

To all our friends, activists and associates  
we wish Happy New Year 2012!

Your Women in Black

Newsletter „Women, Peace and Security“ December 2011.



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

# Chapters

## I Women in Black and 1325 Resolution

Working Group for monitoring of the implementation of the NAP for the R 1325 submitted questions to the Institutions	3
Strolling of „modern“ and „Pan-Serbian state“	4

## II Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security

The anniversary of the aggression on Dubrovnik <i>The execution of the city and people</i>	5
Regional cooperation <i>We have to identify the attackers on Vukovar</i>	6
The trial for the crimes in Čuška village <i>He always shot for Serbia</i>	7
Trial to a spokesman of Serbian National Movement 1389 <i>Fear and violence</i>	10

## III The experiences from the world

Rape crime <i>The victims from the side of winners and from the defeated ones</i> <i>Rape: a basic tool of militarism</i>	11
About our monitoring 1325 <i>Violence as a disease</i>	13

## IV News from the world

Burundi and the United States adopted the NAP	14
The book from Kosovo on 1325	15

# Women in Black and 1325 Resolution



## **Working Group for monitoring of the implementation of the NAP for the R 1325 submitted questions to the Institutions**

The working group for monitoring the implementation of NAP for the R 1325 in Serbia started with the sending questions to the state bodies and other institutions in charge of the implementation of the NAP in Serbia. Members of the working group, activists of eight civil society organizations from all over Serbia, sent more than 150 questions to the Ministry of Defense, the Military Academy and all the actors and the institutions of the security sector, in the course of December. The questions were formulated so that they are related to the 48 indicators of Women in Black, which the working group adopted during the practice process led by the representatives of the UN Women from New York in Radmilovac and during the regular working meetings of working groups in June and July this year. The indicators are related to the pillars, objectives and activities listed in the NAP for the implementation of the Resolution 1325 adopted by Serbia in December of 2010 and in the way they have pledged to meet these objectives in the period 2010 –2015.

Indicators of Women in Black are intended to examine whether the institutions have failed to conduct all the activities laid down by the NAP and to what extent.

In response to the traditional military approach to security, which is practiced by the institutions, the working group focused on issues connected to the work, relationships and accountability of the state institutions for the problems of human security of citizens in Serbia, such as: programs to assist refugees and internally displaced persons, rehabilitation and reintegration programs for men and women who participated in the wars of the 1990`s, compensation programs for women victims of rape in war, disarmament, cooperation of the state with the NGO sector when it comes to making decisions, measures or policies, (especially concerning NGO`s working with groups which influence certain decisions, measures or policies, such as women, multiply discriminated groups and minority groups), transparency of budgetary spending and funding of NGO`s (NGO structure which take money from the budget), state reports on the success of the strategy adopted by the state, the representation of women in management positions in the security sector and within the academic institutions, security sector, the objectivity of the education content, training syllabus in government and education institutions in the security sector, when it comes to issues of gender, gender equality, humanitarian law, protection of women in conflict and victims of war, sexual violence during war, women`s participation in conflicts, war crimes, overcoming stereotypes and affirming the role of women in peace negotiations and processes, the participation of women in decision-making processes...

The Working Group welcomed the establishment of the bodies envisaged in the NAP, Multi-sector body and the Political Council and wished them a happy and successful work on the implementation of the NAP!

## Strolling of `modern` and `Pan-Serbian state`

On 5<sup>th</sup> December, the Belgrade Center for Cultural Decontamination promoted a book `Civic and non-civic values in Serbia after Milošević time`, published by Women in Black. The editors of the book are Ola Listhaug, Sabrina Ramet and Dragana Dulić. During the promotion Latinka Perović, a historian, talked about the book, as well as Dubravka Stojanović and Sonja Biserko, President of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia. Perović spoke about the use of the term `Kingdom of Heaven` for Kosovo and for secular purposes, that of `the Kingdom on Earth` for Serbia. She believes that the analysis of the Belgrade and Kosovo policy after 1999 would show its breakdown, and that Kosovo reflects the continuity and discontinuity of Belgrade's policy for Kosovo until 2000. The discontinuity of the Belgrade Kosovo policy is apparent, that policy is always the same, Perović said. She reminded that Serbia responded through its patriarchal values to the European and civic values, and that the Serbian society has two fundamental bifurcations in the commitment to `modern` or to `Pan-Serbian state`. The values of `economic interdependence` and `cosmopolitanism` do not correspond with Serbia, which is `losing the ability to communicate with the environment`, Perović concluded.

Biserko said that `civic values are not in the focus of the political elite in Serbia.` She accused the West because it is only after the 2008, when embassies of those countries which had recognized Kosovo were set on fire in Belgrade, that Vojislav Koštunica was rejected by his democratic partners. `Compared to the past, the Serbian elite does not accept the reality, and the Democratic Party is the biggest culprit for this`, concluded Biserko.

Stojanović commented on the published results of the elections in Croatia and Slovenia, countries which are the closest to the EU from all the other countries of former Yugoslavia: `The election results show voters who have matured, while Serbia is waiting for an unlikely candidacy for the EU. Serbia is not a post-conflict society. It has not yet emerged from the conflict. There is a commitment of the citizens of Serbia to Europe, but it is wavering. Though 70 percent of Serbian citizens wish to join the European Union, as many as 20 percent of them do not have confidence in European institutions`, she said.

Listhaug explained that the book on civic values in Serbia is based on thousands of interviews, and comparing the regions within Serbia, Serbia with its neighbors in the region, as well as Serbia with the Europe. The conclusion is that Serbia has a similar value system to that of European countries with similar political background. Dulić said that Serbia is in `endemic and deep moral crisis` and it is the responsibility of its political and intellectual elites. `I do not know if common sense is still present in Serbia`, concluded Dragana Dulić, as editor of the Serbian edition of this book.

Ramet, who was also involved in the preparation process of this book, teaches politics at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim and is a senior associate at the Center for the Study of Civil War at the International Institute for Peace in Oslo. She is the author of 12, as well as editor and coeditor of 26 books. The title of her latest book is `Serbia and Serbs in World War II`, edited by Listhaug (Palgrave, 2011).



# Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security

## **The anniversary of the aggression on Dubrovnik**

### ***The execution of the city and people***

‘We demand both from the Office of the Serbian Prosecutor on War Crimes and the Supreme State Prosecutor of Montenegro, to accuse Veljko Kadijević, who was at that time Federal Secretary for National Defense, and Blagoje Adžić, Chief of Staff of the JNA, for the attacks on Dubrovnik, on the basis of command responsibility and based on the established facts’, says the statement of Women in Black – Belgrade and Anima – Kotor, on 6<sup>th</sup> of December, 2011. These peace groups maintain that ‘JNA General Staff, as the aggressor’s army, ordered the blockade of Dubrovnik, as UNESCO heritage, which was demilitarized in a circle of 30 miles.’

During the ‘War for Peace’, the combined forces of the JNA, Territorial Defense of Montenegro and Montenegrin and Eastern Herzegovina paramilitaries enforced on 17<sup>th</sup> of September in 1991 a total blockade of the city. The population was cut off water, and electricity supply and all possibility of receiving humanitarian aid. From 1<sup>st</sup> of October until 20<sup>th</sup> of November in 1991, the city was systematically shelled, looted and burned, as well as the villages in the area of Konavle and coastal villages, too. The citizens and the villagers were expelled from their homes and tortured by arbitrary shelling, hunger, cold exposure and interrogation of 50,000 of people. The prisoners were tortured in the detention camps in Bileća and Morinj. The fiercest attack on the old town was on 6<sup>th</sup> of December and it lasted 12 hours. More than 5,000 missiles, cluster bombs and sulfurs were fired, though they are prohibited by the international conventions. Almost 30% of the old town was destroyed, and by the end of the siege, more than 300 people were killed. The siege from the air, from land and the sea continued until May of 1992. The intent of political leaders in Podgorica and Belgrade was to create by force a new Republic of Dubrovnik which would be connected to a ‘Greater Serbia’, it is written in the statement of Women in Black and Anima.

The Hague Tribunal sentenced JNA general Pavle Strugar to eight years in prison, declaring him guilty of the shelling of Dubrovnik. The blame for the shelling of Dubrovnik acknowledged Vice Admiral Miodrag Jokić in front of the Hague Tribunal and he was sentenced to seven years of prison. District Attorney’s Office in Dubrovnik indicted war mayor of Trebinje Božidar Vučurević, in October of 2008. He was arrested in Serbia by the beginning of April, in 2011. Was released on parole two months later, after which he fled to Trebinje. This is the direct responsibility of the Serbian authorities. The Supreme State Prosecutor of Montenegro filed charges against six former members of the JNA in August of 2008, for war crimes in the Morinj camp. In the long legal proceedings, which are not questioning the command responsibility, the witnesses were subjected to a series of inconveniences in order to collapse their



dignity. After the sentences, by intervention of the Court of Appeals, the procedure was resumed from the beginning. Everything points to the reluctance of the judicial system in Montenegro to serve justice for the victims and to condemn the war-mongering policy of the former and current leadership and Milo Djukanović who gave his statement at that time: The attack on Dubrovnik is meaningful and any contrary view is a betrayal`. In order to



commemorate the victims of crimes in Dubrovnik twenty years ago, the two organizations held on 6<sup>th</sup> December at 6 pm a synchronized campaign called `We remember the killing of the city and the execution of people` in Kotor (Square of Arms) and in Belgrade (Republic Square). In the Republic Square twenty activists held banners with pictures of Dubrovnik and messages `we remember killing of people`. Women in Black activist Sonja Prodanović said that the goal of the campaign is to `show that even in the hardest times, it was possible in Belgrade to be against the war and that we do not forget the crimes in Dubrovnik.` She urged the younger generations to never allow anyone to close them, either the society or ethno-nationalism, because, as stated, these are not moral and ethical categories, but the dogmas of narrow-minded people. Members of the Center for Women and Peace Education of Anima from Kotor, distributed during their performance entitled as `We remember the killing of the people` to passers-by, who were silently watching the performance, fliers which said, among the other things: `The siege of Dubrovnik lasted for 8 months (1. IX 1991 - 24.V 1992); in the shelling of Dubrovnik, over 300 people were killed, 50,000 were driven and the shelling has destroyed 30% of the old part of the city`.

## Regional cooperation

### ***We have to identify the attackers on Vukovar***

Marking the twentieth anniversary of the attack on Vukovar, organized by the Center for Human Rights from Zagreb and *Document* - Center for Dealing with the past, on 8<sup>th</sup> and on 9<sup>th</sup> of December, a conference was held in Vukovar, entitled `Regional cooperation - 20 years after the attack on Vukovar`. During the meeting, which was organized in cooperation with the City of Vukovar, and with the support of Open Society Foundation, the participants in the discussion from Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo spoke about the social and political aspects of war and postwar reconstruction of Vukovar, the political prospects of regional cooperation and the possibilities of institutionalization of RECOM in the post-Yugoslav countries.

Vukovar Mayor Željko Sabo rated RECOM as an initiative which supports of Vukovar's insistence on the punishment of all crimes and uncovering the truth about the missing. War veteran, now attorney and counselor of the President of Croatia for the issues of war veterans Predrag Matić, Mirko Kovačić from Vukovar and Staša Zajović from Women in Black of Belgrade spoke about the social and political aspects of war and postwar reconstruction of Vukovar. Matić said that the Vukovar needs such



gatherings and discussions in order to finally leave the 'trenches of 1991.' and enter the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In order to do this, the following preconditions are essential: defining who was the attacker, who defended himself and who was the victim. He stressed that we need to know the fate of all missing persons, find their remains and bury them with dignity and appropriately punish those who are responsible for committing war crimes. Kovačić believes that it is our duty to ensure that our children and grandchildren will not have to dig through the archives and to prove what happened, but to gather facts about the events in this region. Zajović challenged the political climate in Serbia as a precondition of peace. In her view, the present government always insists on the responsibility of others, and speaks only of the victims of their own people, but lacks the accountability for the actions of our past. In the context of the attack on Vukovar, Zajović said that today the present culture in Serbia is the deliberate oblivion of the past as a political strategy. Studies have shown that only 20% of people in Serbia believe that the crime was committed in Vukovar and a selective memory is actual.

## **The trial for the crimes in Čuška village**

### ***He always shot for Serbia***

At the trial for members of the paramilitary group 'Jackals', reserve police and territorial defense for war crimes in the village of Čuška, P.S. as a protected witness, a former member of the 'Jackal' paramilitary group, asked this week to testify under his full name and surname, and in the presence of the public. Zoran Rašković, alias P.S. is a witness of the crime.

Women in Black, has been continuously monitoring the trial for crimes in the village of Čuška since its inception in December of 2010.

The trial for war crimes in the village of Čuška (municipality of Peć, Kosovo) began before of the War Crimes Chamber of the Special Court in Belgrade in December 2010.

The indictment charges Toplica Miladinović, Srećko Popović, Slaviša Kastratović, Bogićević Boban, Zvonimir Cvetković, Radoslav Brnović, Korićanin Vidoje, Veljko Korićanin and Abdullah Sokić as 'Jackals' who executed 44 Albanian civilians in May of 1999. The names of the victims are: Rasim Rama, Muhamet Šalja, Brahim Gaši, Kadri Čeku, Hasan Čeku, Halit Gaši, Selim Gaši, Sulj Gaši, Skender Gaši, Muharem Gaši, Ibiš Gaši, Čauš Ljuši, Avdi Beriša. In the house of Azem Gaši, they killed: Emin Gaši, Jašar Gaši, Ram Gaši, Haljilj Gaši, Iber Keljmendi, Skender Keljmendi, Dem Keljmendi, Uk Ljuši, Osmani Ljuši, Ismet Dima, Gani Avdiljaj. The only person who survived was Isa Gaši. Ahmet Gaši, Brahim Gaši, Besim Keljmendi, Erdogan Keljmendi, Brahim Keljmendi, Mentor Keljmendi, Sefedin Ljuši, Hasan Avdiljaj, Ramiz Ljuši were executed in the house of Dem Gaši. The only one who survived was Redž Keljmendi. Mus Gaši, Džafer Gaši, Abdulah Ljuši, Džafer Ljuši, Arijan Ljuši, Zećir Aljijaj, Isuf Šalja, Emruh Krasnići, Skender Aljuši, Hazir Beriša were executed in the house of Sahit Gaši. The only one who survived in this house was Hazir Beriša. The accused covered their dead bodies with blankets and sponge and set them on fire. They have destroyed more than forty houses, forty estates, and expelled from the village more than 400 Albanian civilians – women, children and the elderly people. As a protected witness, P.S.- Rašković stated: 'When I was eighteen, I applied for the army, because I am from a patriarchal environment. They sent me off to the army, eagerly, like in the Serbian saying that a Serb eagerly joins the army.' So I joined military

police from 1997. until 1998. In 1998., by the end of December I went back to Peć, the very same day when there was the funeral for the six boys executed by the Albanians in `Panda` cafe. The late Patriarch Pavle held the funeral service to the dead juveniles. And then a `Crystal Night` followed and Serbs broke windows of all the Albanian shops they could reach. The witness continued: `I found a job as an armed guard. There I met Nebojša Minić, whose nickname was *Dead*, (`Jackals` commander who died unpunished in Argentina), his girlfriend Rada lived in the same building where I used to live with my parents. He introduced me to Ranko Momić. Both of them impressed me, so I became his driver. I drove them when they went into robbery. Albanian houses were looted randomly. Mišić Siniša was with us, too. Ranko Momić forced an Albanian girl to orally satisfy him while the looting of her house was going on. The *Dead* spent fifteen years in jail and also he was a prisoner on the Bare Island. He was only thirteen when he killed one Albanian. He was a body guard of Bora Vlahović, president of Peć municipality, an SPS staff, which is famous for stealing votes of the Serbian Radical Party. One night he would go for a robbery of an Albanian house and the next day he would sit in the police station taking the statement from the very same Albanian who came to report the robbery. He would laugh into his face. When the bombing started, a *Dead* called us to smash one of the Albanian discotheques, he took from there everything he could, then he told me to go to the Federal Police Department and then to the barracks. There he met captain Toplica Miladinović and he took over twenty Kalashnikov rifles and about forty bombs from him. He gathered ten people in the café `Old bridge` and that is how we became the `Jackals`. Among us was Ranko Momić, who was showing off for being a member of Arkan`s `Tigers`, who had passed through all Bosnia and Srebrenica, also Zoran Obradović called *Bug*, well known locally, Siniša Mišić, who soon took for himself a mansion of one Albanian, then Nikolić Miloško known as Šumadija, who was a warrior of `Thunders` in Bosnia, Srećko Popović, who joined us from the very first day, and there was also Kastratović, who had a beard. *Dead* informed us that our state needed us, that we were part of the legal military forces, but we were more like a team, and not a formation. And so *Dead* became the leader. The first night we drove some Albanians near the market. All the members of the team had already moved into Albanian homes. We got the weapons, uniforms and a couple of jeeps. *Dead* was going through every door in the city by banging it open with his foot. He was important in the city, everybody had heard of him before. Before the village of Čuška, the crimes occurred in Bražanik (near Peć) and in the village of Ljubenić (municipality of Peć, where on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April in 1999. sixty-six Albanian civilians were killed, but this is not the subject of this indictment). On 14<sup>th</sup> of May, in 1999. at 8 am in the house of a wealthy Albanian who was already expelled, we had a Staff meeting. *Dead* told me to give him a ride to Toplica Miladinović. When we got back, he said: `Lets move and hunt the Germans`. We greased ourselves with soot from the exhaust pipe and shoe polish. Most of us did not know where exactly we were going. Around 9 am, between twenty five or thirty of us in seven or ten vehicles went toward Priština-Peć highway. At a distance of 3 to 4 km village of Čuška is located, on the right side of the road. This Albanian village does not have any square, but only an enhancement. There was a dozen of reservists of the Territorial Defense and police with us. We started as usual. We never knew how far we would go. I mean, with the executions. We divided ourselves in four groups. The leader of the first one was *Dead*, in the another was *Vampire*, then *Daddy* (Srećko Popović), *Bulat* (I do not know why he is not accused by the indictment, because he was with us in Ljubenić), Zoran Obradović *Bug*, in a third one were: Ranko Bosanac, Mlađo Vuković and Memo (he did not kill anyone, he was too young) and in the



fourth group were: Šumadija, Bata Lekić and Wolf. The groups went in four directions. The *Dead* went into the direction from which we had all come from. I stayed beside the vehicles as usual. When they entered the village, from one of the gates of the houses in Čuška village, two older Albanians with their raised arms went out and asked us if we needed anything. And then *Dead* and *Vampire* executed them immediately. No one was shooting in our direction. Nowhere did I see a terrorist. Then we dispersed through the village. The fight began. First we heard gunfire from all sides. Then we saw burning, houses were burning. Then refugees were coming, women, children and elderly people. The children were screaming. You can not recreate that scene because you have not experienced it before. It would be like in movies about the Vietnam War, when Americans are forcing those Asians. We expelled all of them to Albania. There is Zoran Obradović, the *Bug*, he drove a stolen car. And *Dead* gunned down the car, riddled in bursts. *Bug* caught the eye of *Dead* because he killed an Albanian child on the highway Peć-Kula-Rožaje. Even the greatest executioners in the unit were horrified with this. He used to explain to me how to plaster, you approach to Albanian from his back, under a certain angle, then you shoot his head and it is easy to see how his skull and brain are flying in the air. Bata Lekić was a collector of golden necklaces, he would tear them apart and would ask for money. Dislodgement of Albanians took us quite a lot of our time. Then the leaders of those groups came back with the army, houses were burning and deportation of Albanian civilians continued. *Dead* used to tell us we should execute everybody older than eleven up to seventy-seven years old. Čale-Srećko Popović shot three Albanians against the wall, `for Serbia`, he said. He always shot for Serbia. There was a group of Albanian civilians, men, about fifteen of them. Ranko Bosanac told them not to feel frightened, there was a bus which would take them to the Federal Police Department in Peć. He told them to throw everything out of their pockets: watches, bracelets, rings, identification cards. Then *Dead* told a kid to collect those things, and I can not explain to you the fear of that child, he was all wet and shitty of the fear he felt. *Vampire* placed on his head the barrel of a Kalashnikov. But then *Dead* said to him: `Let him go, we have to spare somebody so that he would talk to the other Albanians about this.` Ranko, Šumadija and Mlađo Vuković entered one house. We heard the rifles from the inside and then Šumadija ran out of it and he shouted, as usual: `Fuck the mosque and the mosque orchestra!` Mlađo set the house on fire. Then we made a pause, to refresh ourselves, but he said we should continue and expel those `vermin`. We went to Pavljani and Zahać. There we were deployed in two groups, we were fifteen to twenty persons in each. In the first group were Čale and Šumadija, and in the other *Dead* and Ranko Bosanac. On the road there was an old man, Albanian, sitting, so they asked him what he hadn't left already, and when he said it was his house, they killed him. I saw *Bug* who was killing even the dogs. In Pavljani I saw Ranko Bosanac performing sexual intercourse with an Albanian woman. She was folded over the couch. He then asked us if we wanted to do it a bit, while she whimpered, she did not cry. When he came, he wiped it on her, and then he pushed his Kalashnikov inside her vagina and fired. I have reformed my consciousness. That cannot be justified with the words – they did the same to us. A villain is a villain. Then we arrived in Zahać. One boy from Kragujevac was riding a donkey and was shooting from a Kalashnikov, and Srećko Popović told me to leave him alone, because it was a relief for him. In Čuška we were organized, but not in Zahać. Some thirty houses were burned, people were robbed and driven out, but I did not see any mass murder. Ranko and *Dead* had a disagreement over how Albanians speak out in the fastest possible way. *Dead* said that when he switches a hot iron and puts it on the body of an Albanian, as soon as the iron begins to burn, he speaks out.

And Ranko claimed it was faster when he struck him with a rifle butt on the head, and while he shakes his brain, and peels his hair off from his head. In this unit all the people were not war crimes perpetrators. We were there until three o'clock in the afternoon. From there we left with about two dozen stolen cars. Ranko Bosanac had blank certificates signed by the Albanians, giving their cars to him, just not to be executed. Srećko Popović and *Šumadija* killed two Albanians near one barn. When we returned, we went back to the track singing, with three-fingers raised in the air. Later I learned that the real reason to go to the village was Agim Čeku. Then I heard *Dead* saying to Siniša: ` I am impressed by the way you slaughtered him, so that I did not have to kill him afterwards.` Then I took *Dead* to the headquarters of Toplica Miladinović. My testimony refers to this certain day, I was personally present in those events and I saw it all, by myself. The parents of a protected witness were threatened on the eve of the trial. In the beginning of October, the windows on the official car of Serbian War Crimes Prosecutor Vladimir Vukčević were smashed, which was linked to the start of the trial for the crimes in the village of Čuška.

Miloš Urošević

## **Trial to a spokesman of Serbian National Movement 1389**

### ***Fear and violence***

On 5th December, the trial to the spokesman of Serbian National Movement 1389 organization Miša Vacić continued, who is accused for discrimination of members of LGBT community, shortly before Pride Parade in 2009, which was canceled the day before it was to take place. The witness Marija Savić, representative of Labris, organization striving for the rights of lesbians, spoke about the atmosphere of fear and violence just before the Pride Parade was about to take place in 2009, in connection with the activities of the organization ` Serbian National Movement 1389` that contributed to it. According to her, they called for a lynch of the members of LGBT population and in such an atmosphere neither police nor other state institutions could guarantee security to the participants of Parade. She also adduced to the court all the statements Miša Vacić gave to the media, calling for the lynch of the members of LGBT population. The witness said that the organizing committee of the Pride Parade 2009, due to security reasons, had to leave Serbia immediately after the parade ban. The accused exclaimed: ` Nonsense!` and then the judge warned him. ` Majda Puača, member of the Pride Parade organizing committee, had to seek asylum from the USA embassy a year after, due to threats and attacks she was exposed to`, Savić said. She added that the members of the Serbian National Movement 1389 obtained telephone numbers and the addresses of the members of the Pride Parade Organizing committee on their Facebook profile, to all the interested persons. She gave a quotation of some of the statements of Miša Vacić, given to the media before the Parade was to take place: ` If the Pride Parade goes ahead, people will break it to pieces` or ` it will be Pride parade of smashing their noses, we will be on the streets and we will do what is needed in order to avoid this embarrassment for the Serbian people`, or ` as far as we are concerned, the Pride Parade will not be held`, also: ` Mayor Dragan Đilas should look up to mayor of Moscow who forbade the Parade of disgrace` ...` We do know`, she continued, ` what happened to Sodoma and Gomora, they were burned`, and she finished with the last quotation: ` On that day, all the Serbian patriots will come out on the streets and will stop this shame of spreading around. homosexuality is a kind of disease, a social deviation, and a Pride Parade is the promotion of this disease`. During the trial she mentioned a project of the

organization 'Protect your child', with which he tended to get the photos of the participants of the Pride Parade from the media, in order to inform by them parents who they were supposed to protect their children from. Savić added she felt frightened those days, she avoided walking through the city, because she faced threats. Also, due to the same reasons, many participants of the Pride Parade gave up, and some of them were making masks to cover their faces, not to be recognized. Savić informed the court that she saw the accused on 10th of July in 2009, when Women in Black had their action marking the Srebrenica Genocide, while he shouted: 'Kill the gay!' and 'Homosexual freaks!'.

The trial will continue on 23d of January in 2012.

Miloš Urošević.

## III The experiences from the world

### Rape crime

#### *The victims from the side of winners and from the defeated ones*

#### *Rape: a basic tool of militarism*

Twenty years ago, the first "Žene u Crnom" demonstration in Belgrade was held on October 11, 1991 to protest against rape and ethnic cleansing. This was one of the first Women in Black demonstrations to be held outside Jerusalem, where Israeli and Palestinian women had started a weekly vigil in 1989. Since then, the Women in Black movement has spread around the world, from India to Colombia, London to Seattle. The core philosophy is feminist, anti-nationalist and anti-militarist. Women in Black use non-violent means to take collective responsibility to oppose nationalism and violence, especially where 'their' political leaders and militaries are complicit in perpetrating, facilitating or justifying armed violence.

This October, women from all parts of the former Yugoslavia were invited to Belgrade for the twentieth anniversary, together with several women like me, who had supported Women in Black and other feminist resisters at the time. There were tears and anger as well as songs and hugs. We listened to women from Srebrenica who spoke about losing sons and husbands in the horror of the July 1995 massacre. They talked about searching for the bodies of the massacred men. They didn't talk about being raped. Yet a number of women in that room were rape survivors.

From Rwanda to Bosnia, the rapes that were inflicted on so many women during these wars are still a shameful horror that women are expected to bear alone. By comparison, murder is a shared grief, a dreadful war wound, but at least one that gets a sympathetic response, recognition and sometimes even a war crimes tribunal. Notwithstanding the inclusion of rape and other kinds of sexual violence in the Rome Statute that establishes the International Criminal Court and most national legal systems, the 2009 UN Security Council Resolution 1888 acknowledged that very few war rapists have been prosecuted.

The deeply personal sense of revulsion and shame, often compounded by fears of family rejection,



that have persisted around rape in war, increase the political effectiveness of rape as a weapon in ethnic cleansing and war. I recall sitting in on some 'women's knitting groups' in refugee camps in 1993-4. These knitting sessions each afternoon were ostensibly for making things that would be sold, but their importance went far beyond their income generating role. They were set up by trained rape counselors because women didn't come and talk in meetings advertised as counseling sessions. Recognizing that the rape survivors saw themselves first and foremost as carers responsible for children (and often the elderly), a time and space was set aside for women to work with their hands and earn money while other volunteers looked after the children. I drove an aid truck with Women's Aid to Former Yugoslavia, a voluntary group that raised money to train the counselors. We brought in wool as well as clothes and medicines, and then paid the women for their beautiful lacy table cloths and woolen slippers and mitts. This gave the women a recognizable reason to come together, and of course they talked as their hands flew with the crochet hooks and knitting needles.

On one occasion amid the quiet industry and talk, I suddenly became aware of a different electricity in the room. Women were drawing closer to one particular woman who had been talking softly and then began to cry. The counselor murmured a gentle question, or perhaps gave a kind of permission... I didn't need an interpreter to realize that this was the context in which at least some of the Bosnian women could begin to talk about being raped. Outside the knitting room they seldom if ever spoke of such things, even to each other.

Žene u Crnom (WiB) collated testimonies of rape to expose this crime that is so often rendered invisible in the 'chaos' of war. Their 2008 book *"Women's Side of War"*, featured testimonies from women from many different backgrounds and ethnicity – Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Jewish and Albanian – underscoring the fact that rape was used by men and militias from all 'sides'. In one harrowing account, a teenager said, "I sometimes ask myself if it all happened to me. To me – of all people... to me (now), a man is a horrifying force of violence and pain. I know that they are not at all like that image I have, but the fear I feel is stronger than a rational feeling." That raped teenager's feelings would be recognizable to others in countries plagued by internal wars (what used to be called civil war).

On the African continent, women and young girls may be raped by one lot of militia coming through their villages and then they risk being raped again when the "liberators" arrive. Nor can they be sure of protection in the refugee camps. As other kinds of testimonies and reports have exposed, women are also raped by international "peace" keepers and other men who assume positions of power, as well as by male refugees that continue to prey on the vulnerable in refugee camps, even as they are supposed to be protected and looked after by the United Nations and its international institutions.

Since the ground-breaking UN Security Council Resolution 1325, there have been several dealing more specifically with violence against women in conflict situations. UNSCR 1820 (2008), noted that "rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide". UNSCR 1888 (2009) called for an end to impunity for such crimes. UNSCR 1889 (2009) went beyond demanding prosecution for war rapists and training for peacekeepers, and reiterates that women need to be included at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for disarmament, the prevention, management and resolution of conflict, and the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. Such resolutions are routinely ignored.

Rape is a common weapon of war, inextricably bound up with systems and attitudes about power, and the rights conferred by superior force. Rape serves as a powerful tool of occupation and conquest, and as an incentive and reward for military success. In war, rape frequently carries ethnic as well as misogynistic purpose, ramming home the humiliation of the vanquished, with amplified effect if the women have to give birth to 'enemy' children. And sexual violence is not only a feature of armed conflicts, but has been used time and again to try to humiliate and silence strong articulate women, from Greenham peace campaigners in the 1980s to journalists and activists involved in the Arab uprisings.

Of course, men may also be victimized individually by sexual violence. Not only is this deliberately used by some men to reduce others to the powerless status of despised women, but male rape is also a tactic that is amplified by homophobic cultures of prejudice and fear. Nonetheless, rape is an overwhelmingly male crime perpetrated against women. Even men who would never dream of committing rape continue to build and sustain the institutions and norms on which this version of power depends. Their complicity extends to the manufacture, trade and control of weapons used to coerce and rape, and the political and financial profits they gain from maintain economic reliance on military-related industrial infrastructures.

Tackling sexual violence needs more than the high-minded exhortations of UN resolutions. These are better than nothing, but they miss the point when they treat women as victims with inherent vulnerabilities. As demonstrated by Women in Black and many other feminist groups working against militarism and sexual violence, women have been leading the way regardless of opposition, threats and shoestring resources. Men – individually and collectively – have to do much more now to recognize their own responsibilities, and to challenge and change the mindsets, structures and expectations of patriarchal power and militarism.

Rebecca Johnson is Director of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy and a former senior advisor to the International WMD Blix Commission (2004-06)

## **About our monitoring 1325**

### ***Violence as a disease***

Leyman Gbowee, Nobel peace price winner for 2011, honored `GNWP-ICAN` for brilliant initiative in monitoring the 1325 Resolution, presented by the-Global Network of Women Peace Builders – GNWP). Generally speaking, the understanding of the gender dimension of the conflicts is spreading together with the role of women in peace building, though the progress is rather slow, imbalanced, lacks with resources and support, Mavic-Cabrera-Balleza stated. Though there are thirty two national action plans, it is not enough, because one hundred and ninety three countries should implement the Resolution. She presented the results of monitoring the implementation of the Resolution 1325 in Afghanistan, Colombia, Congo, Liberia and Uganda, as well as experience from Burundi, Canada, Nepal, The Netherlands, Philippines, Spain and Sweden. All the results show that women do not participate enough in the management of local governments or in the security sector. There is a large gap in the implementation of gender responsible laws and policies, including the NAPs for Resolution 1325. Resources, capacities, and political influence of the NAP implementation body within the government is just as important as its financing and the indicators. Health care of women

victims of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict areas such as Burundi and Nepal was the focus of the presentation of GNWP on 25th of October in cooperation with the UN Population Fund. Both countries do not have sufficient capacity and experience for such cases. They are not remedied or treated like any other disease. Medical evidences is not taken as prescribed, so women do not have appropriate treatment or access to justice. Although reports from 2010 show progress in the first decade after the adoption of Resolution 1325, all agreed that there are still no mechanisms to evaluate and monitor the implementation of Resolution 1325 and Resolution 1820, 1960, 1888 and 1889 on the regional, national and global levels. In order to span the gap between the political discussions, implementation or action on the terrain regarding peace building, women and security questions, GNWP initiated civil society capacity building, especially women organizations. It was with the purpose to enable them to be in the position of monitoring the implementation of the 1325 Resolution efficiently, support its implementation on the national level, provide the perspective on its global implementation, enrich its implementation with experiences so far, to work constantly on all the Resolutions and not only on 1325 Resolution in order to increase the responsibility of the governments. GNWP determined large discrepancy in the data regarding women, peace and security in all the domains, especially in the data on the sexual and gender-based violence. The data is collected poorly, resulting in unreliable analysis and the gender differentiation of data is more the exception than the rule. Financing of the civil society organizations which deal with women, peace and security is insufficient. The donors favor `project programs` rather than `core`. In post-conflict countries, donations are not transparent. Unlike the previous, the analysis of 2011 shows limited progress. Findings from the 2011 observed specific defects and views on the implementation of the resolution and its challenges. GNWP are dedicated to 1325 Resolution monitoring in order to formulate a solid database on the Resolution, identify the best practice, gaps and challenges and give the recommendation on the direction to polarize the energy and the resources so that the implementation would be successful. The revised report: `Women count-UN Security Council 1325 Resolution-civil society organizations monitoring,` should be published these days.

The text downloaded from the site: <http://www.gnwp.org/press-release-gnwp-presents-outcomes-of-civil-society-monitoring-of-un-security-council-resolution-1325>

## IV News from the world

### **Burundi and the United States adopted the NAP**

On 14th of December, Burundi adopted 1325 Resolution NAP. In this post-conflict state there are thirty-four women deputies out of one hundred and six, which is the total number of Parliament seats, after the elections of 2010. The three NAP cornerstones are: to include women in conflict prevention, peace process and post conflict renewal. The Nap was formulated through regional consultations of the Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS) organization with the with the Ministry of Gender Equality and other stakeholders in the Great Lakes region (Burundi, Congo and Rwanda). Those three countries have a similar history, mutual borders and women expe-





periences during the conflicts. USA adopted NAP on 19th December. On that occasion, U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN Susan Rice said before the world organization: `Women make up half of the world's wisdom, talent and creativity. The United States long ago realized that the exclusion of women from the process of creating the politics of the world is not responsible and credible in the increasingly complex and complicated international relations. We have a big job in front of all of us. About three percent of women are involved today in the processes of mediation, and even eight percent in peace negotiations. The goal of NAP is to change this`.

USA NAP **could be downloaded from here:** [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/US\\_National\\_Action\\_Plan\\_on\\_Women\\_Peace\\_and\\_Security.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/US_National_Action_Plan_on_Women_Peace_and_Security.pdf)

### **The book from Kosovo on 1325**

Kosovo Women Network published the book on 1325 Resolution. In the first chapter of the book, the issue of women participation in the international organizations, negotiations, politics and police in Kosovo is discussed. The second chapter focuses on prevention, protection, reconstruction, maintenance of women security and the parameters which were chosen by the respondents during the research: sexual violence in war, conflict prevention, human trafficking, domestic violence and human security within a broader context. In the conclusion we can find more about the factors that helped or hindered the implementation of the 1325 Resolution and suggestions about how to prevent it.

**The book could be downloaded from here:**  
[http://www.womensnetwork.org/images/pdf/KWN\\_1325\\_Facts\\_and\\_Fables.pdf](http://www.womensnetwork.org/images/pdf/KWN_1325_Facts_and_Fables.pdf)

Impresum

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