



*žene u crnom  
beograd*



# Report

**May, June, July and  
August 2024.**

As before, we bring you a brief report on the activities of Women in Black in the mentioned period, and should you be interested in more information, you can find it on our website [www.zeneucrnom.org](http://www.zeneucrnom.org) or contact us by e-mail at: [office@zeneucrnom.org](mailto:office@zeneucrnom.org)

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**Street actions:** In this reporting period, we organized seven (7) events

and we also actively participated in other street actions:

- Commemorations/marketing important dates of crimes committed in our name;
- Feminist, anti-fascist, anti-war, anti-racist, anti-militaristic actions...

## COMMEMORATIONS/MARKING OF IMPORTANT DATES OF CRIMES COMMITTED IN OUR NAME, AS WELL AS OTHER CRIMES AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, DURING AND AFTER THE WARS, IN THE TERRITORY OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:



### May 24<sup>th</sup>, Kruševac “We Remember the Brave Resistance of Women!”

- Women’s organization “Peščanik” from Kruševac and Women in Black, Belgrade marked the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the women’s protest against forced mobilization in 1999. By this peace action, organized on the occasion of May 24<sup>th</sup> – International Day of Women’s Action for Peace and Disarmament, activists recalled the courageous resistance of women to mobilization and war in Kosovo.

Once again, on this occasion, a request was sent to the state of Serbia and the local administration in the Rasina District to declare May 24 as the Day of Remembrance of the May protests and brave resistance of the citizens of Kruševac and the Rasina District.



The following banners were displayed during the vigil:

- Women build peace together / Žene zajedno grade mir
- May protests in Kruševac 1999 – against mobilization for war in Kosovo – We remember
- Remembering = accountability = activism / Pamćenje=odgovornost = aktivizam
- Rasina District: 12.000 forced mobilized and 52 dead persons/ mobilisanih i 52 dead persons – Why?
- Everything for Peace, Health and Education – Nothing for Armament etc.



In this action thirty (**30**) female activists from Kruševac, Belgrade, Trsteniuk, Kragujevac, Lubiana/Slovenia participated.



## Belgrade, June 19

**Belgrade, June 19 “We remember war raped women!”** – On the occasion of June 19 – International Day of Struggle against Sexual Violence in War, Women in Black and the Autonomous Women’s Center organized a protest in mourning and silence.

The following banners were displayed during the vigil:

- *June 19 – International Day of Struggle against Sexual Violence in War*
- *Stop Sexual violence in War*
- *We remember women raped in war*
- *Rape is crime*
- *Rape is expression of hatred of women*
- *Rape is gender crime*
- *Rape is war crime*
- *Rape is crime against humanity*
- *Rape is an ethnic cleansing act! Silovanje je akt etničkog čišćenja!*
- *Rape is a genocidal act! Silovanje je akt genocida!*

In this action took part **15** activists.

## July 10, 2024

### **We shall never forget the Srebrenica genocide!**

On the occasion of the 29<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, Women in Black organized a protest in mourning and silence on July 10, 2024, in Republic Square in Belgrade.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- *We shall never forget the genocide in Srebrenica!*
- *Solidarity*





- Responsibility
- Women in Black and Srebrenica
- Srebrenica 8372
- July 11 – Remembrance Day for the genocide in Srebrenica – Proclaim it!



More than fifty (51) activists from Belgrade participated in the protest, as well as activists from the Women in Black Network from Leskovac, Vlasotince, Kraljevo, Kruševac.

During the public action in mourning and silence, the stage action **“We shall never forget the genocide in Srebrenica!”** was performed with the support of the art collective “Škart”. This action consisted of the following segments:

- **We will never forget the genocide in Srebrenica! Solidarity and responsibility** –installation of a symbolic/ living memorial – continuation of the construction of the monument to the victims of the genocide, since our persistent requests for the approval of the construction of a permanent monument to the victims of the genocide in Srebrenica in Belgrade have been rejected.
- **8372** – displaying on the public stage (on the steps of the monument) the number of those killed in the genocide represents recognition of the facts established by the court. With this act, we symbolically inscribed into the collective memory what is being denied/falsified/downplayed in the majority of the Serbian public – the extent of the genocide in Srebrenica. Four female activists held the number 8372 in silver-colored shapes during the entire action.
- **Srebrenica – silver foils** – pasting silver foils with the inscription Srebrenica on the pavement of Trg Republike. All the activists participated in stamping/sticking the silver foils, who did it slowly and carefully until the Square was “filled” with silver foils. This act showed that the victims of



Srebrenica left a deep mark on us, and by imprinting it in the public space we made the tragedy of Srebrenica visible, with a call to the entire public to make Srebrenica part of the collective memory. It is also a public act of compassion and respect for the victims of genocide.

- **July 11 – Remembrance Day for the genocide in Srebrenica – Proclaim it!** – in accordance with our persistent requests, as well as with the Resolution of the UN General Assembly (May 23, 2024). It is a sign of respect for the dignity of the victims, but also the beginning of freeing Serbia from the burden of its criminal past, as stated in the flyer of our action.

During the protest, a smaller group shouted slogans against the recognition of the genocide in Srebrenica, as well as other nationalist slogans. The protest was covered by the media, with police security.

### **FEMINIST, ANTI-FASCIST, ANTI-WAR, ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-MILITARISTIC ACTIONS:**

In this period, we organized the following street actions:

#### **Belgrade, May 15**

#### **Belgrade, May 15 “Everything for peace, health and knowlegde – nothing for armament”**

On the occasion of International Day of Consciencios Objection, Women in Black organized a protest.

The following banners were displayed during the vigil:

*Everything for peace, health and knowlegde – nothing for armament*

*May 15 - International Day of Consciencios Objection*

*Stop the war in Ukraine*

*Stop the war in the Middle East*

*Broken rifles in rainbow colors*

*Stop cluster munition!*

Ten (10) activists participated in this action.





## Belgrade, May 18



**Belgrade, May 18 “Stop killing women!”** – on the occasion of *May 18 – Day of Remembrance of Women Victims of Violence*, Women in Black and the Autonomous Women’s Center organized a vigil in mourning and silence in front of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia.

At the protest, the initials of the murdered women, their ages, and the number of murdered women by year from 2011 to 2023 were highlighted.

Fifteen (15) activists participated in the protest.

## Belgrade, May 20



## Belgrade, May 20 and June 24 -

**“We believe Milena Radulović!”** – Women in Black organized a protest in front of the Palace of Justice on the occasion of the trial of Miroslav Mika Aleksić, accused of rape and sexual abuse of students of the drama studio ‘Matter of the Heart’ whose owner he was at the time.

We held banners that read:

- *We believe Milena Radulović*
- *Those who raped in war, also rape in peace ...*
- *Justice for the victims, sanctions for the perpetrators*

Ten (10) activists participated in these protests.

## DEALING WITH THE PAST / TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE – A FEMINIST APPROACH

This is one of the most important activities of Women in Black. It consists of a multitude of segments: street actions, workshops, lectures, creation of different models of transitional justice from a feminist point of view, cooperation with related organizations in the form of joint actions (campaigns, consultative meetings).

**VISITING THE PLACES OF CRIME COMMITTED IN OUR NAME, AS WELL AS OTHER CRIMES AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, DURING THE WARS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:**

**Bratunac, May 12,**



**May 12, Bratunac (Bosnia and Herzegovina)**

– On the occasion of the 32<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the crime against persons of Bosniak nationality, WiB activists attended the commemoration together with the families of the victims.



**May 31 – June 1**

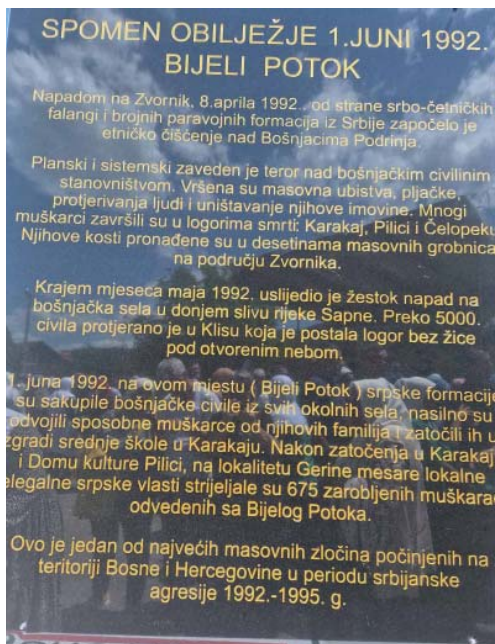
**May 31 and June 1, Zvornik (Bosnia and Herzegovina)**

– on the occasion of the 32<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the crimes against civilians in the area of Zvornik: **in the course of May and June 1992, Serbian armed formations committed crimes of ethnic cleansing, robbery, torture and killings;** May 31<sup>st</sup> 1992 several thousand civilians of Bosniak nationality were expelled from 13 villages in the area of the municipality of Zvornik, and around 700 men were then killed in the place called Gerina klanica (Gera's slaughterhouse). Of the **1,573** missing persons in 1992 in the area of the Zvornik municipality, **1,040** exhumed persons were identified, and the search for **465** missing persons is still ongoing.

Women in Black participated in commemorative gatherings, together with the Association of Victims of the Municipality of Zvornik:







## May 31

- **Visit to Pilica concentration camp** (former Cultural Center, now a ruin) where **595** men of Bosniak name were killed;
- **Karakaj - visit to the former concentration camp in the High School Center in Karakaj**, where more than **700** men were deported, including minor children and those over 80 years old, where they were killed;
- **“Klisan Night of Fear and Uncertainty”** – a history lesson in the village of Klis about the crime committed on **May 31, 1992**, when the Serbian armed forces rounded up thousands of civilians from 13 villages in the area of the Zvornik municipality.

## June 1

- **Peace march along the ‘Path of Death’** with families of victims and survivors;
- **Opening Memorial Center in Bijeli Potok** – visit to the memorial in Bijeli Potok
- **Tribute to the victims at the Memorial Center in Bijeli potok;**
- **Burial rites at the cemetery in the Memorial Center Memići/Kalesija Gornja**, where the remains of two people were buried.



## Srebrenica 7-10 July “March of peace – the deadly route towards freedom”

- *Nezuk - Potočari/Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina.* After the occupation of Srebrenica in July 1995 by Serbian armed formations, under the leadership of war criminal Ratko Mladić, Bosniak civilians, fleeing from atrocities, tried to find salvation on the road from Potočari to Nezuk. Unfortunately, most of them were killed, and very few survived. The march, lasting 3 days and over 100 km in length, is primarily a tribute to the victims of genocide, as well as a reminder of mass and horrific crimes. Thousands of people participate in these marches, primarily from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also from all over the world. Women in Black participate in this march every year, and this year’s Peace March was attended by: *Jelena Jaćimović, Mirko Medenica and Ramiz Berbić.*

## July 11, “Solidarity and responsibility”

– in accordance with the policy of solidarity and responsibility, Women in Black participated in the commemoration/burial rites in Potočari/Srebrenica, where, together with the families of the victims of the Srebrenica genocide, we attended the burial of **14** remains of the victims.

Nineteen (**19**) activists from the Women in Black Network from Serbia (Belgrade, Leskovac, Vlasotince, Kraljevo, Kruševac...) participated in the Memorial Center in Potočari. In the Memorial Center, we also held a commemorative gathering with messages/banners (We shall never forget the genocide in Srebrenica, Solidarity, Responsibility, Women in Black – Srebrenica, etc.).





## **DEALING WITH THE PAST / TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE**

### **– A FEMINIST APPROACH**

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#### **Women's Court – a feminist approach to justice**

We bring a brief report on the activities of Women in Black regarding the organization of the Women's Court – a feminist approach to justice in this period. Should you be interested in more information, you can find it on our website [www.zeneucrnornom.org](http://www.zeneucrnornom.org) and [www.zenskisud.org](http://www.zenskisud.org) or contact us by mail: [zeneucrnornombeograd@gmail.com](mailto:zeneucrnornombeograd@gmail.com)

**The first Women's Court in the territory of Europe was held in Sarajevo, May 7 to May 10, 2015**, organized by 10 women's groups from the territory of the former Yugoslavia (Mothers of the Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves, Cure Foundation, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Center for Women Victims of War, Center for Women's Studies, Zagreb, Croatia, Center for Women and Peace Education Anima, Kotor, Montenegro, Gender Equality Council, Skopje, Macedonia, Women's Lobby, Ljubljana, Slovenia, Center for Women's Studies and Women in Black, Belgrade, Serbia). The Women's Court was attended by more than **500** people from all the countries of the former Yugoslavia, but also from Argentina, Algeria, Palestine, Israel, the United States, Spain, Italy, Sweden, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, etc.

The final event in Sarajevo was not the end of the process, but on the contrary, an incentive to continue from the feminist perspective towards the creation of new models of justice. It is an obligation first of all to the witnesses, but also the expression of our responsibility towards the enormous burden of the recent past.

In continuation of the Women's Court, Women in Black, Belgrade coordinates the program and other activities, with the support of organizations: Anima, Kotor (Montenegro), Center for Women Victims of War, Zagreb (Croatia), The Foundation CURE, Sarajevo (Bosnia & Herzegovina).

During this reporting period, the following activities were organized:

#### **Feminist ethics of care and responsibility**

– visits of WiB activists to female witnesses (W'sC Sarajevo), peace meetings of exchange and cooperation in the region – support for victims:

#### **Belgrade, May 13 and 14**

- **Belgrade, May 13 and 14** – meetings with women from the association of victims of genocide in Srebrenica from

## Belgrade, may 6 and 7



Tuzla, Doboј and Srebrenica, who together with WiB activists followed the trial for the crime in Kravica.

- **Belgrade, May 6 and 7** – meeting with Mother Mejra Dautović from Bihać (BH), who is following the trial for crimes in the Omarska concentration camp (the ‘Case of Milorad Kotur’) in which her children (daughter Edna and son Edvin) were detained in Omarska/BH concentration camp, and then killed; Mother Mejra monitors the trial together with WiB activists.
- **Retreat/socializing** – Eight (8) witnesses, organizers of the Women’s Court from BH, Montenegro and Serbia were on July 25 and 26 on a joint short break in the village of Akmačići/Nova Varoš/Serbia.
- **Active women’s holiday in the women’s house ‘Seka’ Brač/Croatia** from July 27 to August 11. Eleven (11) women - witnesses, W’sC activists from BH, Croatia and Serbia:
  - *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Reiha Avdić, Tuzla/Srebrenica, Suvada Selimović and Remiza from Đulići/Zvornik*
  - *Croatia: Marica Šeatović, Novska; Jovanka Carević and Milica Miladinović, Zagreb*
  - *Serbia: Milka Rosić and Mirjana Mijailović, Leskovac, Snežana Obrenović, Kraljevo, Svetlana Šarić, Vlasotince and Nadežda Kostić, Kruševac, Tanja Marković, Belgrade.*



**Women’s Court – Foča case** – this event took place in **Belgrade, June 26, 2023** in Miljenko Dereta Space and was organized by: Women in Black and Autonomous Women’s Center, Belgrade in cooperation with feminist groups from B&H, Montenegro, Croatia, associates of Women’s Court, as well as artistic-activist collectives: Škart, Dah Theater, Belgrade and Art Clinic, Novi Sad.

*Women’s Court – Foča case* – was dedicated to sexual crimes, because during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), Foča was a place of systematic sexual violence and rape. Based on Foča case, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia stated that sexual slavery is to be considered a crime against humanity.

Nevertheless, despite this historically significant verdict, some of the sexual crimes against women and men of Foča, unfortunately, have not been disclosed or acknowledged, but have been silenced and forgotten...

*Women's Court – Foča case* – is the continuation of struggle, together with the women and men from Foča to demand justice for victims of sexual crimes in Foča and beyond.

In *Women's Court – Foča case* - the following persons testified: *Ilvana Konjo, Zenija Hajdarević, Halida Konjo Uzunović and Kemalemir Frašto*, while W'sC associates interpreted the political context based on the testimony.

### **Public presentations Women's Court – Foča case:**

in this period two **(2)** public presentations were held:

The presentation of W'sC – the case of Foča consists of several segments:

- **What is the Women's Court/W'sC?** What is a feminist approach to justice? History, process of organizing Women's Courts (Sarajevo, 2015); activities in the continuation of the process, effects of W'sC; Women's Court – Foča case, 2023.
- **Women's court – Foča case** – screening of a documentary film (42 min.) directed by *Marija Arandžević*, produced by Women in Black. The film is about the Women's Court- the Case of Foča, held in Belgrade (June 26, 2023)
- Witnesses talk about their experience testifying at the Women's Court in Belgrade (What did testifying at the Women's Court mean to me?)

*Here are the dates and the venues of the Public Presentations in chronological order:*

#### **May 24, Kruševac**

**May 24, Kruševac** – A presentation organized by the association 'Peščanik' Kruševac, Women in Black and the Autonomous Women's Center Belgrade was held at the Alternative Cultural Center 'Gnezdo' in the presence of **22** people from: Kruševac, Trstenik, Kragujevac and Belgrade.

After the screening of the film, the witness, *Kemalemir Frašto*, who spoke via Zoom, said, among other things: "I don't want to live in the past, I don't want to feel sorry for myself, 'poor me.'" The very beginning of this film and each new presentation gave me new impetus and strength. Only together can we alter evil and evil people. It doesn't matter that there is a minority of us who think like this. I know that we have to teach future generations so that this should not happen again. This is the wind in my sails. It helped me. I didn't know that there were so many people who share my views and people who distance themselves from what happened. I am glad to have so many like-minded people", etc.

*Kemalemir's testimony left the deepest impression on the audience – admiration for his human approach, courage, dignity...*



## June 20, Podgorica

**June 20, Podgorica/Montenegro** – Public presentation organized by Cultural Center 021, Podgorica, Anima, Kotor and WiB, Belgrade. Organizer *Sladana Kavarić Mandić*, philosopher, feminist activist, *Ljupka Kovačević* and *Staša Zajović* spoke about the history, importance of the W'sC, etc.

The following spoke about the importance of testifying at the Women's Court:

**Halida Konjo Uzunović:** "I remained silent and suppressed the crimes committed for almost three decades. This happened to me because my granny and mother had kept quiet about it. They were not privileged to speak publicly like I was, they didn't have any sessions, they didn't have support, they weren't allowed to talk about war crimes, about everything that happened, about the terrible massacres in the Second World War. I am lucky that on that path of truth I met WiB, who helped and encouraged me to state it publicly, so that I feel neither shame nor embarrassment..."

**Zenija Hajdarević:** "We testified as we did to encourage other women to talk, many of them did not survive, many children were orphaned and bereaved of both their mothers and fathers..."



**Kemalemir Frašto:** "My primary goal is to talk and find understanding. Thank you for coming to pass on knowledge of what you heard tonight to one person and then to another. This is the only way with which we will all fight so that history does not repeat itself and that this misery and this incomprehensible thing that happened to us is never repeated to anyone anywhere".

**Ilvana Konjo:** "It's been a year since the testimony and I still feel bad. It's not simple. You see, I mean, war, we didn't know what war was. We didn't know that someone was using weapons to kill, rape, slaughter us. I had no idea what it was. A year has passed and that trauma has only become more profound for me..."

On this occasion, both the male and female witnesses and the organizers spoke about the crimes committed in Foča by armed formations from Montenegro:

“The Montenegrin regime was in cooperation with the Serbian regime, warriors from Montenegro robbed, killed, raped in Foča” (*Stasa*); “The Montenegrin authorities do not want to admit any crime. The suffering of the victims calls for a response from the state. Civil society supports the victims” (*Ljupka*).

This event was attended by over fifty (**50**) people – activists human rights, for LGBT rights, journalists, citizens...

### **ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE CRIMES – THE PATH TO PEACE WITH JUSTICE: MONITORING THE TRIALS AT THE SPECIAL COURT**

In this reporting period WiB attended following trials:

**Kravica War Crime** – Eight members of the Special Brigade of the Republika Srpska Army have been charged with war crimes (the murder of 1,313 Bosnians, during the Srebrenica genocide, on July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1995).

*(Let us remind: The Kravica crime indictment was brought at the beginning of 2016. This was the beginning of the most important trial at the High Court in Belgrade / Special Court, the Srebrenica genocide. However, on 14 July 2017, the Court of Appeal ruled to annul the indictment for this crime, which is otherwise not qualified as genocide, since it was raised at the time when the War Crimes Prosecutor’s Office did not have a Chief Prosecutor. The trial continued in November 2017, and the hearings are continually being delayed due to non-attendance of witnesses, inaction of the prosecution and the withdrawal of protected witnesses due to the threats they receive).*

In this reporting period, two (**2**) hearings were held:

**June 4** – The hearing was not held because the accused Aleksa Golijanin did not appear, which the court was not even informed about. The Deputy Prosecutor for War Crimes, Bruno Vekarić, said that no hearing had been held since November 2023 and that it is necessary for the accused to submit adequate medical documentation because the attached documentation is “contradictory”, etc. That is why the Prosecutor asked the court panel to issue a decision on the medical expert examination of the accused by the forensic medical board of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Belgrade.

**July 17** - At this hearing, the court panel was presented with the findings of the Board of specialist doctors of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Belgrade, who were ordered by the court to

perform a medical examination of the accused Aleksa Golijanin, due to his frequent absences from the main hearings. The medical board concluded that the accused Aleksa Golijanin was capable of following the trial and that his health condition did not prevent him from doing so.

To this, the defendant replied that the medical team had made a mistake and that he was not capable of following the main trial.

### **The trial of Milenko Živanović**

The Prosecutor's Office for War Crimes of Serbia filed an indictment against the former general and commander of the Drina Corps of the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) Milenko Živanović for war crimes against the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995.

Živanović is charged with having ordered and participated in the forced relocation of Bosniak civilians from Srebrenica and Žepa in the east of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In March 1995, he issued an order to "create conditions of total insecurity, intolerability and hopelessness for the further survival and life of the villagers in Srebrenica and Žepa through daily planned and designed combat activities."

On July 12, 1995, he ordered the provision of 50 buses for the "evacuation of the civilian population from the Srebrenica enclave". On July 13, 1995, he issued an ultimatum to the Bosniaks that they had to leave, etc.

In this reporting period, one (1) hearing was held:

**July 5** – The witness Samile Bajraktarević was heard through a video conference connection established with the Cantonal Court in Tuzla. The witness spoke about how she left Srebrenica in 1995.

U ovom izveštajnom periodu održano je jedno (1) ročište:

### **Trial before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina for crimes in Klisa and Đulići, July 2 –**

The trial of *Vinko Radović, Dragomir Vasić and Petko Panić* for forced relocation, inhumane treatment and imprisonment of civilians in the area of Zvornik (Klisa and Đulići) in May and June 1992 began. Prosecutor Mersudin Pruzan read the indictment, stating that the accused organized the expulsion of people from the villages of Klisa and Đulići, with the intention of settling in those villages persons of Serbian nationality from the area of the village of Brnice near Živinice, during which they committed crimes against humanity. The Prosecutor read the names of the separated and killed men and proposed to hear **204** witnesses. From the residents of the villages of Klisa and Đulići who attended the trial, we learned that the list will be significantly smaller, because some of the witnesses have died in the meantime. One of the proposed witnesses is Suvada Selimović,



a witness at the Women's Court (Sarajevo, May 2015). The three defendants pleaded not guilty. Since they have dual citizenship of BH and Serbia, the court imposed the measure of confiscation of their travel documents, as well as the obligation to report every seven days to the police station in their place of residence, due to the risk of flight. The trial was attended by about **180** people from Klisa and Đulići, a large number of women (about 95%), who arrived in 4 buses. The largest number of them managed to enter the courtroom, which could accommodate about 150 people. *Mirko Medenica* and *Violeta Đikanović* attended the trial on behalf of WiB.

In addition to the above mentioned, in this period we monitored the following trials:

### **Trial of Miroslav Mika Aleksić for rape and sexual abuse**

**January 2021** – several former students of the “Matter of the Heart” acting school made accusations of rape and sexual abuse against their former acting teacher Miroslav Aleksić.

**April 21, 2021** – an indictment was filed against Miroslav Mika Aleksić. He was arrested and spent eight months in detention, when he was released to defend himself from freedom.

**February 2022** – the court proceedings against Aleksić began after several delays and final preparatory hearings.

In this reporting period, two **(2)** hearings were held:

**May 20** – The injured witness *Jefimija Vujović*, who was a minor at the time of the crime and who has the status of a specially injured witness, was heard.

The injured witness was interrogated by the defense attorney of the defendant, lawyer Zoran Jakovljević, who, as during the entire court proceedings, insulted and humiliated the witnesses: “I don't believe a word she says.”

The witness told the court that she gave an interview to the daily newspaper Blic, that she contacted other victims and got in touch with actress Milena Radulović, who was the first to report sexual abuse (January 2021).

**June 24** – The injured witness Iva Ilinčić was heard. Referring to the harsh treatment at the acting school, she said, among other things: “I was there since I was 9 years old.” I had been attending the school for ten years. It was hard for me to drop out. I didn't even tell my parents what was happening to me. I did not understand that it was about sexual violence. He (M. Aleksić) was very strict, and we were very young. He kept telling me I was stupid. He was an authority for us, and I thought he meant good for me. I thought that what I was going through was bracing up for the university entrance exam.”

## **Trial in Ivanjica**

### **–Solidarity with the Milivojević family from Lučani**

– criminal proceedings against the CEO of the arms factory “Milan Blagojević-Namenska” from Lučani - Radoš Milovanović and two managers from the same factory (Vladimir Lončarević and Toma Stojić). They were accused of “committing a serious crime against general safety” because on July 14, 2017, workers Milomir Milojević and Milojko Ignjatović died after a gunpowder explosion.

**April 11, 2023** – The basic court in Ivanjica sentenced Vladimir Lončarević and Romi Stojić, the managers of the ‘MB Namenska’ factory in Lučani, to three years in prison each as responsible for the death of workers Milomir Milivojević and Milojko Ignjatović. Both the Milivojević family and their lawyers were outraged by the verdict and after a submitted appeal, based on the decision of the Court of Appeal in Kragujevac, the proceedings were repeated before the court in Ivanjica:

**June 6, 2024** – At this court hearing, a group of experts from the *Faculty of Mechanical Engineering in Belgrade* were examined, who made up the previously formed **Board of Experts**, who were supposed to respond to the basic objections of the *Court of Appeal in Kragujevac*, presented in the decision of that court which returned this proceeding for retrial. Based on the testimony of experts, it was proven that the defendants did not respect the regulations on worker safety, nor did they control their implementation. Before the sentencing, **Milovan Milivojević**, Milomir Milivojević’s father said: “This is my fight – a fight between David and Goliath.” The defendants are personally responsible for my son’s death. They knew everything, they were the leaders. Do they remember the thousand workers in front of the court? (At the beginning of the trial, on October 3, 2019, when they insulted the Milivojević family). Who brought those people but Lončarević and Stojić? My wife then had a heart attack. I am asking you to impose a sentence not only for the death of my son but also so that the sentence be an example to others so that it would never happen again. That managers would never again consider workers as dispensable goods. For my son to be the last victim...” The court pronounced the verdict – the same as after the previous proceedings: **3 years** in prison for both defendants.

Women in Black has been monitoring this since

November 2019 and attended 29 hearings.

*(Integral reports from the mentioned trials can be found  
on the WiB website)*

## EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, PEACE GATHERINGS

– in addition to the ones already mentioned, the following educational programs (women’s peace activism, feminist discussion groups, peace gatherings etc.) were realized in this reporting period as part of the Network.

We list them chronologically:

### **Women’s Peace Activism, Đulići, Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Educational program that the civic association “Anima” from Đulići and Women in Black Belgrade have been organizing since the beginning of 2016. Meetings within Women’s Peace Activism are strengthening trust, mutual support and solidarity, broader areas of women’s autonomy and self-confidence. This meeting is a continuation of many years of cooperation, friendship, mutual support and mutual cooperation of “Anima” and WiB.

#### **Đulići, May 6**

**Đulići, May 6** – Twenty-four (24) women from ten villages from the Zvornik area participated in the thirty-first (31<sup>st</sup>) cycle of workshops. We highlight the following from the workshops:

#### **Women’s work never ends – the invisible, unpaid, unrecognized work of women in the home...**

*Housework (cleaning) is perceived by women as an integral part of the gender role:*

‘A clean house is especially important for women; first I clean the house and only then I go about something else’; I have been cleaning the house since I was a child, and since I got married, I do all the household chores’;

*Cleaning the house is an act of responsibility and a woman’s reputation in the community:* ‘I am responsible if I clean the house, someone can drop by; a clean house is a woman’s mirror; I clean the house for myself, but mostly for the sake of the children - to keep their house clean’; the mess in my home annoys me the most’.





*Even in the rural community, women are freeing themselves from the pressure to clean the house for others: 'I clean for myself, otherwise the house makes me tired; over time I learned to worry less about cleaning the house;*

Since these are mostly single mothers/war widows, some of the women believe that it is 'an act of taking care of the children, I would feel guilty if I didn't do it'.

As for the division of labor in the home, most women choose to do all the housework themselves and feel that they have not 'progressed' in this regard.

As for taking care of others (especially children, grandchildren) and taking care of themselves (dedicating or neglecting their friends, respecting pre-arranged socializing, the women explicitly said that they do not accept this kind of 'blackmail': 'I would not have them disrupt my arrangements with my friends; they must respect my time; I have learned to say NO; I encourage other women to do the same.

*The women believe that they learned this type of 'disobedience' in the course of their activism: 'Now that I am in activism, my family respects me more – they respect my time and my activist commitments and agreements.'*

**An ideal day** – in this workshop, women designed their ideal day:

*Women associate an ideal day with spending time with their friends: being away home, going out together, traveling, socializing ('we are each other's great support in every way'). For many women, 'workshops and joint learning' are synonymous with 'ideal day'.*

**Tourist postcard:** the women were given postcards of various tourist destinations all over the world, imagined places for rest, relaxation... They would most like to visit distant countries...

**Agreements on joint activities in the forthcoming period** – was the final session.

Workshops were coordinated by Staša and Violeta.



**May 17, 18 and 19, Novi Pazar**

– **Sixth regional meeting – What is to be done?**

A discussion was organized in four thematic units that related to the analysis of the current political and social situation in Serbia, Montenegro, and the region, with topics related to:

- Critical reflections on the political, social, economic, activist and media situation in Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo; The influence of foreign factors (Russia and Turkey) on political and social processes in Serbia (Sandžak) and Montenegro;
- The toxic policy of the Serbian Orthodox Church – growing clericalization of public life, direct interference of the SOC in



the education system; how and why the SOC is still the main lever of Greater Serbian nationalism; Why is Serbia not a secular state? Analysis of the context and mechanisms of opposition to the clericalization of society in Sandžak, the influence of the Islamic community, religious humanitarian and other organizations, the occupation of civil society space;

– The united right-wing anti-gender offensive against democracy, women’s, LGBT rights – women’s resistance to repatriarchalization and clericalization in Serbia and Montenegro – The specter of anti-gender ideology is circulating the world, the offensive of the SPC, the state and part of the academic community against biology textbooks, gender-sensitive language



*Sixth regional meeting – What is to be done? – is a continuation of the joint action of Women in Black (Belgrade) and the Center for Women’s and Peace Education ‘Anima’ (Kotor) and the Academic initiative “Forum 10” from Novi Pazar. Relations between civil society organizations from Montenegro and Serbia date back to the 1990s, primarily through joint anti-war initiatives, as well as continuous feminist/anti-militarist activities.*

The event was attended by **26** participants from Novi Pazar, Prijepolje, Priboj, Nova Varoš, Bajina Bašta, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Leskovac, Podgorica, Kotor, Herceg Novi, Pljevlja, Zagreb and Ljubljana. The organizers of the event in Novi Pazar were Fahrudin Kladničanin and Sajma Redžependić, on behalf of the Academic Initiative “Forum 10”, with the support of WiB, Belgrade, and Anima, Kotor.

**June 3-10 , Vrnjačka banja**

**June 3-10, Vrnjačka banja** – Meeting of women’s groups from Serbia financially supported by **Kvinna till Kvinna/KTK** (Swedish foundation). Activities, political and social context, cooperation, challenges were discussed at this operational meeting. *Ljiljana Radovanović* participated on behalf of WiB.

**Subotica, June 15 “United right-wing anti-gender offensive against democracy, women, LGBT”** – lecture by Staša Zajović as part of the activities of the Center for Women’s Studies “Mileva Marić Einstein” – branch in Subotica. The event was held in the Contemporary Gallery in the presence of **14** people from Subotica, Zrenjanin, and Belgrade.

### **June 17-19, Novi Sad**

**June 17-19, Novi Sad “Media Week”** – Organized by the Independent Association of Journalists of Vojvodina/NDNV. The conference focused on the safety of newspapers and media workers, especially those working in local media and in multi-ethnic environments. It warned of permanent pressure, repression of independent media, threats to journalists by state and non-state actors: “Out of 30 reported cases in 2024, only two were resolved.” The number of cases solved annually is about 10%.

The following attended on behalf of WiB: *Ljiljana Spasić, Mirko Medenica, Nastasja Radović and Tamara Spaić.*

### **June 27, Novi Sad**

**June 27, Novi Sad “Srebrenica: the missing memory”** – Panel organized by the Youth Center CK13. The immediate reason for the discussion about Srebrenica is the adoption of the Resolution on Srebrenica on May 23 of this year in the General Assembly of the United Nations, which declares July 11 as the International Day of Remembrance for the Victims of the Srebrenica Genocide. The issues addressed were those of denial of genocide at the level of the state and society in Serbia, ignoring court-established facts, glorification and political promotion of war criminals, etc.

Janja Beč Neumann, sociologist and researcher of genocide, *Miloš Urošević*, Women in Black activist and *Željko Stanetić*, Vojvodina Civic Center, moderated by Ozren Lazić, CK13, spoke at the forum.

### **July 15-17, Bihać**

**July 15-17, Bihać, Bosnia and Herzegovina “Caravan Balkan Route 2024.”** (Carovana rotta Balcanica)

This international Solidarity Caravan from July 13 to 20 is organized by collectives, groups, individuals who provide solidarity support to migrants/refugees/people on the move. The Caravan started in Italy: on July 13 in Padua, organizing numerous activities in Padua (meetings of activists, refugees, migrants, on July 14 in Aviano – where a meeting of pacifists/anti-militarists was held.

Bihać is located on the border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, and since the beginning of the Balkan route (2015) and especially since 2018, a huge number of refugees have passed through Bihać, fleeing war and poverty and seeking refuge in EU countries. Numerous activities were held in Bihać, including:

**July 15** – arrival and informal meetings.

**July 16** – the following meetings/round tables/exhibitions were held in the Bihać Cultural Center:



## **Views of women 30 years after the war – resistance to nationalism, struggle for memory, truth and justice** with the participation of:



*Jadranka Milićević*, CURE Foundation, Sarajevo; *Enisa Raković*, Women's Voice Bihać, *Staša Zajović*, Women in Black, Belgrade; *Mother Mejra Dautović*, peace activist, Bihać, *Nihad Suljić*, activist Tuzla, *Socorro Gil Guzman*, activist of the collective Memory, Truth and Justice (Memoria Verdad y Justicia), Acapulco Guerrero, Mexico. The session was moderated by *Vesna Šćepanović*, journalist, Turin.

The following sessions were held in the afternoon:

*Forgotten children of the war in BH*, Speaker: Ajna Jusić, Sarajevo;

*Practices of solidarity with migrants/refugees/people on the move on the Balkan route* with the following speakers: *Sabina Talović*, Bonafide, Montenegro, activist of the Women in Black Network, *Ramiz Berbić*, Tuzla, activist of the WiB Network. Besides *Staša Zajović*, *Svetlana Šarić*, Vlasotince, *Ljiljana Spasić*, Pančevo and *Violeta Đikanović*, activists of the WiB Network, also participated in the meetings in Bihać. More than **250** activists, mostly from Spain and Italy, as well as Afghanistan and Mexico, participated in the aforementioned meetings in Bihać.

## **SOLIDARITY IS OUR STRENGTH**

Solidarity actions – with members of vulnerable and disadvantaged minority communities (social-class, ethnic-racial, sexual), citizens whose human rights (working, educational, cultural) are endangered.

**Solidarity with War Refugees:** Women in Black addressed this situation in 2013, when solidarity campaigns against racist attacks were organized that culminated at the end of 2013, and since then, Women in Black has organized a lot of activities, about which you can find information on the WiB website. Solidarity activities are interconnected, at the same time, they include more dimensions – peace, humanitarian, artistic-activist, informative ...

### **Direct actions – solidarity assistance in the field:**

**Solidarity support and assistance to Palestinian refugees from GAZA:** WiB has established contacts since March 2024 with refugees who arrived from this war zone:

**May 13**

**May 13, Zemun Polje near Belgrade** – We visited (*Violeta* and *Staša*) part of the Al Najjar family. On this occasion, we took mostly diapers and milk for the baby. We also handed over a large amount of humanitarian aid (diapers and clothes for the baby) collected by women from the Zvornik and Srebrenica areas, where we visited at the beginning of May.

**May 18**

**May 18, Novi Pazar** - During the peace meeting that was held in this city, WiB activists visited the Al Najjar family, who moved from Belgrade to Novi Pazar, thanks to the hospitality of a Novi Pazar

resident who let them use an apartment. (Let us remind: a Palestinian who came to Belgrade 13 years ago, completed his medical studies and managed to bring over (in the form of family reunification) the arrival of his two sisters and a brother with their children – a total of five children. They came from Gaza, via Egypt, in January, and the brother with his family in February. Most of the family remained in Gaza, and many were killed, as they testified to us). They especially emphasized the warmth and care of people from Novi Pazar, the successful integration of boys into this environment through sports activities.

**June 22, July 12, 22 and August 30, 16 and 30**

**June 22, July 12, 22 and August 30, 16 and 30** – WiB activists visited Palestinian refugees from Gaza (the Al Najjar family) in Jakovo near Belgrade.

### **DISCUSSION GROUPS, LECTURES, DEBATES IN THE PREMISES OF WOMEN IN BLACK – “WEDNESDAYS AT WIB”**

The practice of regular discussion groups, lectures and joint reflections on important social and political issues in the country and the world continued in this reporting period, in which thirteen (13) lectures, debates, book presentations, and film screenings were organized with the participation of 192 people.

**May 8**

**8. may – „Nato – pro et contra “**– presenter **Aleksandar Radić**, military analyst. Some points from his presentation: *The Serbian Army adopted various NATO standards; the general political position in Serbia after October 5 (the fall of Milošević) was “rapprochment to NATO”, with the arrival of A. Vučić, the situation changed, but that the Serbian Army held military exercises with NATO countries.* After Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, a moratorium was introduced on drills with foreign military partners. In 2023 (June 16-30) a multinational exercise was held in the south of Serbia in which, in addition to the Serbian armed forces, partner countries, including the USA and several NATO member countries, participated; *independence of Kosovo did not affect the attitude towards NATO; I am a supporter of NATO membership; NATO is stronger than ever. With Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, it gained a sense of existence, but I am worried about the militarization of Europe,* said Radić. There was also talk about the dedicated/military industry, the arms trade, the anti-militaristic attitude against joining NATO due to the fear of a deeper militarization of society, due to the traumas caused by the bombing (1999). A large part of the participants believes that by joining NATO, Serbia would finally give up Serbia’s policy of conquest and war aims, etc. The discussion was moderated by **Staća Z.** was attended by 21 people.

**May 15**

**May 15 – “NATO intervention – 25 years later”** - Nikola Lunić, executive director of the Council for Strategic Policies, was the keynote speaker. At the beginning, the moderator Miloš Urošević recalled the support of WiB to the peace negotiations in Rambouillet



by organizing over 10 protests with the slogan “*Better a pact than war*”, stressing that the Agreement is “a supreme act of patriotism”. Unfortunately, no agreement was reached and the bombing began on March 24, 1999, which WiB condemned in its announcements. **Staća Zajović** mentioned, that immediately after the end of the bombing (June 9, 1999) the citizens were mostly asked about whether the UN Security Council approved the bombing of the FRY, as well as “who was to blame” for this: “Most of the answers we received to the latter question showed the view that one third of the blame lies with NATO, and two thirds with the regime in Belgrade”. This debate was attended by **15** people.



## May 22

**May 22 – “Freedom of speech in SFRY”**, within the cycle “*(In) visible SFR Yugoslavia*”. Introduction: Dragomir Olujić Oluja, as one of the most prominent dissidents in SFRY, looked back on various phases: ‘The most freedom for society, he said, existed in the sixties and seventies when the Party and the State felt secure: “That was the momentum for freedom of speech. That’s why my friends were joining the Party, as did I. In the youth high school newspaper in Sombor, we even discussed Tito’s lifestyle. Every month we had a discussion about some controversial political topic’ – But, he said, a big change occurred after 1968, when concrete problems with the “naming” of those responsible, above all Tito, began to be discussed. Marginalization began, followed by castigation and imprisonment – first of all, people from the youth and student movements. At that time, indictments appeared based on Article 133 of the SFRY Constitution, which referred to the criminal offense of “verbal delict”, and the majority of such trials were in Serbia. “We did not ask for a multi-party system.” We were for direct democracy – not for rule over the people, but for the people to rule.” The next phase of dissident resistance and struggle was the establishment of the *Open University* in 1976. “There were three schools at the Open University. The first was professorial, the second was led by the leaders of the Sixty-Eight, and the third was “studentry”. In the 80s, there were frequent arrests and trials for ‘verbal offence’, etc. **16** people attended the debate.





May 29

## May 29 “The spectre of anti-gender ideology is haunting the world and the region”.

Speakers: **Staša Zajović**, **Andraž Rožman** (Slovenia) and **Lino Veljak** (Croatia).



### The first part of the debate

**Staša Zajović** stressed that the term ‘gender ideology’, which was launched by the Vatican, is becoming a vocabulary and meeting point for various conservatives, nationalists and homophobes who politically unite in the so-called anti-gender social movements. On the global level, at the forefront of the offensive against gender ideology are Christian radicals from the USA – Trump supporters. In Putin, they got their biggest collaborator because they consider him a global protector of ‘traditional values’. The gendarme of the restoration of the world patriarchy is **Vladimir Putin**. It is one of his most important tools for destabilizing Europe. As far as Serbia is concerned, it is a joint offensive of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the state against gender ideology through: “raid” of biology textbooks: **Patriarch Porphyry** requested (March 2023) that everything related to the interpretation of sex and gender be removed from the textbooks because in them ‘homosexuality and transgenderism to minors is promoted’. **Patriarch Porphyry** continues the anti-gender offensive with constant attacks on everything that has to do with the Law on Gender Equality, especially with gender-sensitive language, he believes that it is a “violent application of the so-called gender ideologies” – and the ombudsman, Zoran Pašalić, submitted a request to the *Constitutional Court of Serbia* for an assessment of the constitutionality of the Law on Gender Equality,’ emphasized Zajović.

“The leaders of the *CDU and the Homeland Movement* agree in their aversion to gender ideology... We don’t know what their agreement will look like in this regard.” But I don’t believe that deratification of the **Istanbul Convention** is possible...” **Lino Veljak** also spoke about the abuse of conscientious objection, which puts women who cannot pay for abortion intervention in a private medical practice in a discriminatory position. “In Croatia, there are about eighty percent of doctors who refer to conscientious objection when it comes to women’s right to abortion.”



**Andraž Rožman**, writer and activist of the independent scene in Ljubljana, spoke about his “development path” and the knowledge that led him to declare himself as a “non-binary person” today. He cited violence as a mainstream characteristic of “masculinity” as the catalyst for his “awakening”: *“I come off as CIS, but I’m not. CIS masculinity is expressed through machismo... which is not close to me. I realized that I’m not married, that I don’t drink, that I’m not aggressive... I asked myself: Was that me in the CIS terror of binary? When was I the victim and when was the perpetrator of violence? I don’t want to be binary. I don’t want to be “manly”. I realized that non-binary is necessarily a radical position. I think that binary is unnatural and non-binary is natural. Until now I was hetero – but it is unnecessary to emphasize that. You have love for a man. I always go from radical equality”*

### The second part of the debate

In the second part of the round table discussion, the following topic was discussed: **“How do you feel before the elections?”** The discussion refers to the local elections for Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš and nearly 80 other cities and municipalities in Serbia that will be held on June 2. Only a part of the opposition from the coalition Serbia against violence (*I choose the fight*) will participate in those elections, while the other part of it will not participate in the elections in Belgrade, but will in some other cities and municipalities (they voted to boycott these elections). The division of the opposition, especially the decision on the boycott, caused indignation at this debate as well. “I would be very happy if they won at least in one municipality in Belgrade.” It’s a hellish situation for the opposition; “It is important to dispel the belief that they are invincible (SNS ruling party)” etc.

**Nineteen (19)** people participated in the mentioned debates.



### June 5

**June 5 “Šagargur”**, directed by Nataša Nelević, (Montenegro 2024)

**Nataša Nelević’s** film “Šagargur” shows documentary material and testimonies about the inmate from the island of *Sveti Grgur (Šagargur)*, Djina Markuš. Markuš is one of the communist women who were declared supporters of Stalin during the conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR in 1948. **Miloš Urošević** recalled the historical



circumstances that led Gina Markuš to the women's prison camp on Sveti Grgur, which was a kind of "counterpart" to the male one on the island of Goli Otok. He stated that about 12% of KPJ (CPY) members supported the position of the meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties in Bucharest on June 28, 1948, that the Yugoslav Communists deviated from the policy of the Moscow headquarters and went into revisionism. About **16,000**, mostly members of the KPJ (Communist Party of Yugoslavia) and NOB (National Liberation Movement) participants, were sentenced in politically rigged trials to prison terms by being taken to a concentration camp prison on two Adriatic islands (Goli otok and Sveti Grgur). Of those, Urošević said, there were about **15,000** men and **928** women. **413** of them did not survive this camp life. The prisons in *Glavnjača*, *Zabela* and *Ramski rit* were also used to imprison "internal enemies"...

Nataša Nelević's documentary film about Gina Markuš is a collage of the testimonies of members of her closest family, excerpts from her diary entries, testimonies of the descendants of other camp inmates, video clips from the exhibition about the women of St. Gregory, a graphic and symbolic representation of their suffering and struggle for "meaning". and personal dignity...

**Below is a discussion on the results of the local elections from June 2, 2024**

On June 3, the ruling SNS declared victory in 85 out of 89 municipalities, a huge number of irregularities were recorded... The participants of this discussion "after the election" - although resigned because of the results, had an understanding of the situation in which the "fighting" opposition came out to these elections. Apart from some changes in the electoral law (which were related to an attempt to prevent the so-called "phantom migration of voters"), the opposition did not manage to significantly improve anything else in its favor until the election. It is still questionable how many "phantoms" there were, how much the voter list was really purged, to what extent the electoral law was violated on the day of the election itself... **16** people attended the two debates.

**June 12**

**June 12 "The Zone of Interest" by Jonathan Glazer**, deliberation about the film

Introduction: **Miloš Urošević**

The film *"The Zone of interest"* (**"The Zone of Interest"** USA, Great Britain, Poland 2023), directed by **Jonathan Glazer**, was based on the novel by **Martin Ames**, which tells about the private and family life of the commandant of Auschwitz, **Rudolf Hess**, and his wife **Hedwig**. and their five children. The film, in which Sandra Huller and **Christian Friedel** played the main roles, won the Oscar (2024) for the best foreign film.

**Stasa Zajović** suggested the framework of the debate, after watching the film: *"banality of evil", responsibility and complicity, collective guilt.*





**Nikola Trajković** agrees with the understanding of the “banality of evil”, but believes that this does not absolve the perpetrator from responsibility. “That, in a way, is also the attitude of the film’s author. That’s the moment when mother Hedwig, deciding not to say goodbye to her daughter and grandson, hastily leaves and abandons their luxurious hospitality.”

“Here it is clearly shown how the family can become the cradle of fascism,” concluded **Tanja Marković**. In the film, we see an ordinary German family that only cares about their well-being, and they use this opportunity to do so...Ideology creates such a situation – that the entire nation becomes evil.”

“Hannah Arendt was misunderstood when she said that the Eichmann case was about the emergence of the ‘banality of evil.’ Can the “cog and screw” theory exonerate? I understand, but I cannot accept her theory of evil being banal. Can judicial proceedings restore human integrity to the perpetrators of the greatest crimes?” (**Zajović**).

“I think the “massiveness” of evil, that is, its banality, is related to how **Hannah Arendt** sees totalitarianism as an extraordinary order. She writes about it in her work “Sources of Totalitarianism”. According to her, only the Third Reich and the USSR were totalitarian systems...” **Nastasja Radović** drew attention to Arendt’s understanding of totalitarianism as an interesting starting point for understanding her thesis on the “banality of evil”. **Zinaida Marjanović** considers the contagiousness and massiveness of the Nazi ideology to be the backbone of its evil “banality”...

Zajović then introduces into the debate “the absence of thinking, as an important aspect-condition for doing evil by “ordinary” people. “The more critical thinking is, the more it is suppressed.” Ever since it began in the history of mankind – from the Enlightenment onwards, it has been assumed that it is a human trait and right to think critically. Nazism goes against that... People are reduced to screws, but they are not demons – they love children, animals... Just like **Hitler**. Cases of sadists are very rare. They are most often among the capos, in the camps... The machinery only requires obedience and listening to orders. There is a moral responsibility of the whole community that has fallen to the level of zoology... But it is not possible without the renewal of critical thinking... (**Lino Veljak**)

**Snežana Tabački**: All the time, I had the feeling that the director of the film wants to show us that the main actors of the film are not monsters. Rather, they are “wonderful small-townners” who know nothing and are therefore “banal”. There’s a song by **Leonard Cohen** about how we perceive monsters...

**Nikola Trajković**: What is the alternative to the banality of evil? The “banality of evil” is a thesis of anthropological optimism. What is the alternative? Because even without that, a person can commit evil... Dehumanization of the victim is part of banalization...

**Marko Čonjagić:** There is no banality of evil. Everything comes from tradition. We see that the children are wearing uniforms. With all great empires there is a misinterpretation of tradition...

They also discussed various historical examples of the rise to power of the creators of banal evil: democratic procedure-elections (Hitler, here Milošević) and the experience of Latin America where military juntas came to the top, coups...Ivan Srdanović is interested in how and if the residents are Ljubovije (border of Serbia and Bosnia) thought about what is happening on the other side of the Drina... **16** people participated in the debate.

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**June 19**

### **June 19 – “Attitudes of young people in Serbia about the wars of the nineties”**

**Rodoljub Jovanović and Marko Milosavljević**, authors of the research of the **Youth Initiative for Human Rights** in cooperation with the public opinion survey agency *Smart plus*, in the course of August 2023, using the “face-to-face” interview methodology. **Rodoljub Jovanović**, psychologist and political scientist, “We formed focus groups of young people aged 18 to 30.” **900** of them participated in three groups (18-20 years, 23-28 and 27-30 years). We had a somewhat representative stratified sample, in different parts of Serbia. It is interesting that half of our respondents live with their parents – and 23% of them live in multigenerational families, 9% are married couples with children, and 8% live alone... We also asked them about the war experience in their immediate surroundings or their own, exile ...There it was seen that family experience has an influence on the attitude towards others. The result is that 13% had close family members who participated in the war. The research also related to their knowledge about wars, about the actors of the wars of the nineties, about the Hague Tribunal, their attitude towards war crimes and criminals, Kosovo, reconciliation...”

When it comes to knowledge about the wars of the 1990s acquired in school, here are some findings:

**25%** of the respondents answered that they had not learned anything about it, and **75%** that they had learned little or nothing. (“Most people don’t learn about it, as we know from previous research.”); **50%** know little or nothing and 18% “know nothing”.

*Sources about the wars of the 1990s:* they mostly mention conversations with parents and the closest environment, school, the Internet and the media...

*About war crimes:* the majority say they don’t know anything about

it, but there is a higher percentage of those who claim to know something about crimes against Serbs and the majority claim that 'Serbs are victims', etc. Respondents were offered a list of 21 specific examples of war crimes, and most said they had never heard of any of them. Most of them have heard about Srebrenica (42), Storm, the crimes of the Kosovo Liberation Army/KLA.

*On war criminals of Serbian nationality:* the majority believes that the Serbs are not guilty (33% believe that Ratko Mladić is not guilty). War criminals are members of other nationalities, which is in line with the views of the Serbian regime.

*The most significant events of the 1990s are:* Military actions against the Serbian civilian population: Storm (August 1995) and Lightning (May 1995) NATO bombing (1999).

*Mass graves of war victims:* most of them have not heard of any, and **74%** have not heard of Batajnica (mass graves of Albanian civilians in Batajnica near Belgrade).

*About the activities of the Hague Tribunal:* **71%** know nothing or very little about the Tribunal;

*Attitudes about the Hague Tribunal:* a significant majority (**62%**) have a negative attitude, despite having little or no knowledge of the work of the Hague Tribunal/ICTY. About **40%** of the respondents believe that the role of that court is to "prosecute Serbs for alleged crimes" ("to try Serbs"), and only **3%** think that the goal of these trials in the Tribunal is to contribute to reconciliation, and **4%** to make it possible to deal with the past etc. *The opinion of the majority that the Hague Court is political, that the Court did not contribute to changes, that it did not have a positive impact on society...*

*About war crimes trials before courts in Serbia:* **89%** have never heard of national trials for war crimes before courts in Serbia.

**On the independence of Kosovo:** **50%** are against independence, **43%** believe that Kosovo is an independent state. **30%** disagree with the claim that Serbia actually recognized Kosovo's independence, and a large percentage agree with the claim that Kosovo is "occupied territory"...

*About dealing with the past:* only **20%** think it is important and **5%** that it is not important because "it is not relevant today, **10%** don't know". Regarding the processes of transitional justice, the dominant view is that it was "imposed from the outside" and an anti-Western attitude has been built.

*On political responsibility for the wars of the 1990s:* a quarter of them are politicians, followed by the West and the EU, while only **3%** declared that Slobodan Milošević was to blame.

*About the genocide in Srebrenica:* **38%** say that it was genocide, and **30%** that it was not.

**Fifteen (15)** people participated in the debate.



June 26

**June 26 “The past is coming”** (*Changes in interpretations of the past in Serbian history textbooks 1913-1921*) by historian Dr. Dubravka Stojanović, 20th century edition, Belgrade, 2024.

Presenters: **Tamara Spaić, Miloš Urošević**

Activists and activists have commented on selected parts of this book:



**Tamara Spaić** said that the analysis of history textbooks in Serbia from 1913-2021 of historian **Dubravka Stojanović**, Ph.D. from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, showed “a cross-section of ideological brainwashing”, “manipulation of emotions. *The content of the book shows that our textbook presentation of national history consists of traditions, that history in textbooks is ideologized, revisionist, mythologized... The author shows that societies that do not know how to face their history in a scholarly scientific way and are not ready for dialogue, live in a falsified memory...These are societies that encourage authoritarian models, they cannot develop. History textbooks in Serbia encourage defeatism, they teach that history is something like a natural force independent of human efforts, that “the past returns”, that history “circulates...”* emphasized T. Spaić.

**Miloš Urošević** says that “The Past is coming” is the result of the author’s thirty-year study of the topic of analysis of history textbooks in Serbia. He presented the parts of the book that concern the disagreement about the cause of the collapse of the SFRY and the wars that followed: *the Brioni plenum of 1966, when the leading figure of the secret services and the vice president of the SFRY, Aleksandar Ranković, was dismissed; The Constitution of 1974, which gave great powers to the republics and the provinces had a voice in decision-making at the federal level, as well as the republics; demonstrations of Kosovar Albanians in 1981, where several were killed and wounded, and which started the repression of the state against “disobedient” Albanians.*

**Staša Zajović:** The authorities have shown the same ideological matrix in the last 30 years, so that even the changes on October 5, 2000 (the fall of Milošević) did not bring even a serious reconsideration of responsibility for the war and war crimes. For thirty years, the responsibility for the wars of the 1990s has been shifted to others, to ‘communism’, and all the time there is some kind of support for S. Milošević when talking about who initiated the breakup of Yugoslavia. Zajović also stated that the history of Serbia is presented only as a history of warfare, without reference to social history, etc. **Snežana Tabački:** “History textbooks in Serbia are like preparation for war.”

The debate continued with particularly stimulating topics that the author emphasizes in the book: *victorious defeat, de-Yugoslavization of Serbia, self-victimization as a dangerous value trend that causes a desire for retribution and revenge...* The part of the analysis related to the Holocaust was particularly interesting for the participants, which was ignored by historians until 1968 – only in Yugoslavia and Serbia. **12** people participated in the debate.

July 3

**July 3 “Working meeting on the 29th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica”** – proposal for a synopsis of the event, logistical arrangements with the participation of ten **(10)** people.

July 17

**Belgrade, July 17 - Meeting with participants of the Peace Caravan from Germany and Serbia;** in WiB premises, there were talks about WiB activities, the screening of short films (Video activism) about the feminist approach to justice, etc. This Peace Caravan was coordinated by: Stefan Milosavljević, Berlin and *Mirko Medenica*, Belgrade. **17** people participated in this event.

July 24

**July 24 “Living Monuments”** screening of the documentary film about Srebrenica, about dealing with the past, etc.

The documentary film was made in 2024 and lasts 30 minutes. It follows the lives and works of three young activists: *Jelena Jaćimović*, an artist from Belgrade, *Ajna Jusić* from Sarajevo and *Amra Begić* from Srebrenica; **16** people attended the screening of the film and the discussion.



## PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES

In this reporting period, we published:

**Women's court – the case of Foča – Feminist approach to Justice** – version in English

**Women's court – the case of Foča** – about Women's Court held on June 26, 2023 in Belgrade. The book has four (4) chapters: *Introduction; We remember crimes – testimonies; Associates of the Women's Court – analysis of the context of testimony, Appendices and Afterword*. Edited by: *Staća Zajović*; associates: *Maša Malešević, Sanja Pavlović and Miloš Urošević*; reviewers: *Svenka Savić and Rada Iveković*; fold and design: *Skart*; print: *Art print*; the book has **171** pages.

**Bojan Tončić (1967-2024) “He left a mark on us”** – about Bojan Tončić, journalist, anti-war/anti-militarist/anti-fascist activist; the publication was published by Women in Black, edited by: *Staća Zajović* and *Goran Kostić*, design and layout: *Goran Kostić*; p. **23**.

**Notes from the court: On monitoring the trial for the crime of rape in the war before the Special Court in Belgrade;** the publication presents notes taken by WiB activist *Miloš Urošević*. The publication has 41 pages. The layout and design were done by *Zinaida Marjanović*, and it was published by Women in Black, July 2024.

**Contribution to the history of the celebration of International Women's Day (27 pages)** – a publication on the chronology of the celebration of March 8. Edited by: *Miloš Urošević* in cooperation with: *Staća Zajović*, layout and design: *Zinaida Marjanović*, circulation: 50 copies, financial support: Reconstruction Women's Fund

## **CAMPAIGNS, APPEALS**

In addition to the above-mentioned initiatives in this reporting period, we have also launched or actively participated in numerous campaigns, primarily related to demands for dealing with the past – responsibility for war crimes, violence against women, against war, against repression of political dissidents; over refugees. We highlight some of the announcements:

### **Regarding the decision of the High Court in Belgrade to approve the extradition of Andrej Gnjot to Belarus**

The press release of WiB and the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (June 14) stated: “We condemn the decision of the High Court in Belgrade (June 13) to approve the extradition of Belarusian journalist and activist Andrei Gnjot to Belarus.” Such a decision is not in accordance with international and domestic legal norms, which expressly prohibit the extradition of persons prosecuted for their political activity or some other personal characteristic, and also to countries where there is a risk of persecution and torture. Gnjot is recognized by the relevant institutions as a person who is being persecuted for political reasons, while Belarus is designated by the relevant international organizations and bodies as a country where there is systematic persecution and torture of those who are critical of the regime. Such a decision is worrying because it puts Andrej Gnjot’s life in danger, and at the same time it shows the character of the authorities in Serbia, which position themselves as collaborators of the regime that violates human rights. Such behavior also affects the international reputation of the country, if there is anything left of it’. A request was made for the immediate cancellation of the decision of the High Court, and that the state authorities, in accordance with the law, provide Andrej Gnjot with protection, which is provided for by the Law on Asylum and Temporary Protection’.

### **“We remember the women raped in the war!”**

– In the announcement of the Autonomous Women’s Center/ AWC and WiB on the occasion of June 19 – the International Day of Combating Sexual Violence in Conflicts, it is recalled that ‘the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia/The Hague Tribunal recognized sexual violence as a weapon of war and qualified it as a war crime and a crime against humanity in its judgments’. Since Serbia is the only country in the region that still does not recognize women who survived sexual violence in the war as civilian victims of war, the request was repeated for the state to amend the current Law on the Rights of Combatants, War Disabled Persons, Civil War Disabled Persons and Their Family Members, to explicitly recognize survivors of wartime sexual violence as civilian victims of war, regardless of their nationality. It was also emphasized that ‘women who survived war rape were recognized for the first time in the world as civilian victims of war in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2006.





Also, in 2023, for the first time in the world, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina recognizes children born as a result of wartime rape as civilian victims of war. In their legal framework, Croatia and Kosovo also recognize survivors of sexual violence in war as civilian victims of war who are entitled to various types of compensation, social and health services. More than 1,500 people have obtained this status in Kosovo, and more than 200 in Croatia.



**Aleksandar Šapić xenophobic and racist statements about the festival Mirëdita – Good Day – WiB and the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia strongly condemned in a statement (June 18) the statement of A. Šapić, the interim mayor of the city of Belgrade, who said that “the city of Belgrade will not to give any kind of consent for holding the festival Mirëdita, good day.”** This festival, organized by the civil society of Kosovo and Serbia, was supposed to take place at the end of June 2024, but it was banned due to the violence of state and non-state actors. “Aleksandar Šapić, as an official of the ruling Serbian Progressive Party, had previously made xenophobic and racist statements that referred to the Albanian population of Kosovo. This attitude is also a continuation of the policy of war by other means. It was not the Festival that led to Kosovo’s independence, but the crimes committed in our name. As a civil society, we will be part of the Mirëdita festival, as we have been for years, because it is not only an obligation to the brave organizers (Youth Initiative for Human Rights, etc.), but we also consider it our political and moral obligation. With this gesture, we continue the policy of building a just peace, trust, mutual support, solidarity between the civil society of Kosovo and Serbia.’



**We shall never forget the genocide in Srebrenica!** – In an announcement on the occasion of the 29<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, WiB emphasized:

The genocide in Srebrenica is the biggest war crime after World War II in Europe. The regime of S. Milošević was complicit in the genocide by providing enormous political, military and logistical-financial aid to the Army of Republika Srpska. And on this occasion, we remind you that:

- **By the ruling of the International Court of Justice (2007), the State of Serbia was declared responsible for violating the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.**
- The Hague Tribunal proved, beyond reasonable doubt, the individual criminal responsibility of a large number of members of Serbian armed formations and political institutions that acted in the spirit of realizing the territorial project of Greater Serbia, and the genocide in Srebrenica was part of that project.
- **On May 23, 2024 – the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Resolution on the Srebrenica genocide.** Serbia voted against, while all countries of the former Yugoslavia voted for the Resolution. The resolution, among other things, declared July 11 International Day of Remembrance of the Genocide in Srebrenica, and denying the genocide qualifies as a criminal offense.
- **Instead of immediately adopting the UN Resolution as an exceptional moral and political chance for the state and society to remove the stain from the name of Serbia in the region and worldwide, the Serbian regime headed by A. Vučić is pursuing a reckless, brutal campaign against the Resolution.**
- **By distorting the Resolution and through gross manipulation, the regime and its media are spreading a paranoid fear that by recognizing the genocide, guilt is being imposed on the Serbian people, thereby turning the entire nation into hostages of criminal politics.**
- **By hiding behind the Serbian people, to whom no mention is made in the UN Resolution, the representatives of the regime hide their personal, political and moral responsibility for their shameful past as active participants in criminal politics in the 1990's.**
- **In Serbia, not only the continuity of denial, but also the state policy of denial of genocide are still at work:** The state of Serbia continues to protect war criminals because the instigators and followers of the criminal led by President A. Vučić are in power. To the shame of this state and society, they are proud of the crimes committed in our name and that is why there is no justice for the victims, the prosecution of war criminals has practically stopped, and the absence of sympathy for the victims of genocide prevails in public space.

**On this occasion, we reiterate our demands:**

- **That the Srebrenica genocide be recognized, primarily as respect for the dignity of the victims**, but also as a chance for Serbia to join the community of democratic countries in Europe and the world.
- **That the President and all other state representatives stop denying the genocide and all other war crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond.**
- **That the denial of genocide and all crimes against humanity and war crimes be qualified as a criminal offense.**
- **That July 11<sup>th</sup> be declared the Day of Remembrance of the Srebrenica Genocide.**
- **That all murals that celebrate the war criminal R. Mladić, convicted of genocide in Srebrenica, be removed throughout Serbia.**
- **That the state of Serbia discontinue its policy of causing regional instability** by interfering in the internal affairs of neighboring countries, primarily Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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