exposed to an additional risk of violence and injustice. Crimes committed against women defenders go unpunished. This leads makes it possibility to exclude these women from communities and society as a whole.

The acceptance of these risks for women human rights defenders becomes disregard for their engagement in defending human rights. Traditionally, the media considers asking most human rights organisations and networks, unions, and political parties specific questions about women’s rights an unnecessary division and disregard for “more universal and more important” issues. This tendency isolates women’s human rights as well as their defenders.
The best protection for human rights defenders is the fulfilment of all human rights, without hierarchy. Human rights defenders are endangered by an atmosphere of growing political repression, authoritarianism, and militarization of the state.

The government, NGOs, and other actors in civil society should protect human rights defenders in keeping with The UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders and other international instruments and mechanisms. Protection mechanisms should confirm the principles of equality and non-discrimination. They should forbid culture or religion to be used to justify inequality for women. Activists should be protected in all fields of their work, in the public and private sphere. All state and non-state actors should be involved with this.

**Because of This, We Demand that the Government and Serbian Assembly:**

Annull all laws and decisions which violate women’s and human rights and threaten human rights defenders, actively apply the principles of The UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders, and make it possible for women to have equal rights to fight for human rights and all other rights.

Effectively punish state and non-state actors who misuse criminal laws or use the media or other groups to hurt human rights defenders or prevent them from defending human rights and freedoms.

Secure means for the protection and promotion of human rights defenders and their rights.

**We Call on the UN and International Human Rights Groups to:**

Create new mechanisms of citizens’ responsibility for violence against women and women human rights defenders.

Support of the mandate of the Special Representative of the General-Secretary on The Situation of Human Rights Defenders and assurance that women human rights defenders are a focus of their work.

We call on the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to perform monitoring. We call on state institutions, including national commissions for human rights, the consistent application of UN recom-
mendations about human rights defenders and human rights, especially women human rights defenders.

**We Call on Human Rights Organisations, Civil Society Movements and NGOs to:**

Protect everyone who is under pressure because they defend human rights, especially those who confront the past, work for the rights of sexual and gender minorities, are members of an ethnic minority, or work in rural areas without public protection.

Formulate programs and direct funds to the protection of human rights defenders and respond to violence against women human rights defenders motivated by gender.

Allow women human rights defenders their freedom of choice and consult both women and men human rights defenders about issues of their security.

**We Call on the Media to:**

Respect the integrity of human rights defenders.

Not tolerate, but react to every violation of the human rights of human rights defenders, in accordance with the journalistic code of practice and professional ethics.

Show special sensitivity to women human rights defenders and those whose rights they support.

*Women in Black together with the Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights (Yukom) and Anti-Trafficking Centre (ATC) from Belgrade created the Draft platform of human rights defenders on the June 14th, 2007.*
Security of human rights defenders, peace activists, engaged artists, journalists

The session motivated by the 10th anniversary of the UN Declaration on Human Rights defenders (Declaration on rights and responsibilities of persons, groups and society institutions in advancing and protection of universally confirmed human rights and elementary freedoms, passed by the UN General Assembly, on March 1999). The following people spoke: Nada Dabić NGO Esperanca from Novi Sad, Jovanka Brkić Women`s deed from Velika Planina, Katarina Jozić from the Committee of Lawyers on Human Rights YUCOM, Staša Zajović from Women in Black, Maja Savić from Labris, Aida Ćorović from Urban – in of Novi Pazar, Svetlana Lukić from Peščanik/B92, Dijana Milošević from Dah Theater, Marko Karadžić, state secretary at the Ministry for Human Rights and Minority Rights of the Republic of Serbia, Nadežda Gaće, president of Serbian journalists’ independent association. The session moderator was Jelka Jovanović, agency Beta journalist.

The event was attended by 85 activists from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. The participants in the panel discussion voiced their criticism concerning the security problem the defenders of human rights are confronting, and also political, socio-economic and cultural difficulties and obstacles that can be classified in the following way:

A patriarchal conservative culture: vilification of women’s human rights defenders, especially in small communities, impunity of crimes against women, very low level of culture of human rights and women rights in particular, ignorance of the existing laws among the majority of women.

Clericalization of the state and the society: the impairment of the secular character of the state, unconstitutional influence of the religious communities on state institutions and the legislative bodies, (the most frequently mentioned was the obstruction of the Serbian Orthodox Church and other religious communities of the adoption of the Anti-Discrimination Law), interference of religious communities with the educational institutions, etc. All the participants warned that the clerical nationalist tendencies threaten the achieved level of human rights.
rights and affect the civil society women activists most of all.

*Clerical fascist and neo-Nazi organisations:* who have been targeting female human rights defenders most often in the past few years, and also vulnerable social categories of the population (especially the Roma population) as well as male and female activists of LGBT organisations? Besides the above mentioned support of the Serbian Orthodox Church, these organisations enjoy the support of some of the state institutions, which is reflected in their tolerant attitude toward them and their violent activities, by failing to implement the existing laws and treating fascist and anti-fascist organisations in the same way.

*Poverty, corruption of the judicial system and organized crime:* unfair or ‘grand larceny privatization’ and widespread corruption of the judicial system, leading to complete loss of trust in the institutions. The pauperization of the largest part of the population affects women in particular, because they bear most of the burden of sustaining his family and the community. This in particular hampers their activist engagement in the civil society and drastically augments the exhaustion and burn-out of civil society female activists.

*Media blockade:* the disinterestedness of the media for NGO activities, especially for pro-active activities related to pressurizing the institutions to adopt and implement the laws, initiatives demanding accountability for war crimes, implementation of Transitional Justice laws and laws sanctioning violence against women.

**Positive practices, ways of overcoming difficulties and alternatives**

*Campaigns of active solidarity:* with female defenders of human rights, engaged artists and threatened segments of the population. Numerous examples of solidarity with human rights defenders were cited (Sonja Biserko, Biljana Kovačević Vučo, Nataša Kandić, Women in Black), art associations (Dah Theater), women journalists (Peščanik B92), the Roma population, etc...

*Ministry for human and minority rights:* The solidarity and responsibility of Marko Karadžić, state secretary at the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights of the Republic of Serbia, was highlighted, as well as his support of the efforts and the activities of human rights defend-
ers to promote civil society values and to bring about the adoption and implementation of laws and observance of international human rights conventions.

Joint initiatives of the civil society of Serbia on international forums: on the position of human rights defenders, the problems they face, concerted pressure on state institutions to ensure the respect of human rights defenders (late in 2008 in Geneva, at the UN Conference on Human Rights, the state of Serbia signed a Memorandum on the position of human rights defenders, the promotion of their rights, the obligation to adopt an action plan for the protection of human rights defenders and to urgently adopt an anti-discrimination law and conduct efficient investigation into the attacks against human rights defenders, etc.).

International solidarity: some very positive examples were mentioned of campaigns in favour of the threatened human rights defenders launched by international organisations, especially: Amnesty International, Front Line Defenders, Urgent Action Fund, etc.

The following ways of overcoming difficulties were highlighted: solidarity, mutual support, sharing of information, spreading information on defenders’ human rights abuses, organizing a support campaign, educational actions (raising knowledge and consciousness of the entire population, especially the female part, on human rights and ways of upholding them, state obligations in the implementation of human rights laws informing the activists about existing international conventions and state responsibility to respect them), distribution of printed publication on human rights in general and women’s human rights, the obligations of the state, etc.

March 8th, 2009
Belgrade
Militarization of Women in Black street actions: repression or protection?

‘Activists who seek a radical break away with the criminal past and accountability for war crimes are qualified as extremists and criminals themselves’ ...(Biljana Kovačević-Vučić)

Since the inception of Women in Black in (1991) they have faced with various forms of repression, both on administrative and socio-cultural level. Those levels are interwoven and deeply connected and there is certain causal link between them, too. The problems we have been confronting are related our relation to war, war crimes, facing with the criminal past, because we had problems, as a women group, mostly because we insisted on all the levels of the accountability for war and war crimes that were committed in our names.

The forms of repression we have faced with, we could summarize in this way:

**Administrative character of repression** – The source of repression here, are mostly the state and its institutions: these are physical attacks of ultra-nationalistic groups as an extended arm of repressive state bodies, prohibition of our work in the refugee camps, permanent offence procedures, informative talks-police interrogation, obstructions, ban on international rallies of Women in Back, (in spite of all we managed to organize ten of international conferences in the period between 1992. and 2001.), and orchestrated campaigns and call for lynch of our activists, by ultra-nationalist parties and politicians, criminalization of our work through financial audits, calling the police wanted list, hi-jacking one of our activists, confiscation of our passports, searching of our homes, telephone tapping of our private homes and of our office, police seizure of documents and activist materials, the expulsion of international volunteers etc.

**Vertical and horizontal repression** - The source of repression here, are not only the state and its institutions but the society, too, a system of control which became more and more horizontal, the continuity of physical attacks, by para-state actors, various types of low intensity war against all those whose opinions differ (stigmatization, vilification, intimidation, attempts to sow discord within the group, the ban of rallies, telephone harassments and threatening of ‘patriots’,
criminalization and attempts of the government to discredit us, accus-
ing us of `organized prostitution`, etc).

**Militarization of the security and “protection”** - During 2004 and 2005, we had serious attacks on Women in Black, of which we will mention the two most severe cases: 10th of July, 2004., on Republic Square in Belgrade, when a large group of people, `patriots`, at-
tacked us as we were marking the ninth anniversary of the Srebrenica Genocide. The police did not react in adequate way and our criminal charges against them were rejected. On 10th of July, 2005, on Repub-
lic Square in Belgrade, a group of neo-Nazis threw tear gas on us. We initiated misdemeanour proceedings, but the police did not even take it into consideration, just like a dozen previous ones we had initiated in the past.

It shows that state institutions are a source of repression. Those institutions use the services of the delinquents, hooligans, criminal groups of clerical nationalistic and clerical fascist orientation and patho-
logical characters. It is not about their spontaneous actions, but about targeted threats, and deliberate actions with the aim of discrediting Women in Black, in order to intimidate or exhaust them. This repres-
ion has a gender connotation: the accusations regarding organized prostitution are an attack on our moral integrity, with the aim to drive off our activists, especially in the small Serbian towns.

After those incidents we mentioned, Amnesty International initiated the campaign in order to protect Women in Black, demanding that the local authorities stop the repression. After a hundred of letters, which were sent to support us from all over the world, (including the most important peace organisations and networks), the campaign gave re-
sults and it can be seen in this way: the `protection` of Women in Black is obvious through the presence of a great number of policemen in all the manifestations we organize. This kind of protection is not the most adequate one, because it will cause our ghettoization, dividing us from the citizens and their possible will to participate in our actions.

On the other side, this kind of `protection` fits in the global trends of militarized security after 11th of September, 2001. It is an excuse for criminalization of civil movements but also for increasing the expendi-
tures for the institutions of repression.

On our network meeting in Vrdnik, Serbia, on 5th of June in 2010, attended by thirty Women in Black activists from all over Serbia, we
discussed the following issues:

What do you think of this kind of police protection? Do you feel more secure or not? What is the political aim of it, why do they do it? Has militarization increased or decreased the effects of our actions: turned away or compelled women to take part in our actions? What should we do? Which are our alternatives, suggestions, etc...

Highly controlled para-state actors: with the aim of exercising violence upon those who are `unsuitable` for the state, who have different opinions, the state is using the service of `patriots` - hooligans, rightists and their organisations...

`Police knows exactly the right moment to let them make trouble or to keep them quiet. They control the security atmosphere on the whole` (Nevena).

`There has been a total reversal after the vigil when they threw tear gas on us, and were arrested afterwards (2005). Ever since, we had police escort from our office and back to our office, in the name of `protection`. They have even checked my address to see if I really live there...` (Ljilja R.).

`Hooligans are instructed by the state. We know that they are used for certain purposes` (Ljilja).

`Hooligans are coordinated by the state. We know that police controls them and fascist groups as well and they would be able easily to organize our `protection` without this kind of circus. They could protect us better in plain clothes rather then in uniforms. They minimize what we do on the street. I believe they are afraid of something unexpected and want to prevent it. I do not have any doubt regarding this matter. There are different levels of domination and I do not know who controls whom. On one hand they send the police and on the other those groups` (Ivana).

`The police are very kind with fascists; they chat with them, like they’ve known each other for years. They laugh with the members of Obraz (clerical fascist organisation). The police are instructed not to allow anything to happen. When we start it seems like the lights go on and we become those `problematic` ones. We are not all together but become separated, opposed enemies. The question is why they did not ban the organisations which cause problems` (Nataša).
`Most of those policemen were involved in war actions and now they are deployed in police stations all over Serbia. So, it should not surprise us when we hear during our vigils some of them saying: `I would kill them all` (Saša).

`Frequently I have the feeling that they protect them and not us. The policemen are those who allow them to act in this aggressive way` (Fika)

**Militarization of protection-control strategy of separation and isolation from the rest of the society, stigmatization, ceremony of public impeachment ...of all of us who are out of political and civic consensus:** this all causes insecurity, vulnerability and the exhaustion of activists..

`This is kind of fraud, a trap, for us to `bite` it as the way of our protection. In the essence this is transformation of the power prepared for the war battles and the transformation of the public space in the conflict space. It is a perfidious way to create internal enemy. When you go for a vigil and they follow you, it is transforming you who are on the street in order to speak in the name of victims in the kind of antipode: from one side you are victims and from the other you are enemies. Because, when you leave the spot, you remain enemies and not victims of your society. It is repression on us through their role of protector` (Athina).

`I do not agree that there should be so many police cordons, they do not engage as many police forces as it is needed in accordance with the assessment of security risk. Though they have a correct assessment of the security risk, they make a show out of it. They send the message to the citizens that we are dangerous, to be aware of us. It really bothers me because we always have some programs. During the march in 2010, the police pushed us and we couldn`t show what we had prepared. They disgrace everything we do. They are unpleasant. They force us in this role, as we were the worst` (Nevena).

`They protect fascists from us and not vice versa, `cause if they want to finish with them, they could, but they do not want to. It is all about their political will to act` (Miloš).

`On the march of 2010, I had the feeling all the time that they protect people from us. I saw them as something totally unnecessary, especially those with armour. And because of them who are like that, we had a bomb attack in 2005 It is the moment when I felt the most...`
unsecure ever, when they put us in the row. And those who threw tear gas were sent by someone and they knew everything. It was horrifying. They did not let us get out. I wanted but they told me I would be held responsible for my actions. If my car had not been near, I would not have been able to leave. As far as I am concerned, when we talk about those protests because of the Srebrenica Genocide, I am sure that the fascists would have attacked and come in larger number` (Marija).

`When I joined the march for the first time (8th March, 2008) with Roma women from Bečej, the first thing we saw were policemen in armour and we were scared. The march was great, but we thought: why they are here? Roma women who came with me had problems with a woman on the street, to which they had given a leafet. She was screaming, calling them names, Gypsies...I can’t see why so many policemen have to protect us` (Danica P.).

`Somebody ordered to them to be there. It is their professional duty and so they obey even if they do not agree. They should protect us but they separate us from common people. They bring panic by their visual presence. If there could be more of them dressed in civilian clothes, the situation would be better` (Goran).

`If they would like to achieve efficient protection, they should be dressed in plain clothes. It is possible if they want it. When I remember one evening on Republic Square, when behind them was a bunch of young fascists, screaming that they should kill us all. I thought they will beat us up, if there is no police. I always feel unpleasant while the police follow us to the apartment. In some cases they are necessary, they will protect us, I thought. Now, I think they control some forces and when they say they should be silent, there is nowhere, not even on the street. And so many policemen, I think, demonstrate something else. It is with the purpose to create the atmosphere of uniform and weapon. And might even be that they are afraid of the international factors and that if somebody attack us, they would be so criticised, so this way is more payable to them` (Miodrag).

`I do not feel safe at all when they are around me in such a large number. Might be better if they would stand beside and approach us, if needed. Sometimes I feel like I am in a concentration camp. We have to register all our actions and it is not so for the rightists who attack us. When they are done with their rally, police leave them alone. They are like some kind of officials, they shout loud paroles, insult us, threat...`
And the police do not react to this. The only thing I do know for sure is that I do not feel safe` (Ljilja N).

`They mark us, point at us with their fingers, so that people should notice us` (Snežana).

`Lately, I have been on two street actions with a lot of police. Police escorted us as if we were criminals. People watched us as if we were some kind of monsters they should be aware of. They could have watched us in a discreet way. While we had our vigil, behind each of us a policeman was standing, but I felt threatened. They restricted us. They should control those fascist groups and ban them. Police controls us instead of protecting us` (Anelija).

`Each of us has different internal feeling and expresses it in different ways, too. It seems to me that they want to say-here they are, remember them well. When we once have started our march from the office, I went out of the line, but a policeman pushed me, saying I could not go there, because I would not be safe. I answered to him-`Who are you protecting me from, I am able to protect myself ` (Svetlana).

`When I went out of the office, once, after the performance we‘d had, a policeman told me that I could not leave out dressed in black. I was so mad that I told him-`You are not the one who will tell me how I should dress myself ` (Mirjana).

`There is certain phenomenon of internalization of militarization. We adopt what they think of us and it is very dangerous if we accept to be reduced to the role they create for us. It is exhausting, it takes of our breath away.` (Staša).

`I am not safe; I wish they wouldn‘t be there. I always feel internal restlessness and rage in their presence. They want to mark us and discriminate us. And so, we are marked and discriminated as activists. They send a message to the people: `These women are not part of our society, remember them well. We will always be outcast for them, marked, labelled. Hooligans can behave the way they like but we have to be silent` (Svetlana).

`Some activists withdraw, because it is exhausting. Me and Staša are always contacted by the police, before our actions, in the name of the so called `protection`. All this puts off many women. Many times we are in panic how many of them will come` (Ljilja R).

`They want us to stop coming to our protests` (Goran).
Militarization of street actions as a way to achieve European standards with the aim of maintaining political power, without crucial changes: legalistic interpretation of the European standards in order to preserve the continuity of values and policy, through the equalization of the opposite groups- fascists and antifascists, violent and non-violent, it has the purpose to justify the violence against human rights defenders, instead of punishing those who jeopardize civil and human rights....

‘In 2005, police dispelled us, divided us in groups, I was mad, because they could have dispelled them. For the first time they escorted us, they have been under pressure from abroad, so that nobody harms us. Last year I felt that I could not continue like that any more. When fascists stood in front us as a choir, I thought it would be so until the end of my life and that I had to accept it. Fascists oppose to us, persecute us and everything loses its sense’ (Slavica).

‘They track us, record us, and maltreat us. They are treating us equally to them and that is a problem. Yes, we do need protection, but, they have to forbid clerical fascist organisations’ (Zorica).

‘During the nineties there were no policemen, when we needed them. Now there is a bunch of policemen who `protect` us as if we were monsters. Actually, they protect the city from us. Might be, that this is a peremptory process, through which they wash the face of this state in order to prepare for accession towards the European community` (Saša).

‘Ten days after the Pride Parade was forbidden, after the murder of B. Taton, the government was afraid and suddenly, one Frenchman’s life was a thousand of times more valuable then our lives. They were afraid that they would not get loans that it would slow down the process of integration. This is the space we can use` (Staša).

‘It is the fact that Serbian government is very cooperative in relation to the international community, especially after they have signed the agreement on stabilization and association. It is the part of the package in fulfilling some formal European standards. So, they obey in order to keep the political power, to keep the image of being the `patriots` for their voters and they tolerate non-state and para-state factors who express their rage for human rights defenders. The repression continues, just it has different modus. It depends on political needs, internal and external` (Nada).
On the one hand, this kind of the `protection` is positive for the government, they consider it positive for the process of integration into European union. On the other, when I see a large number of policemen, I am not really sure if we are more secure, because they are here or we will be attacked, just because they are here. The worst thing to me is that we are separated from people around us. They escort us all the way from our office and all the lunatics know where our office is and they can come and throw the bomb, when they are not around us any more. And the question is-are we really safe, `cause most of them are on the opposite side from us` (Jelena).

Talking about the processes of integration, their aim is to turn us away. Their legalism and formal standards, are the politics of not facing the criminal past.` (Marija P.)

Militarization of `security and protection`: the excuse to increase the budget of army and police...

`We wonder who has allowed those public funds to be spent for these purposes. It is all the excuse and justification to increase repressive forces, army and police expenditures. Nobody asked us how many policemen are to be engaged on our street actions. It seems that Serbia is integrated within the international community over us and such `security inventions` (Staša).

`Why is so much money spent on our `security`? Today it is possible that if some of us get killed, they will have serious consequences. Due to it, they fear and they protect us. I do confess that I am grateful to the police, sometimes. Especially, when we organize vigils for Srebrenica. Sometimes, rightists appear in larger number than we do. Then I feel really uncomfortable` (Snežana).

Disruptors of moral, political, cultural consensus, crossers of ethnic barriers and walls, `deserters` of national/patriotic and family honor:

They are the target of the attacks, of state and non state parameters, those are deliberate, calculated strategies, with the aim to silence, turn away, deplete, and prevent human rights defenders from continuing their activism...

`Recently, I was countering all the attacks I have faced with and the one which looked as the most naive of all has left the deepest scar. Last July I was coming back from the Special Court and near Hotel Mos-
cow, in Prizrenska street, a man, about thirty years old, passing me by, said: ‘You fag!’ and he spit on me. When I came to Women in Black premises, we talked about it. Women asked me: what you have said to him? And I hadn’t said anything. I was silent. That night, my mother asked me on the phone what kind of clothes I was wearing. I had a shirt and pants of violet colour, though, which has been my favourite one, ever since I was a kid’ (Miloš).

‘I do not know if people from my area and family avoid or if I avoid them. And it has been going on since 1992. I did not attend my uncle’s funeral. I quarrelled with all of them. I do not have contacts with my relatives any more. I visit my brother, only. And it is a formality, too. In the days after Srebrenica, they provoke me. These are very unpleasant things, when all the people from your environment look at you with contempt. Lately, I have been confused, too. I think if I isolate myself or perhaps not, it’s just as well.’ (Ljiljana R.)

‘I have personally distanced myself of my friends, because I became tired explaining who I am and what I do. They used to ask me if I still deal with those stupid things. I just have stopped explaining and it is easier to withdraw. It hurts me the most. When we gather as a family and we have a conversation, when I appear, there is silence. It bothers me. I feel I am not accepted. I am supported only by my parents and sister. Unfortunately, some of the people I care for do not understand what I am dealing with’ (Ljilja N).

‘I have distanced myself from the members of my extended family. Those, from my paternal side, think that I am a member of sect, because of the clothes I wear, the way I behave or my political attitudes. They say I am a lunatic. Regarding my own family, I told my mother who you are and she does not have anything against it. My brothers have cynical attitude and they provoke me. I am stigmatized for my sexual orientation’ (Goran).

‘As an activist and as Roma woman, I can say that I’m not safe in my community. You are different and lesbian; you are not in harmony with Roma tradition and culture. You are not for sale. You have a choice. My sister married in accordance with Roma tradition and I couldn’t stand it. That’s why my mother is angry at me and has stopped talking to me. It is connected with what I do and it is hard for me. One of our activists from Ečka was beaten and expelled from the house by her husband. Once, we had a seminar of Women Roma Centre in Novi
Bečej for Roma lesbians. After it, there were articles in the newspapers. I belong to this network. Rumours started about porno movies we have produced in our centre. They also say that we hire women from our neighbourhood as actresses. That is horrible `(Danica).

`Mostly, I spend my time with people who think as I do. I have distanced myself from some friends with whom I have nothing to talk about. But my parents support me. They worry a lot when I go to protest. With my relatives I have the same relations. But I have distanced myself from them, too, because they avoid talking about my activities, of topics which would give rise to discussions. Everybody around me knows that I deal with the issues of women rights; they think I am a lesbian, but they do not say anything to me.` (Jelena).

**Criminalisation of solidarity, criminalisation of social movements:**

In the post-conflict societies, where solidarity is something undesirable, even a kind of conspiracy, women who cooperate with all the sides, are considered as traitors, spies, they are accused for terrorism and they are legitimate targets of persecution, on behalf of the state and para-state factors...

`Accused of terrorist deeds, were `Women to Women` from Sarajevo, one of our closest organisations. These accusations have as a goal sowing the seeds of discord, distrust and paranoia. Nuna, the founder of this organisation, was the first one who visited Banja Luka, during the war. They are declared to be a `terrorist organisation`, those who advocate a different system of values, those who cross the borders, those who respect all the kinds of homogenization` (Staša).

`What has happened to ASI (Anarcho-union initiative in Belgrade, accused of international terrorism/September 2009) is an example of criminalization of social movements. And all the activists reacted, all the people who are libertarian, have reacted in defence of democratic principles. We stood against criminalization and not to justify this concrete act. And after being in jail for six months, activists of ASI, were released, due to lack of evidences. It was impossible to enter the courtroom, it was too crowded and it showed the strength of solidarity` (Snežana).

**The strategies of demilitarized protection and security:** solidarity, publicity, taking over public spaces, mutual support, spreading the info of our activities, strengthening of trust...

`It is necessary to raise the question of phenomena of state and
patriarchal protection. It is the exchange of obedience for false security and justifying of control and submission.

Because in the patriarchy the following rule prevails: “The one who protects you also oppresses you”. Eric Blanchard, a feminist theorist, considers that the protection which is provided to women on behalf of the state could be compared with racketeering of security, as well as the reproduction of hierarchy. It deprives women of the capability and roles of ‘protectors’ (to organize by themselves the system of protection, by prescribing them the role of ‘protected’, though they are frequently jeopardized by those who ‘protect’ them). It is important to create our own systems of protection. For example, ten days after the Pride Parade was forbidden, we demonstrated on the streets to show that we are not afraid of them, that streets belong to us and that we will move where ever we wish, the way we wish to. It was really important. (Staša).

`When Kosovo`s independence was proclaimed, (in February 2008), we evacuated the office, and we did not go out. They were cleaning the streets from us, we were closed in ourselves, escaped in ghetto, I slept out of the office. I wasn’t on the street. And when they killed Bris Tatton, I had the need to be on the street. To be seen. I did not want to allow to be moved from the street. The streets are mine, too. If they write: kill the fag, then I’ll be on the street. It is my human right` (Miloš).

`We have to talk on our security frequently. We have to recognize the mechanisms of our insecurity. We got to know the state instruments and its aims. We must know what is going on. To exchange our energies, to be feed with each other’s energies` (Ivana).

`I live in Vlasotince and I was almost expelled from my family for what I do, for my activism. My father used to keep on a distance from me, because he saw on TV that they speak scurrilously about us. I tried in many ways to explain what I am doing. He didn’t hear me. Then I changed my strategy and I gave him our materials. Once I saw our book on his table, so I asked what they are doing with it. My mother responded that they both read it when they have free time. People are informed in a wrong way what we are doing. We have to find different strategies to attract people. If we do not talk, then we did nothing. We can not answer in aggressive way on the aggression. We have to be patient. I used to be for them the worst kind of person, but things have changed now. When I was inviting people to come, they usually refused. In February, this year on the first night of our theatre piece,`
I invited many people; I faced each of them personally and explained what all is about. And the whole city gathered. I know women who will attend our workshops but not street actions because they are afraid to be declared as outcast, oppressed in their families or punished and they all are economically dependent. My daughter was fired, due to the trip to Srebrenica. But as we say, `what does not kill me makes me stronger` (Ceca).

`I showed to my friends the movie “Not in our name” and they understood that we are not a sect, as they thought` (Goran).

`It is necessary for us to continue producing the knowledge based on our experience, to transmit the knowledge of others, to transfer our vulnerability into strength, to build peace and security through friendship, trust, solidarity... As Selma Sevenhuijsen says: `What we can do is not to want their protection, because it does not protects us. We can care for each other by taking the responsibility of each other`.

_Staša Zajović in cooperation with Miloš Urošević_
Feminist antimilitarist alternatives
Women in Black – brief presentation of activities in the field of security and Resolution 1325 (from 2005 to October 2009)

Since the beginning of their work, Women in Black have been advocating various aspects of demilitarization, on both the institutional and cultural-spiritual levels, by way of street actions, education (conferences, seminars, and workshops), legislative initiatives, and publication projects. The feminist-antimilitarist involvement of Women in Black has always been questioning the traditional-militarised understanding of security. We have first and foremost been building different concepts and practices of security through our entire anti-war work, through requests for accountability for war and war crimes, through campaigns for conscientious objection to military service, through advocacy of conscientious objection to military expenditures, and through legislative initiatives.

Research activities

Reproductive rights and security: it consists of an action research/surveys about reproductive rights in general, and about abortion in particular. The survey was carried out in 2002 in ten cities in Serbia and Montenegro. Based on a (unrepresentative but indicative) sample of 274 respondents, it was established that 34% of women consider that the woman alone can decide on abortion, 48% of women consider that the woman can decide together with the man, and 1% only the child’s father. These data indicate that women’s consciousness of their own autonomy is low (only one third of women consider that they have the right to autonomous decision about their reproductive ability). 53% of respondents replied affirmatively to the question whether abortion is a bad action, and only 29% answered negatively. 65% of respondents
replied affirmatively to the question whether abortion is murder, be it from the moment of conception or from the moment when the embryo becomes alive – while the rest (35%) has the opposite opinion.

*It is visible that clericalization and church propaganda, as well as clero-nationalist tendencies, had a powerful negative impact on women’s stances, especially on the feeling of guilt among women.*

‘Women, security, reproductive rights and transitional justice’ – research carried out in 2007, based on a target sample of 894 respondents from all parts of Serbia, who are among the politically active segment of the civically and democratically oriented female population of Serbia. The aim of the research consisted in: getting an insight of the stances of the socially and politically active segment of Serbia’s female population concerning human security of women, getting an insight of how much this population is informed about basic concepts and facts relevant for human security of women, reproductive rights and transitional justice. The educational structure of respondents is in contrast with the average of the population, and the research covers the politically and/or socially active segment of the female population’s elite.

The justification for including questions about reproductive rights can be explained by the globally valid organic connection between the problem complex of women’s human security of women and the problematic of reproductive rights, and the questions about transitional justice are in accordance with the specific context of post-conflict Serbia, in which the implementation of transitional justice appears as a necessary condition for establishing a stable democratic society.

The research showed that the level of knowledge and information of the socially and politically active segment of civically and democratically oriented female population of Serbia about the questions covered by the research is quite unsatisfying (definitely lower than what was expected) – which is particularly related to questions of transitional justice, as well as to being/not being informed about the Resolution 1325. Regarding the awareness, it is telling that two thirds of the respondents were not acquainted with the content of Resolution 1325, that the percentage of right answers to questions testing the knowledge of basic concepts of transitional justice is between 41.6% and 47.8%, unlike for concepts connected to reproductive rights (definitions of reproductive rights), to which between 59.3% and 94.6% of respondents answered rightly.
It is telling that the stance on abortion is divided: from 57.2% of respondents defining abortion as one of women’s basic rights to the statistically significant 10.4% for whom abortion is murdering the unborn child.

Regarding transitional justice, 24.3% of respondents think that transitional justice is necessary because of getting loans and because of international integrations, 23.3% because of the increase of life standard, 2.7% think that it is not necessary at all, while less than half of the respondents (46.5%) think that it is necessary out of respect for victims, and in order to achieve a lasting and just peace and reconciliation with neighbouring countries.

One of the clear conclusions of this research is that it is essential to increase educational activity in circles of civil society activists and activists from democratic parties, with the aim of increasing awareness about the fact that human security of women and protecting/strengthening reproductive rights cannot be separated from support and active participation in processes of establishing transitional justice.

The unabridged version of the research as well as the brochure “From the traditional to the feminist concept of security” (2007) are available in Serbian and in English on the website http://www.zeneucrnom.org/.

Reproductive rights and re-traditionalisation – research-activist project, the research was carried out in the time period from March, 8th to May, 20th 2008, based on a sample of 987 respondents, and covering in total 55 towns and settlements in the whole country. The research covered women of various belongings: generational, ethnic, educational, and this in accordance with the cross-section of women in Serbia.

The aims of the research were: getting an insight of the stances of Serbia’s female population regarding reproductive rights and of the impact of the growing tendencies of clericalisation, and of attempts at restoring patriarchal values, on the stances of women on reproductive rights.

The research showed that around 80% of respondents consider that the main cause for the decline in birth rate is of socio-economic nature, while 17.5% consider that other causes are in question, causes that are similar to the ones put forward by the Serbian Orthodox Church/SOC. Most respondents, in all categories of professional qualifications, consider that the main cause for the decline in birth rate is the low standard – which can be used as a proof that tendencies of clericalisation of society did not succeed in destroying women’s self-awareness.
Unlike the SOC and nationalist demographers, gynaecologists, propagandists – in short, national workers – who consider that one of the main causes for the decline in birth rate is ‘the separatist tendencies of minority nations’ and these are Albanians, Roma people, Bosniaks, it is worth mentioning that no respondents stated this as a cause.

The research showed the following: slightly more than half of the respondents consider that abortion is not murder, which reveals a very important difference in comparison to the previous research on this question (2002). What is interesting is that, to the question whether a believer is allowed to abort, the majority of respondents answered that she is allowed, which shows that regardless of the stance of the church that abortion is murder (and as it has already been said, 60% of the respondents declared themselves as believers), women are guided in real life by practical morality (by their needs and rational estimates).

The data obtained in those researches are more positive than expected, taking into account the growing clericalisation of society in Serbia, the fact that the SOC, especially with the theocratisation of the state following V.Koštunica coming to power, became one of the main actors of state politics and directly interfere in all educational, cultural, informational institutions.

*The unabridged version of the research is available in Serbian and in English on the website* [http://www.zeneucrnom.org/](http://www.zeneucrnom.org/).

**Educational activities**

(International and regional conferences, seminars, workshops, and lectures). We will mention only some of our educational activities:


*Women, Peace, Security* – regional conference held in Belgrade on October, 31st 2005 on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Resolution 1325.
The analysis of field experiences connected to security in the mentioned period showed the following:

- *the traditional militarised concept of security is in sharp contrast to the desires and needs of women*: women did not connect anywhere security to institutions of repressions and security forces (army and police) but exclusively to the concept of human security;
- *women do not feel secure at all* – they consider that not even a minimum of human security is met in the country;
- *the state and its institutions threaten women* – women do not trust any organ of the state or any institution of the government; the social (political, cultural, spiritual) climate is almost identical before and after the change of regime;
- *women are highly interested in building a completely different concept of security*: first of all, from the feminist/antimilitarist perspective (activists of the Women in Black Network are first of all interested in this).

Participants in the mentioned educational activities stated that security of women is threatened the most by:

- *poverty, unemployment, constant fear of losing their job, of being fired*
- *domestic violence*
- *inexistence of political will for a radical break with the criminal past*: climate of impunity and glorification of crime, disturbed value system; which affects the most peace activists and human rights defenders but also the majority of Serbian citizens;
- *legalisation of plunder and of wealth acquired in a criminal way*;
- *nationalism, religious intolerance*: stronger pressure of religious communities; growth of fundamentalist tendencies;
- *thwarted expectations and hopes after the change of regime*: this is a constant in all regions; etc.

It is worth mentioning that in 2005, not only in Serbia but in the region as well, interactive workshops and lectures about the gender dimension of security were held, that the co-operation of activists and experts on security questions was realised, that pressure on institutions for the implementation of Resolution 1325 was carried out, that, in this end, contact with democratically oriented politicians and MPs was established, etc.

Apart from this, Women in Black organised dozens of workshops in
various parts of Serbia about the correlation between questions of security, reproductive rights, transitional justice, and the status of human rights defenders. We mention the following ones:


*Women, Peace, Security – Resolution 1325 – Conference in Belgrade, October, 31st 2008*

*Human rights defenders – international conference in Belgrade, March, 8th 2009*

*Women, Peace, Security – Resolution 1325 – Conference in Belgrade, October, 31st 2009*

**Publishing activities**

Security topics from the gender perspective.

*Women, Peace, Security*: anthology of works published by Women in Black; the anthology was published in 2005, is 185-page long and the most famous experts and activists on the topic are represented in it. The anthology is divided in two parts:

1. from criticism of traditional understanding of security to the concept of human security;
2. Feminist-antimilitarist concept of security.


Beside this, Women in Black printed a high number of leaflets and flyers on the topic.


*Women for peace*: anthologies that Women in Black have been publishing from 1993, and in the 2007, 2008 and 2009 editions one entire
chapter entitled ‘Women, peace, security’ is dedicated to this problematic. The anthologies are published in Serbian and English.

*Antimilitarism and women* – publication released in the edition ‘Feminism, pacifism, non-violence,’ published by Women in Black in June 2009; the publication consists of the following chapters: Concept of the militarism, Alternatives to militarism and militarization, Feminist-antimilitarist alternatives to militarism and militarization, Women have always revolted, either alone or together, It is not enough to get angry... but rather to transform rage into creative resistance, Food not arms, Schools not tanks; Even at the negotiating table women build peace. The book is 90-page long and was edited by Staša Zajović.

*Reader ‘From the traditional to the feminist concept of security’* – it is 120-page long and has 2 chapters: Demilitarization of security – a feminist approach; Women not/gladly go to the army (emancipation and/or militarization of women); the reader contains 12 analytical works/essays by the most relevant regional and international authors in the field of security.

*Dictionary of security*: it is 32-page long, contains 73 entries connected to the traditional, human and feminist-activist concepts of security, and was made in the framework of the education programme ‘Women, peace, security - From the traditional to the feminist concept of security’ which takes place from 2009 to 2011.

*Campaign for the Resolution 1325 “Women, peace, security”:* the Resolution of Women in Black was presented on the occasion of the fifth anniversary (October, 31st 2005) of the eponymous UN Security Council Resolution 1325. Beside the request for the implementation of this Resolution, a group of civic oriented MPs in the Parliament of Serbia submitted our Resolution. It contains basic requests from Resolution 1325, but we included in our Resolution requests specific to the political community in which we live.

*On October, 31st 2006*, as well on October, 31st 2007 and 2008 the request was submitted to the Parliament of Serbia. Unfortunately, it was never introduced in the agenda of a parliamentary session, which testifies to the insufficient democratic capacity and to the lack of political will of current institutions to acknowledge initiatives and efforts of autonomous civil society organisations in Serbia.

*Staša Zajović*
DRAFT OF THE RESOLUTION
WOMEN, PEACE, SECURITY

The initiative was prepared by Women in Black

The National Parliament of the Republic of Serbia

- taking as a starting point the expressed will of Serbian citizens to live in a prosperous and democratic state in which, based on the full equality of all citizens, security is guaranteed to each human being,

- having in mind that on October, 31st 2000 the Security Council of the United Nations passed the Resolution No. 1325 which insists on the importance of the participation of women and inclusion of the gender perspective in the peace processes, protects women in crisis and war regions from violence, especially from sexual violence, as well as insists on the inclusion of the gender perspective in the mechanisms for implementing peace agreements,

- taking also into account the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations 53/144 as well as the Resolution of the European Parliament “Holocaust, anti-Semitism and Racism,”

- believing that the interests of peace and security of all Serbian citizens are the highest state and national interests,

- knowing that without affirmation of women’s interests to actively and effectively participate in the establishment of a lasting and stable peace and security for all the members of the community there is no possibility of ensuring the protection of peace and security,

- taking into consideration the tragic experiences from the period of wars in which our country participated,

- taking into account their own responsibility for the future of the Republic of Serbia, its citizens, as well as for the interests of peace, stability, and security in the country, the region, Europe and the world.

The National Parliament of the Republic of Serbia passes the:
RESOLUTION WOMEN, PEACE, SECURITY

1. The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia expresses and confirms strong resoluteness for accepting recommendations to its legislative activities from the Resolution of the United Nations Security Council, in particular:

   - Through legal solutions and their application, to secure adequate participation of women on all levels of decision-making in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for conflict prevention and Resolution,
   - To support and prompt the Resolution of conflicts on the national, regional and international levels without the use of force and violence,
   - To acknowledge the importance of peace initiatives begun on the level of civil society,
   - To initiate the taking of measures which will secure the protection and respect of women’s human rights and the highest standards of security for all citizens, in particular citizens engaged in the defence of human rights and promotion of the democratic and civic values of the contemporary world.

2. The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia expresses conviction that the conditions for the establishment of a lasting peace and full security of the citizens of Serbia will be created only by full and consistent protection of human rights, in particular women’s human rights, with respect for the principles of the rule of law, with economic prosperity, and with attention to social justice and the protection of victims of the previous period marked by war and war profiteers, and is therefore showing decisiveness that in the framework of its competencies, it is doing all in its power for these conditions to be realized as soon as possible.

3. The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia declares that for attainment of the security of citizens, the following is necessary:
• Consistent enforcement of the constitutionally established principle of separation of the church and state. Religious communities should not decide about the educational system, the healthcare system, or women’s human rights, in particular reproductive and sexual rights. Common law, which most greatly endangers women’s human rights, must not be rehabilitated in the name of preserving identities or cultural characteristics, independent of whether or not majority or minority religious communities are in question.

• Effective application of the Family Law, condemning violence against women and uprooting the culture of war which legitimizes violence against women and other persons of lesser social and economic power.

• Revoking the Law on assistance to Hague indictees and their families and redirecting those funds for humanitarian usage, above all to the families of the victims of war, to educational projects for peace and nonviolence, interethnic and intercultural solidarity.

• Restitution/compensation to the families of victims of war with the confiscated property of persons convicted for war crimes, as well as persons from the regime that until October 5, 2000 ruled Serbia, and who participated in the unlawful appropriation of others’ property and other forms of plundering the national wealth.

• Declaring the denial of war crimes in the wars from 1991 to 1999, including the genocide in Srebrenica, as a criminal act, patterned on the definition of denial of the Holocaust as a criminal act, and on the basis of recommendations from the Resolution of the European Parliament “Holocaust, Anti-Semitism, and Racism” (P6_TA-Prov 2005/0018).

• Strict application of constitutional and legal regulations which prohibit and condemn all discrimination on religious, national, or whichever other basis.

• Establishing civil and democratic control over the armed
forces (army, security agencies, and police). Only the National Assembly establishes what the national interests of the country are and only it, and by no means the army and police, decides about the security situation in the country.

- Additional establishment of control over the security agencies with consistent application of the Law on Lustration and Opening of the Secret Dossiers, keeping in mind, along with all else, the fact that these agencies not rarely endanger the security of the greatest part of citizens, in particular defenders of human rights.

- Preventing the tendency for the privatization of armed forces and security agencies, that is shown in the uncontrolled flourishing of private security agencies and their effort to revoke the state monopoly on the legal application of force.

- Respecting the rights of defenders of human rights in accordance with the Resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of 8 March 1999 (53/144, annex) and the taking of legal measures with which the unhindered utilization of the rights of individuals, groups, and associations for the advancement of the respect of and the spreading of knowledge about human rights on the national and international levels, will be secured.
Presentation and analysis of the educative seminar “From traditional to the feminist concept of security”

The entire programme (from October 2009) aims among other things at: getting the wider possible group of citizens, especially civil society activists, politicians, and media, acquainted with the concept, content and significance of human security, especially of security from the gender perspective, with ever more active participation of women in peace building as the aim. The entire programme envisions legislative campaigns/lobbying for amendment of laws in order to pressure institutions regarding the implementation of Resolution 1325, as well as international documents connected to human rights defenders’ rights; supervision of the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 on the institutional level, research-activist creation of a feminist-antimilitarist concept of security, etc. The mentioned programme is being carried out with the financial support of Global Fund for Women.

“From the traditional to the feminist concept of security” – educative seminars consisting of workshops, lectures, video-presentations and documentary films. Each seminar lasted for three days and had an interactive and interdisciplinary character and gave equal value to activist experience and academic knowledge.

In the period from February to October 2010, four regional seminars took place:

Velika Plana, for the Belgrade region, February, 12th-14th – first educative seminar “Women, Peace, Security – From the traditional to the feminist concept of security” in Velika Plana, Central Serbia. 28 Women in Black Network activists from Belgrade attended the seminar, as well as coordinators of the workshops from various parts of Serbia (Vlasotince, Leskovac, Velika Plana)

Novi Bečej, for Vojvodina, April, 16th-18th – Educative seminar “Women, peace, security” - The seminar was attended by 43 activists from the following towns: Belgrade, Novi Bečej, Ada, Zrenjanin, Novi Sad, Vlasotince, Bečej, Pančevo, Subotica, Bačka Topola, Kikinda and Athens.

Kukavica, near Leskovac, for South-East Serbia, June, 11th-13th:
activists from Leskovac, Vlasotince, Niš, Pirot, Dimitrovgrad, and Belgrade took part in the seminar.

**Velika Plana, September, 10th-12th:** 48 activists from Kruševac, Pirot, Niš, Dimitrovgrad, Velika Plana, Smederevska Palanka, Kragujevac, Smedereva, Kraljevo, Vlasotince, Vukovar and Belgrade participated in the seminar.

In all the mentioned regions the following workshops and lectures were held:

- **'Security seen by the eyes of women'** – positions and experiences of women on the field, coordinated by Ivana Vitas and Staša Zajović;
- **Demilitarization of security – human security, gender dimension of security – Resolution 1325**, coordinated by Marijana Stojčić and Maja Pešić;
- **Women not/gladly go to the army** – About militarization and emancipation by way of participation of women in armed forces – towards a feminist-antimilitarist concept of security, coordinated by Ivana Vitas, Nataša Lambić, and Staša Zajović;
- **Significance of civil democratic control over armed forces – NATO pact and Serbia**, coordinated by Gordana Subotić and Nataša Lambić;
- **Experiences of feminist-antimilitarist concept of security** – Power point presentation of women’s groups working on the gender dimension of security, coordinated by Saša Kovačević and Miloš Urošević.

During the seminars, the following documentary films and presentations were shown: about human security and gender dimension of security: documentary film ‘Belvil’ and video presentation (20 minutes) and video presentation ‘Union association of women in the informal economy’ (15 minutes), about women in the Zapatist movement, about Wangari Maathai, environmental activist who received the Nobel Peace Prize, about experiences in the implementation of the Resolution 1325 in Kosovo, about global and regional networks for peace, justice and security, etc.

Apart from spreading information on security questions, we wished through this programme to encourage women to ‘define’ the concept of security from their own experience; to identify the differences between the traditional/militarised concept of security and the one that women mean by security (the differences between the National Security Strat-
egy of Serbia and the positions and needs of women connected to security); to identify the similarities between the human concept of security and the gender dimension of security, etc.

Structure of participants

Number of participants in this educative programme: 148

Generational structure: from 18 to 83 years old

Education: from primary school to postgraduate studies

Social/public engagement: more than two thirds of the participants of the workshops are activists in women’s groups, human rights organisations, youth organisations, political parties (mainly of civic orientation, but also parties of ethnic parties), unions, while almost one half has experience of sporadic public engagement and all were active in the period of the fall of Slobodan Milošević (although this is not the topic of discussion, it was easy to come to a conclusion during the interactive work in this programme).

Economic-social structure: really high percentage of unemployed women and women with temporary or occasional work contracts, a smaller part of pensioners as well as women with permanent employment. Most participants can be classified as lower or middle classes.

Geographic-ethnic belonging: participants are from all parts of Serbia, from the following towns: Belgrade, Ada, Bečej, Novi Bečej, Zrenjanin, Novi Sad, Subotica, Pančevo, Kikinda, Bačka Topola, Smederevo, Smederevska Palanka, Kruševac, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Velika Plana, Niš, Leskovac, Vlasotince, Pirot and Dimitrovgrad. The seminars in Novi Bečej and Velika Plana were attended by an activist from Athens and an activist from Vukovar respectively.

Concerning ethnic belonging, the structure of participants was extremely diversified, even much more diversified than in the usual structure of the population: apart from participants from the majority nation (Serbian), Roma, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Bosniak, and Slovak women took part in all the seminars.
Security seen by the eyes of women

Positions and experiences of women on the field

I. part: What first comes to your mind when you hear the word 'security'?

The common denominator in all women’s answers is the following:

- **No association was related to the traditional concept of security** – all associations were connected to human security: only in one case was ‘police’ synonym for the concept ‘security.’ The failure to connect security with police is explained in the following way ‘I can’t be safe next to the police when I know that many took part in the war,’ while the army is not mentioned as an association to security ‘because the army produces wars’; ‘Where there’re army and police, where there’re peacekeeping forces in post-conflict regions, they don’t evoke security’, ‘When a policeman gets on a bus and when I see his gun or truncheon, I feel disturbed.’

- **Human security has to include gender perspective:** the answers show that the definition of human security put forward in UNDP documents does not express to a sufficient extent the concept and content of security, that the experience of women is much richer and that human security has to be expanded, first of all by gender dimension (the gender dimension of human security implies women’s human rights, gender justice, protection from all aspects of violence): ‘We don’t even know which food we eat, this needs to be counted in national security ‘food, and not arms and army’ (Nada).

- **Positive peace is a prerequisite for human and gender security:** all associations to ‘security’ come down to the concept of ‘positive peace’ (peace is not only the absence of war, but the absence of fear, hatred, misery, and injustice. Positive peace means that there is no war or violent conflict and that there is equality, justice, and development. Positive peace means that there is no direct/immediate violence (physical, etc.), that there is not indirect or structural violence (poverty, exploitation, injustice, tyranny, etc.). The participants of the seminar expressed this in the following way:

  ‘Peace doesn’t only mean the absence of war. Currently there’s no war here, but we are worried, and we don’t feel safe because the
economic situation is horrible and a great part of the population lives miserably.’ (Andrea)

‘Nothing essentially changed with the fall of the dictatorial regime, the regime just dressed in other clothes. There’s no real change. People indeed are responsible, but they aren’t guilty, repression is systematic and planned. Speaking from everyday experience, our security is threatened both on the personal and political level. First of all the way we survive is the one that determines us.’ (Maja)

‘We didn’t get a political answer to the basic unrest, excluding the war. There’s no guarantee whatsoever that there won’t be war again.’ (Slavica)

‘After the end of the war I applied for a visa for Croatia to see my brother, I was tenacious but I didn’t get that visa, there was no reason, I didn’t participate in the war, nor did anyone in my family. It was painful and demeaning. Still, now I can go.’ (Marija)

Participants expressed the concept and content of security through the following associations, that is, through the mutually highly intertwined dimensions of security and values:

**Political security:** peace (most frequent association), freedom (of movement, of speech, of thought, of choice – a distinctly frequent association), realisation of human rights and guarantees from the state for respect of human rights – freedom of thought, freedom of speech, justice for victims, punishability of violence, control of the work of the police and state security, legal security, drastic reduction of domestic violence, defined accountability of all actors in state and society at all levels and in all spheres, higher number of women in the executive branch of the government, pursuit of war criminals and profiteers, justice, freedom of choice, freedom of movement, political accountability, non-corruption, equality, ability to walk in peace in the street, freedom of choice, dialogue, self-organisation, anti-authoritarianism, tolerance, trust, non-violence, right to self-determination, independence, etc.

**Personal security:** absence of violence in general and of violence against women in particular, absence of fear, freedom from fear, peace, freedom from care, relaxedness, security, freedom of movement, serenity, being protected, trust, possibility to realise one’s possibilities, life without constant perturbations and unpredictable events on all levels, smile, harmony, integrity, quietude and security, great joy, humanity, peace, tranquillity, freedom, happiness, love, peaceful sleep,
lack of disturbance, independence, love, luck, fear, feminist movement, well-being, right to plan at least some steps forward, quietude, self-confidence, relaxedness, etc.

**Economic and social security:** right to work, possibility of employment, regular pays, diminution of women’s unemployment, certainty, good work conditions, economic security, security of children, trust, social justice, social peace, fair distribution of national wealth...

**Health security:** primary medical prevention, health protection, security of medical treatment in the old age...

**Security of the community and cultural security:** absence of ethnic conflicts and tensions, respect of minority groups...

In the National Security Strategy of Serbia (April 2009), already in the eleventh place, national security is threatened by something called "problems of economic development." Hence, what is established as eleventh threatens human security, but real problems do not affect the ruling political elite, nor does this elite devise strategies in accordance with the needs of the population, but exclusively in function of staying in power.

**II part: What threatens the most your security, when did you feel the least safe?**

Women’s answers about the factors threatening security are ordered according to their frequency and we present the most frequent and most characteristic statements:

**State system is inefficient and does not benefit of any confidence: the inefficient state and corrupted system affect all segments of society and cause extreme vulnerability and insecurity...**

‘If something happens to me, I don’t have any one to speak to. Police is corrupted, laws aren’t implemented.’ (Slavica)

‘Our survival is threatened because of the corruption of the system. Laws aren’t respected, affairs aren’t revealed, state control doesn’t exist. The judicial system doesn’t function.’ (Snežana)

‘In this state the normative is used to hide real problems – the enrichment of tycoons and social injustice.’ (Marijana)

‘As juror at the municipal court in Velika Plana for eight years I have experienced many unpleasant things. Once a policeman refused to lay aside his arms as a witness, the judge warned him but he refused. The same policeman later went to mental therapy. He represented authori-
ties and no one could force him to leave his gun.‘ (Žiža)

‘I called the police in Pirot because of one man’s violence, but they said that they know of him and can’t do anything. We don’t have any protection from anyone.‘ (Slavica)

‘I think that the system is the cause of my insecurity. The political elite isn’t able to do anything essential and qualitative. Laws aren’t implemented and this is visible in the difficult state of women’s work rights.‘ (Nataša)

‘I’m in no way safe because I don’t believe the judiciary, the police, everything is corrupted and if you don’t have money or contacts, you can’t do anything, from getting a passport to health cover...‘ (Mariola)

‘I don’t feel safe, whether politically, economically or regarding health. If you’re not the member of some party, you can’t do anything. If you’re not the member of a party you can’t get a job, get promoted at your work place.’ (Mira)

‘Each of us personally experience that the state is the one which has to guarantee that we leave in peace but politics is precisely what doesn’t guarantee us security – rather, I feel highly threatened because of the state. Politics is also accountable for economic questions, politics created our lives, and still does in the same way, politics is principal and dictates how many rights we have – actually we don’t have rights.’ (Ana)

‘One woman judge told me recently: “If I had a legal problem, I wouldn’t ask legal aid from the court. Doctors say the same in case of illness and that’s the complete collapse of the system and institutions.’ (Jovanka)

**Economic insecurity threatens the lives of most women:**

constant threats of firing, impossibility of employment, persecution at work and non-respect of work rights. Insecurity is reflected in the constant fear of losing one’s job and in the impossibility for family members to find a job...

‘Our fear of losing our job is bigger than our fear of illness and death. That’s telling about today’s economic situation.’ (Ljilja)

‘I don’t have any security for tomorrow. I was employed for three years, I worked for a private employer and he didn’t pay pension contributions, I didn’t know that he wasn’t doing it, the state doesn’t do anything regarding this question and now I don’t have money to sue
him. My employer has strong contacts and they can’t do anything against him.’ (Anelija)

‘I’m unemployed after 25 years of pension contributions, there’re no jobs anywhere, no one will employ you, children don’t get any study grants, I don’t have any exit, no one cares about anything.’ (Olgica)

‘I’m insecure when I can’t find a job and when I find one, the pay is unbearably low. Employers humiliate and exploit workers and no one prevents them from doing so.’ (Miroslava)

‘I feel insecure the most at work. Conditions are horrendous, I constantly dread that I’ll be left without a job.’ (Marija)

‘They constantly frighten us with the employment agency. Our contract is renewed every year, we don’t have a permanent employment although we’re necessary.’ (Marina)

‘Because I work illegally, I don’t have welfare, I live in a constant fear of falling ill.’ (Gordana)

‘The boss shouts at a colleague, he tells him all kinds of things and doesn’t care that all workers work illegally.’ (Milena)

**Betrayed expectations for changes, continuation of the atmosphere of impunity of violence and crime, uncertainty and fear of the future:** the fall of Slobodan Milošević’s regime (October 2000) and the changes are formal and declarative, the elite in power cares exclusively about staying in power, the ruling elite is completely alienated from the reality of most of the population.

‘Last month, president Tadić came to Dimitrovgrad because of the construction of a road but he stayed 10 minutes, he didn’t ask anyone how people live.’ (Anelija)

‘My insecurity is bigger than before 2000. My environment seems insecure to me, neighbours and people in the neighbourhood constantly look askance at me, I feel anxiety and uneasiness because of the hostility of people around me.’ (Ljilja)

‘The situation before October, 5th, when police cars were following me because I worked as a programme manager on TV Pirot, frightened me less. Now I’m worried about the absence of professional solidarity and the total uncertainty in journalism, we’re isolated, there’s no support, solidarity. The economic pauperisation of journalists led the later to accept all kinds of things and they don’t have any support from
professional associations. Beside the subtle pressure on the profession, what I’m particularly worried about is the lack of prospects for young people. We fought for a different society, we were looking for a society in which there’re chances for the serious and talented, not for crooks and the mafia.’ (Dragica)

‘Pressures before 2000 were great but I didn’t feel insecure. I felt insecure a few years ago when I did an article about the man who runs the show in my town. I recorded an interview with him and he later sent me death threats because of the text I had published. I didn’t get frighten but I later heard that he’s ready for anything so I got fright-ened because of my children. There’s no solution for this situations. Health insecurity is enormous. Physicians force patients to go to private clinics and everything is organised so that everything is paid for. I feel insecure from my milieu and from people who’re violent and ready for anything. I lived harshly but now I feel insecure.’ (Marija)

‘Now I feel a greater fear than in the nineties. Against Milošević it was easier, opponents were more visible, then we could recognise those to avoid and now I can’t recognise those violent groups, there’re many of them and they often look peaceful.’ (Marija)

‘I can’t recall when I felt secure at all. First of all, now I have a feeling of uncertainty because I have a daughter who is 8 years old and I wonder how she’ll live in this country, whether she’ll manage to get proper education because I think this country is led by people who don’t care about anything. There’s also the fear of stating my opinion when I’m in company of people who have Nazi, racist ideas, I’m afraid that they’ll look at me differently or that something will happen to me if I say my opinion. It’s not clear at all to me why is this fear stronger now whereas it should be the contrary.’ (Nela)

‘General insecurity prevails, the uneasiness I feel every day when I switch on the TV and read news, every night when I hear howling and bawling of unbridled hordes which gather in bars, each time when I read something dreadful and when I sit my friends and we exchange life experience, simply when I see that people die in this country because they receive the wrong treatment, this is being constantly feeling disturbed. The problem is systemic, we must change the system, people in power, we must change the prevailing system. We have to begin with the education system.’ (Eva)

‘I remember by crises the chronic anxiety and agitation in which
I’ve lived for all my life. I lived through the nineties in my best years and now I again live in anxiety, I financially support my sister, I’m a single mother and I think about my daughter who’s 16, whether she’ll have her own profession and future. Troubling news, atmosphere of chaos and hopelessness, non-implementation of laws. What terribly bothers me and threatens me is also the collective conscience and mentality.’ (Tatjana)

‘I’m not satisfied with the changes but I direct everything towards the future whereas I won’t even live to see it. When I wake up in the morning, my first thought is whether they’re going to cut my phone line, or the TV, the electricity. I live with my daughter who supports my financially, they refused me the pension of invalid whereas I have all the documents. I don’t feel insecure physically but I’m not secure regarding health.’ (Goca)

‘Now that Milošević has been removed it should be better but it’s visible that nothing works, and everything we touch, we see that it’s collapsing because of corruption in the education system, in the judiciary, in the police, in the health system...Young people wonder what will be with their children, all feel uncertain. The feeling of uncertainty and fear is total. If there weren’t such women’s organisation, I’d be in some kind of internal emigration.’ (Lidija)

‘The state brings European laws but not security, economy, protection of those who’re threatened the most.’ (Angelina)

Non-confrontation with the past, non-acceptance of the truth about and accountability for the wars of the nineties, impunity of violence and war crimes, and as a consequence of this, there are neo-fascist organisations against which nothing is undertaken. The lack of trust in the army and in the police is connected to the fact that they are linked with the wars...

‘None of us can feel safe when those who committed crimes walk in the streets. Those who were in The Hague stroll in my small town and unfortunately they aren’t condemned and all support them.’ (Ivana)

‘If we don’t confront with what happened, if we don’t accept the truth, we’re not going to be safe. But this is painful; people aren’t going to come back and clarified all what happened.’ (Ceca)

‘All the values are depreciated. Political insecurity is in the first place because all the matrixes of the nineties again boomed in the
open: church, nationalism, violence, lawlessness.’ (Maja)

‘Nothing prevents neo-nazis, religious fanatics and similar organisations, nothing is done against them. Sometime they’re punished, something is done when violence escalates, and then they’re forgotten.’ (Miroslava)

‘If they forbade neo-nazi organisations, some progress would be visible. If they could at least get out of the street...’ (Ljilja)

‘The existence of neo-nazi organisations hurts me and terribly frightens me.’ (Jelena)

‘On “Storm front” (a fascist organisation), a list of all those supporting the gay pride is published and on the list, there’s my name. This really threatens me, especially because there’s also the place where I live so I feel uneasy because of my daughter. The security of food wasn’t mentioned: when we see what we eat and all those additives, as if we were living in a junkyard and I feel insecure because of this.’ (Nataša)

Lack of freedom of expression, of freedom of speech and opinion, lack of media freedom, of protection of basic rights, of solidarity in the protection of human and work rights; the party state discriminates citizens on the basis of political in/correctness...

‘It’s not allowed to say anything. Death threats are being expressed publicly. There’s no freedom of speech or movement.’ (Dragana)

‘I feel the greatest insecurity when my friends began to be taken in for questioning, to be non-stop arrested and (because of our activities), when we realised that our phones were wiretapped and when I realised that my demand for a visa was rejected – then I realised that I completely insecure. The only solution is the abolition of all power structures.’ (Andrea)

‘I’m afraid because of the texts I published, but this is a consciously chosen fear and I’m proud of it.’ (Tamara)

‘We used to have the illusion that we have greater freedom of expression. One of the reasons is that local media are marginalised and activism dead...Before 2000 we were more secure, we were closer, more linked to each other. I knew that ANEM (Association of Independent Electronic Media), Nezavisnost (“Independence”: Trade Union of Health and Social Workers of Serbia), and the NGO sector would support me in what I do.’ (Dragica)
‘Everyone cares only about his/herself. People go on strike in different places instead of uniting. There’s no compassion or solidarity to oppose wild privatisation. There’s no united pressure on the government.’ (Ljilja)

‘Civil society lost its attributes: autonomy, solidarity, mutual support.’ (Goca)

Violence against minority groups (mainly ethnic and sexual ones) because of the strengthening of racist, neo-nazi, cleric-nationalist groups and non-punishment of violence by the state:

‘I’m constantly insecure. I never know whether I’ll come across a racist in the street or the bus.’ (Miljana, Roma Association activist)

‘Whenever I’m in the company of a nationalist, I feel insecure.’ (Jovana)

‘The majority uses the vulnerability of the minority to keep oppression.’ (Miloš)

‘When I began to speak in Hungarian, they began to go out. One MP took out his gun and the other a knife.’ (Julija, MP in the regional parliament of Vojvodina, during the nineties)

‘I’ve been feeling insecure for all my life. I feel insecure because I’m half-black in a white country. Because of the escalation of hatred towards everything that’s different: religion, race, nation or whatever, I feel insecure because of the expansion of nationalism and religious fanaticism.’ (Ana)

‘As sexual minority, I always feel insecure and recently, since the pride has been announced, the atmosphere in the city is agitated, an atmosphere of lynching is forming, there’s an awful lot of threatening graffiti and I notice among people a level of irritation and a wish to beat up.’ (Miloš)

‘At work, a colleague told me: ‘If you were a Croat, I’d kill you on the spot.’ None of my colleagues supported me, nor told me anything comforting. This constantly harasses me.’ (Fika)

‘Because I’m not a member of the majority nation, I feel insecurity, real insecurity.’ (Tamara)

Physical violence, whether from the state or from non-state factors – widespread climate of violence, domestic violence, violence in the street, at school... The majority of women answered
that they feel personally insecure, in the street, in their environment, at work, wherever they go...

'I feel threatened, everywhere horrible things happen. I don’t dare to go in the street as secure as before. It’s all connected with crime.’ (Milka)

'Domestic violence is intensified because of frustrations, but also because of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder/PTSD. The biggest danger from firearms for women is in their own homes. According to the data presented by the Victimology Society of Serbia, in Serbia there are 1,150,000 firearms, most of them being privately owned. One woman out of four in the Balkans, in her relation with her partner, has experienced domestic violence and in the average, 7% were attacked by or threatened with firearms. In Serbia in 2003, 31 women were killed by their partner. Generally speaking, the statistics show that women die of violent death three times more frequently if there’s an arm in the house. Most frequently, the perpetrator is a husband or partner that had been reported for domestic violence earlier. The state doesn’t undertake anything, neither in the fight against this type of crime, nor in medical treatment of men suffering from the PTSD syndrome.’ (Nevena)

'The first case is when I was hit on the head by a heavy object at a match and spent 9 hours in the emergency room. The second case was when I spent holidays with my boyfriend and when I came back, my parents kicked me out. The worst thing is that I hadn’t planned then to get married but I went to my boyfriend and his family, I didn’t even have a job then. Fortunately, now I work.’ (Danjela)

'I feel the most insecure in the street, in my neighbourhood I feel aggressiveness, in the street, wild traffic, I feel insecure everywhere.’ (Mirče)

'Did I ever feel really insecure? Since I have a child and since I had a traumatic experience with my ex partner, even now I still don’t feel secure. I also never feel secure when I openly say my opinion, which is different from others’ and the reason is the ineffectiveness of institutions.’ (Jelena)

'I lived with a violent man for 10 years and I managed at the end to extricate myself from this, back then there was no help whatsoever, he’s a man close to the authorities, I managed alone to finish this. Another example is that I finished a few days ago a short-term job in
which I was the victim of mobbing and violation of human rights, they owe me one third of the income, all phone conversations were wire-tapped...’ (Slavica)

‘I feel insecure every day, from rides in faulty buses to confrontation with the system. I feel helpless every day, it’s impossible to realise basic rights as long as the party-system is in power.’ (Maja)

‘What I fear the most is that I became completely insensitive to everything, I don’t care that they shout at me on the street and that they all lie.’ (Vlada)

‘I live next to a primary school and I’m extremely afraid of violence among school youth. This reminds me of Milošević’s time and I feel completely powerless.’ (Miodrag)

**Human rights defenders and peace activists are threatened because of their engagement**, especially in connection to the war and to accountability for war crimes...

‘I always felt insecure the most in street actions (protests, vigils...) when the police cordon is around us. I would feel secure if the police removed from the streets those who threaten us, Nacionalni Stroj [National Alignment] or 1389 and not sort of ‘protecting’ us.’ (Ljilja)

‘I work for SOS phone and I’m afraid of various guys who threaten that they’ll come over.’ (Mirjana)

‘We called the police (from SOS phone) when a woman reported violence. The police first ask for my papers and my colleague’s, who we are, what we are and what we do in the centre for social work. Then we took the woman to the organisation’s premises, the police came and took her so that she makes her deposition. We had to hide from the police that we’re going to take her to a safe house.’ (Sofija)

‘I feel a concrete fear at Women in Black vigils, especially at the vigil for Srebrenica when we’re surrounded from all sides.’ (Svetlana)

‘Because of my political stances I feel that they despise and belittle me, even in my closest environment.’ (Ljilja)

‘The police put us in a ghetto and send a negative message, people see us a threat and not as someone advocating human rights.’ (Marina)

**Health insecurity**: fear that they will not manage to get adequate health cover. Regardless of age, the participants describe the situations in which they did not get the appropriate health cover and fear that
because of financial insecurity they will not support the costs of medical treatment...

‘I felt the most frightened when we were left without a job, my husband and me. All our incomes would go to medicines for my husband, my daughter is unemployed. This was complete insecurity; I couldn’t speak to anyone for help. The fear of not having for food or medicine, it’s horrible.’ (Angelina)

‘I don’t have a right to health cover... I feel such insecurity that I can share it to all of you...‘ (Irina)

‘During the war, my son was drafted, I contracted breast carcinoma. The fear was even greater because I didn’t have adequate medical treatment in my town. Eventually, I had to pay the operation because they didn’t want to give me a recommendation for a Belgrade hospital. I paid for my insurance all my life and when I needed it, I had to pay medical treatment by myself. I felt powerlessness...’ (Nadežda)

‘I’m insecure the most regarding health. The health system is corrupted, the lack of trust in the health system is big, the profession also is devaluated.’ (Maja)

‘Mum didn’t go to be operated because she had to pay an enormous amount of money in order to be put on the list.’ (Marija)

‘I have a spine problem, initially it was some doctor’s mistake and now I have to be operated and pay for the operation.’ (Marina)

‘I’m insecure the most regarding health. It’s extremely difficult when you’re sick and need real help.’ (Saša)

‘The greatest trauma for me was the last war; my 19-year old son was on the battlefield for nine months. His father as well, and after the war fell ill. He donated blood 44 times but when he needed it, they asked me to gather donors. When my son came back from the war, there was no job for him, he accepted to serve in the army and when there was the war in Kosovo, he was again on the battlefield and for me that was the most horrible experience.’ (Olivera)

‘My doctor asked for money for the operation and when I reported him to the director of the clinical centre, the director started to laugh and said ‘well, we all know that.’ I’m a pensioner, intellectual, and I should have security in my old age but I don’t know what awaits me. I don’t see a solution.’ (Violeta)
III part: Alternatives – in which way to increase the level of human security?

The participants stated at the end what could be done to change such a situation and improve security:

- **Implementation of laws of transitional justice**: the participants consider that non-confrontation with the past is one of the greatest sources of insecurity, that it is essential to undertake measures and establish institutional mechanisms aiming at the punishability of crime and violence at all levels, so that the state/community would get rid of the burden of crime in its recent past; transitional justice comprises penal and non-penal sanctions: *the most important mechanisms of transitional justice on the institutional level are: courts and trials, because I constantly follow trials for war crimes* (Miloš); *the role of civil society is exceptionally important: the solution for improving security is that the state starts implementing a policy of punishability. All those who threaten human rights have to be punished and then we’ll be secure.* (Staša); *it’s necessary to change the judicial system, to speak about accountability for war and war crimes, for crimes today so that we can feel secure.* (Katarina); *it’s also essential to ban fascist and neo-Nazi groups.* (Nataša)

- **Reinforcing democracy and the rule of law** – the state has the duty to fulfil elections promises and render accounts to citizens: *as activists we must ask from the state accountability for the fact that we feel secure neither economically nor regarding health, nor in general at all. We must ask for accountability from the ones that were chosen because they don’t fulfil what they promised at the elections...* (Ljilja)

- **Education** – to broaden knowledge about human rights, about human security: *we need constant education, we constantly must educate ourselves and share this knowledge, raise awareness of all to fight for their dignity and their rights.* (Svetlana), *it’s necessary to work even more with people, in one’s town, to work with women, especially on the topic of security* (Suzana), *Everything they teach us at school, on TV, encourages patriarchy, and only through informal education or through such groups can we reach another look.* (Dragana)

- **Reinforcing the autonomy of civil society, broaden peace activism, solidarity, women’s networks**: *we need to empow-
er through education and activism: civil society has to unite, to strengthen solidarity in order to pressurise the government, we’re more efficient when we act together.’

- Assuming civic responsibility, public engagement, autonomous organising in order to raise the awareness of society for specific questions, in order to pressurise institutions and the state: ‘That someone is hungry doesn’t necessarily mean that he lives in rubbish. I don’t accept as an excuse that we’re economically deprived and hence can’t take care of our environment or prevent mistreatment of animals or neighbours.’ (Goca)

CONCLUSIONS – some more...

The discussion showed that there are differences in the perception of one’s own insecurity but also some general similarities in assessing the generators of insecurity. The youngest participants, fewer than 25, do not feel the same level of being threatened. However, the feeling of being threatened among young women depends on the region in which they live so that young women from markedly poor regions (southern and eastern Serbia rather than Belgrade) feel much more threatened. Young (but also in general) Roma women feel the most threatened (uneasiness in the streets of a big town, fear, people commenting on them in the streets, belittling...). The next generation (over 30) already defines their own insecurity as the consequence of a very widespread violence in society (fear of street bullies that are met in the streets, in buses as well as of neo-Nazi groups which are a constant threat).

Personal examples of explicit verbal threats were mentioned, as well as a case of beating up in which the police did not offer adequate help. In short, women of all generations feel insecure so that the situation is much worse than in the previous period of research.

The emphasis on personal security shows a very high level of threatening of personal security in the post-conflict country, a normalisation of violence at all levels, the incapacity and inability of the state to control violence. In comparison to previous reports and analyses of this sort (Women and security, Experience on the field, 2005), the situation of personal insecurity is now on a much higher level of threat.

Institutional reforms (transitional justice, i.e. punishability of violence and crime at all levels) haven’t been carried out, not even ten
years after the fall of the authoritarian regime (2000) in the country. The changes in the country are exclusively on a declarative level, and the fulfilling of European standards (towards the entry of Serbian in the European Union) has an exclusively formal character, which also expresses itself in the non-implementation of laws, in selective and arbitrary interpretation of laws, impeding essential changes, causing fear and insecurity of most of the population. In comparison to previous analyses of this sort (2005), the situation is much worse. On the one hand, people were expecting changes, hopes and promises were betrayed, and on the other hand, awareness and knowledge of the majority of people regarding democracy, civic freedoms and human rights grew.

The consequences of unfair, i.e. plundering privatisation, in the period of transition cause a permanent fear of losing one’s job, so that economic insecurity is reduced exclusively to the right to work and not to work conditions. A high number of answers show that political insecurity leads to economic insecurity. In comparison to previous analyses the situation worsened.

The participants’ answers point to a high level of threat, while as a result of the above-mentioned levels of insecurity ecological insecurity almost does not appear as a problem, which is extremely worrying given the fact that in Serbia there is no law on the security of food so that most food products on offer in Serbia are not strictly controlled and can present danger to health. The hierarchy of factors of threat leads to education not being mentioned despite the fact that in the country, there are only 6% of highly educated people, and around 80% of members of the Roma ethnicity are functionally illiterate, etc.

*Staša Zajović in cooperation with Ivana Vitas*
Demilitarization of security

Human security, gender dimension of security, Resolution 1325

The aim of the workshops was to offer information about Resolution 1325 and think about alternatives to militarised security.

The participants were familiar with the concept of demilitarization of security which:

- **On the institutional level** implies reducing the number of members of the army, reducing military budget and redirecting it to civil purposes, as well as reducing the production and trade of weapons;

- **On the level of society** implies various levels of human security (economic, health, personal, political), as well as the promotion of values of solidarity, cooperation, justice, respect of human rights, intercultural, etc.

The participants recognised really well the various levels of threat of one’s own security in society and what consequences this has on their daily life. In all milieus, the participants really easily appreciated the differences between militarist, traditional security and the concept of human security, the discrepancy between declarative level and daily experience. Namely, the state formally adopts European standards of respecting human rights, while the majority of the workshops’ participants (as well as the majority of women in Serbia) feel a threatening of their rights at all levels (personal, economic, political, social...).

Besides giving evidence about various aspects of threat, the participants also offered alternatives to militarised security, i.e. instead of investing in the army and in aid to war criminals, they advocated the redirection of these means to help to vulnerable and marginalised groups, free legal protection to the threatened ones, the opening of new crèches, schools, hospitals, the employment of women, help to women who suffer domestic violence and violence at their workplace, to child benefit for all children, etc.

At the workshops a comparative analysis of the text of UN Resolution 1325 and the Women in Black Resolution ‘Women, Peace, Security’
was done.

At all workshops the problem of tolerance of violence in the social climate after the wars, of lack of political will for implementing laws, was mentioned. The participants recognised the link between structural and domestic violence.

**Jelena, Kruševac:** “There are no definite mechanisms which would be used in the case of non-implementation of the laws, and education for the services which come in contact with victims of violence is necessary. Violence in war is, as well as domestic violence, a consequence of patriarchy and unequal distribution of power.”

**Dragana, Vukovar:** “It’s important to say that people who are in positions of decision are themselves perpetrators of violence.”

**Miloš, Beograd:** “When we speak of the gender character of violence, we think here that it is impossible to divest violence of its gender perspective, that is, that killing in the war, as well as sexual violence, is a gender-based experience, the continuity between domestic violence and violence in the war which also expresses itself through impunity, through legitimacy of violence by society, through male power, etc.”

The participants cite a lack of political will, but also strong retrograde patriarchal tendencies as obstacles to the implementation of the ban on discrimination. They cite various examples from their experience, concerning small fines given in court proceedings. They testify that in their daily life they suffer the most various sorts of discrimination, among which smaller possibility for employment compared to men, impossibility of being promoted, discrimination on the basis of political orientation and social engagement, etc. (“Quotas are not respected, although they are compulsory by law”; “Greater participation of women in political decision-making is made impossible by patriarchal education and economic actors”; “The minimal number of women affects decision-making and where there are gender mechanisms, the latter are not respected”; “The higher the level of authority, the smaller the number of women”; “Women are eliminated, because men see them as a threat”: “Women in power positions don’t stand for the interests of women, but for the interests of political parties”...). There is not enough women in positions of decision-making, and where there are present, they just reproduce the stances of the parties that they represent.

**Maca, Leskovac:** “Women are forced to reproduce those male ma-
trixes. Maybe they are not sensitised enough, but when they enter the system, they just adopt those ways of behaving that are typical of men.

Serbia is formally a secular state, but is essentially deeply and at all levels clericalised. The influence of the church on the state is striking and manifests itself in various ways, from interference in state affairs, through the introduction of religious instruction in state schools to threatening women’s human rights and reproductive rights, as well as the rights of sexual minorities. “All important state decisions are made with the consent of the church, that is, the church influences all decisions (for example: the Serbian Orthodox Church participates in the negotiations connected to the status of Kosovo, in the plans and programmes for schools, in strategies...); “Almost all manifestations are with the participation of church representatives”; “All schools celebrate Sveti Sava and the participation of all pupils and employees is compulsory”; “The Law on churches and religious communities adopted in 2006 gives immunity to church prelates, even in cases of sexual crimes”; “Church holidays became state holidays”; “The Serbian Orthodox Church has a great responsibility in inciting the wars and the nationalist policies, and now it hasn’t distanced itself from Milošević’s policies and supports war criminals”... some of the answers appeared at the workshops in different variations.

Gordana, Beograd: “Although the church is separated from the state, politicians use it for populist aims.”

Ceca, Vlasotince: “Children are put under pressure to choose religious instruction when they enrol. The commission promotes religious instruction, and it’s a fact that civics is taught by bad personnel. There are also a lot of children who don’t know what they want and thus choose what the majority chooses.”

Dragica, Pirot: “Children formally have the choice, even in civics isn’t taught how it should be. Without the approval of the church, no one can teach. Generally speaking, religious instruction should be taught at the church. In schools maybe philosophy of Christianity and other religions”

Human rights defenders are particularly threatened, because there is no political will that they be defended. Politicians are only declaratively worried about the state of human rights in the country, but
tacitly support ultra-rightist groups and organisations. ("Revealing the non-respect of law bothers the authorities"; “the crisis situation suits them”; “Punishing functions according to party (none)-belonging”...)

**Marijana, Belgrade:** “We constantly speak about the protection of human rights defenders. Why is it so important? If they keep silent, there’s no one to speak about human rights violation.”

**Dijana, Belgrade:** “How the very system of human rights in the state will work depends on the security of human rights defenders, because they do important things for all of us.”

Yet another significant question is how state funds are managed, where the citizens’ money is directed to. The participants had lots of suggestions about how to direct the money spent on aid to Hague indictees, asking themselves what kind of message the state sends with this law.

**Ljiljana, Leskovac:** “The law on aid to Hague indictees was passed in 2004. A campaign for its abrogation was started and we collected signatures. We had to collect 15,000 signatures in a week time. Civil society collected more than that it this was handed over. We constantly asked for a reply. However, there’s no reply.”

**Valentina, Leskovac:** “Many strategies are adopted on the state and local levels. They as well have their mechanism controls. But we, in the framework of the state, must insert this in the legal procedure so that they can be binding. If there were institutional mechanisms of control, we’d know where money is spent.”

Also, instead of investing in the army and police, the participants suggest to use the money in a different way (“a credit-programme for grants-in-aid for launching one’s own jobs”; “Education of the local population for social integration of displaced persons and refugees”, “To open a fund for refugees to build settlements which aren’t dislocated from the local community”, “Free legal protection to threatened people”, “Opening new crèches, schools, hospitals, safe women’s houses…”, “Child benefit for all children”, “Maternity leave for all women (a paid one)”, “Tax exemption for marginalised groups”, “Allocate to refugees and displaced persons the use of abandoned properties”...)

There also was a dilemma whether the problem of violence against women is solved at all by building safe houses.

**Saša, Belgrade:** “Concerning safe house, it’s all commercialized.
It’s not important for them to solve the problem that causes violence, but to put away the victims and it ends here. That’s why women’s organisations must have an insight into this money and in the work of safe houses. I think that a part of fund for the Hague indictees should provide additional means, along what the state already gives for safe houses. After that, we should find mechanisms for controlling their work and the way they spend their budget.”

Dijana, Belgrade: “Shall we build women’s safe house or shall we invest this money in some prevention aspect, because then it turns out that the state isn’t responsible, that we work only with the consequences, and not with the causes.”

Maja Pešić and Marijana Stojčić
Women not/gladly go to the army

About militarization or emancipation via participation of women in armed forces – towards a feminist-anti-militarist concept of security

According to the answers about the reasons for joining armed units, two thirds of the workshops’ participants consider that:

Women join armed forces (army and police) out of economic reasons: impossibility of choice, poverty, feminization of misery... and then explained that in the following way:

- Among women who decide to join armed forces, it is not a question of gender equality. Girls who decide to join the army or police do that because they have a secure job, can retire early, and have guaranteed annual leave and flat. However, this is a practice from the previous (socialist) system and everything changed, but still, in the transition period there remains a few ‘secure’ professions.

- Girls enrol in military academies because those are the only studies which do not have fees. Apart from that, they cannot stand to see their unemployed mothers who lose their jobs in an advanced age... Girls are not led by their desires but by practical reasons. On the other hand, they consider that we have waged wars enough, that maybe there will not be war anymore, so they go there to get food, accommodation and the rest. Thus, girls do not go in the army out of desire but out of necessity.

- Those who commit themselves to the army or police have a secure job, a secure pay and existence and this is the most important when making this decision: ‘It is not the same to work in a Chinese shop and to have one’s studies paid.’

- This is not real choice but economic necessity. If they really had the possibility of choice, a small number of women would choose the army as vocation because this implies repression, killing, violence.

- Some women working in the army told me that it is just out of economic reasons. One told me: ‘Either I start prostituting myself/whore or I go to the army, and because the latter is acceptable, I decided to do it.’
I have both at home: my daughter is in the police and my sister-in-law’s daughter in the army and I know their opinion. This is the only way for them to have a job and to be secure. They both thought that way, that’s their only motive.

Regarding women joining the regular army and paramilitary units, the difference in the economic, in better works in the criminogenic motives based on the experience of wars in ex-Yugoslavia, is pronounced as well: ‘Both men and women went to paramilitary units out of plundering and not ideological motives and this demean the very concept of voluntary patriotic participation.’

**Women join armed forces because this is the only way to reach emancipation and gender equality:** one part of the participants considers this, but without enough explanation so that such a position can be explained by the official discourse about the ‘modernization’ of the army through the participation of women in it, about gender equality and equal access to power: ‘I graduated from the Faculty of security and I think that it’s a form of emancipation. I want to be equal to men, to be an authority, my voice to be heard, to make important decisions as well. It’s also some sort of defiance.

- My daughter enrolled in the academy to prove that she can do all what her male school friends can do, to prove that she can be the same. She wasn’t accepted in the military high school after primary school but she was tenacious to prove that she can and now she enrolled at the Military Academy. She wanted to be equal to her peers.

**The warmongering propaganda and disturbed value system leads to a militarization of women and this is visible in them joining the armed forces:**

- Women who sign up for the army sign up for a machine to kill.
- In the nineties (of the 20th century) young girls where (in Serbia) educated and grew up in different conditions. Before, it would not cross their mind to go to the army. After the wars, many young girls, and boys, love uniforms, the value system changed. The possibility was offered to them and now enrols more and more at the military and especially at the police academy, they listen in the media about the ‘adventures of women’ in Iraq and they like it.

**The participation of women in the army does not change the**
character of the army, it does not change power relationships, but reproduces them, it does not weaken militarism but militarise women and women’s emancipation:

- This reproduction of patriarchy. It’s not even possible to reach formal equality in the army: women can get promoted only to a certain point.
- Women in the army do not change anything; it’s the army which change them.
- Professionalisation of the army will occur soon in Serbia (2011) and they already began to appeal to women and encourage them to enter en masse in the army, in order to give to the army a “modernising and emancipating” character, in order to fulfil international standards, so that the government would look ‘modern’ to its own citizens, but also to observers from abroad. Experiences elsewhere showed that increased participation of women in armed forces will destroy patriarchy, that this will make the army less male chauvinistic and change power relationship are unsustainable illusions, even of some feminists. On the contrary, there is a danger that conservative politics, fearing a strengthening of the autonomous women’s movement and the building of other forms of power, will offer answers and solutions militarizing feminism, reducing requests for equal access to power to the participation of women in authoritarian patriarchal structures, military power, etc. exclusively.

One part of the participants considers that women join armed units out of adventurism and economic motives at the same time: ‘they think that it’s exciting and useful,’ the biggest motivation of women I know in the army was their adventurism nature. Adrenaline, one will have an adrenaline rush when jumping from the plane and the other when piloting the plane, ‘for me, this is between gender equality and adventurism. I have girl friends who are like that by nature – combative, they were always training in some sport and that’s because of adventurism spirit.’

It is interesting that national security was mentioned as reason only in one case: ‘I’d enrol only if there were general mobilisation. Then I’d feel the spirit of patriotism, solidarity and then I’d enrol and go but otherwise, like that, I wouldn’t.’, ‘because the state spends money
enough on so-called national security, state security is in the first place in the state budget. There’s no one to attack us, there’s nothing to defend.’

**Family tradition** is also only once mentioned: ‘my friend told me that her grandfather was a high ranking partisan, and then her father as well in the socialist army so she wanted, as the only child in the family, to continue the tradition. When she puts on the uniform, she feels amazingly well.’

Such stances can be interpreted as the consequence of experienced traumas from the recent past, but also as critical distancing from the warrior patriarchal culture, a reconsideration of the model of national security (‘Women don’t defend their motherland with arms but in a much better and human way than with arms...’)

The discussion showed some other things:

- **Armed forces (army and police) do not enjoy prestige in the progressive segment of the female population** - this was expressed by the participants of this educative programme: it is, mainly, an act of civic responsibility because of the extremely destructive impact of the recent wars in which armed forces participated in the committing of war crimes, and such a position can be explained much less as a clearly articulated anti-militarist-feminist choice; it is important to mention at there is a deficit of knowledge regarding this question, but there is a markedly expressed interest of the participants for continuation of exchange and critical thinking on those questions:

- **One part of the participants experiences the participation of women in movements for national liberation as one form of empowerment of women and achievement of social and political authority in the national community/collective** – the particular interest and undivided inclinations among all the women generated a discussion and a documentary film about women in the Zapatist movement. However, because of the strong nationalist-militarist ideology and propaganda, the majority of participants expressed a clear distance in relation to the participation of women in the recent war in ex-Yugoslavia. They also expressed a distance in relation to the position positing that emancipation of women is reached through the emancipation of the collectivity because ‘the
national collectivity excludes women and marginalise them as soon as the so-called fight for national liberation is over’...

- **The inclusion of higher numbers of women gives a positive contribution to the functioning of UN peace operations** – a great part of the participants consider that it is extremely positive, some activists got earlier on information about this from activists from Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also during this programme and from the documentary film about the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Kosovo and from their experiences with women from UN peace-keeping missions in those countries ‘because they could understand women much better, especially raped women and refugees, why they are patient, better learn the language of the milieu in which they serve, are more ready to communicate with people, adapt to a new culture more easily, built relationships of trust within the local population – both with women and children.’ In their positions, participants were generally not guided by the stereotypical position of ‘natural peacefulness of women’ but by female qualities of care about others, of higher level of empathy and self-sacrifice.’

*Staša Zajović*
Significance of civil democratic control over armed forces – NATO and Serbia

In the framework of four regional seminars “Women, Peace, Security,” four “Significance of civil democratic control over armed forces – NATO and Serbia” workshops were held.¹

The workshop consisted of a power point presentation “NATO and the significance of civil democratic control over armed forces” in which the history of the creation of NATO, its way of functioning and the changes it went through from its founding to today and the new NATO strategic concept. An overview of its activities was given, and the connection of Serbia with NATO was explained in particular, by explaining the purpose, structure and way of functioning of the Partnership for Peace programme. Special attention was given to the significance of civil democratic control over armed forces; participants were explained what this control implies, how it is realised and what the significance of this mechanism is.

The omnipresent militarization, visible the most in the traditional structure of security such as NATO, affects the (in)security of women. We wished to open a necessary space for thinking and discussing the question which is perceived, through patriarchal paradigm, as “male.” We built together the critical apparatus vital for the analysis of disagreements and dilemmas over Serbia joining NATO.

In the discussion, the following stances were confirmed:

I – Lack of information, which caused ambivalence of the participants towards the question of NATO integration:

The discussions unequivocally showed that no space for discussion is opened in the public, space which would offer the wide population the necessary information about the process of joining – this led to the fact that most participants do not have any definite stance on this question. During these four discussions, it emerged that it is vital to

¹ In Velika Plana (13.02.2010), in Bečej (17.04.2010), in Kukavica (12.06.2010) and in Velika Plana (11.09.2010). The workshops leaders were Gordana Subotić and Nataša Lambić.
the participants to clarify the concepts: professionalisation of the army, military neutrality, the way of functioning the NATO pact, duties and rights of states if they decide to join NATO, as well as the experiences of neighbouring countries in the region regarding the participation in organisations and alliances (EU, NATO).

**Ljilja:** "I’m a bit confused; I didn’t have the opportunity to see information about NATO, while these information are extremely important and essential for me. It seems to me that I’m undecided. Referendum – I don’t know what I’d decide at a referendum, I’d maybe circle both...” (Bečej, April)

**Dragica:** “I don’t have enough information to make a decision on such an important decision for my life, for the life of my children...I think that it’s an important stance of all of us and of all of us in this country. Our politicians don’t pronounce themselves in a precise way on this, except in election campaigns, when they say some phrases. They don’t give information essential for deciding. I need more information, more pondering over, in any case a lot of work for civil society (Velika Plana, September)

**Snežana:** “I don’t have any stance on this, I can’t balance things on the basis of the information I have about what the advantage and disadvantage are. Politicians should maybe use that not only in political campaigns but to clarify this a bit, to include the people if they’re looking for some opinion, instead of being after the referendum...” (Velika Plana, September)

**Danica:** “I’m not informed about what the political, economic and social consequences of Serbia entering NATO are...” (Bečej, April)

**II – Against integration into NATO:**

In the discussions, the prevailing opinion was that joining NATO would not contribute to peace because, in the opinion of the majority, NATO alliance is not a guarantee for stability in the region, but rather an instrument for further militarization, which would not contribute, nor allow, lasting peace. The most frequent reasons against integrations were:

1. **Anti-militarist stance and fear of deeper militarization of society:**

The participants showed a fear of war, which militarization would inevitably produce.
**Goca:** “I’m radically against every single army, always and in every place. Armies create an atmosphere in which they claim to be indispensable, but it would in fact be better without them. Any military force is a force against the civil population.” (Velika Plana, February)

**Slavica:** “I way NO because I think that control of Serbia’s military aspirations can be carried out by other instruments. NATO won’t control the army, on the contrary, its rating can grow, because it’s now like some more ordered, standard army, it has international support, there’s here a lot of those peripheral calculations for and against and about a reform of the army. I think that it’s not important for me, the only fear in relation to this is the fear of Russia’s game with its bases, of NATO’s games and of the surrounding of other bases, and here Serbia is in great temptation.” (Velika Plana, February).

**Biljana:** “We advocate against the war, we’re peace activists, we can’t advocate organisations which create global unrest, which create chaos.” (Bečej, April)

**Atina:** “The experience of civil society organisations in Greece tells that it’s an illusion that NATO prevents future wars; on the contrary, it just creates new dictatorships – because I consider what currently happens in Greece to be some kind of dictatorship. Most Greek citizens is for NATO and mainly leftists and feminists are against it...I consider that civil society must be against entrance in NATO, but that it needs to have different kind of argumentation from those which chauvinists and fascists have. We’re against fascism but this doesn’t mean that we must be on the side of imperialisms of any sort. (Bečej, April)

**Ceca:** “I first thought that entrance in NATO is our way towards entrance in the EU. Then I said that this is wrong. Entrance in NATO means to militarise even more. This implies great expenditures, violence against women, trafficking...I’m completely against, but if my children are to live a better life and if entrance in the EU is the condition for it, I don’t know how I’d vote. I’m absolutely against militarization of the state.” (Kukavica, June)

**Snežana:** “We have to work quite a lot on this because militarism will grow a lot if we enter NATO, and we’re anti-militarist.” (Kukavica, June)

**Ivana:** “It was just said yesterday on the television how much Serbia earned from arm production. It was said how many landmines
for killing civilians were sold, they boast as if they had sold roses. I’m shocked.” (Kukavica, June)

**Mira:** “I think we’re under pressure. If we enter, the young people who’ve just finished the army again choose the army because they don’t have a job. Even our textile firms (YUMCO and NITEX) again sew for the army.” (Kukavica, June)

**Ljiljana:** “We in something which will militarised our otherwise highly militarised society, this will manifest itself in various aspects.” (Kukavica, June)

**Mirče:** “If we enter in NATO, they won’t tolerate us like that if we don’t send our soldiers. This isn’t possible.” (Kukavica, June)

**Marijana:** “NATO is a military organisation. Does this mean that we will additionally militarise this already quite militarised society? And this mean, one knows where the place of women is and what they need to endure, where the place of gay people is and what they need to endure – I think there’re consequences in the entire society. But it’s important that we speak about it, that we open space to see what it brings. To decide for or against, it’s quite simple.” (Velika Plana, September)

### 2. Traumatic personal experiences:

Traumatic personal experiences related to the 1999 NATO intervention influenced the construction of negative stances towards NATO, despite the fact that seasoned peace activists are aware of the context in which the bombing happened.

**Žiža:** “Personally, when I hear NATO, I hear my grandson’s scream who gathered us and shouted: “we have to escape in the basement. They’re firing.” (Velika Plana, September)

**Marija:** “When I saw that in the surrounding all countries join NATO, I wonder how many disadvantages and advantages they have from all this? And then, the sound of planes and the tears of my daughter, but if they ever come here, civil society will have a lot of work, I think.” (Velika Plana, September)

**Sofija:** “Personally, when I hear NATO, my first association is to the bombing, cluster bombs, depleted uranium...I don’t know what we’d get from entering NATO. We have great consequences even ten years after the bombing; I’m really not for entering it...” (Velika Plana, September)
3. Influence of conservative and nationalist criticism of the system of global military security symbolised by NATO

Ideological simplification of problems – expressed in particular in the wrong interpretation of the causes of the 1999 bombing placed by the political elite, influencing thereby on the wider level the creation of political autism and xenophobia, the uninterrupted militarization of consciousness and the lack of understanding of the concept of global system of security and our roles in it – was observed several times, especially among women who are not engaged in activism.

Mirjana: “What would Russians say? They stated rather severe stances, that they’d turn their backs to us if we enter NATO. It’s not a simple thing; there will be great consequences if we enter NATO. I’d like someone to say which stance Russians will have if we enter and if we don’t enter…” (Bečej, April)

Sanja: “NATO lives on wars. How can it function if there’s no war? NATO bombed us because it was furious with one man. Where are we, civilians, in this story? I’ve never been for Milošević, but I endured fear, I feared for my life. Who’ll compensate me for that, these lost years when I was left without a job? If NATO had something against one man, why didn’t they strike his house in Dedinje instead of bombing bridges, civilians, trains used by civilians to travel?” (Bečej, April)

Maja: “I think that the whole thing is a changing of hypotheses in order to keep on stirring up the xenophobia which is otherwise prevalent. This famous letter of Serbian intellectuals is completely ridiculous among other things because no one invited us there so it’s completely irrelevant to call on people to declare whether you’ll pay a visit to someone who didn’t invite you. This serves only domestic political needs, in order to maintain constant tension. Regarding the argument that Russians will get angry at us and withdraw their help, that’s also a fairy tale as we know, it’s always a question of interests and not of love at all…” (Bečej, April)

4. Lack of trust in state institutions

Women with experience in activism and political work focused in their answers on the role of state institutions and showed a lack of trust that representatives will used the same process of joining for a more transparent conducting of security policy, for a reduction of the military budget and for civil democratic control of the security sector.
**Vera:** “A really big problem here is that we have a weak government, a weak state, bad institutions and an exceptionally corrupted government. Thus, everything concerning NATO will look completely different here and much worse and more expensive than in other states.” (Velika Plana, February)

**Ivana:** “I think that it’s very important question. As peace activists, we need to discuss and confront ourselves, and as someone says, this is the only occasion when someone will ask me something. It’s a difficult question and there are lots of dilemmas. We need to speak in order to come up with something, why we have those pros and cons. When we see Serbia surrounded by NATO members, the question is whether we can stay alone and isolated, whether this state has the capacity of being neutral. Do we trust the state, we alone, the civil society, that it can support something or will we enter NATO? How will we further develop society in order to have control and criticism…” (Velika Plana, September)

**Slavica:** “My first worry is that I can’t really on a state that would declare neutrality, because this means serious dedication to the whole process of demilitarization. This would mean that Serbia is neutral. I can’t really on citizens that would decide for or against NATO because they are, among other things, in trouble, they all say that joining the EU is politically and diplomatically connected to joining NATO. Hence, I don’t have participants, whether inside or around me, from where I can say ‘we’ll get some good with entrance or non-entrance.’” (Velika Plana, September)

5. **Endangerment of natural environment**

Participants expressed concern that the traditional understanding of security promoted by NATO centres on political and military consequences, while neglecting significant questions such as the protection of natural environment, whose endangerment is a real threat. This fear resulted from the experience of the NATO bombing, when 1,080 cluster bombs were thrown on Serbia, which have not yet been demined on a territory of 6,618 square metres.

**Vera:** As far as I’m concerned, I’m against entering NATO, I can’t imagine that I live in a NATO country. One of the arguments is the ecological devastation, then the growth of militarism and violence against women, the usurpation of space which is a very important resource in Serbia…(Velika Plana, February)
Saša: I’m more against than for. On one occasion I watched a programme on HRT [Croatian Radio Television] and independent intellectuals did an analysis of what happened when they entered NATO. Then they explained what the ecological consequences are in regard to their coast. It’s not at all as inoffensive as it’s presented. Just this segment... I think this is a complete disaster. (Bečej, April)

Milka: I’m more against than for. I’m against mainly because of what happened to us because of this NATO, because they killed us – more ecologically- than economically- speaking. Our health and the health of our generation, by throwing this depleted uranium on our territory... I’m explicitly against entering NATO. I speak only from an ecological viewpoint, because they threw what they threw. We’re all destroyed, Srebrenica and all! How many people die of carcinoma in Kosovo? (Kukavica, June)

6. Poverty

In the discussion with women from southern Serbia in Kukavica in June, it was stressed that poverty is the main reason for individuals joining armed forces:

Snežana: Two years ago I often went to Kumanovo, in Macedonia. The fact that a high number of people work in military bases alarmed me. That even parents gladly send them, that it’s very popular. They go and bring a lot of money. They’re there two years, sign a contract... And all those jobs are very risky. But there was no source of earning money in Macedonia for all those young people. Maybe the same would happen to us.” (Kukavica, June)

Ljiljana: “What’s the situation with those who’ll go to the professional army? I know that my children won’t go. Someone else’s children will go because there’s no other choice. And where will we send them? I think only about this when I think of this decision. I wouldn’t like us to enter.” (Kukavica, June)

III – Positive stances towards NATO integration

Such stances were state more rarely in the discussions and were explained in the following terms:

Realpolitik

Tamara: “I’m FOR: today’s Serbia still lives in the psychosis of bloc
division which stopped in 1991, because the other, the Soviet, bloc is no more, but Slav resentment is still very strong, because there’s resistance to the remaining bloc. This isn’t a bloc anymore but a gathering of highly heterogeneous states, and I mention that the most fervent members of NATO are the so-called ex-communist countries. Hence I’m for entering NATO.” (Velika Plana, February)

Jan: “All state which are in NATO are democratic states with a highly developed state system, and I’m for entering NATO mainly because Serbia can’t afford to be militarily neutral. This implies enormous investment in the army, and Serbia doesn’t have the money to develop some army that would be credible. NATO offers some funds for developing military industry and some help which can raise a professional army to a certain level.” (Velika Plana, February)

Barčić: “I have pro and con arguments; I decided to be for entering NATO because this is a way to get away from our centennial Russian friends. I don’t really see any alternative, the alternative would be in my opinion the absence of army, but since I’m aware that it’s practically impossible, I think that this is better and cheaper than to develop our own forces.” (Velika Plana, February)

Maja: “I’d like to remind you of the context in which we live. Will we be the only black spot in the region? We heard that states decide alone how and whether they will participate at all in NATO missions and I’d also say that, if we had soldiers in NATO, there would be less soldiers than now and thus it would be cheaper. It’s simply practical.” (Bečej, April)

Valentina: “This is the inevitability of world geopolitics and geostrategy. In 1989 when we should have entered the EU, someone else entered, and we were waging nationalistic wars. Entering NATO is our inevitability because of world geopolitics and geostrategy.” (Kukavica, June)

Dragica: “...NATO is presented to us as one of the symbols of democracy, of the new world order which should be by definition democratic or is democratic. The fact that we’re an isolated island surrounded by NATO members unsettles me and in this sense I think it would perhaps be useful.” (Velika Plana, September)
IV – Serbia’s final abandonment of its imperialist policy and war aims

Marijana: “I think that by entering NATO Serbia actually abandons its war aims, and when I see what’s been happening recently, I think it’s a very big thing...” (Velika Plana, February)

Nena: “Our state itself is problematic. We have enough wars behind us. It seems to me that entering NATO would stop further processes, if it again crosses someone’s mind to lead us again in nonsensical wars. I think that entering NATO would be some brake for such things...” (Kukavica, June)

Zinaida: “I think we need to enter NATO... there would be no more wars or armed conflicts...” (Bečej, April)

Vladimir: “A much more important question than whether someone will attack Serbia is whether Serbia will attack someone, that’s what worries me. Thus, because Serbia constantly needs a teacher, I think it wouldn’t be bad to have some higher control, and then we’d be sure that Serbia won’t attack Bosnia or Kosovo or some other neighbouring state.” (Velika Plana, September)

Ana: “...One of the reasons is that I don’t know how Serbia could be a militarily neutral country given the Balkan mentality and the quite recent shakes and who knows what can cross someone’s mind. So I think that entering NATO is the only solution in every respect.” (Velika Plana, September)

Marijana: “…When I think about this, from a pragmatic point of view it would be advisable to remain an empty space across which Russians and westerners exchange shots. This is bad for us. Perhaps this would reduce Serbia’s territorial pretensions towards Kosovo and the Serbian Republic...” (Velika Plana, September)

V – Our alternatives:

As civil society actors, willing to build another kind of argumentation and point to the options we have in the process of joining NATO, we spoke about the ways in which we can, being accountable to ourselves and our society, try to follow the building of relations between Serbia and NATO. The participants showed that they would like to use
entrance in NATO to create transparent legal frameworks in accordance to EU legislation: for democratic control of the army and police, insight in the expenditures for military needs, but also for development of anti-militarist alternatives.

**Participants raised the following as our possible fields of activity:**

- **To use discussion to promote our anti-militarist-feminist stances**

  **Maja:** "We discuss on two levels: one is a value one, the second is politico-pragmatic and I really consider that discussions of this kind would be fruitful and could go into more depth. There’s here quite a lot of space for connection with those security topics, with UN Security Council Resolutions, with gender issues in missions and the question of reform of the security sector.” (Velika Plana, February)

  **Miodrag:** “I think there should be as many such discussions and public debates as possible, only this is the way to lose this tensions and to reduce a bit emotions and to discuss the fact. Secondly, this is a chance for similar organisations to use this on their side, against militarism, then this is useful for the whole society, and especially for peace groups.” (Velika Plana, February)

  **Lino:** “I think that it’s important that Women in Black Network cooperate in the discussion, meaning for further sensitisation about the problems of the feminist approach to questions of human security as alternatives to the militarist concepts of security. It’s important to create a climate in which people finally speak about real things and real things are – what’s the army, what’s preparation for war, what’s war culture and what’s opposite, peace culture.” (Velika Plana, February)

  **Dušanka:** “Civil society will have to deal with this, probably for many years to come or forever, so what we can is indeed to be some kind of supervision of our governments, that is, what decisions they make. I think that we can here do something concrete and reduce or neutralise the consequences of the army being present on this planet.” (Velika Plana, February)

  **Ljilja:** “If discussion about joining can enable us to ask the question of denying war aims, that is to stop territorial pretensions; this is perhaps a space that we can use. It is a fact that by entering the EU Serbia will have to recognise Kosovo, which is an important thing, because here stops the production of nationalist power which keeps us
locked in this ideology. The government will have to take care of those concrete questions.” (Velika Plana, February)

Staša: “As a feminist and anti-militarist, I have many contradictions without this easy classification for or against. Whether we will fall into this trap of easy classification or tackle important issues depends on us from the civil society... If the referendum was in three years, the majority would for sure be for. Then whether we, citizens, are really what we say – actors of security – will depend on the power of civil society. Will we speak about military expenditures, about civil control of the army? Will we, as part of what the ‘Other Serbia’ represents, use this space for serious discussions? Or will this bring discord among us? I don’t have illusions that NATO will introduce civil democratic control, but how much impact we will have on this civil democratic control depends on us from the civil society and from our cohesion, solidarity, and values that link us.” (Bečej, April)

Civil and democratic control of the security sector

Marijana: “We need to use these processes to ask some questions that are important for us: who directs the army and how is it directed, how much does it cost? How to establish democratic civil control over the armed forces? We’re a peace organisation and it’s completely absurd, on the value level, to support a military organisation...” (Bečej, April)

Cutting of the military budget and transparent expenditures

Julija: “We here deal with security issues because it concerns us, citizens. Why are enormous means earmarked for armament? If according to the law there’s democratic and civil control, we must learn what is that we as citizens and activists want from the state. We must know how much means are spent, and we don’t know this.” (Bečej, April)

Saša: “As anti-militarists, it’s important that we initiate campaigns for civil of conscientious objection to military expenditures, financed by church taxes, which we ask for supervision of military expenditures. In this sense this can depend on us, it’s not true that no one will ask us. Thus we must be extremely tenacious, organise pressure from below, and see whether integration in the EU offers space for this. And this means that our allies in Europe are citizens’ groups, civil society, we act together with them.” (Bečej, April)

Nataša Lambić and Gordana Subotić
From everyday experience to theory

Towards a feminist-anti-militarist concept of security

Alternatives were also expressed through: reaching knowledge about security issues, joined re-examination of the militarist concept, improving knowledge of different aspects of security until joined creating of the concept of security from a feminist-anti-militarist perspective.

*Common denominator and conclusions:*

- **The traditional militarised concept of security is in direct opposition to the wishes and needs of women:** women, and civil society women activists in particular, are very interested to build a completely concept of security, first and foremost from a feminist/anti-militarist perspective: *‘the state takes pride in the fact that arms exports is the strongest economic sector, and here in Serbia workers in the military industry die because of insecurity, we eat food which is dangerous for one’s health, Serbia is in the first place in Europe with regard to the number of women with cervical cancer. Instead of producing arms and death, the state should invest in civil needs…’*

- **Most participants in educative activities mean by security a positive peace – the absence of structural violence and not only the absence of war:** by getting knowledge about the concept and content of human security, a critical approach to the traditional militarised concept of security is encouraged (characteristic statements of the women: *‘to work for the common good, smile, tolerance, respect of others, respect of minority rights, compassion with the oppressed…’*)

- **Appreciation of the experience of ‘common’ women makes the demolition of the militarist understanding of security possible:** thereby it is more easily explained that the ruling elites (political and economic) in reality threaten the security and consequently, it is indispensable to include the stances and experiences of women in the creation of a different concept (*‘the most important was that enough time was left for topics that were tackled to be discussed in depth’, ‘The need for debate and reflexion was obvious*
and the merit of the seminar was in this that it opened space for it.’, ‘I like interaction and exchange of opinions the most. Together, we learnt a lot about a new approach to peace and security.’

- **Connection with experiences of women’s everyday life:** the experience of Women in Black was confirmed: that all topics are ‘women’s’ topics, that there is no ‘ghetto’ of women’s issues, that feminism concerns everyone, that feminism cannot afford to be an elitist theoretical idea, estranged from the experience of common women like alienated political elites in power (‘I’m disobedient and I don’t go soldiers’ send-off festivities’, ‘I visit the places of crimes and speak about it with my family, neighbours, who first condemned me, but now they accept me, change their opinion.’)

- **Violence against women must affect the shaping of the policies of peace and security at the national and international level:** to connect violence against women, both domestic violence and in the public sphere, with the concept of traditional security; for women the biggest threat is often at home, thus a very high number of the workshops’ participants advocate different relations in the family; for the creators of strategies of national security, domestic violence does not represent a threat to the security of woman, so that it is indispensable to change the private-public, personal-political, personal-international relations (‘work with women victims of violence helps me to grasp the connection between domestic violence and militarism and all different forms of violence.’)

- **Joined knowledge production – to build theory from below and not from above:** women are ready to tackle all issues and topics inasmuch we create the spaces for joined reflection and succeed in putting them in the context of women’s everyday experiences (‘I didn’t have a clue about the Resolution 1325, I got a great deal of new knowledge, I learnt what I didn’t know about the Resolution 1325’, ‘now everything related to the Resolution 1325 is very clear to me’, ‘I like the way of getting new knowledge, an interesting and different way of transmitting knowledge’, ‘at this seminar, women won’t sit and cry, to make peace with their fate, I like it because it gives hope that everything will be different’, ‘the power of those who know more was not to felt at all, everything was interactive’, ‘communication, to listen and understand other people, speak with them’, ‘the knowledge that I get at such gath-
erings can’t be learned in any school or faculty – in no other place could we speak about this’, ‘I got direction and ‘directives‘ about how I will in the future recognise things in my field and transmit the knowledge I got here in the Roma settlements’, etc. )

- **Permeation of theoretical knowledge and activist experience about gender, peace and security issues helps fieldwork:** connecting seemingly abstract topics/high so-called male policies (such as militarism, military expenditures, disarmament, security) with everyday experience of women, both in the personal, family sphere and in the public (political, economic, social, cultural, educational, etc.) sphere (characteristic statements: ‘Till now I didn’t have the opportunity to participate in workshops in which things that I considered purely for men are spoken about from the position of women and thus I’d like that you invite me each time’, ‘I listen to other people as persons, and not as enemies’, ‘I transmit my values to friends, I endeavour to transmit my stances in discussion with people, I speak with my friends about civil control of the army’).

- **A multidisciplinary approach is indispensable to the re-examination of the militarist concept of security:** it must be placed in the context of widespread patriarchal oppression by connecting all the sources of endangerment of women (sexism, militarism, nationalism, economic exploitation, xenophobia, fundamentalisms, clericalisation, unpunashibility of violence and crime) (‘here we are together from all social classes, experts and women with primary school education, workers, unemployed…and we learn from each other…’)

- **Connecting the local and the global (‘act locally, think globally’):** all the crises are mutually related, to produce knowledge and draw conclusions from field experience, but to always have in mind the global peace and security perspective, the interdependence and intertwining of all phenomena (for example, the production of cluster bombs in Serbia threatens the civil population in the countries they are exported to or the so-called security measures after September, 11th 2001 today make people much more insecure, on the state level but also in the whole world) (‘I’m encouraged, because I’ll be able to share what I’ve learnt in my surroundings and to show that we, women, can move the world. Examples of women’s networking in the world and examples of women’s activism in the world filled me with enthusiasm…’)
Feminist-anti-militarist concept of peace and security – theoretic-practical alternative: towards the creation of a different value system, as well as the praxis of intervention through solidarity, non-violence, mutual support of actions on the family-, community-, and society- levels, as well as by pressuring the state and its institutions (characteristic statements: 'I’m now getting acquainted with feminism and anti-militarism, I’m realising myself through this and I want us to continue...', ‘the seminar forced us to think about security, feminism and peace activities’, ‘The triad feminism – anti-militarism – anti-homophobia drives society forward.’ ‘This was a very empowering experience for me and it just bolster my belief that feminism and anti-militarism go together, that they’re inseparable’, ‘I influenced my friends so that their sons go to civil service’, ‘I fought with the government for my child not to be drafted, not to go to the army’, ‘I convinced my son not to enrol at the military academy, and he now convinces other boys not to go to the army’, ‘It’s very important that we get acquainted with the work of other organisations (feminist-anti-militarist) in the world so that international solidarity develops and so that people get to know about the global character of all crises...’ etc. )

Feminism and anti-militarism permeate each other and share common values: according to the workshops’ participants: mutual support, awareness raising, activism, autonomy, right to choose, freedom of opinion and expression, reproductive rights, sexual choice, internationalism, women’s human rights, participation, not in my name, contraception, equality, disobedience, right to abort, trust, transformation of military industry into civil industry, punishability of crime/ transitional justice, disarmament, education for peace, democratic control of the army and police, demilitarization, not in my name, not with my money, civic courage, antinationalism, conscientious objection to military expenditures, solidarity, civic disobedience, dialogue, democracy, human security, alternative, human rights, tolerance, anti-fascism, human needs, Resolution 1325 Women, Peace, Security, social justice, solidarity, anti-fascism, visibility, de-nazification, networks, anti-clericalism, non-violence, civil society.

Staša Zajović
In co-operation with Saša Kovačević and Miloš Urošević
campaigning, lobbying, legislative initiatives
A Woman in Black’s Resolution “Women, peace, security” is the Resolution submitted on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. In our Resolution we included requests specific to the political community in which we live. We submitted for the first time the integral text to the National Parliament of the Republic of Serbia on October, 15th 2005, as well as each following year. We repeatedly sent the same request in October 31st 2006, in October 31st 2007, in 2008, in 2009 and in 2010; the request was made again to the Parliament of Serbia. Unfortunately, it has never been included in the agenda of the parliament sessions, which testifies to the insufficient democratic capacity and to the lack of political will of the current institutions in Serbia to acknowledge the initiatives and efforts of autonomous civil society organisations in Serbia.

Women in Black thought out and organized numerous activities and campaigns in accordance with the requests of the 2005 Resolution “Women, peace, security.”

Respecting the rights of women human rights defenders in accordance with the UN General Assembly Resolution of March 8, 1999 (53/144, annex) and taking legal measures to secure the rights of individuals, groups, and associations that advance respect for human rights and spread knowledge about human rights nationally and internationally. WIB organized campaigns of active solidarity with woken
human rights defenders, engaged artists and threatened segments of
the population attacked by state and non-state actors.

**Initiative for the evaluation of the constitutionality of the Law on churches and religious communities:**

*Complain to the Ombudsman*

In the framework of the Campaign of the Coalition for a secular state, on October, 5th 2009, a meeting was convened by Saša Janković, the ombudsman, and following the Complaint sent a few months earlier by Snežana Tabački and Staša Zajović, in the name of Women in Black and the Coalition for a secular state. In the Complain the infringed rights were stated: right to equal treatment of believers and non-believers, right to secular education, and the right to equal treatment of other citizens and priest and other ecclesiastic people. A concise description of the infringement of these rights, taking above all into account the Law on churches and religious communities was annexed to it.

*Appeal to Constitutional Court*

As a response to the draft Law on churches and religious communities (April 2006), Women in Black, together with other civil societies organisations, formed the Coalition for a Secular State/CSS and on the second anniversary of the enactment of the Law on churches and religious communities, on April, 24th 2008, the initiative for the evaluation of the constitutionality of the mentioned law was submitted to the Constitutional Court of Serbia. After two and a half year, the Constitutional Court invited Women in Black to participate in the public debate on October, 5th 2010 on the constitutionality of the Law on churches and religious communities. It is not know when the session at which the Constitutional Court will make its decision will take place.
The abrogation of the Law on aid to defendants in International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and to their families

Women in Black sent in July 2010 a letter to Dušan Ignjatović, the Director of the Office of the National Council for cooperation with the ICTY with the initiative for the abrogation of this Law. Women in Black consider that the Law on aid to defendants in International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and to member of their families places Serbian citizens in an unequal position and again start the initiative to abrogate this same law. Placing in an unequal position represents a violation of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, of article 21 which says that all are equal before the Constitution and equal by law. WIB suggested that after the abrogation of this law the money is redirected towards supporting socially endangered Serbian citizens, for whom financial aid is really necessary, as well as towards free legal aid to persons who do not have any financial means for judicial prosecution. We also suggest that a segment of those means is redirected towards supporting families of war victims, as well as projects for peace and non-violence education, for interethnic and intercultural co-operation and solidarity in the region. Women in Black still have not received any answer.

Appeal to Ministry of Justice concerning the implementation of the Law on seizure of Property Acquired through Criminal Activities

Women in Black addressed the Minister of Justice concerning the implementation of the Law on seizure of Property Acquired through Criminal Activities and concerning the management of provisionally and permanently seized property.
WiB demanded compensation to the families of war victims through the confiscation of property from people convicted for war crimes, as well as from people from the regime that ruled Serbia until October, 5th 2000 and who participated in the illegal seizing of someone else’s property and in other forms of plundering national wealth.

Women in Black consider that there is a lack of transparency in the information on the value of property seized until now on the basis of the mentioned Law. WiB suggested that those means should be used to finance some significant humanitarian projects, hostel for street children and support for poor settlements in which Roma people live in Serbia. Women in Black still have not received any answer.

**Initiative for submitting a request for the evaluation of constitutionality of the Law on electronic communications (2010)**

Women in Black consider that the new Law, in the part relating to the obligation of data retention (Article 128), endangers the citizens’ privacy and open the way to total arbitrariness of security services in Serbia, this Law is a violation of the Constitution and of international law, including the decisions of the European Court of Justice whose decisions are binding for us.

**Campaign concerning Srebrenica genocide**

In 2009 and 2010 WiB continued campaigns pertaining to the Srebrenica genocide, specially the campaign: Remembrance Day of the genocide in Srebrenica – proclaim! This campaign was started in February 2009 and lasted until June 2010 Regardless of the fact that we were protesting and making the same request for 18 months, president Tadić never accepted nor gave consideration to the requests of more than
100 NGOs, but our campaign had a big impact in whole region. From July 2010 until now WiB continued the campaign ‘Pair of shoes – one life’ together with artists demanding Serbian authorities to give us the public place to build a monument to Srebrenica genocide.

**Campaign Women ask**

Is a feminist - pacifist initiative of Women in Black started for the first time on the fifteenth anniversary of activity of the group (October 2006); the current campaign was resumed with additional questions (19 questions) and addressed to twenty competent Serbian institutions with the request for offering answers and data about facts connected to war and war crimes. The campaign is a constitutive part of the human and feminist concept of security of Women in Black, incorporated in our Resolution ‘Women, Peace, Security’. In 2010 Women in Black sent a letter with the same content to 15 addresses in the action "Women ask,” marking the 19 years since the beginning of the war, forced mobilisation, aggressions, and crimes against peace. The letter was sent to all relevant ministries which deal or should deal with confrontation of the Serbian state with the past, with demilitarization, reparations, rights of war invalids, material and non-material damages, human security, domestic violence, mental health, etc.

1. How many civilian victims were there in the 1991-1999 wars?
2. How many recruits/soldiers died in the wars?
3. How many mass graves are there in Serbia and what is the number of victims in the mass graves in Serbia?
4. What is the number of war invalids?
5. What is the number of refugees?
6. How many volunteers from Serbia were there?
7. Which percentage of reservists did not respond to the calls to mobilisation and how many reservists hid in order to evade military obligation?

8. How many men were tried before military tribunals for failure to comply with mobilisation or for deserting from the battlefield?

9. How many men were sued for offence to the law for the same reasons?

10. How many rebellions of reservists were there in Serbia?

11. How many reservists participated in them?

12. How many men, mostly young, left the country in order not to go to war?

13. How many refugees in Serbia were mobilised for war and this, against all international conventions?

14. How many refugees were mobilised on the basis of the lists delivered by the Red Cross and the Commissariat for Refugees to the Ministry of Internal Affairs?

15. How many war victims received indemnification?

16. What is the extent of the material damage inflicted to military runaways/deserters, because they could not, for objective reasons (hiding), earn for their life?

17. How many men, military runaways in the student population, were compelled to leave their studies?

18. How many victims of posttraumatic stress disorder/PTSD are there in Serbia and how many men suffering from PTSD committed suicide?

19. How many women suffered violence, the most serious form of domestic violence, from male relatives suffering from PTSD and how many women experience daily domestic violence from former participants in the war?
We received a few answers to this letter, mainly that institutions we addressed had no competence in the fields in which we call them on. One of the answers was from the Serbian Red Cross, which also says that they have no competence – we wrote an answer to this with arguments about their implication in the processes of forced mobilisation of refugees in 1995, because the Red Cross then collaborated with Slobodan Milošević’s regime and gave lists of male refugees from Krajina and who were later sent back to the front.

**Initiative on the occasion of International Holocaust Remembrance Day**

The Centre for the Advancement of Legal Studies (CUPS) and Women in Black submitted an initiative to the National Parliament of the Republic of Serbia in January 2010 on the occasion of the International Holocaust Remembrance Day. In the argumentation, it is stressed that we consider it our obligation to block these dangerous and retrograde tendencies in Serbia (growing clerofascist organisations, etc.).

**Transitional justice – feminist approach – monitoring of trials for war crimes**

Since 1999, Women in Black have been continuously following the trials for war crimes. We follow the trials after the fall of the regime at the Special Court in Belgrade, which began its work in 2003. We spent in total around 300 days at trials.

The public in Serbia is not informed enough about the work of the Special Court, because news about trials are short and rarely appear in both the print and electronic media. Following trials is important for many reasons: this is a way to gain knowledge about this model of transitional justice in the framework of institutional judicial system, about
models of transitional justice as an aspect of strengthening the responsibility of civil society in confronting the past, as well as a contribution to raising awareness of the public on crimes committed in our name.

Following trials is in the first place the expression of our solidarity with victims, because contacts with relatives of those killed, who also follow the trials, are exceptionally important from the moral, emotional and political perspectives. In the framework of this activity we organise meetings with relatives of crime victims, as well as with representatives of organisations from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo, who also follow the trials, we organise discussion circles in groups within the Network as well as in the public, we prepare reports, analyses, etc. Women in Black are, apart from the Humanitarian Law Centre, the only non-governmental organisation in Serbia which continuously pursues such an important activity.

**Campaign against anti-Semitism, fascism, racism, and xenophobia**

Every year, on the occasion of November, 9th – International Day of Action against Fascism, Racism and Xenophobia as well as May, 9th – International Victory Day over Fascism – we requested the following: *extradition to the ICTY of war crimes indictees; proclamation of genocide denial as a illegal, of the Srebrenica genocide and of the Holocaust during the Second World War; prohibition of all manifestations of neo-Nazi or fascist organisations and association, prohibition of the use of fascist and neo-Nazi symbols and associations; prohibition of all organisations and associations violating, or inciting to the violation of, guaranteed human and minority rights, inciting or instigating inequality, hatred or animosity base on racial, ethnic, religious, sexual or any other belonging.*
Campaign of solidarity with Roma people

In the framework of numerous campaigns of solidarity with the endangered Roma population, Women in Black, the Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights, and the Roma Women’s Network of Banat addressed in July 2010 an Opened letter to the Ministry of Education and to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, requesting them to undertake concrete steps in order to ensure the security and freedom of movement of Roma people in the village of Jabuka, as well as to ensure that Roma children go to school unhindered.

Antimilitaristic campaigns - civil and democratic control over armed forces (army, security services and police)

Every year, on the occasion of May 24th – International day of Women’s actions for peace and disarmament, Women in Black send to the competent institutions requests for the introduction of civil and democratic control over armed forces, the reduction of military expenses and the redirection of those expenses towards civil purposes.

Objections and comments on Law on Public Assembly

Women in Black actively participate in all meetings of working groups involved in the drafting process of the Law on Public Assembly.

These meetings are held under the auspices of The Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, who invited Women in Black to be part of the
Work Group in charge of drafting the legal framework governing the sphere of freedom of assembly in Serbia, and making recommendations for its improvement.

Objections and comments on Law a on Public Assembly: The work group of Women in Black made aforementioned comments and objections and forwarded them to the authorities. The work Group is coordinated by Vesna Rakic-Vodinelic, until recently Dean of the Faculty of Law at Union University in Belgrade and expert of the Centre for the Advancement of Legal Studies.

The Law from the Milosevic times and extremely repressive power of this regime (1992) is still valid. The subsequent amendments do not adhere to the contemporary European standards, from the very interpretation of the European Convention on Human Rights and the protection of fundamental freedoms. In the meantime, Serbia became a member of the Council of Europe and ratified this Convention.

It is recommended not to change this law, but to adopt a new one in accordance with the European Convention and the 2006 Constitution of Republic of Serbia. Women in Black are still active in working groups on this law since the new Law is not passed yet. The integral text of Women in Black’s complaints and comments on the law on the right of assembly is available on the official site of Women in Black (www.zeneucrnom.org).

Appeal to the Ministry of the Interior to propose a Law on private security agencies

Women in Black have regarding September 21st (international day of peace, established by the UN) requested from the Ministry of the interior to adopt a law which would regulate the work of private security agencies. Indeed Serbia is the only country in the region that does not have separated law on private security agencies. We have reminded the Ministry of the interior that private security agencies are the third armed force in Serbia (after the military and the police).
Criminal charges because of the endangerment of Human Rights Defenders

As we have mentioned before, since the beginning of Women in Black in 1991 we were exposed to constant attacks of state or non-state actors. We will illustrate this with one example:

Women in Black, along with YUCOM (Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights) started criminal procedures against “unidentified” persons in August 2010 because of the criminal act:

* Inciting national, racial and religious hatred and intolerance
  Article 317 paragraph 2, and
* Racial and other discrimination in Article 387 Paragraph 2, Penal Code of the Republic of Serbia

Someone who signed under the pseudonym “Igorutin” on the website www.youtube.com that the NGO (non-governmental organization) “Whores in black” fabricates the number of Muslim victims in Srebrenica soil the city with old and smelly shoes.

The content appeared on www.youtube.com after the appeal of Women in Black to the citizens of Serbia for donations of old shoes with personal messages in them, intended for the families of genocide victims. To be precise, the action marking the 15th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide “A pair of shoes - One Life” was an artistic-activist initiative - the first stage of the campaign aiming at building a lasting monument in Belgrade, in memory of the genocide victims. The action was inspired by the international initiative in which women of Srebrenica also take part. The action “A pair of shoes - One Life” was participatory and directed towards Serbian citizens, who are also expected to build their own lasting monument, as an expression of solidarity and responsibility towards the victims.

Criminal charges were lodged at the District Public Prosecutor’s Office, Department of cyber crime.

Otherwise all previous criminal charges lodged by Women in Black at the police were discarded during the criminal proceedings.
In September 2010, YUCOM lodged a constitutional appeal at the Constitutional Court of Serbia because of the Administrative Court’s decision, which rejected the appeal of Women in Black march ban (which was to be held on 8th March, 2008).

### Solidarity campaigns with women’s human rights defenders – some examples

#### 2008

*October – Solidarity campaign with Sonja Biserko* against the media campaign and attacks by clerical fascist and clerical nationalistic organisations against Sonja Biserko, president of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia / HCHRS; the campaign began after the publication of the HCHRS annual report for 2007, which exposed the facts concerning the accountability of the Serbian regime for war crimes in the period 1991-1999. The solidarity campaign was launched by Women in Black and the Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights and was joined by over 50 NGO-s from Serbia. Following the appeal by Women in Black, many international human rights and women rights organisations joined the campaign in defence of Sonja Biserko.

*Solidarity with Biljana Kovačević-Vučo* - Attending the trials of Biljana Kovačević-Vučo, from the Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights (YUCOM), charged with criminal offence of ‘slander’ by the director of Radio Television Serbia Aleksandar Tijanić. By attending the sessions of the trial which began in early 2006, we express our support to the indicted human rights defender, while the trial itself is part of the campaign led by a segment of the present-day authorities against the civilian society, especially against those NGO-s that advocate a decisive breakaway from the criminal past. Biljana Kovačević-Vučo is one of the most prominent human rights defenders in Serbia and in the region.

*October – Campaign demanding the banning of the neo-Nazi march:* Under the pressure of groups of NGO-s, among which Women in Black
played a very active role, the campaign was supported by 96 NGO-s from all parts of Serbia and the neo-Nazi march scheduled for 11 October was banned.

November-December – Solidarity campaign with Dah Theatre: following a series of common activities with Women in Black (which have been mentioned in this report) this professional women’s theatre was exposed to numerous attacks: in November, the Dah Theatre premises were robbed, valuable documentation was stolen and taken away and on 11 December, a fire was provoked in their theatre. We directed our campaign at the national authorities, demanding an investigation into all the circumstances – which has not been done so far – and on the international level, by informing international human rights organisations and institutions about these events. Our campaign is still on.

2009

Solidarity with Biljana Kovačević – Vučo: Continued trial – sessions through the year on the same charges as in the previous year.

From ban on quoting to book ban 18th September 2009, Belgrade: Press conference following the act of censorship and repression carried out by the Supreme Court of Serbia of the book “the case of civil servant Tijanić” published by the Lawyers Committee for Human rights YUCOM. Aleksandar Tijanić is the director of the Serbian National Television and such absurd ban on quoting the mentioned director is warning of the total subordination of the judiciary to the political will of the elite in power, and of the introduction of censorship of civil society criticism. Defying this decision, in solidarity with YUCOM, the press conference was attended Miljenko Dereta (Civil Initiatives), Vesna Petrović (Belgrade Human Rights Centre), Borka Pavićević (CFCD) and Staša Zajović (WIB).

2010

Campaign of solidarity with the monthly journal Republika: the editorial board of one of the most significant journals – which has been promoting for more than 20 years values of democracy, peace, non-violence, and solidarity – is exposed to police repression because of its solidarity with the work of the medical equipment factory ‘Jugore-
medija from Zrenjanin, Vojvodina, which after a fight of many years to rid of the control of criminal elements that were trying to re-establish control over the factory. Women in Black initiated an international campaign for the cessation of repression on the journal Republika, as well as on its editor Nebojša Popov, antiwar activist and one of the most distinguished intellectuals in the region.
Research on the Gender Dimension of Security
Monitoring of the drafting process of the National Action Plan for the implementation of the Resolution 1325

The survey entitled: “Visibility, democratic participation, and inclusiveness of the drafting process of the National Action Plan for the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325” was conducted in a stratified territorial sample, covering the Republic of Serbia, as an integral part of the activities of the project "Women, Peace and Security - Resolution 1325 - from the traditional to the feminist concept of security”. The survey was conducted from March to July 2010, on a sample of 28 NGOs, with which Women in Black closely cooperate.

A research survey was carried out by two non-government organisations, Women in Black from Belgrade and Women for Peace from Leskovac. The sample was stratified according to territorial and thematic-activist criteria, i.e. the structure of NGOs that took part in the survey, mostly feminist groups, peace groups, organisations with programs and activities aimed at defending women’s rights, human rights, the rights of LGBT population, peace groups and groups that are working with youth.

Most of the NGOs that took part in the survey (64%) work on women’s human rights, a smaller but still significant percentage (46%) work on issues related to human rights and security, while a yet smaller, but also high, percentage of NGOs (39%) work on issues related to the rule of law and democracy. Peace groups make up 36% of the NGOs that took part in the survey, youth groups make up 29% of the NGOs, while the lowest percentage of NGOs (14%) are involved in human rights in general, minority rights and/or the rights of the LGBT population.

Mostly, the survey included organisations that have been active from 6 to 10 years (46%); hence, we can state that, overall, the organisations that took part in the survey were formed after 2000. The second
category (29%) comprises organisations that have been active between 11 and 15 years. The third category comprises organisations that have been active between 1 and 5 years (14%), while the fourth category comprises organisations active between 16 and 20 years (11%).

The overall objective was to determine whether the mechanisms for the development of the National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UN SC R1325 meet the criteria of an inclusive, transparent and participatory process that cooperates with civil society organisations for the implementation of the Resolution 1325.

The specific objectives of the survey were:

- To determine whether feminist groups, human rights defenders’ groups and peace groups were granted access to the preparation of NAP, and if yes what the nature of their involvement was, i.e. how many NGOs were invited to actively participate in the process?
- To determine whether women’s groups, feminist and other groups are interested in working on the development of NAP for the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325.

According to the research survey, representatives of the NGOs were, in most cases (95%) familiar with the contents of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (Women, Peace, Security), while a far smaller percentage of organisations (3.5%) responded negatively to that question.

It is worth mentioning that the responses to the questions concerning the type of engagement of civil society organisations on Resolution 1325, showed that, mostly (46%), NGO representatives were involved in educational activities (seminars, workshops) related to R1325 issues, while 39% of NGOs participated in street actions demanding demilitarization. Lobbying activities involved 28.5% of NGOs, in order to put pressure on government representatives to implement UN SC Resolution 1325. Campaigns related to the drafting of NAP and to the implementation included 25% of the organisations, while the organisations that have actually actively participated in the development of civil society’s recommendations make the smallest percentage (7%). Mostly, the activities in which NGOs took part were organized by other NGOs, in most cases Women in Black.

Most NGO representatives (71%) were aware of the preparation of NAP for the implementation of UN SC R1325, while a number of NGOs, specifically representatives of 8 organisations (29%), did not
know that the creation of the NAP for the implementation of UN SC R1325 is ongoing.

When it comes to active participation in the process of drafting recommendations for the NAP for UN SC R1325, the results of the survey are diametrically opposed. When asked whether they were invited to take part in the activities related to the drafting process of NAP for the implementation of UN SC R1325, most NGOs from the Republic of Serbia answered negatively; most of them had the information that the drafting of NAP is taking place, but 86% of the organisations were not included in the activities related to the development of the NAP for UN SC R1325. These figures prove that the drafting process was not democratic, was neither transparent, nor participatory, nor inclusive.

The results confirm that it was necessary to improve visibility, participation, democracy and inclusiveness during the development of NAP for UN SC R1325, through increased participation of NGOs during the entire drafting process. A higher level of participation, inclusiveness and transparency in the creation of NAP for the implementation of Resolution 1325 would be easily obtained by wider representation of NGOs, and by promoting non-governmental organisations as active participators in the peace-building process, in order to promote human security by including the gender/feminist concepts of security within the traditional concept.

At the end of the conducted research, it was important to determine how NGO representatives understand their own involvement and activities, or in which segment they can contribute the most. Most organisations that took part in the survey are interested in working on the NAP - 46% of NGOs want to directly participate in implementation activities related to Resolution 1325, the same percentage (46%) want to participate in monitoring activities; in 32% of cases NGO representatives would have loved to have been involved in the development of NAP for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Serbia, 25% of the organisations see their possible involvement in planning, implementation and monitoring activities, while 11% of the organisations did not answer these questions, hence their answers have not been included in our analysis.

The integral text of this research survey is located on the website www.zeneucrnom.org

Survey coordinated by
Valentina Vukosavljević – Pavlović

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Survey:
Women, economic migrants from Serbia in the EU countries

(Activity realized within the project “Women, Peace and Security - from the traditional to the feminist concept of security”)

Introduction

Teams of researchers and activists of the Women in Black Network in Serbia are working on promoting a humane concept of security which includes various levels of security (personal, political, socio-economic, etc.). In an effort to determine the level of human security of female immigrants, whether their security is under threat or not, and if so, what the threatening factors are, and what the safeguarding mechanisms are, we conducted a research survey entitled “Women, economic migrants from Serbia in EU countries”.

The feminization of labour migration is a term that came into use in recent years and is used to describe the increase in the number of women job-seekers outside their country of birth. Today almost half of labour migrants are women. Although the percentages have increased in comparison to previous periods, the most significant change is that women mostly migrate alone looking for work. Previously, the greatest number of women followed their husbands or joined their families, while today they independently seek employment on the global labour market. In some countries, the percentage of women that emigrate alone in search for work is dramatically high. In the Philippines, the female labour force is the greatest export. The percentage of women in labour migration from the Balkans is 54% of the total number of workers employed abroad.

Lately, various surveys have been trying to determine how waves of migration of women have influenced the status of women. On one hand, the global market usually provides traditional jobs in child-bearing sphere for women migrants, thus maintaining patriarchal patterns. The continued exploitation of gender roles by global capital is obvious. On the other hand, work experience in another country can also contribute to the change of gender roles. After earning their livelihood and
supporting their families, women gain confidence, self-esteem and autonomy. However, the price they pay for working in developed countries is usually high. They often blame themselves, or are blamed by others, because they leave children behind while working, or evaluate their success only by the amount of money they manage to send to their families. Once again, the female identity is constructed only through caring for the family.

According to UN figures, women migrants that support their families suffer the greatest exploitation; they work long hard hours and send most of their earnings home. Two other groups include women who have gone by their own will or as dependents.

Research on women migrants from Serbia was conducted from 01/07/2010 to 30/08/2010, and was based on a questionnaire with questions that targeted different issues - What are the jobs that women from Serbia undertake when they go to EU countries? Is patriarchal division of labour present in these circumstances? Do gender roles change in these circumstances? Can we speak about empowerment of women or is it just a new reproduction of traditional gender roles?

The research survey has been done on a sample of 65 + 60 women (65 women who lived alone, without their families, and 60 women who lived with their families while working abroad). The sample was stratified territorially, with numerous EU countries in which women, originally from Serbia, are working temporary or constantly.

The research survey was realized by a team of researchers and activists from Women in Black from Belgrade and Women for Peace from Leskovac.

**Basic data on women who took part in the research survey**

The study comprised women - economic migrants who went alone to the EU, while their families stayed in Serbia, as well as those who had emigrated with their families. When it comes to women migrants that decided to migrate alone, they are mostly married, some have no children, but there are those with extended families. In terms of age structure, most of them are young women, 26-34 years of age, while the smallest number of women are those older than 50. Age structure stays the same in both cases (either those who migrate alone or those who migrate with their families). As for educational level, the research showed proportional representation of all education levels, from elementary to high, in category of women who migrated alone, while, in
case of those who migrated with their families, research showed that the most frequent are women with middle or lower level of education. Also, in both cases, the majority of women did not have any work experience in Serbia, or had been working in Serbia from 6 to 10 years before they migrated, which is understandable given the age structure.

**Survey Feedback**

Representative sample of the study was not large enough for firm final findings. However, some trends are very clear:

1. **Responses indicate that, in the latest immigration wave, women in Serbia are represented in far larger numbers than men, because they are ready to perform the toughest jobs, to find jobs more easily, because they are more brave, more devoted and willing to self-sacrifice.**

2. **Whether they migrate alone or with their families, women migrants usually work in traditionally “female” job markets, they perform low qualified and less paid jobs (unskilled workers, administration) regardless of the degree they hold.**

3. **Higher wages and/or inability to find employment in Serbia are the most frequently mentioned reasons for leaving the country and moving to EU countries.**

4. **Research suggests that the influence of women migrants on important decision making within their family did not significantly change, and it can be concluded that their position within the patriarchal family did not change, whether they migrated alone, or with the family.**

5. **It is obvious from their responses that they have gained some self-confidence, since in a significant percentage of answers women report that they feel equal to other family members, which is in contradiction to their answers on their impact on the decision making processes in their families. Most women, especially those who live alone feel lonely, but say that they do not have serious mental problems. Research shows that about a third of women migrants face discrimination, but that almost none of them ask for professional help; research results did not show that they feel other forms of threat to their safety or that they are conscious of their own vulnerability.**

6. **Research shows that women mostly (86% and 75%) assess going abroad as a personal success. It proves the fact that, despite still strong patriarchal model, women rate very highly the ability to be economically independent. The fact that many women do jobs**
below their educational level, while still seeing it as their success, demonstrates that women are more mobile, more willing to take a real chance, and that they also do not value success in terms of status but in terms of problems solving.

7. In spite of everything, women - economic migrants, both those who had emigrated alone and those who had emigrated with their family, in large percentage declared that that feel safe. This suggests that having a stable job and earning for themselves and their families is crucial for their sense of security, self-esteem and autonomy.

8. When comparing the data that show that economic migrants very much feel safe in the country where they work to the data from the workshops, which show that women do not feel safe in their own country, we get a devastating conclusion. The presence of poverty, unemployment and lack of personal security led to the prevailing feeling of insecurity.

9. When we cross information that women’s stay abroad is assessed as personal success with information about a sense of security, it can be concluded that women’s feeling of security arises from the possibility to solve their problems independently and successfully.

10. We could conclude from everything that the experience of economic migration have helped women empowerment, just because they overtook, in significant numbers, the role of provider for the family, that traditionally belonged to male heads of households, but the change itself has not abolished patriarchal imbalance of power within the family structure.

The integral text of this research survey is located on the website www.zeneucrnom.org

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Survey:
Women - economic immigrants and activists in the EU countries

Research Questionnaire *Women, economic migrants in the EU countries*, in the framework of the project “Women, Peace and Security - Resolution 1325,” was sent to 55 addresses in the EU countries; more than one third of the addressees replied - in numbers, 23 responses. It is a pilot survey research, which includes primarily Women in Black activists from Italy, Spain, UK and France. Surveys were collected between the end of April 2010 and September 2010, when gathered replies were analyzed.

*The objectives of the research survey* are to estimate the level of immigrants’ human security, sources of security threats and ways of protecting them on the institutional level and on the level of civil society, and to get insight into the level of information (on immigrant labour rights and other mechanisms of protection) of civil society activists, above all Women in Black in the EU countries, on the status of immigrant in EU countries. Also, one of the aims is to get an insight into the involvement of civil society activists, particularly activists of Women in Black, in terms of gender, class and inter-cultural support and solidarity between civil society activists and immigrants in the EU.

The starting point of this study was to determine the rate of human security of the immigrants (personal, economic, political, cultural, health, etc..); to determine the sources of security threats and what mechanisms of protection exist at the state level and within civil society; to determine whether achieved degree of gender equality and institutional mechanisms have universal character; to determine whether it applies equally to all women; to determine if women’s privileges in developing countries are based upon inequality and exploitation of immigrant women from underdeveloped countries; to determine whether gender (in)equality depends not only upon gender but also upon class, race, ethnicity; to determine the extent to which restrictive immigration laws lead to marginalization or exclusion (economic, political, cultural) of immigrants; to determine the extent to which the most progressive part of the female population, i.e. women human right defenders, through their civic engagement, contribute to the mitigation of
deprived position of immigrants.

**Basic data on the respondents**

*Age:* Up to 30 (2), 30-50 (9) over 50 (12); *Country of origin:* respondents were from the following countries: Spain (8), Italy (11), United Kingdom (1) and France (1); *Educational level:* all women had secondary or professional education.

The subjects are civil society activists, working in organisations that are dealing with human rights, women’s human rights, and peace activism, and in trade unions; 95% of subjects are feminist-antimilitaristic activists, from groups such as Women in Black, and the rest are human rights defenders.

**Research survey feedback**

It is indicative that most of the activists to whom we have sent questionnaires, did not see the need to help us with the answers. This indicates the difficulty of dealing with this issue, since the interviewees are extremely involved in political and civil activism, and yet, not interested in this subject. Research has shown that there is a need for deeper analysis and reflection upon serious and deep contradictions in the understanding and application of the idea of solidarity.

The responses of activists who took part in the survey have indicated that most of the immigrants perform domestic jobs (cleaning and housing, care taking and concern for others), although, in most cases, women do not even have precise working hours, which indicates a very high level of exploitation. So, immigrant women are performing the socially and economically lowest ranked jobs, with the lowest salaries and benefits. The highest percentage of women do not have social benefits covered, which confirms our starting hypothesis that gender equality and institutional mechanisms for gender equality depend not only on gender but also on race, class and ethnicity, especially in conditions of neoliberal capitalism.

Research has clearly shown that the security level is very low and that most of our activists are aware of the unenviable position of immigrants and of restrictive legislation and policies towards them. The entire cultural and political climate towards foreigners has worsened, because local people perceive them as enemies and as a threat to security, especially in countries/societies ruled by rightwing parties. Women rarely mention threats by members of their own community as a source
of security threats, while, more often, immigrants refer to their fears of deportation or fears of their environment.

Most interviewees cited the following three sources of insecurity: the lack of information regarding the possibility of protection at institutional level and civil society, unfamiliarity with the language and culture of the country where they live and work, and extensive xenophobia and racism. These responses indicate the need for far greater involvement of both the state actors and civil society actors in creating mechanisms to protect immigrants.

When asked whom the immigrants can actually turn to, activists responded that there are many opportunities for help, but that most immigrants are not familiar with them.

Closely connected with this was the finding we got when we wanted to find out in what way the most progressive part of the female population in the EU, i.e. women human right defenders and civil society activists, through their civic involvement, contribute to the alleviation of unprivileged position of immigrants. Research has shown that only nine activists (less than 40%) in various ways participate in actions of help, support and solidarity with immigrants, while other 14 activists do not participate in such actions. 8 activists have justified this by the lack of capacity of their group for this kind of activity, while others have not even explained the absence of interest for this activity.

This clearly suggests that most activists do not think that the principles of solidarity should be applied in ‘their own backyard’, while they would probably show higher level of engagement and solidarity with women in distant countries (i.e. Afghanistan, Palestine, Africa, Latin America), but this had not been subject of this survey. It is indicative that even the activists who claim to participate in solidarity actions do not describe actual activities/ways of help and support, which, unfortunately, points out the declarative nature of solidarity and lack of substantial content.

The integral text of this research survey is located on the website www.zeneucrnom.org

Staša Zajović
Belgrade, September 2010
Activist-artistic engagement in creating a feminist antimilitarist security concept
VI ACTIVIST-ARTISTIC ENGAGEMENT IN CREATING A FEMINIST-ANTIMILITARIST SECURITY CONCEPT

In accordance with the aesthetic policy of non-violent resistance, Women in Black are working with numerous art associations and artists in order to create together an aesthetic design for a feminist-antimilitaristic security concept. Although most street actions can be subsumed under this concept, we will highlight some of those realized in 2009 and 2010:

For women’s labour rights, for women’s solidarity, for social justice - street actions celebrating International Women’s Day, March 8th - protests, marches, performances);

Actions for demilitarization (for civilian democratic control of the armed forces, for reducing military spending, for disarmament, for conscientious objection to military spending and for redirection to peaceful purposes);

Antifascism is my choice - Each year, on the Day of Victory over Fascism (May 9th) and on International Day against Fascism and Anti-Semitism (November 9th), Women in Black perform antifascist street actions (performances, protests, and marches);

Actions for just peace and for dealing with the past - Day of Remembrance of Srebrenica Genocide – Proclaim it! - Protests organized on the 11th of each month, from February 2009 to July 2010, in front of the official seat of the Serbian Presidency;

One pair of shoes - one life is activist-artistic action, carried out in Belgrade in July 2010, as the first phase of the campaign whose aim is to build a permanent monument in Belgrade, in memory of the victims of genocide in Srebrenica. The campaign will continue until we collect 8,732 pairs of shoes, which corresponds to the official number of people killed in Srebrenica genocide. The action has been designed
and implemented by Women in Black, along with numerous engaged art associations and artists.

**Actions of solidarity with the Roma population** – Women in Black have organised numerous protests and marches against institutionalised violence and apartheid against the Roma population, and for human security and human rights.

**Video activism** - Working group of Women in Black through video activism activity promotes the values of antimilitarism, antifascism, solidarity and non violence...

**About gender dimension of security:**

- *Militarization of the street actions of Women in Black – Repression or Protection?* (duration: 7.19’), in Serbian and in English;
- *Women, Peace and Security - Resolution 1325 - ten years*, in Serbian and in English (duration: 18’)
- *The policy of active solidarity - in the five images*, in Serbian and in English (duration: 6:12’)

**In solidarity for our rights** - documentary about the street march organized by Women in Black on March 8th, 2010. (Duration 4:14), in Serbian and in English

**Do not forget genocide in Srebrenica** – documentary about solidarity actions of Women in Black with women from Srebrenica and of protests and vigils in Belgrade regarding genocide in Srebrenica. (Duration 14:46)

**Homage to Women Human Rights Defenders:**

**Video presentation “Gordana Stojiljković – revolution from within”** (3:10) is a film in sign of remembrance to the deceased activist of Women in Black and Women for Peace from Leskovac; Gordana Stojiljković, and is composed of her photographs, quotes and videos which describe her activist engagement. Film is in Serbian.

**Video presentation “Biljana Kovačević Vučo – from vulnerability to protection”** (9:20) presents one segment of the work of human rights defender Biljana Kovačević Vučo who died in April 2010 The film is homage to Biljana, one of the most significant antiwar activists and human rights defenders in the last twenty years in ex-Yugoslavia.

The work version began on the basis of quotes and video and au-
dio recordings of events and interviews, and the participation of Bil-
jana Kovačević Vučo in the numerous activities organised by Women in
Black. Film is in Serbian and in English.

‘Farewell to arms’ (03:37): documentary film about the perfor-
mance of the artist Saša Stojanović, with the support of Women in
Black activists, on the occasion of the Global Action Week against Small
Arms (May, 14th). Film is in Serbian and in English.

‘A lesson of antifascist history’ (02:51): documentary
film about the artistic-activist action carried out by the artist
Saša Stojanović, together with Women in Black activists, in the Memo-
rrial Park Topovske Šupe, the place of a concentration camp during the
Second World War. Film is in Serbian, etc.

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