

# **WOMEN'S COURT** Feminist Approach to Justice

Report on implemented activities January - December 2011.



ŽENSKI SUD ZA BIVŠU  
JUGOSLAVIJU



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# QUANTUTATIVE REPORT

## *A brief history of the Initiative to organize the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia*

The initiative for the Women's Court (WC) has existed for more than ten years; it was launched in 2000 in Sarajevo, by Žarana Papić, philosopher and Belgrade peace movement activist, and was supported by Corinne Kumar, who has already had considerable experience in organizing WC. The initiative generated great interest and led to the participation of the witnesses and activists from Bosnia and Herzegovina on the WC organized in Cape Town in 2001. Unfortunately, in 2002 Žarana Papić died; activists who are now members of the Initiative Board continued to participate in numerous international initiatives for justice: Women's Court, Permanent People's Tribunal, and organized many conferences for peace and justice in their countries. After the death of S. Milosevic and the fact that he died unpunished in the Hague Tribunal, Women in Black from Belgrade again initiated the organization of the People's Women's Court for crimes against peace, but it was informal in its character.

Between 2008 and 2010, the activists who have been part of the initiative from the very beginning (Staša Zajović, Nuna Zvizdić and Biljana Kašić) organized informal working meetings and decided to re-start the initiative, and to include activists from other countries. In Sarajevo (14 to 16 October, 2010) they held a preparatory workshop for the Women's Court - "Court of Women for the Balkans: Justice with Healing", where they discussed the importance of WC experience in creating new concepts of justice. The workshop was organized by Women to Women from Sarajevo, with the participation of members of the Initiative Board and WC organizers from several countries: Tunisia, India, Mexico, South Africa, Iraq and Cambodia. They also held (on October 16, 2010) a public forum "Women's Court - Justice with Healing" attended by the participants of the workshops, but also other women from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have enthusiastically embraced the idea of the Women's Court. In December 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> 2010, in Pristina, the initiative was named – The Initiative for the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia, IB members agreed joint activities and decided that Women in Black – Belgrade will be the leading organization in charge for the program activities, which will be coordinated with the organizations of the Initiative Board.

Initiative Board members are: "Women Studies" and "Women in Black", Belgrade (Serbia), "Women to Women", Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), "Center for Women Studies" and "Center for Women, Victims of War", Zagreb (Croatia), "Anima-Center for women and peace education", Kotor (Montenegro) and "Kosovo Women's Network", Priština (Kosovo).

It is important to note that in 2011, dozens of women's organizations and **104** civil society organizations from the former Yugoslavia became actively involved in organizing activities related to the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia. The exact list of civil society organizations that became involved in the activities is enclosed in **Annex 1**

It should be noted that in the previous report (April 2011) Women in Black gave the overview of previous activities; the report was presented at the working meeting in Tivat, Montenegro, held between 18 – 20 April 2011. This working meeting was attended by members of the Initiative Board: "Women in Black" Network (Serbia), "Anima" (Montenegro), "Women Studies" (Serbia), "Center for Women Victims of War" and "Center for Women Studies" (Croatia), "Kosovo Women's Network/KWN (Kosovo) and "Women to Women" (Bosnia and Herzegovina), as well as representatives of international organizations: UN Women and Kvinna til Kvinna. The meeting was about the current process of working on organising the Women's Court: educational activities, field experiences, challenges and other issues related to the Women's Court.

As we know, we were faced with a lack of support from the UN Women. Owing to the mutual support of the Initiative Board members, we have decided to continue with the planned activities. We also sought the help of feminist foundations Reconstruction Women's Fund (RWF) from Belgrade, the Global Fund for Women, Mama Cash and Urgent Action Fund, which all provided financial support, in accordance with their capacities. Since "Women in Black" is one of founders of RWF, and therefore has no right to financial assistance, it is assigned to partner organizations, which will be listed in the financial statement. Also, the organization *Kvinna till Kvinna* financially supported part of the activities. We would like to mention that our travel agency *Miross* from Belgrade (with which we have cooperated from the very beginning of our work) provided unselfish and unconditional support and help, because without it we would not have been able to implement activities according to the schedule. The agency, in solidarity, has borne the costs of educational seminars in Kotor (Montenegro) and Jezerčica (Croatia), and only later, after receiving the grants, Women in Black repaid the loan.

This example of solidarity shows the importance of fostering good friendly relations of trust and friendship that *Women in Black* insists upon. The amount of funds dates of receiving the grants, and the expenditure of funds can be found in financial report in **Annex 2**.

## **OVERVIEW OF IMPLEMENTED ACTIVITIES - WOMEN'S COURT FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA**

### **I Regional educational seminars „Women's Court- Feminist Approach to Justice"**

Women in Black, as the leading organisation in charge of the implementation of the activities related to the Women's Court, schedule and coordinate the realisation with other organisations, IB members.

Educational seminars consist of workshops, lectures, video presentations and documentaries and feature films. These three-day seminars are interactive and interdisciplinary, with the same validation of the activist experience and academic knowledge. **Annex 3** contains the agenda - the program of these educational seminars.

In accordance with the feminist approach to justice, while creating new models of justice, "Women in Black", with support from partner organizations - IB members, organized ten (10) regional seminars in 2011:

- *Banja Vrujci, near Belgrade, February 19-20, 2011*- experimental seminar, attended by WiB Network activists and several IB members (33 persons);
- *Sijarinska banja (South Serbia), April 8-10*: first regional seminar, for the women from South Serbia. Attended by 42 women from 9 towns in Serbia and 5 women from Skopje, FYR Macedonia;
- *Kotor, Montenegro, May 27-29* : organised by WiB and "Anima" from Kotor, attended by 27 activists from 9 towns;
- *Bečej, Vojvodina, June 17.- 19*: attended by 33 women from 10 towns;
- *Pirot (Stara planina), SE Serbia, June 24. - 26*: attended by 23 women from 7 towns;
- *Stubičke toplice, near Zagreb (Croatia), July 1.- 3*: organised by WiB and partner organisations from Croatia ("Center for Women, Victims of War" i "Center for WomenStudies"), attended by 36 women from 11 towns;
- *Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, September 16.-18*: seminar organised by "Women in Black" and "Women to Women" in Mostar/Bosnia and Herzegovina. The seminar was attended by 71 women from 16 towns;

- *Vrnjačka banja, October 28-30*: The seminar was attended by 50 women from 9 towns in Serbia, Montenegro, and Sweden;
- *Veles, FYR Macedonia, November 15 and 16*: organised by WiB Belgrade and "National Council for Gender Equality(NCGE)" – The seminar was attended by 32 activists from 10 towns from FYR Macedonia and Kosovo;
- *Lukavac (near Tuzla), Bosnia and Herzegovina, and December 11-12*: organised by WiB Belgrade and "Women of Srebrenica" from Tuzla; the seminar was attended by 16 WiB Serbia Network activists and 38 women from 10 towns Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The total number of participants of the seminars is **382** women, from **100** towns from the former Yugoslavia.

The above-mentioned activities were coordinated by a team of activists: Daša Duhaček, Ivana Vitas, Ljupka Kovačević, Nataša Lambić, Nevena Kostić, Marija Perković, Marijana Stojčić and Staša Zajović.

The logistic coordinator, for WiB Belgrade was Ljiljana Radovanović, supported by Melanija Lojpur, Saša Kovačević, Miloš Urošević, Goran Lazin, Zinaida Marjanović, Nataša Milanović, Uma Manojlović, Danica Pupovac etc. This activity included more than **10** persons.

The preparation of each seminar in Serbia included **10** activists of local partner organisations: Ivana Ristić (*Women for Peace, Leskovac*), Danica Jovanović and Sanja Nešić (*Women's Roma Banat Network, Novi Bečej*), Nada Dabić (*Esperanca, Novi Sad*), Anelija Najdenov and Gordana Simonović (*Independent Women's Center, Dimitrovgrad*), Jelena Memet and Slavica Stanojlović (*Sandglass, Kruševac*) and Dragica Pavlov Krstić (*Women from the South, Pirot*).

The preparation of regional seminars included **13** activists - Ervina Dabižinović and Ljupka Kovačević (*Anima, Kotor*), Nela Pamuković and Adriana Bego (*Center for Women, Victims of War, Zagreb*) and Sandra Prlenda (*Center for Women Studies, Zagreb*), Memnuna Zvizdić and Indira Mujić (*Women to Women, Sarajevo*) and Savka Todorovska and Dragana Drudevska (*NCGE, Skoplje*) and Igballe Rogova (*Kosovo Women's Network, Priština*) and Nura Begović, Hajra Ćatić and Ramiz Berbić (*Women of Srebrenica, Tuzla*).

More than **33** persons took part in organising and coordination of the seminars.

## **II Trainings for the Public Presentations within the Initiative for the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia.**

Women in Black have organised the following:

**Consultations/trainings for organising Women's Court, intended for the activists/participants of educational seminars Women's Court - Feminist Approach to Justice.**

According to the feminist principles of operation - equal importance of the work process and the final goal (the Women's Court itself); at the beginning of educational activities / regional seminar "Women in Black" have proposed a number of other activities.

The participants of these seminars decided in which activities they wished to participate and claimed responsibility for the organization of these activities:

- *Public presentations* (of the Initiative for organizing The Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia);

- *Projection of documentaries* about the experiences of Women's courts at the international level;
- *Projections of documentary films* about experiences of women's groups and networks related to the feminist approach to justice.

Training is conducted in order to inform the public, especially in local communities, about the concept and content of WC and about the feminist concept of justice in general, and in order to include as many women (and men) in the process of preparing the WC, creating support groups for organizing and holding WC, and so on.

So far, ten **(10)** consultations/trainings took place, organised primarily by "Women in Black" Belgrade, except in Kotor, where the training was organised by the activists of "Anima":

- *July 16<sup>th</sup>, Leskovac, South Serbia*: 22 activists from Leskovac, Vlasotince, Pirot, Surdulica, Zaječar and Lebane.
- *October 15<sup>th</sup>, Kotor, Montenegro*: organised by "Anima", with participants from following towns: Ulcinj, Podgorica, Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Nikšić, Cetinje, Budva, Tivat, Kotor and Herceg Novi).
- *October 22<sup>nd</sup>, Zagreb, Croatia*: in the office of "Women studies", attended by 20 women from 6 towns (Zagreb, Pakrac, Slavonski Brod, Korenica, Vukovar, Poreč )
- *November 1<sup>st</sup>, Novi Sad, Vojvodina*: in the office of "Art klinika", attended by 9 women from 3 towns (Novi Sad, Novi Bečej, Sombor)
- *November 3<sup>rd</sup>, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina*: the training took place in the House of Human Rights, and was attended by 22 women from 6 towns (Tuzla, Bijeljina, Sarajevo, Bratunac, Zenica, Srebrenica)
- *November 16<sup>th</sup>, Veles, FYR Macedonia*: the training took place in the hotel "Romantik" and was attended by 25 women from 4 towns in Macedonia (Skopje, Veles, Sveti Nikola, Kumanovo) and 7 women from 2 towns in Kosovo ( Đakovica, Priština)
- *November 20<sup>th</sup>, Zagreb*: the training took place in the office of "Center for Women, War Victims" and was attended by 20 women from 8 towns (Zagreb, Pakrac, Knin, Zadar, Slavonski Brod, Poreč, Korenica)
- *December 10<sup>th</sup>, Belgrade, central Serbia*: the training took place in the office of "Women in Black", and was attended by 9 persons from 5 towns ( Boljevac, Prijepolje, Kraljevo, Kragujevac, Belgrade)
- *December 12, Lukavac (near Tuzla), Bosnia and Herzegovina*: organised by WiB Belgrade and association "Women of Srebrenica" from Tuzla; participants were 16 activists of WiB Network Serbia and 38 women from 9 towns from Bosnia and Herzegovina and 1 town from Montenegro (Tuzla, Bratunac, Srebrenica, Potočari, Milići, Vlasenica, Bajramovići, Lukavac - Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Pljevlja - Montenegro) .
- *December 16<sup>th</sup>, Niš, SE Serbia*: the training took place in the office of "Alternative Culture Center/ACC" for 13 women from 4 towns (Niš. Leskovac, Kruševac, Doljevac)

The trainings were attended by **205** women from **64** towns of all former Yugoslav states, while WiB prepared the material (printed material, video material etc) in BCS, Albanian and Macedonian.

The trainings for public presentations were coordinated and led by Ervina Dabižinović, Ivana Vitas, Ljupka Kovačević, Nevena Kostić, Marija Perković and Staša Zajović. **(6)** The logistics – organisation, in Serbia, included **8** persons (Ljiljana Radovanović, Uma Manojlović, Nevena Kostić, Ivana Ristić, Emilija Drobnjak, Nada Dabić, Suzana Arizanović and Eva Dinić). The logistics – organisation, in Croatia, included Nela Pamuković and Adriana Bego, in Bosnia and Herzegovina Berina Džemajlović, Vedrana Frasto, Memnuna Zvizdić, Nura Begović, Hajra Čatić

and Ramiz Berbić, and in Macedonia Savka Todorovska and Dragana Drudevaska; in Montenegro the presentations were organised by Ervina Dabižanović and Ljupka Kovačević. (12) .

More than **26** persons took part in organising and coordination of the Trainings for the public presentations.

### **III Public presentations/PP of the Initiative for the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia**

#### **Bosnia and Herzegovina:**

- *Đulići, April 12:* in the office of the local organisation, organised by "Women in Black". Presentation was attended by more than **30** women from Đulići, Klisa, Šetići and other villages near Zvornik. The presentation was coordinated by Marija Perković, Nataša Lambić and Staša Zajović, while logistic coordinators were Ljiljana Radovanović, Suvada Selimović and Uma Manojlović.
- *Sarajevo, December 6<sup>th</sup>:* Organised by "Women to Women". The presentation was organised in the library of the Centre of Human Rights, and was attended by **13** women. The presentation was coordinated by Memnuna Zvizdić, Snježana Šušnjar and Valentina Pelizzer.
- *Sarajevo, December 15<sup>th</sup>:* Presentation was attended by **14** women; the presentation was organised in the "Catholic Relief Services" by Berina Džemailović and Vedrana Frasto, from the foundation "Care", from Sarajevo.
- *Tuzla, December 21<sup>st</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>:* Presentation was attended by **19** women; the presentation was organised by Mira Vilušić and Jasminka Jukić, from „"Horizonti" from Tuzla.
- *Zenica, December 21<sup>st</sup>:* Presentation was attended by **18** women. The presentation was organised in Women's bar "Veranda" by Duška Andrić Ružičić and Meliha Sendić, for the organisations "Infoteka Medica" and "Centre for legal aid to Women" from Zenica.
- *Brčko District 21<sup>st</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of December:* on both of Public Presentations group of fifteen women participated, members of Association of Detainees and Missing persons of Muslim nationality from Brčko District, where Public Presentations were held, and a host was Aida Mustavčević-Cipurković.
- *Vogošća, December 23<sup>rd</sup>:* The presentation was attended by **36** women. The presentation was organised by Besima Borić and Valentina Pelizzer, for the organisation "Korak dalje";
- *Tešanj, December 26<sup>th</sup>:* The presentation was attended by **15** women. Presentation was organised in the motel "Multisan", by Duška Andrić Ružičić and Meliha Sendić, for the organisations "Infoteka Medica" and "Center for legal aid to Women" from Zenica.
- *Bratunac, December 27<sup>th</sup>:* The presentation was organised by Stanojka Tešić, from the organisation "Forum of women from Bratunac", in the office of the organisation. The presentation was attended by **15** women.

In total, **11** Public Presentations were organized in nine towns. The presentations were attended by **175** women. It is also important to note that many of the public presentations were organized free of charge, so that the partner organization ("Women to Women") redirected the funds granted (for 2 PP) to other groups/NGOs, to organise public presentations in the future. Twenty one women took part in the organization and realization of presentations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## Montenegro

Twelve Public Presentations were organized by Anima, in **11** cities, where all of them were organized by Anima, supported by local women organizations, and Public Presentations were mostly held in public space (local cultural centers, municipal buildings, NGO premises...) There were **199** (167 women and 32 men). in the organization and realization of presentations in Montenegro **22** activists took part.

Bijelo Polje, 11<sup>th</sup> of June, 9 persons  
Kotor, 18<sup>th</sup> of June, 10 persons,  
Plav, 30<sup>th</sup> of July, 14 persons,  
Ulcinj, 27<sup>th</sup> of October, 17 persons,  
Berane, 4<sup>th</sup> of November, 21 persons,  
Bijelo Polje, 4<sup>th</sup> of november, 32 persons  
Podgorica, 9<sup>th</sup> of November, 13 persons,  
Pljevlja, 10<sup>th</sup> of November, 33 persons,  
Budva, 17<sup>th</sup> of November, 10 persons,  
Nikšić, 24<sup>th</sup> of November, 16 persons,  
Cetinje, 5<sup>th</sup> of December, 11 persons

## Croatia

There were three Public Presentations, in three cities, attended by **48** women and were organised and coordinated by: Nela Pamuković, Mirjana Kučer, Gordana Matanović, Duška Pribičević Gleb, and Adriana Bego **(5)**.

- *Zagreb, December 8<sup>th</sup>*: in the premises of »Center for Peace Studies«, and was attended by 25 students.
- *Slavonski Brod, December 9<sup>th</sup>*: organised by the organisation »Udruga Brod«, the presentation took place in the local municipality building in Slavonski Brod, and was attended by 12 persons (members of city and municipality gender equality bodies and CSO activists).
- *Split, December 12*: organised by CSOs »Domina« and »Women's Group Split«, and attended by 11 women.

The presentations were attended by **48** women and were organised and coordinated by: Nela Pamuković, Mirjana Kučer, Gordana Matanović, Duška Pribičević Gleb, and Adriana Bego **(5)**.

**Discussion groups** - It should be noted that the majority of public presentations in Croatia is scheduled for January 2012. Since the trainees expressed a need to continue work on certain issues, during the consultation that was held in December 2011, we organized several working meetings – round table discussions on issues of responsibility from a feminist point of view, in the "Centre for Women War Victims" in Zagreb. Women in Black activists, as the organizers of the training for the public presentations (held in Zagreb on October 22<sup>nd</sup> and November 20<sup>th</sup>) proposed some theoretical articles / essays, and a series of internal conversations/discussion circles, because of the complexity of the issue of responsibility. The above mentioned discussion circles were held in Zagreb, at the "Centre for Women War Victims ROSA", on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 12 and 22<sup>nd</sup>, with **32** women who participated.

This activity was organised and implemented by: Nela Pamuković, Adriana Bego, and Paula Zore **(3)**. It is important to mention that many of these public presentations were organised on voluntary bases, without remuneration; some local groups (for example »Domina«) will use these funds for organising of public presentations in other towns in the forthcoming period.

## Kosovo

Activists of "Kosova Women's Network" decided, at the seminar held in Veles, to start their work on public presentations of the Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia in February 2012, with the consultative meeting of the whole network, where they will present the idea and the process to the activists of their Network.

## Macedonia

There were **7** Public Presentations in **7** cities in which, **142** women attended, of different social, religious, ethnic, educational and professional background. In the organization as well as realization of Public Presentation **8** activists took part.

*Kumanovo, November 23d, 2011.*, attended by **20** women, and Slavica Cvetkovska as host,  
*Kičevo, November 27th, 2011.*, **22** attendants, and as host Dragana Drndarevska,  
*Veles, December the 2nd, 2011.*, **23** attendants, and as host Mirjana Trajkova,  
*Delčevo, December the 8th, 2011.*, **15** attendants, and Julieta Memedova as host,  
*Kičevo, 10th of December, 2011.*, **29** attendants, and as host Dragana Drndarevska,  
*Sveti Nikola, 14th of December, 2011.*, **18** attendants, Milena Maneva and Janka Jovanova as hosts,  
*Veles, 26th of December, 2011.*, **15** attendants and as a host-Slavica Petruševska.

## Slovenia

Public presentation in Slovenia was scheduled for spring time of 2012.

## Serbia

Women in Black has organised, with the support of the groups that belong to the WiB Network Serbia, the following public presentations:

- *April 6<sup>th</sup>, Belgrade:* in the vacancies of „DAH theatre“, organised by Women in Black. The presentation was attended by **20** persons, mostly CSO activists and artists.
- *Jun 15<sup>th</sup>, Belgrade:* As part of the festival *Passing the flame – 20 years of Dah theatre*, organised on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dah Theatre, WiB held a Public presentation of the film *Women's Courts*, with a discussion that followed the presentation. It was attended by **38** persons, nine (**9**) women from Bosnia and Herzegovina, from survivor associations from Srebrenica, Zvornik and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Women in Black organised their visit and the presentation.
- *December 7<sup>th</sup>, Vlasotince:* The presentation was organised in the vacancies of »SOS phone« (local organisers) attended by **40** persons, mostly younger people.
- *December 8<sup>th</sup>, Leskovac:* The presentation was organised in the vacancies of »Center for household economics« organised by WiB and »Women for peace« from Leskovac, attended by 26 persons.
- *December 13<sup>th</sup>, Belgrade:* Public presentation for the students of »Women Studies« course from Belgrade, attended by **25** persons.
- *December 15<sup>th</sup>, Pirot:* Public presentation in the motel »Sin-Kom«, organised by »Women from the South«, attended by **20** persons.

The above-mentioned public presentations were organised and implemented by the activists of »Women in Black« Belgrade, with the support of aforementioned local organisations. In total, **169** persons participated in these presentations.

The above-mentioned public presentations were coordinated by Ivana Vitas, Marija Perković, Marijana Stojčić, Miloš Urošević, Nataša Lambić, Nevena Kostić, Sabina Talović and Staša Zajović. The persons in charge for logistics were Ljiljana Radovanović, Zinaida Marjanović and Uma Manojlović, and from local organisations Ivana Ristić, Ana Jovanović and Mirjana Mijajlović (Leskovac), Svetlana Šarić and Ivana Gorunović (Vlastince), Slavica Stanojlović and Snežana Jakovljević and Jelena Memet (Kruševac), Anelija Najdenov (Dimitrovgrad), Dragica Pavlov Krstić and Marija Pejčić (Pilot). In total **22** persons were in charge for this activity.

Public presentations / PP of the Initiative for organizing the Women's Court **are an integral part of activist research process** to gather information, proposals, and suggestions regarding the concept and vision of justice and the choice of topics that will be dealt with at the Women's Court.

In five countries (**5**) of former Yugoslavia, **40** Public Presentations attended by **733** persons, while in the coordination and organization participated **65** activists. There were also **3** discussion groups (Croatia), as well as dozen meetings of Women in Black working group, for the activities of organizing of Women's Court for the ex Yugoslavia.

#### **IV Documentaries related to the feminist approach to Justice – about Women's Courts and Tribunals – Video activism group**

Women in Black activists created, during 2010, a group of video activists, who became able to capture, editing, digitizing and posting on Internet video and audio material that was collected during the regular activities of WIB, in order to make that material available, in the form of short films, to the general public. A group of video activists (Nataša Lambić, Marija Vidić, Marija Arandjelović, Zinaida Marjanović, and Goran Lazin) worked in continuous consultation with other activists, prepared the documentaries on feminist approach to justice, that were later shown at seminars, public presentations, films and presentations, with the aim to disseminate information and knowledge on this subject. In the process of work, performer and art historian Ana Vilenica and designer Đorđe Balmazović, as well as more than 20 activists of Women in Black, helped with their artistic suggestions.

Subtitling: Marija Vidić, Nenad Dimitrijević and Zinaida Marjanović. (**3**)

Translation: Ana Marjanović, Igballe Rogova, Melanija Lojpur, Milovan Pisarri, Nataša Lambić, Noemie Duhault, Savka Todorovska, Staša Zajović, Saša Kovačević, Stanislava Lazarević and Yolanda Roullier. (**11**)

In different activities related to the production of documentaries and feature films more than **40** persons were involved.

In the reporting period, we have produced following films related to the WC:

##### **A) About Women's Courts and Tribunals**

- **Women's Court** (*duration:42 minutes*), presentation of testimonies and expert analysis from the Women's Courts held in Bangalore (India), Nairobi (Kenya), and Cape Town (South Africa);
- **Women's Court** (*duration:32 minutes*), presentation of testimonies and expert analysis from the Women's Courts held in Bangalore (India), Nairobi (Kenya), and Cape Town (South Africa); the film has been translated and subtitles to Albanian, English and Macedonian language.
- **Women's International War Crime Tribunal** (*duration: 12 minutes*), a film about the Women's International War Crime Tribunal on Japanese military sexual slavery, held in Tokyo in December 2000.
- **Women's Courts – Justice with Healing** (*duration: 12 minutes*), a film about the round table organised in Sarajevo, in October 2010, organised by "Women to Women".

- **Mother Mejra Dautović** – about the differences between Women’s Court and the ICTY (11 minutes), 2011.

### **B) Documentaries and feature films about feminist approach to justice**

Besides the abovementioned films, Video activists of Women in Black translated and subtitled 7 movies. Through these film presentations, WiB aims to spread knowledge about the experience of women with various forms of patriarchal violence; in accordance with that goal, video activists made the selection of appropriate documentaries and feature films. Video activists translated (from English and Spanish) and subtitled 212 minutes of documentary and feature material:

- **Find the name for it** (duration: 21minutes), Congo - A documentary that tells about the crimes of mass rape of women, during the conflict in Congo.
- **Never Again** (duration: 21 minutes), Morocco - A documentary about the experiences of women political prisoners during the dictatorship of King Hassan II of Morocco and about the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, founded by his son, King Mohammed VI.
- **The crime of rape** (duration: 21 minutes), Mauritania - Documentary film about the crime of rape of women in Mauritania, in the name of customary law and tradition, through the use of brutal crimes (zina/ adultery) under the excuse of Islamic law.
- **Femicide in Juarez** (duration: 12 minutes), Mexico - A documentary about the killing of women / femicide in Juarez, the town on the border between the U.S. and Mexico, as well as about the activities of the Women in Black in Mexico against this crime.
- **Escape to the last minute** (duration: 21 minutes), Nepal – A documentary about sex-trafficking of women from Nepal to India.
- **Milk of sorrow** (duration: 95 minutes), Peru - A feature film about sexual violence against women, during the internal conflict between leftist guerrillas *Shining Path / Sendero Luminoso* and the Government representatives in Peru.
- **Honour killings** (duration: 21 minutes), Turkey – A documentary about the crimes committed in the name of the common law, the murder of women who had allegedly “tarnished the family honour.

(These documentaries were produced by UNIFEM/ UN Women, and were translated and subtitled by Women in Black, Group for video activism).

### **C) Documentary films about the experiences of women’s groups and networks on violence against women, women’s struggle for peace and justice, and feminist approach to justice:**

These are documentaries that have been edited by the Women in Black in recent years (translation, subtitling) - films about violence against women all over the world and the resistance of women. Films were provided by our sister feminist-pacifist groups and networks from Afghanistan, Argentina, Ghana, Iran, Rwanda, and South Africa. A good part of these documentaries have been shown at the groups that belong to WIB Network Serbia, during joint educational programs, primarily to foster and develop a feminist internationalism and solidarity. If you are interested in some of the movies, we'll provide you with a copy!

### **D) Documentaries produced by Women in Black – Group for Video Activism, about the feminist approach to justice, peace, social justice, feminist-antimilitaristic security concept, etc...**

About two dozen documentaries, from 5 minutes to 45 minutes long, mostly produced in the period since

2009 and 2011. A large number of films were translated and subtitled in English, and some of them were translated and subtitled in Italian and Spanish. Some of the partner organizations already use the aforementioned documentaries in their educational work, and if you are interested, please let us know and we'll send you more detailed information about them.

### **C) Power point presentations about justice**

Presentations of institutional judicial mechanisms, its mechanisms and limitations, as well as of alternative models of justice, civil initiatives and feminist movements initiatives – The team made 5 power point presentations, from January 2011.

- **The International Institutions of Justice** – 30 minutes long power point presentation which provides basic information about the processes and mechanisms of transitional justice and international justice system and institutions. (Nataša Lambić)
- **Institutions of Justice at the national level** (30 min), brings the statements of the families of the victims murdered in Trnovo, in the genocide in Srebrenica (the "Scorpions"), and families of victims of crimes in Suva Reka, Vukovar and Zvornik. The film is focused on the reactions of families of the victims, following the verdicts of the Special Court in Belgrade in these cases. (Nataša Lambić)
- **Women's Body – Battlefield - Sexual crimes against women** – (duration: 30 minutes) Power point presentation about the most serious forms of sexual crimes committed during the wars of the twentieth century. (Miloš Urošević i Marija Perković)
- **Civil society creates new forms of justice** (30 min.), presentation about People's Tribunals, Social Forums and other alternative forms of justice. (Ivana Vitas)
- **Presentation of the activities of Women's groups** most actively involved in organising Women's Courts.(30 min.) (Ivana Vitas)

This activity was realized by 4 activists, with the support of **10** Women in Black – Belgrade activists. **(14)**

### **V Training/consultation for the presentation of films about feminist approach to justice**

The projections of documentaries and feature films dealing with women's experiences of international courts, as well as on violence against women, women struggle for peace and justice, and feminist approach to justice are integral part of the activities on the formation of the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia. In addition to attention when choosing topics for the trainings/consultations, we made a brief explanation of the context, i.e. countries in which violence occurs, especially those countries that are not sufficiently known. Consultations are being organized so that the activists can be informed about the different contexts in the countries where the violence took place, and trained to associate international experiences with the local situation.

In the reporting period, one training/consultation was held in Leskovac, in the premises of "Women for Peace" (local partner organisation), on December 8<sup>th</sup> 2011, and was attended by **9** activists.

### **VI Screenings of documentaries and feature films about justice (institutional mechanisms of justice, the feminist approach to justice)**

In this period numerous screenings of feature and documentary films about institutional mechanisms of justice, about the experiences of women's groups and networks in connection with the feminist approach to justice were organized. In this year's campaign *16 Days of Activism against Violence against Women*, a three-day show films

(documentary and fiction) about the different types of violence against women "From resistance to violence" was organized. Films "*Find the name for it*" and "*Femicide in Juarez*" (mentioned above) were shown on that occasion.

- *As if I am not there* – (109 minutes) film by Juanita Wilson, by the novel of Slavenka Drakulić. The drama, Irish perspective of the war in Bosnia. The film is about Samira, young teacher in a Bosnian village, whose life will change dramatically when a young soldier enters her kitchen uninvited and tells her to pack her things. Samira enters a new world, where peace is a fairytale, without homes, with centres, working camps and death camps.
- *Hunt for Justice* (90 minutes) – feature film about Louise Arbour, Chief War Crimes prosecutor at ICTY (this film was previously shown as a part of educational seminars *Women-s Court - Feminist Approach to Justice*).

The above-mentioned film projections were organised in the following towns:

1. Kotor, November 25<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> : organization "Anima", held in "Palata Bizanti", (20 persons, 18 women and 2 men);
2. Bijelo Polje, November 28<sup>th</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>: held in "Redakcija" hall, organised by NGO "Strong mama", with 39 participants (all women);
3. Podgorica, November 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> and December 1<sup>st</sup>: organised by NGO "Nova", in the vacancies of the Centre for the civic education, with 20 participants (18 women and 2 men);
4. Ulcinj, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>: organised by "Artis", in the vacancies of NGO "Artis", with 32 participants;
5. Pljevlja, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and December 7<sup>th</sup>: organised by "Bona Fide", in the Municipality Assembly Hall, with 74 participants (51 women and 23 men);
6. Nikšić, December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>: organised by "SOS hotline", in the vacancies of "SOS phone", for 30 women;
7. Cetinje, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>: organised by "Stela", in the office of other NGO "7 to 77", with 26 participants (20 women and 6 men).

In **7** above-mentioned towns, the film review "From violence to resistance" was attended by **243** persons (**230** women and **33** men); the review was organised by **7** above-mentioned local CSOs, with eight (**8**) activists in charge for the logistics: Paula Petričević (Kotor), Sanela Rovčanin (Bijelo Polje), Verica Mirović and Nataša Nelević (Podgorica), Gordana Stanišić (Ulcinj), Sabina Talović (Pljevlja), Dijana Pištalo (Nikšić) and Zorica Jovetić (Cetinje).

Each day, during the festival, educational activities were held: discussions about the violence against women during the war; about existing institutional mechanisms for achieving justice and their limitations, about the feminist approach to justice, with emphasis on the Women's Court, etc. The qualitative report will be submitted as part of integrated integral report, scheduled for February 2012, during the working meeting of the Initiative Board.

This program is financially supported by UNDP and is part of a project of "Anima" and abovementioned NGOs that is a part of the activities within *16 days of activism against violence against women*. The costs of this program will be included in the total costs of activities the Women's Court, but we cite them as the preparatory materials (films, leaflets, flyers ...) made under the Women's Court.

In Belgrade, the "Women in Black" organized presentations of the following films:

- "Milk of Sorrow", December 14<sup>th</sup>, with 11 women present.
- "Grbavica", December 21<sup>st</sup>, with 10 women present.

So far, **23** screenings of documentaries and feature films were held and were attended by **264** persons; for the forthcoming period, new projections are planned for other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

## **VII Publishing activity**

**A) Women's Court: Feminist Approach to Justice** – manual, 208 pages, and four chapters (Women's Courts-feminist approach to justice; Male crimes against women in war and peace: Women's Groups – organizers of Women's Courts / tribunals and the legal system and institutional initiatives of civil society – transitional justice).

**B) Promo material:** Leaflets – tree page leaflets bring basic information on the Initiative for Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia, in BCS, Macedonian and Albanian languages; about the international women's experiences of the courts (in the world and in the former Yugoslavia);

**C) Fascicle**, with basic information on women's feminist approach to Women's Court and to justice in general- in Albanian, BCS and Macedonian language

**D) Fascicle** with synopses of movies and short information on countries – events: a brief overview of the context, in countries in which violence occurs, presentation of the activities of women's groups and networks in the countries that our public knows less about. In this way we honour and show respect to activists who struggle for a just peace, and make women's resistance visible in countries where women are exposed to drastic forms of injustice and violence.

**E) Women's Peace Agenda 2012:** this year, it deals with the feminist approach to justice – gender perspective of judicial theory and practice. Agenda 2012. brings: *Women's experiences with Women's Courts*, the issues addressed, organization, methodology, challenges and achievements. This year's Agenda presents feminist groups and networks – organizers of Women's Courts around the world; *Women's Court for the Former Yugoslavia* – we presented the organizations that have launched this initiative as well as their activities, especially of Women in Black, the leading organization, in charge of program activities related to the organization of the Women's Court. *The dates* shown in the Agenda refer to the significant effects of Women's courts and tribunals, as well as to efforts within the institutional legal system against injustice, violence and crimes against women. *Sentences* listed in the Agenda are expressions of the views and feelings of participating in activities related to the Women's Court and the organizers of international Women's Courts.

*"The Women's Peace Agenda 2012" is dedicated to Nevena-Nena Kostić (1.8.1968. -21.10.2011.)* - Nena was the activists of "Women for Peace "from Leskovac and The Women in Black Network Serbia, from 1999. Nena was also one of the coordinators of activities related to the Women's Court – her tireless activist passion, commitment, knowledge and solidarity is woven into this process...

Women's Peace Agenda 2012 has 182 pages, and is printed in 750 copies, in order to be distributed to the partner organizations of the Initiative Board for organizing the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia, and to as many women and men as possible, especially those interested in our activities related to the organizing of the Women's Court. Agenda for 2012 is financially supported by: Mama Cash, Global Fund for Women and the Mott Foundation.

This activity involved following activists: Biljana Rakočević, Dragan Protić, Đorđe Balmazović, Ivana Vitas, Jovana Dimitrijević, Lino Veljak, Ljiljana Radovanović, Ljupka Kovačević, Marija Perković, Marija Vidić, Miloš Urošević, Nataša Lambić, Nebojša Čović, Saša Kovačević, Snežana Tabački, Staša Zajović, Srđan Veljović, Tamara Kaliterna, Uma Manojlović and Zinaida Marjanović. **(20)**

As well as activists of partner organizations, who have sent reports: Memnuna Zvizdić, Berina Džemajlović, Aida Mustačević, Mira Vilušić, Jasmina Jukić, Stanojka Tešić, Elvida Vujić, Ljupka Kovačević, Nela Pamuković, Mila Šimpraga, Mirjana Bilopavlović, Rada Borić, Željka Sartori, Biljana Kašić, Mia Radulović, Biserka Momčinović, Paula Zore, Dragana Drndarevska, Milka Rosić, Dragica Pavlov Krstić (20)

**VIII Activities related to the Website and the Bulletin** that will deal with the process of organisation of the Women's Court are still in the earliest phase.

**IX Artistic engagement in the feminist approach to justice**: During 2011, the WIB has organized more activist-artistic initiatives in relation to feminist approaches to justice (especially with *Dah Theatre, Art Clinic, Skart*, etc...); in the future period, new theatrical performances, exhibitions, performances with partner organizations all over former Yugoslavia are planned.

**X Working meetings of the Initiative Board of the Initiative for the Women's Court in the former Yugoslavia** – IB held several working meetings, and the next was planned for February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> 2012, in Tivat, Montenegro. At this working meeting, the IB members have presented comprehensive analysis (quantitative and qualitative) of their previous work. Also, joint agreement was made upon the next phases of our work.

During 2012, IB members will have working meetings with numerous organizers of international Women's Courts. About all that you will be informed in our next quarterly report: January-February-March, 2012.

The participants in the current educational activities have shown great interest in the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia (for the entire work process and organization of the court), and they find that the Court should address both violence and crimes against women during war and after the war; they also found that the Women's Court should address both gender and structural violence (social, economic, political)...

**The above-mentioned activities, related to the Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia, included:**

- **104 Civil Society organisations, that actively supported the process;**
- **100 towns from the countries of former Yugoslavia;**
- **approximately 2000 participants in various segments of activities,**
- **more than 250 activists who took active participation in conceptualisation, preparation and implementation of the activities for organizing of Women`s Court for ex Yugoslavia.**

Report prepared by Staša Zajović, in cooperation with Ivana Vitas, Ljiljana Radovanović, Ljupka Kovačević, Marija Perković, Memnuna Zvizdić, Nataša Lambić, Nataša Milanović, Nela Pamuković, Dragana Drndarevska and Savka Todorovska.

Belgrade, February, 2012.

## ANEKS 1

This piece 2011th The dozens of women and civil society organizations from all areas bivšeJugoslavije actively involved in organizing the activities of the Women's Tribunal for the former Jugoslaviju. Aktivnu support this important process of alternative models of justice gave the 104 organizations.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 26 organizations from 13 cities

Cities:

Banja Luka, Bihać, Bjeljina, Bratunac, Modriča, Mostar, Prijedor, Sarajevo, Tomislavgrad, Trnovo, Tuzla, Višegrad, Zenica

Organizations:

Budućnost, Modriča  
Centar za pravnu pomoć ženama, Zenica  
Duvanjske, Tomislavgrad  
Fondacija CURE, Sarajevo  
Forum žena, Bratunac  
HCA, Banja Luka  
Horizonti, Tuzla  
Infoteka, Zenica  
Izvor, Prijedor  
Most, Višegrad  
Organizacija žena Lara, Bijeljina  
Pokret majke enklava Srebrenica i Žepa, Sarajevo  
Ružičnjak, Mostar  
Skupština HNŽ Dom naroda Parlamenta BiH  
Svjetlost, Tuzla  
Udruga Guwaa  
Udruženje žena Srebrenica, Tuzla  
Udruženje žena sudija, Sarajevo  
Udruženje žena, Banja Luka  
UG Lovor  
Viva žene, Tuzla  
Zajednica žena HDZ Kraljica Katarina Kosača, Mostar  
Žena BiH, Mostar  
Žene Trnova  
Žene ženama, Bihać  
Žene ženama, Sarajevo

MONTENEGRO - 8 organizations from five cities

Cities:

Cetinje, Kotor, Nikšić, Pljevlja, Podgorica

Organizations:

Centar za žensko i mirovno obrazovanje Anima, Kotor  
Sigurna ženska kuća, Podgorica  
Lider žena glasača, Nikšić

ŽG Stela, Cetinje  
Crnogorski ženski lobi, Podgorica  
Ženska alijansa za razvoj NVO Nova – FK Bona fi de, Pljevlja

CROATIA - 18 organizations in 8 cities

Cities:

Korenica, Novska, Pakrac, Poreč, Slavonski Brod, Split, Vukovar, Zagreb

Organizations:

Bolja budućnost, Zagreb

Centar za istraživanje, edukaciju i promicanje ravnopravnosti spolova, ZAR, Vukovar

Centar za podršku i razvoj civilnog društva Delfin, Pakrac

Centar za žene žrtve rata Rosa, Zagreb

Centar za ženska prava Ženska soba, Zagreb

Centar za ženske studije, Zagreb

CGI, Poreč

Dokumenta, Zagreb

Domine, Split

Kd Taxi art, Slovenija

Mali korak, Centar za kulturu mira i nenasilja, Zagreb

Nezavisni hrvatski sindikati Obitelj žrtava rata Novska

Udruženje Protiv zaborava SDF ŽI, Zagreb i Korenica

Srpski demokratski forum, Korenica

Srpski demokratski forum, Zagreb

Udruga Brod, Slavonski brod

Udruga društvo Zagorka

KOSOVO - 3 organizations from 2 cities

Cities:

Priština, Đakovica

Organizations:

Rrjeti i Grave të Kosovës (Ženska mreža Kosova) broji preko 60 ženskih organizacija na teritoriji celog Kosova

MACEDONIA 11 organizations from 3 cities

Cities:

Skoplje, Sveti Nikola, Veles

Organizations:

Esma Građanska inicijativa žena, Sveti Nikola

Komitet za mir i građanske inicijative, Skopje

Majka, Kumanovo

Makedonski ženski lobi Mreža Intelekt Organizacija žena, Veles

Romska mreža Zajedno Savet za nacionalnu ravnopravnost, Skopje

Sindikato, Sveti Nikola

Ženski forum

SERBIA - 38 organizations from 17 cities

Cities:

Beograd, Dimitrovgrad, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Kruševac, Lebane, Leskovac, Niš, Novi Bečej, Novi Sad, Perlez, Pirot, Prijepolje, Surdulica, Vlasotince, Zaječar, Zrenjanin

Organizations:

Alternativni krug, Kragujevac

Alternativni kulturni centar, Niš

Astra, Beograd

Centar za demokratske aktivnosti, Lebane

Centar za devojke, Niš

Centar za integraciju mladih, Zaječar

Centar za rodne alternative Alter

Centar za ženske studije, Beograd

Društvo za zaštitu životinja grada Pirota Jedan život, Pirot

Esperanca, Novi Sad

Fenomena, Kraljevo

Forum žena, Prijepolje

Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, Beograd

Klub žena Kud „Mladost“, Niš

KZM, Surdulica

Labris, Beograd

Liga socijaldemokrata Vojvodine, Novi Sad

Liga socijaldemokrata Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Zrenjanin

Nezavisni ženski centar, Dimitrovgrad

Nvo Siga, Perlez

Omladinski centar, Surdulica

Regionalni centar za manjine, Beograd

Savet za rodnu ravnopravnost, Surdulica

Sos telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja, Vlasotince

SOS telfon, Niš

Sos ženski centar, Novi Sad

Škart, Beograd

Udruženje „Dobra volja“ Kulturni centar, Niš

Udruženje Roma, Novi Bečej

Udruženje žena „Ruža“, Lebane

Udruženje žena Peščanik, Kruševac

Žene juga, Pirot

Žene u crnom, Beograd

Žene u crnom, Niš

Žene u crnom, Pirot

Žene za mir, Leskovac

Ženska romska mreža Banata, Novi Bečej

Ženski prostor, Niš

## **ANEKS 2**

Regional educational seminar "Women's Court - a feminist approach to justice"

Educational seminars that were held as workshops, classes, video presentations, and documentary and played films. These three days seminars had interactive and disciplinary characteristics with equal activist experience and academic knowledge:

### **I day:**

*International Institutions of justice and Institutions of justice of national level* - Serbia with short documentary films - witnessing of the families of the victims:

*Woman's body as a battlefield ground - sexual crimes against women* lecture powerpoint presentation and discussion.

Projections of movies :

*Never Again* (21 minut) about the Commission of truth and reconciliation in Morocco. Film about massive rape crimes of women in Congo - economic war on women,

*Hunt for Justice* (90 minuta) - projection of a movie about Luiz Arbur, prosecutor of the Haag tribunal.;

*Munira* (50 min.) - documentary about Munira Subašić, activist for peace and justice from BiH, founder of the Movement Mothers from Zepa and Srebrenica. After these movies discussions were held:

### **II day:**

- Hana Arent's ethics of responsibility - an interactive lecture
- Towards a new concept of justice - about alternative models of justice, Rassel's court, Permanent court of the people, Commission of truth and reconciliation and social forums, etc.
- Women's tribunals - a documentary (42 minutes) about women tribunals in the world and discussion.
- *Towards a Women's Court for former Yugoslavia*

History of the Initiative for Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia ;

Documentary film "Justice with Healing", Sarajevo, October 2010, organized by Women for Women; Together we create a Women's Court - work groups and reports;

- *I testify* - simulations of the Women's Court;
- Crime over women in war and peace and women's resistance: projection of the film: Femicide of killing the women in Juarez, Mexico, discussion after the movie.

### **III day:**

Continuation of discussion on women's courts - issues, dilemmas, women's experience of international courts: achievements, successes, limitations, dilemmas, a documentary film about the International Women's Tribunal in Tokyo (12 minutes);

Mother Mejra Dautović - the Women's Court and The Hague (11 minutes), 2011.

Presentation of the Women's group around the world - organisers of Women's Courts and Tribunals around the world

Women's Court for the former Yugoslavia - the resumption of talks and concrete agreements

Evaluation

## REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL SEMINAR

### “WOMEN’S COURT - A FEMINIST APPROACH TO JUSTICE”

Educational seminars included workshops, lectures, video presentations and documentary films. They had an interactive and interdisciplinary character and the same evaluation of the activist experience and academic knowledge. During the 2011. “Women in Black” organized ten (10) regional seminars, with the support of partner organizations that make up the Initiative Board. The total number of participants of the seminars is **382** women, from **100** towns from the former Yugoslavia.

Transcripts from all regional seminars were used as the basis for analysis and preparation of the following reports from the workshops, lectures, video presentations / PPP, screenings of documentaries:

- *International institutions of justice on a national level- Serbia*, with short documentaries
- Woman’s body as a battlefield ground - sexual crimes against women lecture powerpoint presentation and discussion.
- Towards a new concept of justice - of alternative models of justice -Russell Court, the Permanent Court of Nations, Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, social forums, etc.;
- Women Courts - Ddocumentary (42 minutes) on women’s courts in the world and discussion;
- *Hana Arent`s ethics of responsibility* –an interactive lecture
- *Toggether we create the Women’s Court*- work groups and reports
- *I testify*– simulations of the Women’s Court  
*The place where Women’s Court will be held*  
Evaluation

## INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF JUSTICE

### AND JUSTICE INSTITUTIONS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

WITH A SHORT DOCUMENTARY FILMS - THE STATEMENTS OF VICTIMS’ FAMILIES.

Session of the International Institutions of Justice was a combination of workshops and lectures. The aim of the introductory workshop was to familiarize participants with the functioning of the international legal system, reviewing the most important institutions of international justice. Most of this short session (on average for 60 min.) was devoted to the importance of international institutions of justice, their scope and limitations.

In the introductory part of this session are presented, in the form of power point presentation / PPP, institutional mechanisms, pillars of transitional justice: the courts and trials, reparations, truth commissions and reconciliation and institutional reform.

We wanted to encourage participants to think about what are the real achievements of the institutional legal system and whether the existing models in practice can bring justice to victims of gross violations of human rights and the restoration of destroyed societies.

Finally, they presented the institution of international justice: the *International Court of Justice* (where the emphasis is placed on the judgment on the complaint that BiH (Bosnia and Herzegovina) filed against Serbia in February 2007.), *International Criminal Court* and *International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia*, which are responsible for the implementation of international law. It points to the current practice of the courts, and so far in practice proven achievements and limitations. The presentation is complete definitions retributive, distributive, and restorative justice, and a short discussion about the nature of the legal system that would bring real change in society and ensure justice. Here are the common elements in the statements of participants of the seminar:

## **International Institutions of Justice (primarily Hague Tribunal)**

### **I The level of knowledge, information and interest of participants in the seminar**

- common elements:

1. The most widely distributed information is that Hague Tribunal actually exists: in all areas, but the fact is that women from Bosnia and Kosovo have the greatest knowledge about it, as many of them have suffered direct violence of war or were witnesses in front of the Hague Tribunal. Activists ( a Network of Women in Black in Serbia) are also very well informed, and activists from other organizations of civil society (especially women's groups) have little knowledge in almost all areas (especially in Serbia and Montenegro).
2. Awareness of the importance of the Hague Tribunal: the majority of participants in all areas have an awareness of the importance of this international court and the fact that the Hague tribunal is often the only institution that deals with war crimes committed in former Yugoslavia, so it is often the only instrument for satisfying the justice.

### **II Barriers, limited scope of the Hague Tribunal (EULEX, UNMIK) in the administration of justice:**

Participants cited a number of reasons:

**a) The political manipulation of the elite in power:** the participants are highly aware that the political elite in the former Yugoslavia have extremely pragmatic attitude, which means they only fulfill their international obligations towards the Hague Tribunal, but not to satisfy justice, or change their attitude towards war and crime and even less to the crimes committed by "our side". Therefore, cooperation with the Hague Tribunal is based solely on specific interests (political, economic), either because of the struggle to keep power in their hands or to involve in the international integration process: *"The arrest (of Mladic) is a deal, it's a trade. In the nineties we could arrest the man without any trade involved, so I think it is much worse than it looks like because it happens that something is seemingly generally accepted, but essentially nothing changes"* (Ervina, Montenegro). *"Depreciation of justice through delay and complete disbelief in international justice which, unfortunately, even the greatest forces do not give legitimacy to, makes small countries, who committed big crimes and wars, obviously trade with it."* (Paula, MN), *"The actors on our stage kidnap and rob justice, international institutions and mechanisms of justice, and use them to remain in power, and those actions totally depreciate justice and discourage people to fight for justice"* (Stasa, Serbia), etc. *"As a country, we regularly have positive reports, but everyone knows that it is not truth. It turns out that we are fully democratized, and standardized. How democratic we are, you can see in the silence that prevails in Montenegro. With that worldwide spread hypocrisy goes the fact that people are existentially threatened in Montenegro, so some things have to be done for the benefit of the whole farce"* (Ljupka, Montenegro), etc..

**b) Disturbed moral values and attitudes - the nationalist attitudes of the majority of population:** primarily in Serbia but also in Croatia...

*"Society is totally degenerated and there are no moral codes..." (Milkana; Serbia)*

*"Something in this society must be changed because all that was abnormal has now become normal" (Mirjana, Serbia), etc.*

**c) Media manipulation - the glorification of crime:** directly is connected with the maintenance of nationalistic attitudes and the fact the media write only when "our side" is the victim of international justice, ie. "international conspiracy" – this is what major of women participants cited as a problem. Most of the participants, and majority of the public (and especially in Serbia, Montenegro), even when they know about the trials and convictions, don't want to know about the content of the indictment - the crimes: *"It is better not to broadcast the trials, because it only further encourage nationalism ..."* (Ljiljana, Serbia), or *"No one is even watching that - because they broadcast the most important trials only after midnight..."* (Nena, Serbia).

**d) The bureaucratization, cynicism, and even the profiting of representatives of international institutions of justice, their support for the regime but not for the justice of the victims:** *"The UN has perverted into an international caste with people who earn 15 thousands per month, and it corrupts human rights and feminism. UN works as an ossified mechanism ..."* (Biljana, Croatia), *"We got some justice from the work of Hague Tribunal, but couldn't they condemn Milosevic posthumously, so it could be a lesson for future generations?"* (Kada, Bosnia and Herzegovina), *"We have a number of international agencies, who showed up like mushrooms after rain. They pretend they are investigating war crimes, but fact is they conceal them. They take photographs from us, it happened to me a couple of times, and they never returned them. We don't know what's happening or what is the purpose of these special courts. They have been around for two, or three years, but they are not lead by our people, they are lead by EULEX. And you can't ask for accountability from EULEX, because there change stuff every six months so the job remains unfinished and justice unfulfilled"* (Sevdija, Kosovo), etc.

**e) Institutional legal system is based on patriarchal values:** *"In my environment, most people regret that arrest and they often refer to it as a suicide – which means to kill yourself... and it is very interesting to me how that suicide occurs... within a patriarchal concept of justice, where, in the end, man have to be it's own judge, not to be trialed. And you can say that Mladic, even more then Karadzic, is exactly that expected patriarchal model – man who judge himself, which is a creepy and authoritarian concept, where someone can commit crimes and it appears that it is heroic that he is even not trialed in the end... He pulls the whole concept of patriarchal justice, heroism and bravery..."* (Natasa, Podgorica)

## **The institutions of justice at the national level**

During the workshop, which lasted about 45 minutes, we presented one of the most important mechanisms for achieving justice for the victims - a national trial for war crimes, through the work of the Office of the Serbian War Crimes and the War Crimes Chamber in Belgrade. We have collected statements by members of the families of the victims from Vukovar (Croatia), Srebrenica and Zvornik (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Suva Reka (Kosovo), after a disappointing verdict in front the War Crimes Chamber in Belgrade. With this documentary we wanted to show how members of the victim families experienced trial for war crimes and to once again ask the question - whether the existing legal system can bring justice? All participants have expressed the highest level of empathy for the victims families, but also resentment because of inadequacy of justice for the victims. Women from these communities (Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia) spoke about the national courts on

other seminars.

## **I The level of knowledge, information and interest of seminar participants**

- common elements:

**Serbia:** the level of awareness of participants of the seminar was extremely uneven: where the activists of the Women in Black network previously attended educational activities related to transitional justice and attended trials before the Special Court for war crimes, the level of awareness and knowledge was very high (activists from South and central Serbia); but in some parts of Serbia (eg Eastern Serbia), among the participants we observed a very low level of knowledge about these courts, and high ambiguity in relation to war and war crimes. Their views are heavily influenced by media propaganda, but women who were personally affected (by male relatives mobilized for the war) had better knowledge about related matters. However, some civil society activists in Eastern Serbia (and elsewhere) that operate within the given project objectives have a considerable level of knowledge, but is not transmitted to women from the "base". Women from political parties (from the most progressive parties like LSV in Vojvodina, which were very numerous at the regional seminar in Novi Becej) does not possess even the basic knowledge and have no interest in war crimes trials, it does not concern them at all it they assume it is a deal of "those in power", "technical" issue, the mere exercise of form and international obligations, the matter of the coalition agreements, but not a matter of satisfying justice or changing the social climate in the country.

**Montenegro:** In addition to a small part of activists who are highly versed in all of these questions, the rest of seminar participants actually don't have any or have very little knowledge about the mechanisms of transitional justice, they have no knowledge about war crimes trials taking place in front of the courts in Montenegro and don't have access to trial content, or the calculations of the political regime in power in relation to trials and convictions, and so on. It is worth to note that some participants felt the need to take responsibility for the crimes of the past. At the same time that caused them great discomfort, because of the lack of support in creating different attitudes, especially from international institutions, as the authorities in Montenegro are very "cooperative" in fulfillment of international obligations.

**Croatia:** The activists of civil society engaged in "professional/project" manner in this issue, have a high level of knowledge, while activist in women's organizations have very little knowledge about the trials or convictions, but are fully aware of political manipulation in conjunction with national institutions of justice. Part of the activists is interested in building new models of justice - "justice instead of rights."

**Bosnia and Herzegovina:** The majority of participants were well informed about the justice institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but they almost all believe that they do not work in the right way or at least not satisfy justice and even less the victims. It is interesting that a large number of participants pointed to the inefficiency of the institutions, but they are looking for alternatives within those institutions, and they recognize the power only inside them, and rather not at the level of civil society.

**Macedonia:** A very small number of women is aware of the existence of war crimes courts. In Macedonia, they have a very clear knowledge of the deficiencies and manipulations in those by those institutions, but the solution is realized in the "repairs" within the institution, and far less in the civil society itself.

**Kosovo:** The seminar wasn't held in Kosovo, but was attended by seven activists from Kosovo in Veles. Since they are civil society activists for a long time, and well informed about this issue, with a high awareness of all flaws, participants from Kosovo had highest number of very specific suggestions and proposals for improving the performance of institutions of justice at the national and international level.

## **II Barriers, a limited range of institutions of justice at the national level in addressing the justice:**

Participants cited a number of reasons:

- **The authorities perceive a national trial for war crimes solely as an international obligation, as utterly pragmatic question for the sake of getting political points and economic benefits; for the political elite trials had nothing to do with justice, recognition of the crimes, respect for the dignity of victims, changing system values or moral order:**

*" Transitional justice is just a tool of a regime. We have a good example of this in Macedonia. War criminals who were in Hague Tribunal, were sent to Macedonia to be trialed by domestic courts. They harmed both Macedonians and Albanians, and people vanished on both sides. In order to salvage the ruling coalition, the Assembly adopted a new interpretation of the amnesty law that granted amnesty for all of them. And they have been returned from The Hague to be trialed. All this was done in order to save the coalition in power" (Teuta); "In Macedonia in 2001. we had a conflict. But no woman, Albanian or Macedonian haven't admitted they were victims, and there was a lot of violence. The criminals remained unpunished. War crimes suspects, who were supposed to be trialed in Macedonia, were all pardoned. It has been 10 years since people disappeared from all ethnic groups (after the conflict in 2001.). These people were never found, they are gone, but a court gave them amnesty. Women, who were the closest relatives, didn't say anything. What happened to these women? What did they survive? Were they intimidated, were they unsafe, or unsure about their rights? It is clearly evident that after the amnesty decision, women fell into silence..." (Savka, Macedonia), "In Krusevac, we have a man who was convicted for crimes committed in Ovcara. I knew him personally, and after those crimes he was still around for five or six years. He used to wear a necklace of dried human ears around his neck, visited taverns, and we were all intimidated for years. Then, he and some other war criminals were trialed and he was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison. There were people in town that were proud of his heroism, and that was really horrible. Police never stopped him for all those years when he was walking around the city, or visiting taverns" (Milkana, Serbia), "Not only that war crimes were denied, but those who had committed them were even rewarded. By silence and approval we become complicit in the crimes. But governments remain silent." (Mirjana, Serbia), "I know there are people in parliament who participated in war crimes. We need names of all those who committed crimes as we have the names of all missing during the war. Without that, there would be no improvement. Draft Law on lustration was adopted but hasn't been implemented. And while those people remain in the government, there won't be any lustration..." (Munira, Bosnia and Herzegovina) "Indeed, since 2000, we have not made a single step towards democracy. We started, but everything stopped at the beginning. But if we bring that up, war criminals won't be criticized." (Zagorka, Serbia).*

- **National courts and trials were created under international pressure, and exist merely for the sake of form:** *"The problem is that we are not being democratized, but only being standardized. There is no democracy when there is no civil participation." (Zagorka, Serbia), "I think that the trials were "accelerated" when we became an independent state to show that justice system works in Montenegro... After late last year negotiations it was already clear that we have "passed". It was also clear that those crimes won't be a priority. After that, in the end of the year, all those who were accused were acquitted. (Ljupka, Montenegro).*

- **Relationship to the witnesses - lack of protection; manipulation and intimidation:** *"The victims expect the most from the trials, so families of victims were both satisfied and dissatisfied." (Vesna, Croatia), "It is hard for witnesses to talk about the crimes. And yet, how hard it is for raped women? Those who committed those trials are not being trialed. They walk around freely, proud of their heroism and nothing happens. We can see all those people who made decisions about the war and gave orders, and they are still here, giving orders. The entire government apparatus is engaged to defend them." (Sevdija, Kosovo), "Actually, they do not care about witnesses, but only criminals." (Ana, Leskovac).*

• **Vulnerability of witnesses by institutions and from the patriarchal community:** *women from Kosovo highlighted the lack of witness protection as the biggest problem: "They are left to the investigators, women's groups, international and local human rights organizations. No witness protection and psychological care. Before the witness was faced with the perpetrator on trial, she and her family were subjects of aggression in a place where they live." (Sevdija, Kosovo). "Everything is politicized. Our women are influenced a lot by the situation in northern Kosovo. There are perpetrators who are still free in these parallel structures, and our women are intimidated by them. Finally, I must say that there is no real protection and it is therefore difficult to ask the woman to testify" (Veprora, Kosovo).*

### **III Suggestions of the seminar participants regarding improvement of institutional mechanisms:**

• **The responsibility of civil society for justice: to the extent that there is a strong civil society, the space for the pressure and blackmail narrows, both for international and national institutions of justice and vice versa:** *"There can be no reckoning with the past, nor reconciliation, nor justice could happen under pressure. What international community can get, whether it's the EU or any other form of international community in terms of the extradition of suspects or pressure, is establishment of courts for war crimes at the national level, but it can't deal with the past or justice under pressure. It all depends on us too." (Paula, Montenegro).*

• **Put pressure on the institutions of justice towards the development of witness protection system:** *"We must develop a world-wide network for the protection of witnesses. The regional one is just not enough. We need a worldwide network in order to influence decision-makers to implement all UN Security Council resolutions that relate to it." (Ljolja, Kosovo)*

• **Encourage all forms of accountability as a precondition for the administration of justice:** *"I am afraid that this will continue to happen in the future. There would be abuse until every victim gets legal and moral satisfaction, and everyone accepts their responsibility." (Bojana, Montenegro) "The truth must be revealed. We must admit our guilt." (Julia, Vojvodina) "We can't satisfy justice at the individual level, so we should create mechanisms that will raise the question of responsibility (Ceca, Serbia).*

• **Transitional justice in the international and national levels should not be reduced only to criminal level and punishment, it is necessary to develop new models of transitional justice - restorative justice, and require to establish new types of crimes:** *"By our work, we need to achieve this: making war should be established as a crime. People who are responsible for wars should be tried, and pursued both politically and criminally" (Goca, Vojvodina); request that making war should be named as a crime was most emphasized in seminar in Vrnjacka spa.*

**(Prepared by: Natasha Lambić and Staša Zajović)**

## **WOMAN'S BODY AS A BATTLEFIELD GROUND - SEXUAL CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN**

The 13 minutes long PPP "The female body as a battleground" provides a brief historical overview of rape and other sex crimes in the war, beginning with the invasion of Japan (1930.) and finishing with the latest data relating to the situation in the Congo. At the same time, presentations inform about actions, lobbying and campaigning of feminist and antimilitaristic activists, which led to the fact that sexual crimes committed during wars are now brought into international criminal law. Their contribution is also that today, except the above mentioned international law, there are series of resolutions which clearly condemn sexual crimes against women.

Aim of the presentation was to familiarize activists and participants with proportions of rape in war in the past hundred years, and to strip off modern myth of "pathological behavior" in rape in war. The aim of the presentation was to unmask rape in war (and other sexual crimes) to its essence - as a legitimate mean of warfare which is equally used by both sides in the conflict. The goal of the presentation is also to show how organized resistance and clear political articulation of problems could lead to results. Courage and perseverance of women feminists in the region, along with international solidarity militarist and feminist networks, led to fundamental changes in international criminal law.

PPP "The female body as a battlefield", has been shown in 9 of 10 regional seminars (this presentation hasn't been shown only at seminar in Lukavac, although women talked about crimes of rape in the context of other topics during the seminar) in the period from February to December in year 2011.

- **Interest** in the topic of rape, and other sexual crimes against women in war, was very high, irrespective of which region seminars or presentations took place. The crime of rape in war is quite often detected/connected with the everyday life of woman, an act which is a constant physical threat to women: "We are facing with the raped women every day. You've seen women that have been raped 10-20 times per day, and we are facing that fact for the past 8 years (...) We face each other everyday, and I completely understand you." (*Aida, seminar in Kotor, Montenegro*).

In this sense, seminars didn't lack interest in the topic of rape, because it's a crime that threatens every woman. (Note: the issue of rape in war, in particular, led to high interest of activists in Croatia, during the training for JP. This was actualized in the fall of 2011 in Croatia through the issue of "Suncica", which tell about abusing and raping in the war for political gain).

- **The level of knowledge about rape and other sexual crimes** varied from region to region (both within Serbia and other countries in the former Yugoslavia).

• **Serbia** - except the pilot seminar in Spa Vrujci, within Serbia three seminars were organized.

Southern Serbia (Sijarinska spa) - most of activists were women dealing with violence against women (activists of SOS phone support) and the Women in Black Serbia network. Their knowledge of the topic was very high. Vojvodina (Becej) - predominant composition were activists of political parties and their level of knowledge on this subject can be described as low (except for knowing the basics of "family violence").

Southeast Serbia (Piroto) - partly, the seminar consisted of activists and partly of pensioners, and the level of knowledge can also be described as low.

Central Serbia (Vrnjačka spa) - high level of knowledge was also present.

• **Montenegro** (Kotor) - The participants demonstrated knowledge of rape in the war in former Yugoslavia, but the knowledge of the history of rape in war in all parts of the world was less present.

• **Croatia** (Stubicke Toplice) - given the composition of the participants, a majority of whom are peace activists from the beginning of the wars in former Yugoslavia, the level of knowledge on the topic of rape and other sexual crime was high as expected, in terms of crimes committed in ex Yugoslavia, and also in terms of wars in other territories.

• **Bosnia and Herzegovina** (Mostar, Lukavac) - as rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina was used as a legitimate mean of war, the issue of rape in war was very well known to all participants of seminar (but it seems to me that some of the participants were silent about it). At the seminar in Lukavac the participants spoke about stigmatization of women who have suffered from this crimes", "*Women who have suffered rape in war are now afraid to testify because of the stigmatization, and we have to work on that issue*" (woman from Srebrenica, lives

in Tuzla). Knowledge of the topic beyond the ex Yugoslavia was less present at most participants. However, some of the participants (Mira from Tuzla) have a high level of knowledge about these crimes, because they were in the Congo during the actions of international solidarity and support for raped women.

- **Macedonia** (Veles) - basic knowledge of rape was present, however, activists have pointed out that the knowledge of rapes that happened in Macedonia in 2001 is very low, unlike other wars in former Yugoslavia. The fault for that lies in "general amnesty" that is declared immediately after the conflict. As for the participants from Kosovo, they talked about silence about wartime rapes and the stigmatization of raped women in the community, as well as the low level of protection of the witnesses: *"When I watched the film, I wondered when woman from Kosovo will find the courage to speak about their suffering. For now, nobody wants to talk. Maybe if they obtain a different status in their families. Then they will not be afraid that someone will stigmatize them, I guess. When we, activists, hear a confession of a woman, we can't talk about it in public, because we would stigmatize her."* (Sevdija, Kosovo).

- **Impressions of the PPP** can be illustrated by the following statement: *"...and senses of justice are just too small in this crime, so this can't cause any kind of comment from me, except cold chills and fear. Because when you look at the fate of these women, girls, it is unspeakable, it can't be defined. I only fear of fear inside me, for myself, because what happens - sexual abuse, rape, whether in war or in any other situation, creates an impulse that I can't control"* (Maja, seminar in Kotor, Montenegro).

Emotional reactions of the participants were most often turbulent, because quantitative data in the PPP, which speak of the conflicts around the world in the last 70 years, scared and hunted them, and empathy was extremely high. Also, the data provoked anger and rage - the need to respond. Depending on the level of knowledge about the issue of rape, the conversation sometimes went in the direction of linking the rape in war with domestic violence that come from the same civilization, patriarchal matrix. And when we face the fact how widely rape was spread in war - we meet with silence (sort of rejection of the facts, what happened in the seminar in Becej) or insufficiently clear connection of rape in war and rape within the family (Piro).

- **Suggestions or comments regarding the PPP** - during the first seminar in Serbia, held in Sijarinska Spa - were about technical part (selection of music and speed of text that is read from the screen) and as an illustration of the importance and interest for this subject is this statement: "Rape of women in war don't belong only to 20th century. This happened recently in the "Arab Spring". I don't know if we have some information about it?" (*Dragana, seminar Veles, Macedonia*), which indicates to the obvious existence of empathy, solidarity and the search for facts that aren't present in public. Also, talking about rape in war is a topic mostly present in women's groups and there is not enough information, neither clear condemnation of the public. And that was the prevailing attitude of the seminar participants ("Here (in the women's groups) we can only realise how many women were victims of rape in war or in peace". Milkana, seminar in Vrnjci Spa).

**Prepared by Maria Perkovic**

## **HANA ARENT'S ETHICS OF RESPONSIBILITY – AN INTERACTIVE LECTURE**

ˆIn order to deliberate ourselves of policy of evil and the evil as a burden, we have to take over a different kind of burden-the burden of responsibility.ˆ<sup>1</sup>

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1 Daša Duhaček, The burden of our time, Belgrade circle/Center for women studies and gender research, Belgrade, 2010., page 220

Women Court should be a space for solidarity, compassion with the witnesses, understanding of human evil, as well as the resistance to it, so it is clear that the question of the responsibility is in its foundation. Feminists consider that there is no possibility for the justice or righteousness, without taking over personal or collective responsibility. All the participants from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, have the experience in their own countries, that the responsibility is marginalized, and not only for the war crimes, but for the societal activities in the whole (economy, education, politics, culture, ect.) In accordance with the patriarchal norms, responsibility itself means to be loyal to a different kind of authorities (scientific, political, religious or family one), but in fact it is all about the obedience. Consistently with the above mentioned, we have the denial of the war past in all the countries of our region, and there are small steps toward the fulfillment of the justice, taking over the whole responsibility for what was done. That is why we have reached the consensus from the very beginning, regarding the question of responsibility, which should be given more attention within our seminar, so that the participants could gather more knowledge through theory and their cogitation and reflections. Daša Duhaček was the one who prepared introductory lectures for almost all of our seminars, as a Professor of the University of Political Sciences and one of the founders of Women in Black of Belgrade, as well as WIB activist for the past twenty years, whose thoughts and responsibility interpretation is based on scholarly work of Hana Arent. Actually, it is about two fundamental assertions: the first of them relates to a determination of the citizens as bearers of responsibility and the second one is the necessity of secular political community, as a context in which we establish civil responsibility<sup>2</sup>. During all the seminars of ours, this issue has caused a huge interest of the attendants and it provided significant contribution in focusing ourselves on our contexts, (not so much on civil responsibility, as it is already assumed, though it can not be confirmed in accordance with the analysis), it also helped achieving greater cohesion of the group. There were no difficulties when we talk about women involvement in the discussion process, though the questions, associations and the interpretations were much more connected with the political context women are coming from, then with Hana Arent's theory. It is also obvious that participants from the regions which were not directly affected by the war but were those which led the war (Serbia and Montenegro), directed responsibility toward regime for what was done. On the other side, from the parts directly affected by the war (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo), women discussions were more complex, cautious, ambivalent, with the recognition both of the voices: of the victim and of the aggressors refracted through experiences of women who were present.

Women testified of their aberrations, attitudes, and political engagements. In the most of the evaluations, we emphasized the significance of the discussion and the need to initiate the issue of responsibility in the wider public space, through the prism of personal and civil responsibility, as an important precondition to recognize, name and accept our own responsibility, for what was done. It is of great importance to comprehend two-folded positions, identities (the perpetrator and the victim), which are diffracted through the experience of national belonging, all over the region, but is much more delicate in the parts affected by the war. That is why development of civil responsibility as a concept, is one of the most important tasks, in order to establish the continuity of the common past, and to have the possibility to project the common future. In the discussion led more through elaboration of the attitudes and the experiments, then through questions of the moderators, we spoke of certain issues:

**It is necessary to take over the responsibility for what the state does in our name, but it is also necessary to do so in the name of our affiliation (ethnically, nationally, religiously), because war was fought on reference of the collective identities. These are the attitudes women mostly expressed during our seminars in Serbia:**

`We know about the cases of people belonging to ethnic minorities in Serbia but have strongly supported Milošević. And that is why it is right to talk about civil responsibility. We are responsible for paying taxes which allowed him to finance the army which then was involved in war and executed people. But we, as Serbs, got

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2 Ibid, page 212

much more responsibility, because he created his campaign for Great Serbia based on our myths and national prejudices, and that is how he gathered people to go and fight. The state which led the war did not do it for itself, but for us, as Serbs, and the war was based on the old Kosovo myth. It has as the consequence our additional responsibility.` (Svetlana, Vlasotince).

`The place where I live is the place of my political responsibility, our responsibility is placed within the frames of our country. I do not want to reject my affiliation, but those who are citizens of a certain state are those who are responsible at certain point.` (Sijarinska Banja seminar attendant).

`It is not national belonging which counts, what count is that we as citizens did not stop paying taxes with which Milošević financed the army and there is my political responsibility` (Ivana Leskovic).

`It is important to talk of civil responsibility, because Holocaust itself was based on the theory of wrong ethnicity or its false characteristics. It would lead us toward the situation in which we would not differentiate the responsibility from the guilt.` (Sijarinska Banja seminar attendant).

**Great number of the participants considers that taking over the responsibility, expressing our attitudes publicly is necessary for the reconciliation process and regaining of trust.**

`Until every single citizen of this society, does not take over the responsibility there is no reconciliation.` (Bojana, Bijelo Polje).

`All the seminars and unsincere meetings are in vain. The trust is what counts.` (Munira, Srebrenica/Sarajevo).

`Until we start feeling the government as our personal and moral responsibility, for what have happened, and then face the past, reconciliation or justice will not happen under the preasure.` (Paula, Kotor).

`As a citizen of Montenegro I have the attitude, and I want to express it...I am always in some kind of conflict, because I got the right to have my own attitude which is in the contrary with yours, and I have to be aware that I can influence, even if it does not change anything, but if I quit, then everything is meaningless`. (Verica, Podgorica).

**Responsibility (both civil and personal) means to clean your own yard, first, to treat equally sufferings and victims of all sides, no matter to which side they belong (ethnically, religiously...) that is a condition for peace and trust:**

`In Bratunac they will say that Serbs were here, did they perish? I always looked at WIB as at my guiding star, you have cleared up what is the responsibility of your state...you have faced with it. I have absolutely faced with it too, as you did, but not all the women from Bosnia and Herzegovina have done so. I go to the funeral in Potočare, but will women from Srebrenica come to Bratunac, do they know that Serb people have suffered in Bratunac, too?` (Cana, Bratunac).

The most of the attendances of the seminar strive for civil responsibility but they have named numerous obstacles and difficulties in its establishment and so we have reconsidered unbiased circumstances which impede civil responsibility development:

- **Forming and consolidation of ethnic status and `ethnodemocracies`** (it used to be and it is going on with the support of the most important factors of the international community, here in our circumstance it considers principle of `ethnic determinism` not the civil one. While there was war-mongering, people used to say: `It is in his genes` or `Croatsians have this and Montenegrans have that`. (woman from Kotor).

`Through my political engagement, I realised as socialdemocrat that there is no space for civic even less for civil courage, about which we all used to speak.` (Besima, Sarajevo).

**-Denial of war crimes on the societal level:** on the societal level we have a continuity of the official policy with the previous regime responsible for the war crimes committed in our name (Serbia), relativity of crimes and humanization of the perpetrators (we had a long discussion about Mladić's arrest and the situation in Montenegro due to this event), and it undermines the foundations of civil and political responsibility: `It is hard to know how to behave when we live with those who support the accused for war crimes, how to react and deal, though we do know how much we are responsible, it is hard to react in such a circumstances`. (woman, attendant of the seminar in Sijarinska Banja).

**-Poverty and misery of the greatest part of the society:** high degree of fear for survival and the fear of revenge when they express their attitudes on war crimes (`people avoid to talk about civil responsibility and that is the consequence of capitalism and exhaustion, therefore they reject all kind of identities, they care only about their families`, Paula, Stubičke Toplice).

**-The hitch of war mafia and political elites:** was often mentioned as an obstacle, meaning-is it possible to have civil responsibility while the society is captured by the crime and criminal political elites, with which institutions of the international justice do cooperate.

**-Tardiness of the process of fulfilment of justice on the institutional level:** national courts and trials for war crimes do not mean the justice (`Here, the victims are not satisfied in any way and their status of victim is not recognized`, Besima, Sarajevo) and does not lead to responsibility and facing the past, about what we have spoken before on our previous seminars within other kind of sessions).

**-The continuity of war by other means, through the support to war crime perpetrators by the political elite:** `Today, some want Herceg-Bosnia, some of them Republic Srpska, but we all together wane, the war still goes on and has produced horrible situation, so it does not look like the state any more. If we would have the same laws for education, health service, or social, veterans and disability insurance, so we can take from the same pile and put it back there, use our own resources, drink our own water. To create the same economic policy, it would be better for all of us.` (Kada, Srebrenica)...

**-Militarization of societal spirit-the acceptance of war crimes as avoidable:** `The war is a justification for everything. The war is not liable for much more which at peace time would be suited.` (Marija, Bečej).

**-Producing the fear and enemies-by the side of all the political elites and in all the situations their power is under the question, this is the rule in all the countries in the region of former Yugoslavia:** `The policy of evil is not only the war one and killing, it is also deliberated policy of deterrent and it is connected with the question of freedom, it demands responsibility even when we are aware that the evil is in front of us, we take over the responsibility as free persons and we are ready for the risks`. (Zagorka, Beograd).

Regarding political responsibility, women called over the governments and political elites for what have happened and still happens, because `Nobody has ever been prosecuted for political responsibility,` and even less for the civil responsibility, being a citizen who votes on the elections. The explanation could be the absence of the institutional reforms-no lustration, in the countries of former Yugoslavia, as well as due to forming coalitions, based on `reconciliation` but without demanding responsibility (Serbia).

**Part of the attendants is confused about the terms-collective guilt, collective victims or collective responsibility: some of them had the difficulty to make the distance of their national feelings, to reassess the responsibility of `our side` and victimizing matrix of accusing the others:**

*‘For me the term of collective guilt does not exist. But I do think that we as Hungarians are guilty even today. ‘(Julija, Bečej), ‘This kind of guilt, both collective and personal, that we speak of, gave birth to a new kind of monster, and that is impunity and no admittance of the violence...It produces so much violence...I used to say too, by the beginning of the war, that all Serbs are chetnicks, but now it hurts me knowing I have called all of you chetnicks. When I saw your tears yesterday, I reapproached myself for it. ‘(Mira, Mostar).*

**Small number of women showed the autovictimization as an danger, to lead down our nation on victims who are allowed and forgiven everything.**

*‘We adopted the principle of collective responsibility. The collective victim is also adopted as a principle. Sometimes is harder for me to deal with the collective victims then collective guilt. It is israelization of the victim to me, and I speak a lot about it. The victim is forgiven in advance, and the whole society becomes a hostage of the collective victim, where you can not say anything, even pronounce anything. And that is going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina. ‘(Duška, Zenica). ‘We are spreading the injustice, that all the others are the bad guys, all those who are different. And ours are good and ok. And everything they do is fine, too. We are those who do create the picture that the guilt is on the other side and judge even those we have never met. ‘(Ljiljana, Mostar).*

**The activities which inwoke the responsibility-suggestions:**

- **to find new models of behaviour:** ‘We as a citizens have even more responsibility, but civil responsibility allows us to step out toward the others and create a normal society ‘ (Dragica, Pirot).
- **to participate/vote on the elections:** ‘Our participation in the election process is our work for the future, so that crimes committed in our name would not repeat. It is a way to prevent all the myths and all the prejudices ‘ (Sijarinska Banja attendant).
- **rebellion and persistence for our attitudes:** ‘I can not approve something I do not agree with...They took our lives away. I got the right to raise my voice. ‘ (Verica, Podgorica).
- **insisting on the punishment of the crimes:** ‘If my child is guilty, then it should be punished, we can not equalize the victim and the perpetrator ‘ (Mother Meira, Bihać).
- **to take over the burden of responsibility for what was done in our name**
- **to take over the responsibility for the future**
- **to change the cultural matrix** ect.

**(Prepared by Ljupka Kovačević and Staša Zajović).**

## **TOGETHER WE CREATE WOMEN`S COURT**

The aim of the workshop is to think over together the crucial questions for the constituance of the Women`s Court for the region of former Yugoslavia. Through the the interactive work we have discussed over the various tipes of violence in the regions we are coming from and the issues with which Women`s Court for the region of former Yugoslavia will deal. The attendants were separated in the groups of four or five women, depending on the time and place where the seminar occured. Each of the groups answered on the questions prepared in advance. Why it is important to organize Women`s Court? Which is the period of time the Court shold be dealing with? With which kind of violence? And what should be the result of its activities?

## **I Why it is important to organize Women`s Court?**

The reasons for organizing the Women`s Court can be divided in couple of categories which are mutually connected:

- \* To light up the continuity of the violence against women, in the war and peace time, which in the most of the cases remains invisible-to make vivid the violence over women**
- \* To give the voice to the individual women experience and enable involvement of women experience in the public memory**
- \* In order to recognize suffering of the victims, strenghten the facts, and to lobby both ways-symbolicly and through the law, within the community and through the institutional system**
- \* To light up and comprehend the context in which violence over women happens, and makes it possible (social, economical, familial, cultural, personal and political)**
- \* To fullfil the needs which the institutional justice does not fullfil, to prepare the space to create new approach to justice**
- \* To empower women and create the network of the international women solidarity**
- \* To prevent the crimes in the future by facing the crimes from the past and lighting up societal mechanisms which are in its foundations, so that we can establish lasting peace for the future generations**

## **I The argumentation which justifies organizing of Women`s Court**

### **a) To make vivid violence against women**

*How can it be that we do not have the knowledge upon rape in war? We do have the knowledge of Nirnberg, we do know that some men were prosecuted even then for the executions, but do not know anything about rapes, we took them for granted, such as they are the homework of the soldiers? What happens during the war, happens in the peace time as well, with the same silence and humiliation. You are alive and I can rape you, and in the war I will kill you as well, so that nobody knows. The silence is absolute...(Ljupka, Kotor, Montenegro)*

*Women who have experienced the violence often think that they are alone, as well as some other persons who have experienced another kind of violence and could not share it with anybody, because they thought they are alone. So it would be the chance to hear other women as well, on this court, because the violence repeats. (Rada, Zagreb, Croatia).*

We should break the taboo publicly regarding the violence against women and involve directly victims of the violence. Implement feminist and human approach within institutional justice. We have to install the safe space for women victims of the violence. To make them feel safe, to speak of their experiences, and then we should convince the institutions and the society that it`s not the fault of women but of the perpetrators. We got to work on the new approach to document crimes. (attendant of seminar in Veles, Macedonia).

Women`s Court does not deny national, ethnic, religious or geographic affiliation, but I think that violence against women is common, so if we who have survived war trauma, start to speak, others will speak too, and their individual suffer will be vivid and that is what we need. (Duška, Zenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

### **b) To give the voice to individual experiences of women and allow the involvement of women**

## **experience within the public memory**

**To raise the awareness** is very important. Women stories have to become the part of the official history, what women are talking about (transcripts and tapes) it should be involved in the educational system, it is necessary for the future generations...(Eva, Niš, Serbia)

*In fact, through Women`s Courts we will try to change societal awareness and put the individual story in the public space, in that way we will enable people to hear what was happening for real...And all the stories of identities that we were talking about this morning...we should try to put it in one place, on the level where a woman can be a woman, no matter her ethnicity, or anything similar, where she will be able to be a human. (Mira, Zagreb, Croatia). Women`s Court does not have a legal force but it is a safe space where women voices can be heard, where women speak freely and can be heard publicly. (Sabina, Pljevlja, Montenegro).*

## **c) To acknowledge the suffering of victims, to establish the facts in symbolic and legal way, to lobby within the community and the institutional system**

*The Court can be the time and the chance for victims to speak, a place to alleviate emotions and express their feelings, so that trauma is not getting worse. The Court should have the reverberation and the recognition-it does not have to be a verdict but it is important how media and society or the institutions will accept it...(Jelena, Leskovac, Serbia).*

*...it is possible to make changes with women voices, to correct the work of the institutions of justice, influence the verdict, follow on how rights of women are represented, and which are the institutional mechanisms and measures. Women Court is a chance for women to get connected and informally with their voices contribute to justice. (attendant of the seminar in Veles).*

*I would like if there would be such a kind of atmosphere as it is here, where we could talk about those things. Where we would cry the way I do right now. Unfortunately, the victims are not satisfied in any way, their status of victim is not recognized. Sometimes they are very frustrated, they would like to achieve something, and sometimes they do not even know what it is that they would like to achieve. So, it seems to me from time to time, that the recognition of them, as victims, would be kind of satisfaction for them...(Besima, Sarajevo).*

*Victims are often used by international researchers, journalists, women groups, international organizations for human rights, and they are stigmatized very often. We got to spread the international network for the protection of victims, the regional one is not enough. We need the international one, so that we can influence those who make the decisions, to implement all those Resolutions of the UN Security Council, which are referring to it. Where do I see our power? **Our voice is our power.** (Sevdija, Kosovo).*

*The state will stick to it if the institutions of the international justice will **make the pressure.** (Eva, Niš, Serbia).*

## **d) In order to light up and understand the context in which the violence takes place and which enables it (social, economic, familial, cultural and political one)**

*I think that Women`s Court is significant from the victims standpoint too, because no matter what kind of violence it is, or what kind of victim-they all ask themselves somewhere to which extent they have contributed for something like that to happen? The victim always asks she is guilty...and she always feels guilty and I think that, from this point of view, this Court could help them not to feel guilty, that they are not those to blame for the violence and the crime they have been through. (Ljubica, Montenegro).*

*`It is also significant to define the cause of the evil and Women`s Courts repeat that, all the time, because it is not individual pathology, individual cases of violence, but there is a whole structure behind it. Restorative justice has a meaning, among the other things, if I say where are the causes of that violence in that way I raise the awareness showing why and how this could of happened`. (Marija, Vrbas, Serbia).*

**e) To fulfil the needs which institutional justice do not fulfil and therefore to open the space to create new approaches to the justice**

*...There are some reliable stories that the problems of the justice used to be solved in a different way and then they have started being solved rationally, without emotions, community, in the objective circumstances...This is one more try to integrate, a different kind, different approach, it is crucial to make vivid suffering of women, to make a continuity, so the victims get another kind of status, and that is what our Court offers (Ljupka, Kotor, Montenegro).*

*`The institutional justice, on the local or international level can not be satisfying for the victims, even when the process is just, or the best. International stability, very often does not have to do with the justice, or what we call peace...Those who are in charge kidnap the justice, together with the international institutions and mechanisms of justice and transform them into the means of keeping their power and leadership position` (Staša, Belgrade).*

**f) To empower women, create the network of women solidarity, destroying the barriers within the patriarchal society and jurisdictional system**

*`First of, all to encourage and inspire those women to talk about the violence. Second, there are some examples, that we all know about, but they have to remind us to create the modus against the evil` (Savka, Skoplje, Makedonija).*

*`We have experiences from Bosnia. Many women there, have spoken of violence. But, when a woman is silent it means she is stigmatized. When it is changed and she starts speaking, the responsibility is not hers any more but societal. When a woman realises that she is not guilty for what have happened, but the society, and that she is not the only one, then women are encouraged and they start to connect themselves and speak up` (Ljupka, Kotor, Montenegro).*

*`Women Courts have as an aim to gather, build the network of solidarity, based on value level and not the projecting one. These are the connections from the bottom not from above, through EU from IPA Funds. For me this is a great achievement, because we can do a lot in this way` (Staša, Belgrade, Serbia).*

**g) To prevent the crimes in the future by facing the crimes from the past and lighting up societal mechanisms which are in its foundations, so that we can establish lasting peace for the future generations**

*`A woman in the movie witnessed in front of the International Criminal Court for ex the Yugoslavia, she had experience with the international law system, but **Women`s Court gave her the power to go, to talk, so that it want happen again**, why it is so important? Because if we do not talk about it, it will happen again`. (Ljupka, Kotor, Montenegro).*

*`We used to live for fifty years in the same state, in the system of unity and brotherhood, we shared our breakfast, lunch and dinner, and built the country through voluntary working actions, and we who were raised this way, have done this mess during 90-ies. If we do not create Women Court, we will raise the generations of two schools under one roof. Kids who are under five years old are being thought that they are different. How*

*will they live and work together within twenty five years? It is our responsibility. That is why we should form the Women`s Court and close this circle, and the politicians have no right to participat` (Mostar seminar attendant, Bosnia and Herzegovina).*

*`Women`s Court will not give the verdicts, but can contribute to create the climate against the crimes, and that is a great pledge for the future. As violence is normal now, might be that to stop the violence will be too, some day` (Ana, Leskovac, Serbia).*

We all have to influence the people from our community, to change their consciousness...We have to be as weed, to spread around...(seminar attendant in Serbia).

## **II Which is the period of time it should deal with and with what kind of violence?**

**a) On all the seminars women were united and said it should deal with the violence during and after the wars of nineties, because it is hard to clear it up which are the causes and which are the consequences of it?**

*`We want to show the continuum on this Court, violence in its continuance, when a women`s body becomes nonessential goods on the battle field and nonessential goods on the market, after the war, in the process of privatization, through economic policy`...(Staša, Belgrade, Serbia).*

*The violence in the war is more vivid and obvious, but we have the violence after the war, too. It is known that warriors, when they return home, become domestic violence perpetrators and women become victims of this violence, because our states do not provide solid resocialisation. Those who have mobilised the people can not assure the resocialisation. (Veles seminar attendant).*

*We got war violence against women, executions of their family members and then the violence after the war... there is no shooting, but still there is molesting and suffering...They suffer for the lost beloved ones, they are unemployed, can not return to their homes, homeless...Those three categories the Court could cover. But, first of all those during the war, then post war, and at the end our everyday problems...(Hajra, Lukavac, Bosnia and Herzegovina).*

**b) Women`s Court would deal with all kinds of violence against women, beginning with war violence and war rape, trafficking, over economic, societal and violence generated from the misuse of tradition, to simbolyc and cultural one:**

*`The rape during war, and in the peace time. My organization and colleagues that I work with for the last eight years, are engaged on the project dealing with trafficking victims. We are in the situation to meet raped women daily. We have seen those who were raped ten or twelve times per a day, and the youngest victim was thirteen years old...While I talk about it I remember the scenes. The institutions are related to this woman with no confidence, they make fun of her, and that happens during peace time, so what we should expect during the war, a thousand and a one more woman, as there was none of them`. (Aida, Montenegro).*

*`It was hard to get out of the refugee camp. If there was an exit for anybody then it was for the rapists, unfortunately. It was a real slavery: labour and sexual. When I watched the movie I have asked myself when will women from Kosovo pull their strenght together to speak about their sufferings. For now, nobody wants to speak. Maybe, when they reach different status within the family. I guess then they will not be affraid that they will be stigmatized`. (Sevdija, Kosovo).*

*`I got two sons. One of them was mobilized and the other one was invited as a reservist. Many times I went out on the street and protested. I was threatened over the phone and they wanted to kill me, to expell me to Hungary. They were calling us names over the phone. When I asked them to talk to me like people do, they refused. Also, they used to threathen over phone that they will destroy my house if I talk against the war or write against it...Ethnic minorities had hard time in Vojvodina, that was kind of ethnic cleansing too, because many people have left`. (Julija, Vojvodina, Srbija).*

*`...The city of Split was bordered with a wall, and that was a psyhological preassure from which we could not get out. And all that they were doing to the people who were different. Without phone, salaries, employment, citizenship. I remeber one woman who went to the police station, and then she said a word in Serbian version of pronouncement, so she had to escape from there not to be lynched`. (Mirjana, Split, Croatia).*

*`It happens here too, a woman gives birth to a child and if it is a girl sha can not go home. Now, she is divorced, her husband did not want to live with her...(Ivana, Leskovac). What women-victims of rape are going through in lobbys of the courts, in the ambulances,..is not just victimization but one more crime. Women`s body is just a evidence material. A woman has to go through all of this, and we know the principle that everybody is innocent until proven othervise. It is unacceptable when we talk of rape. It happens that in order to protect somebody not to be accused for something she did not do, we committ a new crime against the victim`. (Penelopa, Veles).*

*`Those violences are repeating in the schools, on the universities, in the churches, and the mosques...on all of the places. This Court should deal with this. and the example of a woman who said yesterday that she works for three engineers and they can do what they want with her, because she is a woman`...(Nura, Lukavac, Bosnia and Herzegovina).*

*`In Štip of Macedonia, women are working in very bad conditions, in three shifts and they earn 100E, sewing uniforms for the German army and NATO-they are not aware of their labour rights` (Danijela, Štip, Macedonia).*

*`We have to ask ourselves how multinational companies are functioning, producing labeld goods, we all do wear. The base of their profit is unpaid women`s and children`s work` (Daša, Belgrade, Serbia).*

*`There is a common habit in Tuzla, women who are looking for the job have to have sex with their employers in order to get it. This has to be heard`. (Ramiz, Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina).*

### **IIIWhat should be the result of the Women Court for ex Yugoslavia? The responds are in the correlatives with the reasons for its organizing:**

- \*The name the crimes and to strenghten the facts, causes, perpetrators, and the inspirator (especially those which are not recognized, neglected and justified)
- \*Public condemnation of committed crimes, and influence on the policy of punishment
- \*Moral satisfaction for the victims and the acknowledge of their suffering
- \*Empowering of women and enforcement of the international network of support and solidarity
- \*Changing of cultural and behavioral matrix which worships war in order to create peace culture

**Prepared by Marijana Stojčić**

# I TESTIFIE

**Short explanation of the working process:** During program drafting (by the beginning of the 2010.) we did not plan to have public testimonies. We made decision upon this on our experimental seminar in Banja Vrujca in February of 2011. The seminar attended not only Women in Black activists, but also members of the Initiative Board for organizing of Women`s Court for ex Yugoslavia: Nuna Zvizdić, (Women to Women, Sarajevo), Nela Pamuković (Center for women war victims, Zagreb), Ljupka Kovačević and Ervina Dabižinović (Anima, Kotor). During sincere and open discussion, we made our decision plenary to have a simulation of Women`s Court, under the title *testimonies*. We refer to you only couple of points from the discussion of ours, as well as our experiences from the other seminars:

- We decided to have testimonies in the closed groups only and in the safe space on our seminars, that men should not be present on our seminars, so they would not prevent them of talking on violence, first of their experiences of sexual violence,
- There was a fear that the testimonies will be hard to conduct because of our lack of time, impossibility to intervene, as it happens in other cases during our interactive work, the possibility that it could be out of our control, and have a negative influence on our witnesses. But, it showed later that it was not a problem for women, that they spoke shortly of their experiences, (within the suggested time of 15`), and afterwards they had a feeling of relief and higher emotion of the cohesion in the group,
- The fear that in some of the regions will be even harder, (seminar in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mostar), turned to be right. From the one side, testimonies were more painful, and from the other is the exhaustion of the witnesses due to testifying, which puts them in the position of the objects. In Mostar women hesitated a lot to apply for testifying, because they have a lot of experience with numerous cases when it did not bring any relief to them.
- It is necessary to leave enough time after the testimonies and the statement of the `jury`, for mutual emotions, so we adhered to it, and it showed to be very useful.
- It is necessary to take care of women who are witnesses, and after this act, it was clear that it can not be at the end of the seminar, because women would not have enough time to revise it with the other women-so testimonies were held always in the middle of the program.
- The fear that women have to be prepared for it in advance, with experts, was groundless. Women had confidence in the group, and there was no direct questioning, but they could choose by themselves, which of the experiences and the way in which they will share it with the group, within the suggested time. The process of witnessing led Nevena Kostić, the most experienced activist, who worked with women victims of violence for years, and Ljupka Kovačević, professional psychologist and activist.
- It is the fact that the witnesses were activists who have the experience of public appearance, but also women who were never attending our seminars before, and it was not the problem.
- We were establishing the hierarchy of suffering: some of women (who were from Serbia and did not have the experience of war and extreme violence), told us that they hesitated to testify, because their experiences appeared to be `unsignificant` comparing with suffering of women from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Croatia during the war.
- In some of the places women were saying that it is *hard for them to speak of their stories of nowadays violence within the war violence stories*. (a witness from Croatia).
- Seminar in Veles (Macedonia) and in Lukavac (Bosnia and Herzegovina) lasted shortly, so there were no

organized testimonies, but the participants were spontaneously gave their testimonies, due to group dynamics, because they felt the need and concerned it important to share their personal experiences with the other attendants, so we included it in our analysis.

**About the witnesses-experts:** Women mostly called them `jury`, these women were the attendants of the seminar who have voluntarily joining, and we can say there was no problem with it, though we were not sure that they will be `successful` in their task. With great attention and responsibility all the seminar attendants were listening the testimonies. On all the places where women witnessed, `jury` recognized the types of violence or political, economic and societal context in which the violence occurs. So, based on the testimony, they were explaining this context `professionally`, taking over the role of witness/experts. It confirmed our assumption that even during the simulation of Women`s Court, they will take over very seriously the role of the subject of the narration/history, because those are the roles they have been given by women whose job is to deal with it. And it showed clearly, the subversive character of the Court-the loss of the patriarchal dominant power and subordination of the object/witness and of the subject/ judicial instances. The experts have analyzed the context, but did not hide their feelings, involving themselves mutually, interweaving the borders, creating the common space of equality, the space where one can `feel with the mind and think with the body` - Robin Morgan.

**Testimonies:** We will classify types of violence during and after the war, as well as types of resistance in accordance with the frequency of their appearance, knowing that almost in all the testimonies various kinds of violence interweave, but some of them are appearing more frequently within women testimonies. In the war conditions it is about violence over civilians, mostly women and children, but also men who refused to go to war. In the postwar period we have economic violence over poor, mostly women.

Here we have limited number of testimonies-the regional ones, so it is not a representative sample, but is a indicative one, because it confirms what we know about the war character in the region of ex Yugoslavia (war against civilians, ethnic cleansing, war rape crimes, profiteering) and then the continuance of the violence in the postwar period (poverty of the greater part of society, normalization of violence-structural and familial one). Unfortunately, in some of the cases, due to technical problems, integral testimonies are not recorded, but there are enough elements for this analysis, to identify the types of violence.

**ITypes of violence:** It is almost impossible to make the difference between the war and post war violence-it is the continuance of the violence, the war goes on, continuity of war by another means...

**1.Ethnic based violence:** persecution, ethnic cleansing, segregation, isolation, discrimination by the institutions, environment, mistreatment, humiliation, expelled from their jobs,...In most of the regions and most of the testimonies we have various mutually dependent and interweaved violences.

\***Mixed families/marriages/communities:** they are the target of intolerance, ethnic-military-economic violence, the source of the fear from both of the communities: *`I am a Croatian by nationality, but my husband is Serb...my neighbours were both Croats and Serbs, I was affraid of both of them...`* (refugee form Croatia living in Serbia).

\***Nationally rooted threatenings-kind of ethnic cleansing:** *`Vojvodina will look like a Vukovar and the capital city of Republic Srpska Krajina. It was very hard for us as minorities in Vojvodina, because those threats were kind of ethnic cleansing.`*

\***Life threatenings due to ethnicity:** *`He threatens me with the gun from his window, that he will kill me and my son. He called all the others to join him and to solve this question once for good. He thought that if they get rid of citizens of Serbian nationality, the shooting will stop in the city`* (woman who left from Belgrade to Zagreb).

\***Multilevel discrimination:** on gender/racial-ethnic or economic base (*`as a woman, as a Roma woman and as a poor`*), (witness from Novi Bečej).

\***Border violence due to ethnicity:** *`We are coming on the check point of Rača (from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia), and it is written there-The entrance forbidden to non-Serbian citizens`*...(a refugee from Croatia living in Serbia).

\***Exclusion from community because for `being different` - mixed ethnicities:** *`Neighbours did not want to greet me and they have totally ignored me`* (woman who left from Zagreb to Belgrade).

\***Institutional violence:** From the police side, due to gender and ethnicity (in the most of the testimonies on ethnic violence)

\***Persecution due to ethnicity:** *`My mother is Serbian and father is a Croat,...they threw me out of the apartment, quickly, in the middle of winter, though my father had a stroke`*...(witness from Banja Luka).

\***Expelled from their job due to ethnicity/minorities:** *`I lost my job because I was of Croatian nationality, working in Belgrade, newspaper from Zagreb, for which I used to work, expelled me for being `Serb`,* (witness from Belgrade).

\***Isolation, rejecting, humiliation due to ethnicity:** *`I grew up in Kosovo polje, where the majority of the citizens were Serbs, but during war it changed, so once, when I went to buy bread for my son, and waited for hours in the queue, my ex colleague was selling the bread, the one I used to drink coffee with, and when it was my turn to buy it, she said that there is no bread for me. I thought she is joking, but she was serious`*...(witness from Kosovo).

**2. Military violence:** the unrecognized crime of forced mobilization/taking away male relatives, repression over women, who have supported their male relatives and other men not to go war.

\***Forced mobilization-violence over women, due to mobilization of their sons, especially when they organize themselves against it or go to the battlefield to look for them-the hardest burden is on those women who were hiding their sons, support them not to go to war, or look for them on the front,** (witnesses from all over Serbia), women are the victims of PTSD consequences, the whole atmosphere of fear, despair (south and central Serbia).

\***Military violence over women and the whole family:** *`They mobilized both of my sons, and one of them was under aged`*...(witnesses from all the parts of Serbia).

\***Repression and persecution due to resistance to regime and support for the deserters:** *`I lost my job in 1988., military police prevented me of entering my office because I wrote that Slobodan Milošević is a creep who will lead us to civil war.`* (witness from Vojvodina).

\***Molesting of women:** deprivation of information, psychological violence, telephone calls in the middle of the night, questioning women if they have son ready for mobilization (witness from Eastern Serbia).

\***Humiliation, exclusion from the community:** exclusion from the right on humanitarian help, threatening of the arrest of women who raised their voices against the mobilization of their sons...(witnesses from all over Serbia).

\***Living in isolation and constant fear of mobilization:** *`Arkan troops were gathering people who came from Krajina and were sending them back to the battlefield, my husband spent six months in the house, because of that`*...(refugee from Croatia living in Serbia).

**\*War against civilians-` military terror on the border-ethnic segregation:** abusing fundamental human rights-the right to move freely, military terror (paramilitary armies and men with masks (witness from south Serbia).

**\*Police terror during NATO bombing:** *` I stayed with my four children in Priština and police used to come ten times in my house during the day. Once, they wanted to take my husband. I am happy because they did not harm my daughter, and that she did not have any consequences` ...*(witness from Kosovo).

**\*Humiliation and misery, the continuance of war by other means:** *` There is no shooting, but still there is molesting. And there is suffer, suffer for the beloved ones, no employment, no return, no home, and all the other molesting, and humiliations everyday` ...*(a woman from Srebrenica, living in Tuzla).

**\*Psychological consequences of trauma experiences:** first of all, forced mobilizations of the family members, PTSP, disabilities...(witnesses from various parts of Serbia).

**\*Psychological war over media, projection of enemies and development of hatred toward different:** *` everything different proclaim as enemy`* (witnesses from Croatia, Serbia).

**\*The violence of warriors: impunity of violence of the warriors, who are committing unpunished violence:** *` You are coming to your job, you hear the bullets, and do not know if you will come back. Also, they have asked me if I am a Serb or Croatian, because my name is Jadranka. They knew who is who, they knew everything about us, who lives with whom. We had Serbs working with us, but we were good colleagues, respected each other, so when the war started, they were still working with us. But it happened once that a warrior came and molested the waiter in the bar so much, that out of fear, he urinated.`* (witness from Stubičke Toplice).

**3. The continuity of gender rooted violence-crimes in the war and in the peace time:** war crimes (war rape), in the peacetime (sexual crimes, rape, psychological violence in the family, sexual harassment, sexual blackmails, sexual harassment on the job,...) on the seminars, there was no directed witnessing upon war rape crimes, but women who were working with direct war rape victims have talked about it from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

**War rape crime-stigmatization of women who are witnessing.**

*\* ` It was a real slavery, labor and sexual one, when I watched the movie, I asked myself when will women from Kosovo gather their strenght and speak up. For now, on nobody wants to. Maybe, when they achieve different status in their family. I guess they want be afraid then of being stigmatized. We as activists, after hearing the woman, should not talk about it publicly, not to stigmatize her` ...*(witness from Kosovo).

*\* ` We got a member who have died but went through a lot of things, and nobody knows what exactly. It is sad, she left this world with such a burden. That is why we need this Court, to tell to the whole world what have happened to her` ...*(Nura, Srebrenica, Potočare).

*\* ` I wonder on how much of violence has been reported. Many women do not want to do it for various reasons, first of all is mentality and the consequences. Fifty years will pass and they will not talk about it.`* (witness from Kosovo).

*\* ` Women who have been trough the war rape, are afraid to witness about it and be stigmatized, we have to work on it` ...*(woman from Srebrenica, living in Tuzla).

**Family and sexual violence:** rape in marriage from a husband warrior, the continuity of military violence

(witness from south Serbia).

\***Rape in marriage and in partnership** (witnesses from Serbia and Montenegro),

\***Physical and psychological violence in the partnership** (many women testified, on many of seminars)

**4. Economical violence against women:** privatization, losing job, poverty...

\***Privatization as a crime over women:** rescind of labor rights, gender, economical crimes, repression over the participants in the strike (witnesses from Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

\***Economy repression due to resistance to regime:** *`I am a victim of Milošević`s regime, because for the last ten years and six months I did not have salary` ...*(witness from Vojvodina).

\***Economy violence on refugees and poor:** *`During the government of SPO, we have paid a location, built temporary facility, for which we paid 7000 deutch marks, we settled it under the table, without papers, and then in 2010., after Mr Đilas moved his finger, our shop, our flat was destroyed, and without any refund, we even paid for the costs of demolishing` ...*,(witness is a refugee from Croatia, living in Serbia).

\***Sexual blackmails and harassment on the job:** *`When they employ a young woman, she has to have sex with her employer, it has to be heard` ...*(witness from Srebrenica, lives in Živinice).

\***Blackmailed and misused because of poverty:** (Roma women witnesses).

\***Life in permanent economic crises,** deprivations, constant threat of poverty, living in a constant fear...(in almost all of the regions).

\***Losing job due to ethnicity** (witness from Croatia)

**5. Political violence:** institutional violence, due to resisting to regime, supporting deserters...Discrimination due to different political attitudes and lifestyles. *`The violence is constantly here, of the institutions and the environment, all of this is something suffocating which does not leave you to live peacefully,...I live in a small place where I am stigmatized. I am always exposed to a discrimination, do not have job, will not have it. My daughter is also exposed to it and has problems on her working place and in her environment` ...*(witness from the south of Serbia).

\***Institutional violence**-Arrogant and humiliating behaviour of the people in the institutions (police, health workers, social services) in all the regions,

\***Police torture:** *`They take you into the questioning room, they tell you to knee down and tie your hands for the radiator` ...*(witness from Vojvodina).

\***Limited freedom of movement:** arrestments, keeping in the temporary arrest (Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina).

\***Impossibility of having citizenship** (witness from Serbia)

\***Changing identities:** in order to attend the school (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

\***Expelled from the apartment due to ethnicity** (witness from Bosnia and Herzegovina)

\***Misuse of suffering from the side of international political elites:** *`Victims are often misused by international researchers, journalists, women groups and international human rights organizations and often they are stigmatized` ...*(witness from Kosovo).

**6. Fundamental physical jeopardy:** war actions, famine exhaustion, search for the food...(during the war).

\***War actions:** bombing...

\***Famine exhaustion:** *` We start in the group of three hundred people, mostly women and some men, we went before the night to collect the corn, over the hill, in the dead silence, and nobody speaks,...we got to in order survive. What kind of effort this was of women who try to feed their families ` ...*(witness from Srebrenica, living in Sarajevo).

\***Existence in jeopardy-famine:** *` My daughter was drinking tea for eight days, because I did not have anything else ` ...*(witness is a refugee from Croatia living in Serbia).

\***Health problems due to traumatic experiences:** *` My son stopped speaking. This trauma left deep traces ` ...* (witness from Croatia).

**II RESISTANCE:** against violence during war and after war.

During testifying women did not speak only about suffering and violence they have been through, they also spoke about their own methods of resistance and overcoming the hard situations, as well as the activities which gave them strength and hope to cope with the violence. We will give their quotations regarding things which helped them to keep going:

\***Activism:** in women peace groups, human rights groups, humanitarian...

\***Street demonstrations:** against forced mobilizations, taking male relatives on the battlefields, support to deserters and escaped from war...

\***Solidarity:** an active contribution to help people avoid the mobilization: *` At that time I used to work in the Secretariat for national defense/SSNO since 1991. and there was a decision that men without our confirmation can not leave the country, and I was the one who was giving them, with seal and my signature, though I was not employed for three years already. Then, one day policemen and soldiers came and took me away ` ...*(witness from Vojvodina).

\***Support to young men who did not want to go to war:** *` We were hiding young men in Štip and Prilep, there were many of them, decent kids, who did not want to fight, but they were well raised and felt obligated. We heard the nationalist will attack casernes, so we made alive wall, all around Macedonia, so that Sarajevo does not repeat. We said let them go, take arms, whatever they want, just to be sure that there are no murders. We said those are our kids, they built the roads, are thought to defend the country from the external enemies. We went through all the borders. Once we made false list, for the kids we have saved in Bileća...helped by Ibro Spahić and Zdravko Grebo ` ...*(witness from Skopje).

\***Rebel against the war with poetry:** reading the poetry in the public spaces, transforming the anger and the pain into action, personal pain into the action for all: *` Then I started writing the poetry, reading it in the public spaces, some gave me compliments, some of them spit on me ` ...*(woman from Dimitrovgrad).

\***Reasses of all who have voted for the repressive regime:** *` Oh dear God, great wonder, when a blind man runs after disabled one, disabled runs away and the blind one after him...We are blind cause we haven't seen where they will take us and we are disabled cause we ran after them ` ...*(woman from Dimitrovgrad).

\***Devoted women:** to find the food in the impossible circumstances: *` Women consciously exposed themselves*

*in order to protect the children. I could write a novel about human resourcefulness, and how it is not easy to kill a human. How you can not harm human easily, because it is brave, clever`...(witness from Srebrenica, lives in Sarajevo).*

**\*Love, care and dearness:** *`I think of this woman who walks barefooted whole night. We are silent and walking all the time. I prayed whole night thinking it will protect her`...(witness from Srebrenica, lives in Sarajevo).*

**\*The fight to preserve multinationality:** *`Vojvodina is multinational and I hope it will remain so`.*

**\*Empowering through resistance:** persistence in actions, compassion with those in jeopardy...

**\*Staying in the environment despite problems-**humor in hard situations,

**\*The strenght and faith in people:** *`What I have been through, I would be proud just if Srebrenica did not end the way it did. I would be proud and write novels. I would write a novel about human resourcefulness, and how it is not easy to kill a human. How you can not harm human easily, because it is brave, clever`...(witness from Srebrenica, lives in Sarajevo).*

**Prepared by Ljupka Kovačević  
and Staša Zajović.**

## **THE PLACE WHERE WOMEN COURT WILL BE HELD**

Depending on the region where the seminar *`Women`s Court-feminist approach to a justice`*, there were different suggestions regarding the place where it should be held.

But the most frequent suggestions were (sorted by frequency):

1. Belgrade
2. Sarajevo
3. Srebrenica-Potočari
4. neutral place

Regarding the way it should be organized, the most frequent suggestions are (sorted by frequency):

1. *`ad hock`* court at one place,
2. *`ad hock`* court at many different places, as a travelling *`caravan`* (possibility mentioned couple of activists in Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina),
3. permanent Women`s Court at some place (the possibility mentioned on the seminar in Lukavac)

### **I Argumentation regarding the place where court should be held-**

Common denominator of the argument that it should be held in Belgrade were:

a) the responsibility of the regime in Serbia for the committed crimes (the place from where the crimes started), pressure on Serbian publicity to admit the crimes, possibility of catharsis in the *`in the belly of the beast`*,

b) due to logisticks,

c) the recognition of the resistance and efforts for the peace engagement of Women in Black.

(on the other side, objections to Belgrade, as a place where it should be held, ranged from the comments that it could be used to `wash responsibility` of Serbia for the crimes, fear for the witnesses if they will feel safe there, then danger of transforming it into a cheap show, acceptance of the centralization and this was the most spoken among the activists from Serbia. Also, Belgrade was the most frequently mentioned on the seminars in Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, as a choice of two-thirds of the participants).

### **a) Responsibility**

`Everything started in Serbia and it should be solved in Belgrade, because Serbia is aggressor, in Belgrade are the worse war crime perpetrators, so the Court would contribute to sensitization of the publicity, it would mitigate relativism and denial of the crimes, it would be the justice for the victims, but also because of our responsibility and our facing with the crimes` (seminar in Vrnjačka Banja).

`In Belgrade because the institutions allowed the evil which happened` (Maja, Kotor).

`I said automatically Belgrade, because I was associated by Staša`s reaction, when she said that we should first clean our own yard` (Ljilja, seminar in Kotor).

`Belgrade, though in principle it was the capital of former Yugoslavia. The sources of power were there, no matter from which of the Republics they were by origin...` (Bojana, seminar Kotor).

`Belgrade, because it all started there, I thought of Sarajevo, as a possibility, but I do think it would be more efficient if it would be in Belgrade, because the message which will be sent is very important, and the message which will be sent to Serbia, is important even more, so that we open the space for facing the past, in here` (Dragica, Pirot).

`I think the same, Belgrade, because there was the worse it could of happen, the man who led us, led us to a disaster, he rescinded even our bread, jobs and was killing our children` (Cvetana, Pirot).

`It would not be right if it would be neutral terrain, from Belgrade started the curtain they put on our eyes, and should be moved from there, too` (Dragana, seminar in Vrnjačka Banja).

`I did not think about it a lot, but it occurred to me now that it would be the best if it would be Belgrade. As it was in Tokio` (seminar in Croatia, Stubičke Toplice).

`Maybe Belgrade, as a place where all began, so we have to return the things back there` (seminar, Stubičke Toplice).

`Regarding the place I would give the advantage to Belgrade, because the crime came from there` (Munira, Mostar).

`I am sure it should be Belgrade, because it avoided the responsibility misusing the facts, in that way the public will be aware` (Jovana, Vrnjačka Banja).

`I think Belgrade, because it is the center of planning the atrocities, but also women victims of violence, would like to say and call the perpetrators for the responsibility. And because some of the actors in politics are still present there` (Snežana, Vrnjačka Banja).

`I think it should be in Belgrade, because the command was there and main things were happening there` (Vase, Veles).

`To me Belgrade should be the place, because it was the capitol of ex Yugoslavia` (Đulijeta).

`I would say it differently, the crime was committed in Srebrenica, but it started from Belgrade, they are guilty, they started the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina. The evil started from Belgrade, with Milošević` (Majka Mejra).

## **b) Logistics**

`In Serbia, to make vivid the effort to change something, so that the truth is revealed, I would rather like it to be here. Probably, Belgrade is best prepared technically` (Maca, Pirot).

`Really, there are subquestions regarding the security, finances...Who will be on our side? I vote for Belgrade` (Dragana, Kotor).

`It should be big city, so that it is covered by media very well, for example Belgrade` (Srđana, Vrnjačka Banja).

## **c) Recognition of the resistance and the engagement of Women in Black**

`If it would be Belgrade, then it should be first of all because of Women in Black, because they give their best efforts and do whatever they can` (unknown woman, Stubičke Toplice).

`Personally, I think it should be in Belgrade, for many reasons. Because the resistance came from Belgrade too` (Sabina, Vrnjačka Banja).

`Personally, I think it should be in Belgrade, because the main initiators are Women in Black and they have started up all those activities to make it happen` (unknown woman, Veles).

## **II Argumentation regarding the place where court should be held-Sarajevo**

Sarajevo as the place for organizing of Women Court is based on reality and the symbolic of suffering. Also, some of the activists consider it as more secure place for the witnesses, because Belgrade is not so safe. Sarajevo is also mentioned as the `most Yugoslav city`, multiethnic, as well as geographic center of the former Yugoslavia.

(it was mentioned on seminars in the former Yugoslavia, but not so frequent as Belgrade).

`I share Vanja`s opinion, that it is the best if it would be in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo. Because Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered the most, so it should be Sarajevo, not Srebrenica or Potočari.` (Dragana, Kotor).

`I think it should be in Sarajevo, because it is small Yugoslavia` (Zagorka, Kotor).

`Sarajevo due to great suffering during war as a synonym of multi-ethnicity. The greatest number of women victims who suffered, were Bosnian women. Sarajevo would give publicity, by itself, as the most known city.` (Gordana, Pirot).

`From the perspective of women who will testify, I think it would be the best if it would be Sarajevo. It would be the safe side as Kosovo and Croatia.` (unknown woman, Stubičke Toplice, Croatia).

`I agree it should be Sarajevo. First of all because of victims, and eventually their problems to come in our environment and testify` (unknown woman, Stubičke Toplice, Croatia).

`I think that through destroying of Sarajevo they were destroying the whole society. Somebody wanted to stop

people living together` (unknown woman, Stubičke Toplice, Croatia).

`I think it would be more efficient if we would speak of the committed crimes on the territory where they were committed. Otherwise women stories will stay invisible, where it should be visible. So that women from Bosnia and Herzegovina testify there` (Duška, Mostar).

`My opinion is that the Court should be organized in Sarajevo, because the greatest number of victims comes from this multiethnic state` (Ramiza, Veles).

### **III Argumentation regarding the place where court should be held-Srebrenica, Potočari**

Almost all of the attendants of the seminar in Lukavac have said that the place for Women Court sessions should be in Srebrenica, Potočari. It also appeared sporadically in other places where we held seminars. First of all genocide and the suffer of the survived ones actuated the participants to choose this place.

`From the perspective of the victims, I think it should be in Srebrenica. Srebrenica deserves it more than Belgrade. Victims and the local population of Srebrenica deserve it` (Dragana, Veles).

`Potočari, where our children, husbands and brothers gave their lives...and we stayed after them to suffer` (unknown woman, Lukavac).

`There should be Women`s Court, for all the women no matter the nationality, or religion, and it should be in Potočari` (unknown woman, Lukavac).

`Not to diminish victims of Prijedor and other places, but the evil in its worse form spewed out in Srebrenica, Potočari. And as Haira mentioned, Žepa and Srebrenica were protected zones, and also because the world did not do their part of the job. This Court would say that there should not be put an end to this crime` (unknown woman, Lukavac).

### **IV Argumentation regarding the place where court should be held-Srebrenica, Potočari**

`Choosing the neutral place was argued with the safety of the participants, relocation from the place of suffer, creating the atmosphere in which they could freely testify.

(On the other side some of the arguments against it warned on the possibility to relativize the responsibility for war and crimes. Neutral place was mentioned the most during seminars in Croatia).

`Brioni occured to me. Has a lot of capacities and is neutral. Statesmen and non-aligned were meeting there.` (unknown woman, Stubičke Toplice).

`I think we should not organize it in the place where such a severe crimes were going on.

They have to make distance to some place without pressure` (unknown woman, Stubičke Toplice).

**Prepared by Marija Perković**

## SEMINAR EVALUATION

The evaluation of ten seminars showed we have achieved its objectives, even exceeded the expectations of participants. In the analysis are the results of the evaluation divided in the following segments:

### I Organizational technical aspect of the seminar

### II Comprehensive and informative aspect of the seminar

### III Valuable aspect of the seminar

#### I Organizational technical aspect of the seminar-

- seminar was well organized and its segments totally accorded
- very good work methodology
- language presenters and lecturers quite understandable

‘The structure of the seminar was very good. This was mining operation, and I did not even feel it.’ (Duša, Stubičke Toplice)

‘Documentaries well chosen and well prepared’ (seminar Sijarinska Banja)

‘My expectations are accomplished, and what I knew from before I found out once more in a different way. It inspired me to think it over’ (seminar Bečej)

‘This kind of presentation, through visual effect is receptive, and it is very good for our groups’ (seminar in Pirot).

‘I am here for the first time, but my expectations are accomplished. My compliments to the organizers. I spent my time with good persons and lecturers. I will need days to process it.’ (seminar in Vrnjačka Banja).

‘Everything was clear and visualized clearly, it is obvious that it is a serious working team’ (seminar Sijarinska Banja).

‘The amount of work you have invested, to make it closer to all of us, so much work and it is only the beginning’ (seminar Mostar).

#### II Comprehensive and informative aspect of the seminar

- It offered high level of knowledge
- Large amount of information that can not be found in public
- Seminar opens up new horizons/the understanding of feminist aspect of justice
- The amount of knowledge is too extensive for a three-day seminar

‘I got a lot of information and materials’ (seminar in Stubičke Toplice)

‘We got lots of useful information, which we should select when we come home, my expectations are accomplished, I found out what I wanted to know’ (seminar Veles).

` We got lots of useful information, which we could not find elsewhere ` (seminar in Sijarinska Banja).

` My expectations are accomplished. I got a new dimension, and gained a new angle of knowledge, on this seminar. Also the emotions, which were tensed and I got a new way of looking at them ` (seminar Bečej).

` The way you do it and represent it is very good, receptive and gives the possibility to incorporate women's side, and expectations in it ` (seminar Pirot).

` It gave me the opportunity to find out a lot on violence against women. I will work for the changes, for the implementation of feminist principles within the violence against women ` (seminar Vrnjačka Banja).

` I could say we have learnt a lot, that our eyes and minds are open for everything that contributes to the justice, or is an achievement in the area of women's human rights, and for everything what makes democracy ` (seminar Veles).

` The seminar was full of information, but heavy ` (seminar Stubičke Toplice).

` It was very good. The issue is inexhaustible and I think two days are not enough for it ` (seminar Veles).

**III Valuable aspect of the seminar**-the appraisal of the participants coincides with the aim for forming Women Court for ex Yugoslavia, though it was never raised as a question during the evaluation process. It was led through the general formulation ` your impression of the seminar? ` The analysis of the answers showed that seminar possesses, or to be precise, the idea of Women Court:

- clear values
- motivating character
- triggers the emotions, and emotions encourage the action/solidarity

` I got new knowledge, but I am ready to deepen them even more. I want to support you and to thank you for reminding me on the real life values. We forgot the empathy and the real human values. We have to preserve them and thank you for reminding me on them ` (seminar Bečej).

` The idea is too precious not to be involved in it. I will try to be involved, because this is not project-oriented. It is a sign of our revolt and rebel ` (seminar Stubičke Toplice).

` Seminar was motivating, gave me a concrete knowledge and I will try to participate in its organization ` (seminar Stubičke Toplice).

` I hope this will inspire all of us and that we will spread those ideas. I think it is important to gain over all those who are not here, but who could help us and contribute ` (seminar Stubičke Toplice).

` Everything is mixed in my head now, I am shaken, I am glad I worked in this group, I feel honoured ` (seminar Vrnjačka Banja).

` I got more than I expected. I got the will from Women Court worldwide. ` (seminar Vrnjačka Banja).

` This seminar raised a lot of questions, but motivated me, too. ` (seminar Vrnjačka Banja).

` I enjoyed the seminar. You convey what you believe in with your energy ` (seminar Vrnjačka Banja).

` World has to see what all of those women and mothers have been through, even if we have to show those

movies on the public squares. So that world sees the suffer we have been through, from those who were leading us` (seminar Pirot).

`I am emotionally moved with all this... I really want you to form Women Court` (seminar Bečej).

**Prepared by Marija P.**

## **WOMEN`S COURT-FEMINIST APPROACH TO JUSTICE**

### **CONSULTATION ON THE PROCESS OF ORGANIZING OF WOMEN`S COURT**

In accordance with feminist principles of work, where the working process and the achievements of the goal are of the same value (holding of Women`s Court), Women in Black have suggested from the beginning of educational activities / regional seminars, a number of various activities. So

we asked all the attendants of the above mentioned seminars to apply and take over the responsibility for organizing those activities. Therefore, we invited on our working meeting all of the participants of the seminar in Jezerčice (01.07.-03.07.2011.), and they applied for the organizing of the following activities:

- *Public presentations* (Initiative for organizing of Women`s Court on the territory of ex Yugoslavia),
- *Screening of documentary films* regarding experiences of Women`s Courts on the international level,
- *Screening of documentary films* regarding experiences of women groups and networks connected to feminist approach to justice.

This meeting was devoted to joint discussions on the organization and coordination of the activities mentioned above.

#### **Agenda:**

*10.30h – 10.45h:* Presentation and Introduction

*10.45h – 11:45h:* The discussion about the introduction part of public presentations (working in groups)

- We distribute the following material (which is sent by mail in advance, file about Hana Arent and Jaspers, and file of Introduction in the presentation) and we explain that we want to know if the text is enough informative and clear, does it include the essence of the idea of Women`s Court, and if it is possible to interpret briefly, the contents of the material or simulate the presentation (within 5`)
- Working in groups (35`)
- Reporting (20`)

11.45h – 13.00h: Screening of documentary film *Women`s Court* (30`) and then a discussion

13.00h – 13.30h: Pause

13.30h – 15.00h:

- The agreement on the method of reporting – feminist codex of work (30`)
- Upon the screenings of documentaries and feature films – first round of screenings (20`)

Undertaking of the activities- schedule of activities (25`)

## **TRAINING FOR PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS OF THE INITIATIVE FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WOMEN`S COURT FOR EX YUGOSLAVIA.**

Training for public presentations of the initiative for the organization of the Women`s Court, were performed in order to inform the public, first in local areas, with concept and content of Women`s Court and feminist concept of justice. The aim of the training was the involvement and training of more women (and men too) in the proces of preparing of Women`s Court, crea ting the groups for the support of organizing and heldin of Women`s Court, ect.

Until now, we had ten (10) consultations/trainings by Women in Black of Belgrade, the only exception was Kotor, where it was organized by the activists of `Anima` :

- *16th of July, Leskovac, south of Serbia*: 22 activists from Leskovac, Vlasotince, Pirot, Surdulica, Zaječar and Lebane,
- *15th of October, Kotor, Montenegro*: organized by `Anima`, attended by the activists from: Ulcinj, Podgorica, Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Nikšić, Cetinje, Budva, Tivat, Kotor and Herceg Novi,
- *22nd of October, Zagreb, Croatia*: in the premises of `Women Studies`, 20 attended from 6 cities: Zagreb, Pakrac, Slavonski Brod, Korenica, Vukovar, Poreč,
- *1st of November, Novi Sad, Vojvodina*: in the premises of `Art Clinics`, 9 women attended from 3 cities: Novi Sad, Novi Bečej, Sombor,
- *3d of November, Sarajevo, Bosna and Herzegovina*: we organized the training in the Hose of human rights, 22 attended, from 6 cities: Tuzla, Bijeljina, Sarajevo, Bratunac, Zenica, Srebrenica,
- *16th of November, Veles, Macedonia*: we organized it in hotel `Romantik`, attended by women from 4 cities of Macedonia: Skopje, Veles, Sveti Nikola, Kumanovo and 7 women of 2 cities in Kosovo: Đakovica, Priština,
- *20th of Novembar, Zagreb*: we held the training in the premises of `Center for women war victims`, 20 participated from 8 towns: Zagreb, Pakrac, Knin, Zadar, Slavonski Brod, Poreč, Korenica
- *10th of Decembar, Belgrade, central Serbia*:it was held in the premises of `Women in Black`, 9 women attended from 5 cities: Boljevac, Prijepolje, Kraljevo, Kragujevac, Beograd,
- *12 of Decembar, Lukavac (near Tuzla), Bosnia and Herzegovina*: organized by Women in Black of Belgrade and Association of `Srebrenica`s women` from Tuzla; beside 8 activists of Serbian WIB`s Network,

also 38 women from 9 cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina and one woman from Montenegro, attended. There were from: Tuzla, Bratunac, Srebrenica, Potočari, Milići, Vlasenica, Bajramovići, Lukavac, Bihać and Pljevlja, Montenegrin town,

- 16th of December, Niš, Southeast of Serbia: in the premises of the `Alternative Cultural center/AKC`, we held the training for thirteen women from 4 cities: Niš, Leskovac, Kruševac, Doljevac.

## FEMINIST-ACTIVIST CODEX WITHIN THE INITIATIVE FOR WOMEN'S COURT

**Criteria and responsibilities for the Steering Committee** in all the states of ex Yugoslavia:

- **Feminist codex in the work of the initiative:** responsibility for the movement, to submit bills to each other about implementing obligations, equality in commitments
- a balance between emotion and the principles / values, this means that relationships are important to us, the idea and the goal to which we aspire.

**Equality of engagement**-lack of hierarchy between theoretical contributions and work in the field and the necessity of both of the engagements (the evaluation of field activist work and presentation of the initiative in public), to maintain the cohesion and `symbolic capital`-trust, solidarity and mutual support. The movement is the most important to us, the experience and the thought as well as work on the terrain. The engagement directly on the terrain is necessary and in every possible form of presentation, it is binding to be engaged in the field, theoretically and during presentations. There is no hierarchy when we talk of obligations. This initiative assumes terrain work and the abatement of the hierarchy of theoretical contribution and activist engagement.

- **It is of equal importance to maintain relationships between us, involved in the initiative, as well as the achievement of the goal.** `We respect the feelings but should not let them overflow-if it happens it means we do not behave in accordance with the justice we strive for... abolishing the patriarchal dichotomy between emotion and principle, we do not consider feminist group as a community for therapy. Equally important is the `seed as well as the three` (Staša).
- **The acceptance of a clear division of work...** (Priština agreement, December 2010., noted by Ljupka)

At this starting point of the Codex, in the training work (10), as a **common denominator** it showed to be important:

1. Personal engagement on the questions of facing the past (defined in Serbia, precisely as `visiting the places where the crimes were committed in our names`, monitoring of the trials in the Special Court in Belgrade, involvement in the campaigns against the impunity)
2. Autonomy in the working process, the independence of the project dictates and networking without donors pressure
3. Forming a team that was responsible for promoting the Initiative (Croatia, Bosnia i Herzegovina, Macedonia)
4. Equal evaluation of theoretical and activist work
5. Acceptance of different strategies in the process - in accordance with the context and specifics of the region

## **CODEX SHOWED SPECIFIC DIFFERENCES OF VARIOUS REGIONS**

1. Croatia-the question of responsibility and war rape as well as the misuse of war rape in the public
2. Macedonia-the process of facing the past practically starts from the beginning (problem of general amnesty)
3. Serbia-the question of forced mobilization, marking the camps within Serbia, clear question of responsibilities of the elites for organizing of war crimes

### **We invite you on:**

#### **Public presentation introducing initiative for organizing Women`s Court for ex Yugoslavia**

By the end of 2010. members of the Initiative Board: Nuna Zvizdić, (Women to Women, Sarajevo), Nela Pamuković (Center for women war victims, Zagreb), Ljupka Kovačević and Ervina Dabižinović (Anima, Kotor) and Women in Black from Belgrade, initiated all together organizing of Women`s Court on the territory of ex Yugoslavia.

Women in Black are main holders of the program activities within the regional project `Women`s Court-women approach to justice`.

***Women`s Courts arise within civil society and social movements, giving space for women not only to testify on everyday experiences of injustice, but also to create new concepts of justice and peace.***

***Women`s Courts are the space for women voices, for the testimony of women, but also to take over the responsibility for justice, for gendering of justice, creation of feminist models of justice, incitement of feminist ethics of care, strengthening of solidarity networks, mutual constructing of just peace.***

Within the extensive activities for organizing Women`s Courts on the territory of ex Yugoslavia (educational, research, artistic, publishing) Women in Black organize those public presentation:

- **Introduction and presentation of members-17.00-17.15h**
- **Introducing with the idea of Women`s Courts for the ex Yugoslavia-17.15-17.25h**
- **Documentary projection upon experiences of Women`s Courts on the international level-32min.,17.25-18.00h**
- **Discussion-18.00-19.30h**

# SUMMARY REPORT OF PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN`S COURTS FOR EX YUGOSLAVIA

## Bosnia and Herzegovina

Common denominator of public presentations in Bosnia and Herzegovina are, first of all because of the deep emotions caused by film projection of `Women`s Courts-feminist approach to justice`. Also, the key questions of the audience are:

- possibilities of Women`s Courts to respect the individual suffer and the experience of the victim, but also to have visible, clear influence on the legal system (more adequate laws, punishment of the perpetrators),
- possibility to disseminate much more in the public the experiences of Women`s Courts held until now as well as women testimonies from the regions of ex Yugoslavia (through national televisions).

There are certain doubts for the initiative of Women`s Court, regarding their influence on the legal system. In Bosnia and Herzegovina those doubts were expressed due to their experience with REKOM process. The participants wanted clear effect (in the classical sense of the court), **so that women testify as women, first of all, not as victims** (`we as women have to speak out, not to be silent. We have been through various things during the war, but even today as well we experience so much. We have to fight for our rights. Even today I feel the fear, but am proud of myself for testifying`.)

It is obvious that attendants of the Public presentations concerned that Women`s Court should deal with the war and post war violence against women.

Despite expressed doubts, the interest for spreading the idea of Women`s Court was great.

## Montenegro

On all the presentations the attendants declared that the idea of Women`s Court is clear, though there was also confusion on some of the presentations, the need to clear up, because they thought it to be the institution which will replace or function better than the

institutions of justice, or it will be a `new court` or NGO. Very often the essence of it was not understood, though they affirmed that women voices have to be heard, that women have to react and that all the crimes against women have to be condemned. Similar to the experiences in other states in the region of ex Yugoslavia, in Montenegro we can conclude the same:

- there is a doubt connected to results of Women`s Court, or there is high expectation of it in influencing institutional legal system,
- Women`s Court would have to deal with all the kinds of violence in the last two decades.

On some of the presentations they insisted on protection of the privacy of witnesses and difficulties in finding women who would testify.

## Croatia

On all the public presentations, women showed great interest for Women`s Court, they declared everywhere their support for the initiative of organizing of Women`s Court. They consider the initiative significant, in order to make a pressure on the institutional legal system and for creation of alternative models of justice. The initiative gives the opportunity for women to testify and enroll in an alternative history ( `I see this Court as a possibility for stories to be told and written somewhere` ), but also for strengthening of restorative justice through healing, restorative power of women in building a just peace- ( `if women do not move, there is no reconciliation` ...), but also for strengthening of solidarity, activism and cohesion of civil society.

All the presentations had those common characteristics:

- *the question of effectiveness and influence of Women`s Court on the institutional legal system*, they raised the questions the most regarding the procedure of Women`s Court: selection and preparing of witnesses, protection, security of witnesses-these are the questions connected to deficiency of regular courts),
- *high degree of empathy with women victims of violence* showed in the movie and connecting it with the violence within local context, which was depending on degree of trauma they have been through. In the regions directly affected by the war (Pakrac, Korenica, D. Lapac), women have recognized immediately the continuance of the violence (war and post war), though they have emphasized the most the economic one, consequences of the war/war trauma, political insecurity and fear, impunity, violence in the family, ect. On the other side, connecting the violence from the movie, with the violence in their environment was far less (in general only) in other areas (Zagreb for example).

### The specificities of the context in Croatia: common denominator

Unlike the Public presentations in other states, in Croatia all of them were of closed, half-public, experimental character, before their going out in public. Mostly, they were organized within activist organizations, or `friendly environment`, and it was explained with the fear of reaction of the wider publicity, connected to certain questions:

- **The problem of different levels of responsibility:** the activists evaluated that in Croatia antimilitary-feminist approach (to responsibility) was neglected, for the last fifteen years ( `Feminists used to do something like that since 1992-1994, and they stopped` ...)
- **The problem of (non) facing the past:** *`Croatia is not ready yet to face the past and that everybody has its own victims with whom sympathizes`*
- **Uncritical approach toward the crimes committed in our name-autovictimization of our own nation:** it is not connected to only for Croatia, but further, though it appeared many times within activist organizations: *`it is rare for one people to judge its own war crimes perpetrators`, it is said that the movie is not `objective`, because `there are no women of Serbia and Croatian nationality`, ect.*

During the training process, we agreed to initiate discussion groups for feminist reflection, regarding certain questions, but first of all the questions of responsibility and war rape. Except this, we initiated operational teams for organizing and coordination of the process of Women`s Court. It encouraged the real horizontality in the work of feminists: equitable distribution of tasks, shared decision-making, non-hierarchical structure: `Real team work. We all agreed this kind of work and organizing is great and that we will continue in that way`.

## **Macedonia**

In the most of the cases, attendants of Public presentations, did not know much about Women`s Courts, but most of them were not interested very much about this issue. Projection of the documentary, regarding Women`s Courts, caused empathy and surprise. Also, there were willing to be involved in the initiative for organizing of Women`s Court for ex Yugoslavia.

Equally, the issue of sexual crimes against women in war, by itself was unknown to Macedonian public opinion (*`during the discussion, almost everybody took part, and the conclusion was that they were not informed upon the extent of violence against women during war`*-from the report of Public presentation in Skopje, 14<sup>th</sup> of January, 2012.)

We can also say that Macedonian public opinion did not initiate facing with the past and responsibility for the conflict in 2010., which was one of the reasons for their ignorance of the topic (Kičevo is multiethnic municipality which was involved in the conflict of 2010., so some of the attendants shared their experiences upon it, and about the violence among ethnic communities, as well as of mobilization of their fathers during the conflict, ect` , from the report of Public presentation in Kičevo, 27<sup>th</sup> of November, 2011.).

## **Serbia**

Public presentations of Women`s Court which were held in Serbia, were mostly in public spaces (cultural centers, halls of the municipal assemblies ect.), they fulfilled all the negative expectations of the activists involved in the process of forming of Women`s Court. What was connecting it with the Public presentations of Women`s Court in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the same question why those experiences are not vivid in public (from the movie *`Women`s Courts- feminist approach to justice`*), but the most important was:

- why there are no Serbian victims in the movie?
- how to educate empathy in `Serbian people` if there are no Serbian victims?

Also, distrust that audience has in state institutions (which means in judiciary too), was transferred on the possibility of real range Women`s Court can cover. Serbian public opinion (as well as activists who went through seminars and trainings), expect that alternative model of justice has strong influence on legal system. Those Public presentations have confirmed big gap between the attitudes of minor, activist (feminist-antimilitary) and the rest of population.

It is important to emphasize that though the attendants of Public presentations were mostly women (partially activists, but mostly from other circles in Serbia), it showed that the nationality crucially determines their identity, and that they have little or not at all empathy for women in the documentary.

Also, though the audience was interested for social and economic aspects of violence, it was symptomatic that academic community (participants of Women studies in Belgrade, students of basic and master studies) did not recognize the significance of this question (they denied the existence of multinational capital in Serbia, and the fact that Serbia is on the level of the least developed countries in the world), nor they had clearly expressed critical attitude toward the crimes committed in our name, on the contrary, their first question during our first presentation was: *`Why there are no Serbian victims?`*.