

# We'll do fine with a little help from growing group of our friends

Report on the LGBT human rights in Serbia in 2007

### INTRODUCTION

In spite of difficulties that Serbia has gone through in the turbulent transition period after the fall of Milošević's regime, it is a general assessment of the Gay Straight Alliance (GSA) that the level of human rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people is slightly improving. The LGBT population is slowly gaining still unreliable political partners, mainly among political parties and in the NGO sector.

The GSA assesses that the violence against LGBT people has increased during 2007, above all because of the increased visibility of the population as a whole due to: an increase in media attention, activities of LGBT organisations, LGBT liberation, new places of interest of LGBT people being open, but also due to strengthening of the political crisis in Serbia because of the Kosovo status talks and the additional strengthening of extremist organisations. The state, and above all the police, have not responded adequately to protect LGBT people.

### I LGBT PEOPLE IN THE POLITICAL CONTEXT IN SERBIA

In GSA's view, partners worth negotiation with over legal issues to improve the position of LGBT people in Serbia are, mainly, the coalition around the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Democratic Party (DS) and G17 Plus.

### 1. The Liberal Democratic Party

The Liberal Democratic Party has made the biggest step towards articulating support for LGBT people in Serbia. From the non-precise slogans "We are free to love whomever we want" and "I want you to know that you shouldn't look into other people's bedrooms", the LDP has come to expressing a concrete support to LBGT people by the party's president Čedomir Jovanović, as well as by few other party executives.

"This is a country in which you can kill whomever you want, but you cannot love, you have to ask for permission. If you are homosexual, you'll be beaten up... I'm a bad man when I say that this should be a country in which people can love whomever they want and as much as they want, but he (Amfilohije Radović) protects killers, blesses their deeds, and on the other hand persecutes those who want to live their lives freely. Do we all have to join the Church and become Pahomije to have the right to do that? Or do we all have to be backed by Vida Škero who will remove the court cases out of files and therefore protect institutions from someone who is insconsistent and indecent and immature, like someone who is a bishop of Serbian Orthodox Church who raped boys, and then got away with it thanks to the support of Koštunica, the Church, that national intelligence, before which we should all crawl. That is horrible."

LDP Charter of Liberties, item 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> LDP parliamentary election campaign in January 2007

In talk-show "Utisak nedelje", B92, 18 November 2007

This statement by Jovanović shows that LGBT population is one of the target groups of the LDP in Serbia's electorate, but also that its leader and his associates have not mastered the LGBT politics enough. The LDP still treats this topics in a non-political field, focusing on the non-defined right to love.

Furthermore, Čedomir Jovanović introduces into the context the Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC) and sexual violence. Introducing sexual violence in the context of gay issues is counter-productive, even when one wants to support the LBGT population. One of the main prejudices towards gay men is that they are sexual predators and violent individuals, as well as paedophiles. Sex offenders are present in all population layers regardless of personal features of the perpetrator. Therefore, this statement of Čedomir Jovanović, apart from being fundamentally gay-affirmative, can increase the rift between LGBT people in Serbia and the SPC.

This is not the only gay-affirmative statement by LDP executives. After a Belgrade daily *Kurir* published a homophobic article "Queersong" about the use of the so-called gay anthem "Love Is In The Air" as a background theme of TV spots in the 2007 parliamentary election campaign of this party, the then election campaign chief of the LDP-GSS-SDU-LSV coalition Nenad Milić and a prominent GSS member Jelena Milić wrote on their blog:

"Yes, the coalition stands for equality of all people in Serbia regardless of gender, religious beliefs, race, sexual orientation, nationality, social status etc. Not only before the law but in the society in general, in order for Serbia to become a tolerant society."

Support for the LGBT population was also expressed by the LDP presidency member Nikola Samardžić.

"'Obraz' has its quarters in the Army House. We pay for that army to perform certain functions it has, but its function is not to form political parties and neo-Nazi organisations, its members shouldn't attack gay pride. And that attitude towards indivisuals who have a different sexual orientation actually reflects our general sexual insecurities, lack of true beliefs even when those ordinary life issues are on the agenda, let alone ideological and political issues. Why does one have a problem if a man lives with another man? Why do you have a problem with that man? Where is the problem? Therefore it's a political statement. You have it in Russia too. The mayor of Moscow, whose wife is a housewife and whose wealth is more than one billion dollars, forbids the gay pride in Moscow. Why do they bother him? Is that something within him that he's ashamed of — and that's something you have in everyone, everyone has their own male and female side — or are they creating a concentration camp out of their own country? But we don't want Serbia to become a concentration camp. If they want it... they've done it before and they know what it looks like."

"Kažiprst", *Radio B92*, 27 September 2007, http://www.b92.net/info/emisije/kaziprst.php?yyyy=2007&mm=09&nav\_id=268411

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "Homophobia is in the Air", *Blog B92*, Nenad and Jelena Milić, <a href="http://blog.b92.net/arhiva/node/3455?page=1">http://blog.b92.net/arhiva/node/3455?page=1</a>

In the same programme Samardžić says:

"Freedom for neo-Nazis, if it assumes restricting freedom for everyone else, is no longer freedom. If the same people attacked the gay pride in Belgrade, and then attacked the police, we can only assume they will continue doing it, that they'll do it in Novi Sad. We haven't had any gay prides after the incident."

The LDP celebrated the International Human Rights Day on 10 December 2007 by having a stall in front of the restaurant "Ruski car" where the party leadership and membership distributed leaflets in which the party stands also for the right of "gender identity" and "sexual orientation".

It should be stressed that the LDP formed the Youth Group for Human Rights as a section of the LDP Youth which organised a public discussion "International Day Against Homophobia" on 17 May 2007.

The most important political move for the LGBT community by the LDP is proposing to the National Assembly an Anti-Dicrimination Bill written by the Anti-Discrimination Coalition, which contains a definition of dicrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender expression, and mechanisms to prevent it and penalise it.

Participation of the LDP-GSS-SDU-LSV coalition representative Jelene Milić at the panel discussion organised by the GSA and the Anti Trafficking Center "Enhancing the rights of the LBGT population in Serbia through adoption of the anti-discrimination law" on 15 January 2007 should also be stressed. She said then that the LDP support for the LGBT population is the basis of their liberal ideology, and not political opportunism.

"The coalition around the LDP doesn't stand for the rights of sexual and gender minotrities and for the right to be different because there's 11% of citizens of this country whose sexual orientation differs from the majority, but because it's a part of political principles and basis of our liberal ideology that we stand for and one of the main axioms of human rights without which there are no developed and stable democracies in the 21<sup>st</sup> century."

The latest move of the LDP which shows that the LGBT population is its target group is the appearance of its activist Nikola Herman on the 2008 calendar "Sloboda: Freedom" by the organisation Queeria - Center for Promotion of Culture of Non-Violence and Equality.

Transcript of the panel discussion "Enhancing the rights of the LBGT population in Serbia through adoption of the anti-discrimination law", Gay Straight Alliance, Anti Trafficking Center, page 5, 15 January 2007

<sup>&</sup>quot;Kažiprst", *Radio B92*, 27 September 2007, http://www.b92.net/info/emisije/kaziprst.php?yyyy=2007&mm=09&nav\_id=268411

Leaflet "Human rights are our rights", LDP

### 2. The Democratic Party

Policy of the Democratic Party (DS) towards the LGBT population is characterised by ignorance or, at best, reactive relationship. The LGBT population has never been a matter of the party policy or of its executives' statements unless they have been asked directly.

The DS leader and President of Serbia Boris Tadić said the following on gay marriage on 24 June 2007: "That is yet another democratic debate. I believe every person has the right to express his or her sexual orientation. I think that at this moment in the Balkans, in Serbia or in Croatia, the idea of legalising gay marriage isn't realistic... As far as children in gay marriage are concerned, there is a huge psychological problem: every human being has a need for both male and female identity in order to develop. If you have a single gender identity then you always, or almost always, have a problem."

President Tadić therefore admitted that sexuality is nor only a private matter, but that everyone has the right to express it. However at the same time he introduced child welfare as an argument to the discussion on same-sex marriage. The GSA stresses that the issue of adoption is one of the last ones in this discussion. LGBT people encounter more important problems in everyday life – from violence and discrimination in private and public sector to real problems produced by shared life (common property, inheritance, visits to institutions with limited access, social, health and pension insurance etc.).

Such a reserved statement by President Tadić can only be characterised as reinforcement of his homophobic attitude presented three years ago.

"I don't support legalisation of gay marriage and in politics I am guided by and interested in **pro-life** policies. I don't believe that gay marriage is an adequate family surroundings that can aid children's well-being. Legalisation of gay marriage is immediately followed by a possibility for those couples to adopt children. Boys and girls need mum and dad, those are the reasons why I don't support legalisation of such a marriage." <sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the DS is still avoiding to declare whether it supports the Anti-Discrimination Bill proposed by the Anti-Discrimination Coalition (KPD), giving an implicit support to the Government's Anti-Dicrimination Bill and to Minister Rasim Ljajić, its political sponsor. The Government's bill is not a favourable solution for the LGBT population since sexual orientation and gender identity are mentioned only in the definition of discrimination in Article 5 of the bill, but not also as a separate form of discrimination.

The only step the DS made that can be understood as the party's willingness to co-operate with the LGBT community is the participation of the then parliamentary candidate and the National Assembly vice-speaker and the current Minister of Public Administration and

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<sup>&</sup>quot;Nedeljom u 2", Croatian Radio-Television, a talk-show, 24 June 2007

President Tadić in a statement for the "Blic" daily on 8 June 2004, page 2

Local Self-Government Milan Marković at the GSA panel discussion "Enhancing the rights of the LBGT population in Serbia through adoption of the anti-discrimination law" on 15 January 2007, when he expressed the party's willingness to solve the problems.

"I am aware of this population's problems, to me it's absolutely clear. I am willing to do everything. When the bill is ready, please approach me to help me participate in the debate better, to ammend it. I'm certain the Democratic Party won't turn down any of this ammendments," Marković said then. 11

### 3. G17 plus

Although the LGBT population is not a target group of this party, G17 plus has on occasion signalled that the LGBT community can count on it as a potential political partner.

G17 plus has never during its existence payed attention to LGBT issues in the party documents. Furthermore, it is very rarely making statements on these issues, but it is also notable that it has never spoken negatively about the LGBT population. However it should be mentioned that Snežana Stojanović-Plavšić, a G17 Plus representative at the GSA panel discussion "Enhancing the rights of the LBGT population in Serbia through adoption of the anti-discrimination law" on 15 January 2007, said that her party will "stand for all minority rights at all levels, including the sexual minorities rights." In her statement she added that "legalisation of same-sex marriage would be acceptable" for G17 plus. 12

Likewise, Vice-President of G17 plus Youth of Belgrade Miloš Lazarević appealed on 16 November 2007 to adopt the anti-discrimination law, stressing that "the Center for Advanced Legal studies (CUPS) has already prepared such a bill, and the need for its adoption is obvious since we're witnessing discrimination and intolerance on various grounds daily." <sup>13</sup>

### 4. The Democtratic Party of Serbia, the New Serbia, the United Serbia

The GSA does not view the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) as a partner of the LGBT community, and its coalition partners the New Serbia (NS) and the United Serbia (JS) have expressed the biggest homophobia amongst the parliamentary parties in 2007. We believe that the DSS considerably contributes to tendencies that can worsen the general condition of human rughts of citizens of Serbia, and of LGBT people in particular. Furthermore, the DSS consistently ignores topics of LGBT human rights.

Transcript of the panel discussion "Enhancing the rights of the LBGT population in Serbia through adoption of the anti-discrimination law"

Transcript of the panel discussion "Enhancing the rights of the LBGT population in Serbia through adoption of the anti-discrimination law"

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nationalist graffiti in Belgrade painted over", *Beta* news agency, 16 November 2007

As the main author of the new constitution of Serbia, the DSS is the most responsible for cancelling the right to privacy of all citizens of Serbia, and for imposing limitations of certain liberties, especially the right of women to freely decide on giving birth. Considering the LGBT population in particular, the DSS is directly responsible for adoption of constitutional anti-discrimination articles that ignore the existence of LGBT people in Serbia, as well as articles on marriage that do not allow introducing legislation to regulate partnerships of LGBT people. An implicit message is sent by the DSS to LGBT people by adoption of the constitutional article in which the Constituion of Serbia is above the international laws, which often give wider rights to LGBT people that domestic legislation.

The DSS is avoiding to critisise extremist organisations and tendencies in Serbia and is often relativising rasist and Nazi events.

We would like to accentuate the neo-Nazi march in Novi Sad as an indicator of the relationship between the DSS and extremist organisations in Serbia. The DSS treated the event as a security issue, and we can further deduce that it gave an ideological justification for it judging by a statement of Željko Tomić, the party's executive. He said ten days before the event: "Freedom of speech is a constitutionally guaranteed right of all citizens. However, the organisers are contradictory as they are the very people who beat up people at the Faculty of Philosophy who were speaking freely. I regret they are given such a significance. We dance as they play. If the event at the Faculty of Philosophy hadn't happened, an average citizen would've never known of Nacionalni stroj or of these tendencies in Serbia. They will seek to continue their activities as they can, but neo-Nazism has no ground in Serbia." 14

The DSS relativised in the National Assembly the significance of the gathering of members and fans of Nacionalni stroj by equating the organisers of the event and their most vocal oposition among political parties – the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina and the LDP.

"They are extremists. Čanak and the LSD are nacionalni stroj', Aligrudić said in his speech, throughout calling Nenad Čanak's party LSD (strong hallucinogenic artificial drug) instead of LSV (League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina), for which he was given a warning by the Parliament chairman Miloljub Albijanić."

The behaviour of the DSS in this situation can be more easily understood if we remind ourselves of offensive language expressed by Marko Jakšić, the party's MP, towards an opposition MP Vladan Batić on 24 and 25 September 2007, at the Parliament Committee

<sup>&</sup>quot;We dance as they play! – Political parties on the announced neo-Nazi gathering", *Dnevnik*, 27 September 2007,

http://www.dnevnik.co.yu/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=29627

<sup>&</sup>quot;Serbian Parliament on neo-Nazis", B92, 8 October 2007, <a href="http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2007&mm=10&dd=08&nav\_category=1">http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2007&mm=10&dd=08&nav\_category=1</a> 1&nav\_id=266842

on Kosovo and Metohia sitting, and then also at the Parliament sitting, followed by his party's reaction.

"After the DSS MP Marko Jakšić offended the Demo-Christian Party of Serbia MP Vladan Batić at the Parliament Committee on Kosovo and Metohia sitting two days ago, by saying that he hadn't come to the sitting to defend Kosovo but to provoke by, as he put it, 'his Roma and Gypsy mentality', he reiterated his offenses yesterday at the Parliament sitting. Jakšić first appologised to Roma people for what he had said the day before, but added that, when he had been talking about Batić, he hadn't been thinking of Roma people but of, as he said, 'the Gypsy mentality as a virtue of character'.

– Batić's mentality, approach and appearance offends, attacks, he's not exercising his physiological needs at home but he comes to this holy and pure place and urinates on all of us - Jakšić said and also called Batić a traitor. The sitting was intermitted adfterwards, and Marko Jakšić was given a warneing in the sequel by the Parliament Speaker Oliver Dulić after consultations with parties' representatives. As Tanjug reports, the DSS/NS parliamentary group's chief Miloš Aligrudić stressed yesterday that Jakšić's statement is not a stance of the DSS and that the case was laid to rest by the Parliament Speaker's warning, whereas Jakšić said he doesn't expect the retaliation of his party." 16

Dragan Jovanović, President of the municipality of Topola and Vice-President of the NS, discriminates on the grounds of race against Roma people who live in his town. In an answer to a letter on Topola municipality website in which his co-citizens express concerns to an information that a big Roma living area in Torovi neighbourhood will be built, he says:

"Dear citizens, I share your concern for your safety and the living conditions in your neighbourhood regarding building of 10-ish flats for socially volatile groups, among which a certain number of Roma people."

"First of all, my friends, your fear is without grounds. The object will be at the very bottom of the municipality property grounds, almost at the very edge of the lake. Your street will only be used to transport the material."

"After the completion of construction, a wall will be built surrounded by barb wire, so that thay will physically by forbidden to walk along Rade Blagojević Street."

"I can't leave Roma people in the town centre, I've lost money before, I acn't hesitate anymore. I guarantee you won't have any unwanted contacts with them." 17

Jovanović is therefore openly expressing intention to discriminate<sup>18</sup> against citizens of Serbia of Roma nationality, by restricting the freedom of movement<sup>19</sup> and by offending

"We will surround Roma people by barb wire", *B92*, 7 December 2007, http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2007&mm=12&dd=07&nav\_id=275420

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<sup>&</sup>quot;Racism in the Parliament", *Građanski list*, 26 September 2007, http://www.gradjanski.co.yu/navigacija.php?vest=9016&najcitanije=1

their basic human dignity. <sup>20</sup> Furthermore, Jovanović should also be charged with inciting rasial, national and religious hatred. <sup>21</sup>

The DSS has never denounced these events.

Nobody in Serbia is surprised by frequent homophobic verbal attacks by the leaders of the NS and the JS, Velimir Ilić and Dragan Marković. Furthermore, it could not be assumed that the motive for this is to gain additional voters, since their homophobia is known for years now.

The most homophobic verbal attack of President of the JS and of municipality of Jagodina Dragan Marković was his interview for TV Fox on 30 May 2007.

"Vesna Simić, journalist: Would you consider having a gay friend?

Dragan Marković: No. Never.

Journalist: Why?

**Dragan Marković:** Because I wasn't raised that way. Further, the Serbian Orthodox Church doesn't accept homosexuals. We're not that modern to legalise that homosexual marriage advocated by certain politicians, etc.

**Journalist:** But wait, do you consider that to be a politically intolerant way of thinking? **Dragan Marković:** Well look, we can't say those are human rights and that it should... No, that's disease.

Journalist: But do you know that the World Health Organisation said it's not a disease? Dragan Marković: Well it is, if you make love in a way God didn't say is right. Then it's wrong...

*Journalist:* But the doctors say it's not a disease.

**Dragan Marković:** ... neither with the one above nor with the one below. Therefore, it's very very ugly, look. So, God said...

**Journalist:** You're the head of Jagodina. So now what? Homosexuals in Jagodina will be sent away? And how do you treat them?

**Dragan Marković:** No no, they shouldn't be sent away. They're not the kind of people I want to work with, they're not the people with whom...

**Journalist:** Would you fire them if you knew that homosexuals work in your municipality?

**Dragan Marković:** Well there aren't any. I haven't thought about that. There aren't any homosexuals in Jagodina.

**Journalist:** And what if there were?

**Dragan Marković:** So, there aren't. I know every person in Jagodina. There are no homosexuals in Jagodina.

Journalist: Maybe they can't tell you because you're intolerant towards them?

**Dragan Marković:** And how do you know that I'm intolerant?

**Journalist:** Well you've just said you wouldn't have them as friends.

Articles 21 and 76 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia

Article 39 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia

Article 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia

Article 49 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia

**Dragan Marković:** I don't have. I can't tolerate something that's not natural, look. Have you had a feeling today with me, since half past seven this morning until noon that I'm not tolerant and that citizens who meet me think I'm intolerant?

**Journalist:** I don't know about other things, but as far as I'm concerned, you're intolerant towards homosexuals.

**Dragan Marković:** I'll never even be tolerant."<sup>22</sup>

President of the NS and Minister of Infrastructure in the Government of Serbia Velimir Ilić has, in the show "Recite narodu" on the aforementioned TV station, verbally attacked President of the Executive Council of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina Bojan Pajtić saying that everyone knows he is gay, and demanded from Bojan Kostreš (Speaker of the Assembly of Vojvodina), who was as well a guest in the show, to admit he had a boyfriend.

"According to Ivica Dačić, who was the third guest in the studio, everything was started by the Minister of Infrastructure.

- Velja and Kostreš were arguing about the development of the highway through Vojvodina. At one moment Velja asked: 'Tell me Bojan, do you have a boyfriend? Well it's modern now, don't be shy, tell us...' - Dačić said.

According to him, an audience in the studio applauded and laughed to this question by Ilić. Kostreš answered in a weak manner: 'I don't know, maybe you're doing that...' And then Velja scored. He said: 'That's not terrible, and Bojan Pajtić has a boyfriend, everyone knows about that, and nothing's wrong with him..'<sup>123</sup>

This case is a clear argument in why it is necessary to strictly define what the discrimination against LGBT people means. When LGBT people are concerned, discrimination doesn't mean only "every unjustified, direct or indirect distinction, exclusion or limitation of people, as well as aiding a discriminatory act" based on sexual orientation or gender expression, as defined in the *Anti-Discrimination Bill* of the Government of Serbia and the UNDP.

The Anti-Discrimination Coalition proposed a bill which would protect LGBT people from such an outburst of Velimir Ilić, which is something the DS has to think about as well.

Discrimination on the grounds of gender identity and sexual orientation

### Article 17

(1) Gender indentity and sexual orientation are private matters and no-one has to publicly declare their gender identity or sexual orientation.

(2) Everyone has the right to publicly declare their gender identity or sexual orientation.

Špijunka, author Vesna Simić, FOX TV, originally shown on 30 May 2007, re-run on 2 Jun 2007
Affair Homos, Press, 13 June 2007

- (3) Discriminatory actions on the grounds of assumed or publicly declared gender identity or sexual orientation is forbidden.
- (4) Rights recognised in items 1 and 2 of this Article include the cases of transsexuality.<sup>24</sup>

Velimir Ilić considerably endagered the right to privacy of two citizens of Serbia by publicly announcing their presumed sexuality. Everyone has the right to keep their sexual orientation or gender expression to themselves. The current state of affairs in the legislature of Serbia, where the right to privacy has been annihilated by the new constitution and where it is highly likely that an anti-discrimination law will be adopted in which the kind of behaviour exercised by Ilić would not be sanctioned, should concern all citizens and political parties in Serbia.

Homophobic attitude of a conservative political analyst Slobodan Antonić, who is often related to the DSS by politicians in Serbia, can be used as an indirect sign of how the DSS regards the LGBT issue. In a column in the "Politika" daily he verbally attacked the LDP over submitting the KPD's Anti-Discrimination Bill to the Parliament.

His analysis does not in any part give arguments against the bill, but is full of attacks on the proposer and the authors of the bill. One of the most absurd arguments is denouncing the introduction of "voluntary discrimination testers", something proposed by both the Government's and the KPD's bills.

"An institute of 'NGO agent provocateur' is being introduced under the name 'voluntary discrtimination tester' (Article 2). I guess he's going to go around masked as a transvestite or painted as a black man and check whether those responsible are obeying the law. If an agent provocateur considers anything to be suspicious, or more precisely, if they 'find probable that they were being discriminated against' (Article 30), they will file a complaint and the accused should prove he or she is innocent."<sup>25</sup>

Apart from falsifying, Antonić's article is full of homophobia.

"If a man and a woman are not denied the right to marry, then that shouldn't be denied to two men as well. But that is contrary to the definition of marriage as a 'union of a man and a woman' (Law on Marriage, Article 3)? It doesn't matter, very swiftly that's changed by this law. A registrar who refuses to marry two men can be penalised, under this law, as well as a social worker who refuses to allow adoption to a homosexual couple. Do you want legalisation of gay marriage and gay adoption? Then that should maybe be talked about. And Serbia should not be introduced to a PC utopia by decree and without discussion.

The law introduces the 'presumption of guilt'. The discrimination isn't proved by the one who claims was victimised, but the one who's accused should prove there hasn't been discrimination! (Article 30). If a social worker doesn't allow adoption to a homosexual

<sup>24</sup> "Anti-Discrimination Bill", Center for Advanced Legal Studies, p. 162 25

<sup>&</sup>quot;Serbia in PC utopia", Politika, 25 October 2007

couple and they sue him, the accusers won't have to prove they'd been discriminated against, but the social worker would have to prove that he hadn't been discriminating!"<sup>26</sup>

Antonić is using here the favourite weapon of those who stand against LGBT emancipation – terrifying the public by gay marriage and gay adoption. First, he should know that anti-discriminatory and marriage legislation are two separate parts of law. Second, the discussion on gay marriage in Serbia will not be on the agenda for a very long time since the LGBT community has not politically articulated its stances on the issue. LGBT organisations and activists have not defined which kind of registered partnership they want, and what is more, the adoption has not even been discussed so far.

Antonić in his column also uses the "positive discrimination" as a reason to express his homophobia.

"The so called positive discrimination (Article 6) is being introduced. Certain minorities have the right to be privileged 'in order to improve their position'. That's most often realised by some kind of guaranteed quotas. In the USA, apart from rasial and ethnic minorities, the sexual minorities demand their quota. 'The Caucus of Gay and Lesbian Americans' in the DS demanded recently that 6-7 per cent of the delegates be gay at the convention which will elect the presidential candidate in 2008."<sup>27</sup>

Antonić has either not read thoroughly the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia or is deliberately not stating some of its articles, assuming that the citizens of Serbia have not read it.

"It is not a discriminatory act to enforce special measures introduced by the Republic of Serbia in order to achieve full equality of people or of groups of people which are fundamentally in unequal position with the rest of the citizens."<sup>28</sup>

Both racism and homophobia characterise all totalitarian ideologies based on the myth of blood and soil. It is instructive to remind ourselves of an event in the Nazi Germany. "The Night of the Long Knives" was one of the bloodiest fractional battles in the Nazi movement. On the order of Adolf Hitler, 85 (according to official data, or a few hundred according to other sources) members of the SA (Fuehrer's elite paramilitary unit) were killed between 30 June and 2 July 1934, along with the unit's commander Ernst Roehm, who was gay.

Although it was fundamentally a political combat, Roehm's sexuality was used as a justification for the bloodshed. During inauguration of the new SA commander Victor Lutze, Hitler ordered him to end "homosexuality, debauchery, drunkenness". <sup>29</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>quot;Serbia in PC utopia", *Politika*, 25 October 2007

<sup>&</sup>quot;Serbia in PC utopia", *Politika*, 25 October 2007

Constitution of the republic of Serbia, Article 21, item 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> "Hitler", Ian Kershaw, p. 520, 1999

According to the United States Holocaus Memorial Museum, over 100,000 men were arrested because of ther homosexuality, out of which more than 50,000 were sentenced to prison. An unknown number were sent to psychiatric facilities. Scrutinising the incomplete documentation has shown that between 5,000 and 15,000 homosexuals were sent to concentration camps.<sup>30</sup>

### 5. Influence of the process on Kosovo to the state of human rights of LGBT people

A great influence to the overall political situation in Serbia, and to the state of human rights of LGBT people in particular, is posed by the process of status determination of Kosovo. The very likely outcome of this process is the recognition of independence of Kosovo by a part of the international community, which would represent a teritorial and symbolic loss for Serbia. One of the direct consequences will be looking for those "responsible" for such an outcome. An attempt of breaking the performance of the Coalition for a Secular State at the Republic Square on 10 December 2007 shows that LGBT people would be among those "responsible".<sup>31</sup>

"A group of young men wearing Obraz t-shirts and badges with the image of the Hague fugitive Ratko Mladić tried ... to break the performance 'We Won't Go Back' that was organised at the Republic Square on the occasion of the International Day of Human Rights.

While NGO representatives were performing, that group sang četnik songs and shouted: 'Ratko Mladić', 'Kill, slaughter, so that no gay exists!', 'Ustašas', 'Kill a gay', 'There'll be flesh', 'We'll slaughter Croats', 'Save Serbia and kill yourself, Boris', 'You'll be beaten''<sup>32</sup>

The Obraz attack was stopped by a couple of dozen of policemen in the full antidemostration uniforms, by forming a cordon between the activists of the coalition and the members of Obraz.

The process of looking for those "responsible" has started and it is not surprising that gay men are among those named. The GSA is warning that there is a great possibility that the violence would escalate towards citizens and organisations labeled responsible by extremist and nationalist organisations in the period after the recognition of Kosovo independence and is warning the state officials to do everything possible to secure safety for all citizens of Serbia.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals 1933-1945", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <a href="http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/hsx/">http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/hsx/</a>

This day marks the International Human Rights Day, established as remebrance to the day in 1948 when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The LDP denounced an attempt by Obraz to break an NGO performance", *Beta*, 10/10/2007

### II ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST LGBT PEOPLE AND AN INADEQUATE RESPONSE BY THE STATE

During 2007 there was an increase in violence against LGBT people. The State has not done enough to protect all citizens. The violence has still not reached the 2001 levels, but it can be deduced that the roots are the same.

An increase in visibility of LGBT people is always at the beginning followed by an increase in violence. In this period the trend from the previous years was continued: LGBT organisations continued their growth, increased their presence in the media, there was an increse in public and semi-public places of gatherings of LGBT people.

In the night before the finals of the Eurovision Song Contest, on 11-12 May 2007 a group of unidentified young men attacked J.D. (27 years old) from Banjaluka at the Wreath of Obilić in the proximity of the "Alliance" night club and gave him a beating. From a conversation with J.D. we concluded that one of the attackers was at the student canteen "Tri kostura" and was noting those leaving the club, and then informed via mobile phone the rest of the group which was in front of the Tanjug building. The group waited and beat the victim up shouting offences on the grounds of his presumed sexuality. The victim was subsequently robbed.<sup>33</sup>

The next attack the GSA registered in the night of the finals of the Eurovision Song Contest, on 12-13 May 2007, immediately after the victory of Marija Šerifović was announced. Wanting to participate in the organised celebrations, P.K. (24 years old) from Belgrade headed towards the "Alliance" club. At the National Museum in Vasina Street he was attacked and beaten up by a group of those "celebrating" on the grounds of his presumed sexuality. Cheering "Queer!" they threw the victim on the ground and kicked him.<sup>34</sup>

In the night between 25 and 26 May 2007 there was another incident at the Wreath of Obilić, this time involving N.M. (31 years old) from Podgorica. The scenario was absolutely the same as when the victim J.D. was attacked. This victim was also robbed after the beating.<sup>35</sup>

There was an organised gay party in the club "Baron" at Ada Ciganlija on 30 June 2007. As the club is the first one in the row on the side towards Makiš, a large number of visitors of Ada Ciganlija learned there was a gay party on the way back from the more distant clubs. During the night, in the period of 15 minutes a group of dozen men which headed back from Ada Ciganlija entered the "Baron" club and saw gay and lesbian couples, loudly expressing their disgust.<sup>36</sup>

Interview with the victim J.D.

Interview with the victim P.K.

Interview with the victim N.M.

Interview with L.P. (27 years old), one of the guests at the party.

Furthermore, an additional problem was that only a private security was present at the party and that the police had not been informed about the gathering.

Five young men waited for D.F. (19 years old) and his partner P.J. (27 years old) at the parking lot at the entrance of Ada Ciganlija and started beating P.J. Managing to run away, D.F. headed towards the "Fabrika šećera" public transport station. The same group caught him there and beat him up.<sup>37</sup>

When talking about violence against LGBT population in Serbia during 2007 we cannot ommit to mention an attack on "Caravan of Differences" organised by a group of NGOs in a campaign "All Different – All Equal" in Novi Sad on 12 July 2007, during the Exit music festival. Apart from the imagery of the event, which resembled the imagery of the gay movement, an inspiration for the attack came also from the announcement by Vlatko Salaj, a gay activist from Novi Sad, that a Pride Parade would be organised in that city during the Exit festival. For weeks before the festival, neo-Nazis in Serbia were arranging the attacks on participants of the Pride Parade. Even though the so called Parade and the attack had been announced on the internet, the physical violence moved from the virtual into the real world.

"The PR of the campaign Biljana Simonović said for B92 that the participants of the Caravan, animating the passers by, went through the Dunavski Park only to be attacked by a group of six bald young men. The violent men put one of the performers to the ground after which he got his head and arms injured, she said and added that further five participants of the Caravan were lightly injured." <sup>38</sup>

In the night between 12 and 13 October 2007 two men, aged about 20, entered the "Alliance" club as regular guests. They paid the entrance fee, ordered drinks and stayed in the club for another hour. There they met two regular guests (P.S. and I.M.) and asked them to leave the club after a while – "to go catch fresh air", as they said. All four went out and went towards the Wreath of Obilić. At the Tanjug building a group of young men appeared and started beating the two regular customers of the "Alliance". The two men who "picked up" the victims participated in the beating. One of the victims had bruises and the other had a broken nose and was taken to the Emergency. <sup>39</sup>

In the night between 3 and 4 November 2007 there were two attacks on guests of gay clubs in Belgrade.

In the "VIP" night club unknown perpetrators threw in a tear gas, which caused huge panic. According to one of the guests, private security were not present at the club, and there were lots of problems at the exit as it was blocked by bar chairs. <sup>40</sup> According to Belgrade policemen, with whom the GSA had a meeting after this attack, there were 130

"Attack of hooligans on the activists in NS", *B92*, 12 July 2007,

http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2007&mm=07&dd=12&nav\_id=255097

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Interview with the victim D.F.

Interview with the victims P. and P.

Interview with a club guest I.S.

guests in the club at the moment of the attack, and no tear gas shells were found in the club. 41

Furthermore, a group of 8 to 10 unknown young men tried to attack a group of guests of the "Alliance" club who were waiting for a taxi at the corner of Vasina and Zmaj Jovina Streets. According to the guests, the attackers took out knives and started chasing four of the guests, who managed to escape them.<sup>42</sup>

There was also an attack on a single man in the park at the corner of Sarajevska and Nemanjina Streets in the night between 27 and 28 October 2007. As in all other cases, a group of younger men attacked the victim for whom they presumed was gay by his appearance. They threw him on the ground and kicked him. The victim ended up in the Emergency with injuries. 43

The victims did not want to report any of the attacks to the police in fear that they would be bullied by policemen and their family, friends and acquaintances would find out about their sexuality.

The GSA concludes that the police have still not shown willingness to protect equally all citizens. Back in 2001 the OSCE Mission stressed the unwillingness by the police to protect LGBT people in Serbia. One can say that the situation has not improved drastically.

Gay and Lesbian Rights: This is a subject not recognised or understood amongst the senior levels of the service and it is at the perimeter of public consciousness. If asked, the uncomfortable response appears to be that nobody minds if people are homosexual provided they don't draw attention to it. There is no record of homosexual activity within the police. The only political party to openly admit gay and lesbian members is the Social Democratic Union, whose members and offices have been attacked. On the 30 June 2001 a public Gay Rights Parade was held in the centre of Belgrade. The Parade was attacked by skinheads and severe beatings handed out. Apart from the failure of the police to have contingency plans in place and to adequately deal with the disorder, religious and police leaders made statements that may be counted on to infer official strong condemnation and intolerance of homosexuals.<sup>44</sup>

Boško Buha, the Belgrade police chief at the time of the attack on the Gay Rights Parade, said on that occasion for Radio B92: "We made an assessment that there won't be as many of those mad people who would cause a threat, but obviously that we as a society

Information provided by the Anti Trafficking Center.

The meeting of GSA representatives and the police was held on 8 November 2007 after a public letter of the GSA was sent to Dragan Jočić, Minister of Interior, Dušan Petrović, Minister of Justice, and to Stevan Bjelić, the Belgrade police chief.

Interview with the victims.

Study on Policing in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, *OSCE*, Richard Monk, 2001, p. 84

haven't matured enough to accept such a display of someone's, so to say, kinkiness or as someone would say, fulfilling one's wishes or sexual orientation."<sup>45</sup>

Due to such statements LGBT victims report the cases of violence very rarely to the police, especially since the experience so far shows that, even when they do decide to report them, the cases are not solved or the victims are often harrassed by the police.

"My name is E.M., I am 28 years old and I live in Novi Sad.

Me and my boyfriend Ð.J. are together for five and a half years now. We have lived as all other gays and minorities in Serbia (I'm half Albanian – half Serbian, and D. is Roma). We managed to build a more-less normal life, surrounded by progressive people.

However, on a Saturday this Summer we decided to go visit a gay club on Petrovaradinska Fortress. We don't often go to gay places, but no-one of our friends was in the city and we decided to go and have a look at the club.

When we headed home, we were attacked by a group of young men who beat us up severely. Then someone probably called the police and a police car with two policemen came. When they realised where we came from and why we were attacked, they started offending and humiliating us. They asked for our ID cards and one of them went mad when he saw my surname because he was in Kosovo in the 1990s. His friend was killed by 'šiptari', he took out a gun, started threatening, like he doesn't want 'šiptari, gays, Gypsies walking around as if they were common people,' he said he knew where we lived, that he would kill us, exterminate us etc. When he came down a bit they left saying that it would be better if they hadn't seen us again, otherwise we would be 'fucked'. We went to see a doctor, and then went home.<sup>46</sup>

After this event, E.M. and D.J. moved to the USA where they seeked an asylum status.

Six years after an attempt was made to hold the Pride Parade in Belgrade in 2001, the police in Niš showed, according to activists of "Lambda", that the police's attitude towards the LGBT population has not changed much.

"A party of an organisation for promotion of human rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexual and trans-sexual people (LGBT) 'Lambda', held in Niš on 5 July, ended by a police action in which guests of the party were put on lists, the organisers claim. The police in Niš deny the claims.

LISTS – The cause for the party was the Pride Day LGBT, and the organisers claim the party had been previously announced to the police in due time.

- Considering it's the LGBT population involved and that the party was organised at a public place, in café 'Azuro', we asked the police to protect us from possible inconveniences. They complained that the party hadn't been organised in a private flat,

Email sent to the GSA by E.M.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Gay Parade in Belgrade ended in violence", Labris - Organisation for Lesbian Human Rights website, <a href="http://www.labris.org.yu/index.php?option=com\_content&task=view&id=281&Itemid=47">http://www.labris.org.yu/index.php?option=com\_content&task=view&id=281&Itemid=47</a>

but they agreed to provide protection. Since it was a working day it was our responsibility to end the party by midnight - Jelena Ajdarević, a 'Lambda' activist says for '24 sata'. She claims that everything was in order until 10 minutes to midnight, when the guests started going home.

- The police waited for them in front of the café, asking for their ID cards and started making a list of party guests. When I went out myself and asked them to explain what gives them the right to make a list of people, a police commander called the intervention brigade and ordered them to arrest me. I said I'll enter the police car myself, but they pushed me in, and I have bruises on my left and right forearms. Two more activists were arrested, and when one tried to call a lawyer, the mobile phone was taken from her – Ajdarević says.

After checking ID cards, she claims, they were again denied the right to a lawyer.

- They told us to leave the police station, that we were stupid and that the police have the right to act in the way they did – Ajdarević says.

The police in Niš, however, claims that no such a thing occured.

- No people were arrested in café 'Azuro' or in front of it on 5 July. Also, no-one's ID card was checked and no lists were made at the location. The party itself hasn't been announced in due time, so the organisers were charged - says Lidija Pavlović, the Niš police PR, for '24 sata'.'<sup>47</sup>

The "Lambda" organisation announced it would sue the police in Niš. 48

A case of T.P., a member of the GSA, also shows how the police regards cases of violence on the grounds of sexuality or presumed sexuality of victims.

"A member of the GSA T.P. from Surčin was threatened for over a month by unknown people, but the Belgrade police didn't react. The threats started in the night between 13 and 14 April when she got the first call early in the morning. An unknown male voice said he was Marko who had moved to Switzerland and wanted to see her again. T.P. said she knew no Marko and that she didn't want to be disturbed. After that he started threatening her and swearing. He said: 'What are you saying, you monkey, you whore! Don't you provoke me to come now and break your legs! You're trying to present yourself as decent and you're breaking up other people's marriages!' T.P. hung up, and there were further calls a few days later. As she was attending a concert of the German Symphony Orchestra she didn't respond to three persistent calls, which reoccured every 10 minutes. Soon after, she called the number which was unreachable, without a Telekom report that it ever became reachable.

After a few days there was a graffiti ULTRA BOYS written in black, on the outter wall of her house facing the street. The graffiti was remodelled and crossed over every night, so that the original writing is less recognisable now.

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<sup>&</sup>quot;The police in Niš did (not) make a list of participants at a gay party", 24 sata, 11 July 2007

<sup>&</sup>quot;A gay association announced suing the police in Niš", Danas, 12 July 2007

From 23 April till 9 May T.P. was out of the country on a study trip to Germany. Her phone wasn't working, she was unreachable in the period, so she couldn't be bothered in that way.

In the night between 13 and 14 May, exactly a month after the first call, at the same time of 3.30am she got three calls from an unknown number. She was sleeping at the time and didn't pick up or stopped the calls.

Passing by an Emergency in Surčin on 15 May 2007 T.P. saw graffiti which relate to her for two important reasons. T.P. is a member of the GSA and actively participates in the fight for human rights of marginalised and discriminated people. Furthermore, the graffiti say 'lesbian' which refers to her 'suspicious' sexuality, according to many curious people in Surčin who discuss it without any substantial 'affirmative' or 'negative' proofs. The fact that directly relates the graffiti to T.P. is that they contain her date of birth.

T.P. tried to report the case to the police in Novi Beograd and Zemun and at both places she was told they weren't in charge for her protection and for catching the perpetrators. Furthermore, T.P. went to the Surčin police station where she was told that the case had been known to them for two weeks, but that they couldn't do anything since the station commander wasn't present."<sup>49</sup>

Only after the case became public did the response of the police to T.P. change. The police in Zemun took over the case and took a statement from T.P. However there have not been any further information whether the police have done anything to discover the perpetrators.

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<sup>&</sup>quot;A member of the Gay Straight Alliance harrassed, the police not reacting", GSA, public statement, 22 May 2007

### III DISCRIMINATION AGAINST GAYS IN VOLUNTARY BLOOD DONATING

The Blood Transfusion Institute of Serbia is disciminating against gays as potential blood donors. They are not allowing gay men to donate their blood stating health concerns for potential recipients. Furthermore the Institute is keeping a file on sexuality of potential donors for several decades. All gay men are filed under the code 0041 – High risk behaviour: homo, bisex, promiscuity... <sup>50</sup>

On 28 June 2007 a member of the GSA Nenad Rosić decided to give blood at the Republic Square in Belgrade after the University entrance exam.

Around 12.30pm he arrived at the bus of the Institute where a huge crowd was since a TV B92 team was shooting a campaign with celebrities.

He filled in a questionaire and answered the question "Have you had sex with a person who has had anal sex in the last six months?" affirmatively.

After waiting for a while the Institute team called him into the bus where a haemoglobin test was done. He waited for five minutes to talk to a doctor.

The doctor looked at the questionaire and asked Rosić to elaborate on his reply to the aforementioned question. He said he had had oral sex with a person who had had anal sex in the previous six months.

The doctor asked him if the person was a girl, to which he replied negatively and said the person was a guy. She immediately told him that he cannot donate blood because he was a member of a high risk group.<sup>51</sup>

A doctor in charge told Rosić that he can come again when he changes his sexual orientation. This has not been the only case of discrimination of gays.

Five days later, on 3 July 2007 a member of the GSA Lazar Pavlović went to the building of the Blood Transfusion Institute of Serbia with the intention of donating blood.

After the same procedure as in the case of Rosić, he went into the room in which a doctor made a quick routine check, to go on to analysis of answers in the questionaire.

She paused at two questions which refer to sexual habits, where Pavlović confirmed that he had had sex with a person who had had anal sex in the previous six months and that he personally had had anal sex in the previous six months.

Blood Transfusion Institute of Serbia still discriminates against LGBT people and gathers data on them, *GSA*, public statement, 4 July 2007

The list of counterindications for voluntary blood donating of the Blood Transfusion Institute of Serbia

The doctor entered the text "sex with protection" next to those two questions and asked Pavlović to put his initials under the text.

The doctor justified the request claiming that the Institute needs this for filing, refusing to elaborate on the form of the files.

She shrug her shoulders to Pavlović's question why the questionaire does not contain questions on risky sexual behaviour but instead contains questions which more or less directly scrutinise sexual orientation of the donor.

After this, she asked Pavlović to close the door of the room and asked him which sexual orientation he was.

Since he replied he was gay, the doctor told him that she has to turn him down. As a justification for this she showed him a code list on her desk in which under 0041 it said "High risk behaviour: homo, bisex, promiscuity..." <sup>52</sup>

In their reply the Insitute defended their stance on the grounds that voluntary donation was denied to everyone who had had anal sex in the six month period prior to attempted donation.

Although one can use a condom during anal sex, people who wasn't to donate blood cannot do that six months after the aforementioned interventions and behaviour. Namely, a condom cannot be accepted as an absolute form of protection, since it can be damaged or broken during an intercourse. 53

From the cases of Rosić and Pavlović one can conclude that in direct conversations of doctors with potential blood donors the Institute is making a dictinction between heterosexual and homosexual men who practice anal sex. Furthermore, the Institute is systematically gathering private data on gay men in Serbia. The Institute has not given convincing guarantees that the information gathered cannot be mistreated, especially in small municipalities.

On the initiative of the GSA and the KPD there was a meeting at the Institute on 12 July 2007. Representatives of the Institute kept their stance and only agreed to rename the code 0041. However, neither the GSA nor the KPD were informed of how the code would be renamed.

Transusion Institute of Serbia still discriminates against LGBT people and gathers data on them, *GSA*, public statement, 4 July 2007

The reply of the Transusion Institute of Serbia to the statement of the GSA, 4 July 2007

## IV THE PANEL DISCUSSION "ENHANCING THE RIGHTS OF THE LBGT POPULATION IN SERBIA THROUGH ADOPTION OF THE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAW"

The Gay Straight Alliance and the Anti Trafficking Center organised a panel discussion on the anti-discrimination bill on 15 January 2007. The debate participants included representatives of political parties in Serbia which entered parliamentary elections, representatives of the COC Netherlands Foundation, the Second Secretary of the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Belgrade, a representative of the KPD, as well as representatives of LGBT organisations in Serbia and other human rights non-governmental organisations that work on promotion and protection of rights of LGBT people in Serbia.

This discussion is a significant success of the LGBT community in Serbia for multitude of reasons.

For the first time a space was created in which political parties, at the time involved in the pre-election campaign, could present their views on the anti-discrimination bill and onm LGBT population. Representatives of three parliamentary lists took part at the discussion: the DS and G17 plus are part of the governing coalition in Serbia, and the LDP entered the National Assembly.

The discussion had a significant media attention. By giving interviews and statements in electronic and printed media, representatives of the GSA and the ATC increased awareness of LGBT rights during the pre-election campaign.

Furthermore, the public was made aware of concrete examples of violence and discrimination over LGBT people and their representatives. This was achieved by a massive turnout of gay and lesbian activists from the whole Serbia who felt liberated, for the first time, to speak publicly with politicians about their problems.

Network building with politicians who would lobby on adoption of the antidiscrimination bill written by the Center for Advanced Legal Studies was started; it is the bill around which the KPD was formed, and which represents the only acceptable solution for the LGBT population in Serbia.

### V AN ADD IN THE "BLIC" DAILY

The Anti Trafficking Center and the Gay Straight Alliance, with the support of the Urgent Action Fund and the Swedish Helsinki Committee, put a full-page colour add of the Anti-Discrimination Coalition on the occasion of the Pride Day in the "Blic" daily on 27 June 2007. This is the first commercial add of the KPD which promotes the bill. To signify how important the add was one can also mention that in that issue of "Blic" the only similar adds were put by mobile operators *Telenor*, *Mobilna telefonija Srbije* and *VIP*.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Recommendation 1:

If it wants to position itself as a political representative of a part or of the whole LGBT population, the LDP should clearly define its programme in parts regarding discrimination and violence against the LGBT population, as well as regarding legislation on same-sex partnerships. Furthermore, the party leadership and membership should be trained in the LGBT politics.

### Recommendation 2:

Due to its vast membership, a modernist ideology positioned in the political centre, a strong infrastructure, a considerable support in Serbia's electorate and a big share of power, the Democratic Party is an unavoidable lobbying partner to improve the position of the LGBT population. The set of human rights, and in particular the rights of LGBT people, is an unavoidable part of ideology of civic political left and centre, which the DS representss in Serbia. A membership in the Socialist International and its partnership with social-democratic parties in the Western Europe oblige the DS to more actively politicaly articulate its stance on all issues important to the LGBT population in Serbia.

LGBT organisations will have to put a considerable amount of pressure on the DS, as well as to use all informal communication channels, in order for this party to consider solving LGBT people's problems more seriously.

### *Recommendation 3:*

G17 plus is an extremely pragmatist party, but is more prone to taking risks than the DS due to its relatively small political strength. That said, the party's fundamentally liberal ideology gives a wider space for influence of LGBT organisations. If G17 plus assesses that it is politically lucrative to support the LGBT rights and if LGBT organisations put in due course a pressure which assumes clearly defined political goals, this party can turn out to be a political partner of the LGBT population in Serbia.

#### Recommendation 4:

The strongest mainstream human rights non-governmental organisations (Humanitarian Law Committee, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Yucom – Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Belgrade Center for Human Rights, Civic Initiatives) will have to put also the LGBT population in Serbia in their activities' focus, if the goal of the NGO sector in Serbia is inclusion of all citizens in the society. These organisations are currently giving general support, but do not have permanent programmes or occasional projects that target the LGBT population. The LGBT community has to find a way to put the human rights of LGBT people in the focus of activities of the mainstream human rights groups.

### *Recommendation 5:*

The police in Serbia will have to maintain a permanent communication with the LGBT community in order to act pre-emptively to prevent violence against LGBT people. Furthermore, the police will have to sanction their members who discriminate against LGBT people. The police has to include chapters regarding human rights of LGBT people in its members' training programme.

### Recommendation 6:

LGBT organisations in Serbia will have to increase their coalition capacities and reach an agreement over basic common goals and ways to achieve them. Furthermore, LGBT organisations have to find a way to increase mutual trust and to maintain better communication.