



*žene u crnom
beograd*



Report

**September, October,
November and
December
2023**

As before, we bring a brief report on the activities of Women in Black in the mentioned period, and if you are interested in more information, you can find them on our web site www.zeneucrnom.org or contact us by mail: office@zeneucrnom.org

Thank you in advance

September, October, November and December 2023

Report

Street actions: In this reporting period, we organized fifteen (15) events

and we also actively participated in other street actions:

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

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

Belgrade, October 5th

Belgrade, October 5th "We shall never forget the Topčider crime"

- On the occasion of the 19 anniversary of the crime (October 5, 2004-October5, 2023) the murder of two guardsmen in the barracks in Topčider, Women in Black organized two protests in mourning and silence:

Protest in front of the barracks in Topčider, together with the families of the killed soldiers. The banners "We will never forget the crime in Topčider", Solidarity, Responsibility were displayed. Flowers with the message "Remember - Women in Black" were laid there.



Protest in the city center (Knez Mihailova Street) where the following banners were displayed:

- *We will never forget the crime in Topčider*
- *Solidarity*
- *Responsibility*

- We remember Dragan Jakovljević
- We remember Dražen Milovanović
- Who killed the guards?
- Discover the killers of soldiers!
- What did your Board of Enquiry do?

On that occasion, a stage action was performed: the date of the murder, October 5, 2004, as well as the date of the anniversary, October 4, 2023, were written in salt on the asphalt.

Fifteen (15) activists took part in the protest.

There were verbal insults during both vigils:

- Your mother's pussy sucks, you whore. (One woman from a car in Topčider)
- No one believes you, not even your propaganda.
- I blame you inasmuch that it is not in Cyrillic.
- Are you their family? (Of the killed)
- This government is killing the people.



More than once, multiple people stepped on the anniversary date of the murder; half of them did it intentionally and half unintentionally. Several people loudly cursed at our silence, "Your mother's cunt!"

The police never reacted.

Only one elderly man expressed his sincere support and respect.

Belgrade, November 18th

Belgrade, November 18 "We will never forget the crimes in Vukovar" - on the occasion of the 32th anniversary of the fall of Vukovar, Women in Black organized a peace action in Knez Mihailova Street in Belgrade.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- We will never forget the crimes in Vukovar



- Solidarity
- Responsibility
- Women in Black
- Vukovar 1991-2023: YNA held Vukovar under a siege for 87 days; More than 1,000 civilians were killed, and about 25,000 were wounded, and the non-Serb population was expelled; In Ovčaramore than 200 sick and wounded prisoners from the Vukovar hospital were killed; In this urbicide, almost the entire city was destroyed; Thousands of prisoners passed through the camps in Serbia (Aleksinac, Begejci, Belgrade, Niš, Sremska Mitrovica, Stajičevo).



During the vigil, a stage action was also performed. The words 1991-2023 - Vukovar - We remember were written in salt on the pavement and candles were lit.

About twenty-five (25) activists took part in the protest – from Belgrade, as well as from Tuzla/B&H, Leskovac, Kraljevo.

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

Belgrade, September 21 “Stop the war in Ukraine!”

– on the occasion of September 21 – World Peace Day, WiB organized antiwar action in mourning and silence.



Žene u crnom, 1991 →

The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- September 21– World Peace Day
- Stop the war in Ukraine (in Serbian, Ukrainian, Russian and English languages)
- 582nd day of war Ukraine (in Serbian and Ukrainian languages)

Ten (10) activists took part in this action.

Belgrade, October 17th

Belgrade, October 17 “Stop the war in Middle East”- Women in Black organized a vigil in mourning and silence in main street of Belgrade (Knez Mihailova).

In this antiwar action following banners were displayed in Serbian, Hebrew, Arabic and English languages:



- Stop the war in Middle East!
- End the occupation!
- Solidarity with civilians in Israel
- Solidarity with civilians in Palestine
- Stop the terror of Israeli army!
- Stop the terror of Hamas!
- We demand liberation of Palestinian prisoners
- We demand liberation of Israeli hostages
- Women for Peace and Justice

Twenty (30) activists participated in this action.



Belgrade, October 17th

Belgrade, October 17 “Antifascism is my choice”– on the eve of the opening of the World War II criminal Draža Mihailović Museum, journalists and citizens were denied access to that place in Bregalnička Street in Belgrade. WiB activists also participated in this antifa action.



Belgrade, November 9th

Belgrade, November 9 "Stop the fascism" – on the occasion of November 9 – International Day of Struggle against Fascism and Antisemitism, WiB, Academic Initiative 'Forum 10' from Novi Pazar, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and Antifascist Union of Serbia organized peace action 'Stop fascism – Antifascism is our choice'.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:



- Stop fascism
- Antifascism is our choice
- Women in Black against fascism
- Draža Mihailović – Ratko Mladić – genocide
- Proud antifa
- Stop the war in Ukraine
- Stop the war in Middle East
- PEACE (in Serbian, English, Spanish, Italian, Hebrew, Arabic on the rainbow flag with a broken riffle)

This protest was attended by twenty (20) activists.

Belgrade, November 25th



Belgrade, November 25 "For a life without violence and war"

- on the occasion of November 25 the – International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women - beginning of the Campaign 16 days of activism against violence against women, Women in Black organized antiwar-feminist protest in mourning and silence. This action was coordinated together with WiB Network from Italy (Roma, Verona, Padova, Udine), WiB Network from Spain (Madrid, Toledo...).

Following banners were displayed:

- *Women in Black against the war*
- *Stop the occupation (in Serbian, English, Hebrew and Arabic)*
- *November 25 – Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women*
- *Peace (in different languages)*
- *Stop the war in the Middle East*
- *Stop killing Gaza*
- *Stop the war in Ukraine*
- *Solidarity with the civilian population of Israel and Palestine*
- *Stop the terror of the Israeli army*
- *Stop the terror of Hamas*



A stage action was also performed at the protest: a peace sign was made from lighted candles. About twenty (20) activists took part in the protest. WiB Belgrade organized the same action in Kotor/Montenegro with Women's peace center from Kotor/Montenegro and Peace group from Tuzla/BH.

Belgrade, December 6th

Belgrade, December 6 "Stop the killing of women!" – on the occasion of the International Day to End Femicide, Women in Black, the Autonomous Women's Center and Dah Theater with the support of Women's association 'Anima' Đulići/BH organized a street action in mourning and silence 'Stop the killing of women' in Republic Square.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:





- December 6th – International Day to End Femicide
- Stop killing women
- **28 women have been killed in Serbia in 2023**
- 430 women have been killed in Serbia since 2010
- Let's sanction the irresponsible behavior of institutions
- I'm won't be the next
- Men kill women
- The silence of men also kills



The stage action "Stop killing women" was performed; Fifty-odd (50) activists took part in the protest.

Belgrade, December 13th

Belgrade, December 13 "Stop to the ban of the LGBT movement in Russia!" – on the occasion of the ban on the LGBT movement in Russia, WiB and Belgrade Pride organized protest rally in front of the embassy of the Russian Federation.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:



- Stop the ban of the LGBT movement in Russia (in Serbian and Russian languages)
- Solidarity with LGBT movement in Russia (in Serbian and Russian languages)
- Stop the war in Ukraine!
- Rainbow flag with broken rifle and Peace in a lot of languages...

This protest was attended by forty **(40)** activists.

Belgrade, “We believe Milena Radulović!” – In this period, Women in Black organized a few protests outside 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. The court proceedings against Aleksić began in February 2022, after several delays and completed preparatory hearings. Women in Black has monitored all the hearings so far, and organized a protest before each one. In this period, we held four **(4)** protests:



- September, 19
- October, 19
- November 23 and
- December 22

We held following banners:

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

Forty **40** activists participated in these protests.

(Since the beginning of the protests that take place every Saturday, ‘Serbia against violence’, we have been participating as citizens).

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).

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 and www.zenskisud.org or contact us by mail: 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 ethic 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, September 28 and 29** - meeting with women from the association of victims of genocide in Srebrenica from Tuzla and Srebrenica, who on September 29. together with WiB activists followed the trial for the crime in Kravica;

- **Vršac/Vojvodina, October 27** – visit to Rosa Jakovljević, witness at W'sC, mother of the murdered soldier (October 5, 2004);
- **Belgrade, December 4 and 5** – meeting with the women of Srebrenica who, together with WiB activists, are following the trial for war crimes before the Special Court for War Crimes;
- **Belgrade, November 23 and 24** – meeting with Mother Mejra Dautović from Bihać (B&H), who testified at the Special Court for War Crimes because of the torture and wartime rape of her daughter Edna Dautović, who was imprisoned together with her brother Edvin in the concentration camp Omarska/B&H;
- **Memorial Center in Potočari/Srebrenica, December 11** – visit, meeting with the women of Srebrenica housed in the Center for the Elderly 'Hatidža Mehmedović', opened with the intention that Srebrenica mothers left without relatives will be cared for in their old age. About twenty women are accommodated in that center. About thirty women participated in this meeting: in addition to women from Srebrenica (witnesses at W'sC, etc.), WiB activists, women from the association 'Anima' Đulići/B&H also participated;
- **Novi Bečej and Bečej, December 27** – visit to Maria Kovačev, witness at W'sC and Julia Teleka, anti-war activist - participants in the process of organizing W'sC.

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. This event was attended by seventy (**70**) persons from whole region, as well as from European and Australia.

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.

In this reporting period, and as part of the continuation of the process of the Women's Court - the case of Foča - numerous meetings were held in Belgrade and Sarajevo. In accordance with the feminist code of W'sC, WiB, with the active participation of witnesses, all steps were designed for the moral and emotional legal protection of witnesses:

- *Downloading transcripts of testimony;*
- *Work on a documentary film* - sorting, classification, selection of shots, etc.
- *Work on the texts of the testimonies* - the women witnesses and the witness (online because he lives in the USA), with the support of the organizers, reviewed the texts of their testimonies, made certain changes (i.e., slight shortenings, where the facts are repeated), commented on the footnotes on the transcripts entered by the WiB working group, after which the witnesses authorized the text of the testimony;
- *Legal protection of witnesses* - documents on *Consent* were prepared with the support of relevant legal experts;
- *Psychological support to the female witnesses and the male witness* - before, during and after the W'sC Foča case, was continuously provided by W'sC feminist therapist Mira Vilušić;
- *Screening of the working version of the documentary film* - the female and male witnesses presented their suggestions, and the professional and artistic team made the documentary film;
- *Editing of the texts of the testimony* - after the authorization of the texts by the witnesses, the WiB working group made changes. The final version of all the texts of the testimony was also reviewed by W'sC associate Maša Malešević;
- *W'sC archive* - responsibility for the archive was assumed by Women in Black and includes the storage of all documents from the event (video documentation, audio recordings, photo archive, documents on Consent - legal protection of witnesses);
- *Individual testimonies at the Women's Court - Foča case* - 190 min.
- *Women's Court - the case of Foča* - a documentary film lasting 42 minutes, made by the director Marija Arandžević (Belgrade), with the artistic consultation of the director Zoran Solomun, Berlin; the film is subtitled in English;
- ***Women's Court: The case of Foča*** - work is underway on the publication, which will be published in early 2024.

CONFRONTING THE PAST – JOINT REFLECTION

(meetings, lectures, book promotions; exhibitions; Zoom conferences) organized by WiB and related civil society organizations. In this period, we highlight the following activities:

September 7, Novi Sad – participation of WiB activist Miloš

September 7th



September 21th

Urošević at the conference '**Bleed and Heal**' organized by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Novi Sad and the EPK2022 foundation.

September 19, Sremski Karlovci/Vojvodina – "Youth Center CK13" from Novi Sad organized the Regional Political School about the nineties 'Love will save us'. As part of this program, the session "*Testimony of resistance to patriarchy and war: Women in Black*" was held, where *Staća Zajović* spoke. This session was attended by **20** people from: Serbia (Novi Sad, Novi Pazar, Požega, Velika Plana, Vršac, Niš, Belgrade, Smederevo); Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, Laktaši, Teslić), Croatia (Split, Šibenik, Rijeka, Zagreb) and Slovenia (Ljubljana).

September 21, Zenica/BH – "Medica" Zenica marked 30 years of activities. "Medica" Zenica is a specialized women's organization that has been working throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina for the past 30 years, trying to respond to the needs of the most vulnerable categories, women and children, survivors of war rape and sexual violence, domestic violence and violence in the community. "Medica" Zenica developed a comprehensive multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach based on feminist principles and international standards. Our vision for women and children is life without violence and discrimination, and equal rights in family and society.

This event was attended by WiB activists: Ljiljana Radovanović, Ljiljana Spasić, Violeta Đikanović and Staša Zajović. *Medica Zenica gave Staša Zajović a **Recognition award*** for 'courage, determination and perseverance promoting nonviolence and women's voices for peace and coexistence in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in whole region'.

8. – 13. oktobarth

October 8 - 13, Tivat/Montenegro – Working meetings within the framework of the regional project (AWC, WiB and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights/YIHR and groups of Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina "Strengthening women affected by wartime sexual and gender-based violence in the Western Balkans - for a culture of recognition and reconciliation" ("*Amplifying Voices of Women affected by war-related SGBV in the Western Balkans - For a culture of Recognition and Reconciliation*") - participated Staša Z.

13, Octoberth

13, October, Podgorica/Montenegro – a forum organized by the Cultural Center **201 "Women in Black: The Rebellion Experience"** where *Staća Zajović* spoke in the presence of about twenty (**20**) people.

15.- 22. oktobarth

October 15-22, Reggio Emilia/Italy – at the *Balkanika Festival 2023* organized by: *Centro sociale Orti Spallanzani, Teatro San Prospero, Istoreco, Museo Casa Cervi, Fondazione Langer, ISCOS*. In the debate (October 21) "*L'Europamuore o rinasce a Sarajevo?*" (*Is Europe dying or being born in Sarajevo?*) *Eredita e attualita di Alex Langer nei Balkani* (*Heritage and actuality of A. Langer's thoughts and actions in the Balkans*) *Staća Zajović* participated together with: *Albertina Soliani, President of the Cervi Institute*, representative of the Reggio Emilia community; *Elisabetta Gualmini*, member of the European

Parliament, *Sabina Langer*, Langer Foundation, *Paolo Bergamaschi*, political advisor of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament, associate of A. Langer(1946-1995) MEP, initiator of the Resolution in the EU Parliament on support for deserters and conscientious objectors during the war in former Yugoslavia, activist for peace, interethnic solidarity, etc.

October 22 and 23th

October 22 and 23 – meetings and exchanges with activists in Reggio Emilia.

October 24th

October 24, Verona – anti-war protest *"Israel and Palestine: Let's stop the violence!"* (*Israele e Palestina: ferminamoviolenza*) organized by *Rete italiana Pace e Disarmo* (Italian Peace and Disarmament Network). Staša Z. participated in the protest together with Women in Black/ Donne in nero from Verona.

October 25th

October 25, Verona – Working meeting with WiB activists from Verona, Udine, Padua; in addition to discussions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, joint activities in the following period were agreed upon.

December 7th

December 7, Sarajevo – working meeting - within the framework of the regional project (AWC, WiB and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights/YIHR and groups of Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina "Strengthening women affected by wartime sexual and gender-based violence in the Western Balkans - for a culture of recognition and reconciliation " (*"Amplifying Voices of Women affected by war-related SGBV in the Western Balkans - For a culture of Recognition and Reconciliation"*); Staša Z. participated on behalf of WiB.

December 8th

December 8, Sarajevo – international conference "Transgenerational trauma - experiences and effects" organized by Medica Mondiale, Germany, Medica Zenica and VIVE women, Tuzla.

December 8, Sarajevo – international conference *"Amplifying feminist approach to transgenerational trauma: from the perspectives of women survivors of war related SGBV"*(sexual gender-based violence)

The program consisted of:

Panel I - Transgenerational trauma – Experiences and impacts

- *Transformative Models of Support in the Prevention of Transgenerational Transmission of Trauma* – participant: SabihaHusić, Medica, Zenica
- *Survivors' perspectives* – *MirsadaTursunović*, Association 'Našglas', Tuzla
- *Transgenerational transmission of trauma – Sequential traumatization* – speakers: *Aida Mustačević* and *Augustina Rahmanović Koning*, psychotherapist of 'Vive žene' Tuzla
- *Study: Intergenerational effects of maternal post-traumatic stress disorder on offspring epigenetic patterns and cortisol levels* – *FerideRushiti*, KRCT, Pristina
- *From Survival to Healing: Navigating Transgenerational Trauma*,

Panell II – Regional activism and solidarity against sexual violence in war

- **Sanja Pavlović**, Autonomous Women's Center
- **Ajna Jusić**, Forgotten Children of War Association, Sarajevo
- **Stasa Zajović**, Women in Black

This conference was attended by more than **100** personas from B&H, Kosovo, Croatia, Serbia, Germany.

December 12th

December 12 – The round table “**Latinka Perović - the Serbian spiritual vertical**” organized by Novi Magazin and the Civic Democratic Forum/CDF was held in the Media Center in Belgrade. The event was held on the occasion of the first anniversary of the death of Latinka Perović (1934-2022), a famous Serbian historian, associate of WiB and many other organizations. Participants:

Dubravka Stojanović, Olga Manojlović Pintar, Aleksandar Bošković, Stasa Zajović, Zoran Vuletić, Borka Božović, Lino Veljak, Jovan Komšić, Dušan Mijić, Novica Milić, Sonja Biserko, Dragoslav Simić, Tomislav Marković, Dimitrije Boarov. Moderator: Mijat Lakićević.

15. decembarth

December 15, Pristina - promotion of the edition about **Lazar Stojanović**, film director, journalist, human rights activist from Belgrade and within the edition ‘*The Other Serbia*’: the event was organized by several collectives from Priština/Kosovo, and Stasa Z. participated on behalf of WiB.

December 20th

December 20 Vranić near Belgrade – antifascist solidarity action on the 80th anniversary of the crime in Vranić. In the Second World War, on the night between December 20 and 21, 1943, the fascist Chetnik formations killed 68 inhabitants of the village of Vranić, most of the family members of the Pantić family. WiB Network activists, together with activists of Antifascist Union from Belgrade attended an event in the local Culture Center together with locals.



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:

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 **three (3)** hearings were held:

September 22th

September 22 – at today's hearing, and in the continuation of the evidentiary proceedings, two defense witnesses testified: *Dragan Golijanin* and *Milenko Jevđević*.

Dragan Golijanin said that he has known the accused since 1992, when he was a member of the Drina Corps. Among other things, he said: "He (M. Živanović) defended the Serbian people." He told me that his commander, General Ratko Mladić, did not know what he was doing. On July 12 General Živanović wasn't there, because on June 16, 1995, Radovan Karadžić, the President of Republika Srpska, had appointed General Radisav Krstić to that position."

Witness Milenko Jevđević, also a member of the Drina Corps, said, among other things: "I participated in the Krivaja operation in 1995. That operation was commanded by General Krstić, not General Živanović." Then General Živanović told me: "You will all end up in The Hague." This witness ended his testimony with the words: "I was a defense witness in The Hague five times to my war comrades."

25. oktobarth

October 31 – at this hearing, and in the continuation of the evidentiary proceedings, two witnesses, both retired officers of the Republika Srpska army, testified.

Milomir Nastić denied involvement in this crime, saying that he allegedly had the task of 'guarding Serbian villages and the bauxite mine in Milići' and that he did not participate in the 'relocation of

Muslim civilians on July 12 and 13, 1995'. He also denied M. Živanović's crimes against Muslim civilians, "He should not be blamed for anything".

Milan Jolović also denied both his own and M. Živanović's responsibility: 'I was ordered by General Mladić to enter Srebrenica. When we entered Srebrenica, there were 30,000 Muslim civilians (including women and children). They were transferred to Kladanj and Tuzla, and I later went to Žepa. I stopped in Vlasenica and there I met General Živanović (in Zvonko Bajagić's house), who was celebrating Petrovdan on July 12, 1995."

December 5th

December 5 – at today's hearing, three witnesses whose questioning was scheduled did not appear, so the court panel presented written evidence.

Trial for the crime in Bratunac

The indictment charges *Goran Stjepanović*, a member of the Republika Srpska Army, with crimes against Bosniak civilians in early June 1992 and with raping A.A., a Bosniak woman. The main trial began in January 2021.

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

September 25th

September 25 – today's hearing was postponed because the defendant's defense attorney, attorney Goran Petronijević, did not appear.

October 25th

October 25 – the hearing was postponed because the defendant's defense attorney, attorney Goran Petronijević, did not appear. The lawyer informed the court that the accused had canceled his power of attorney, and the accused stated that he wanted to be defended by an ex officio lawyer appointed by the court in the continuation of the court process.

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 Bosniaks, within the Srebrenica genocide, on July 13th, 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 were held three (3) hearings:

September 29th

September 29 – at today's hearing, and in the continuation of the evidentiary proceedings, the photo-video documentation of the written evidence was inspected. This hearing was attended by survivors from the association of victims of genocide in Srebrenica from Tuzla and Srebrenica, as well as activists of Women in Black.

October 13th

October 13 – in the continuation of the evidence procedure, the presentation of written evidence continued.

November 20th

November 20 – at the hearing, the written evidence was inspected.

Trial of Milorad Kotur

The accused Milorad Kotur is a member of the reserve police force at the Bosanska Krupa Public Security Station. The indictment accuses M. Kotur of committing the following crimes from July 1992 to September 1992 in the Bosanska Krupa municipality:

1. In the second half of July 1992, **44** camp inmates, civilians of Bosniak and Croat nationality who were traveling in a minibus, were taken out of the Omarska camp (Prijedor municipality) for the sake of an alleged exchange that was supposed to take place in the Bosanska Krupa municipality. TAM 130 so that on the way to the alleged exchange, on the order of the accused, they were taken out of the minibus to Donji Dubovik, municipality of Bosanska Krupa, after which they were tied with wire, and then, at gunpoint of automatic rifles, they were taken together to the pit "Lisac" which was nearby and killed the **44** civilians of Bosniak and Croat nationality by shooting them. In the year 2000, during the exhumation in Donji Dubovik, municipality of Bosanska Krupa, in the "Lisac" pit, the bodies of the said civilians were identified.

2. At the beginning of August 1992, in Donji Dubovik, municipality of Bosanska Krupa, they intercepted 7 civilians of Bosniak nationality, who were moving from Prijedor towards Bihać: B.M, B.N, B.Nj, B.O, B.P, B.R and B.S, whom they immediately shoot dead. In the year 2000, during the exhumation in Donji Dubovik, Bosanska Krupa municipality, in the "Lisac" pit, the bodies of the aforementioned civilians were found and identified.

In this period, two hearings were held:

November 24th

November 24 – two male witnesses and one female witness testified at today's hearing.

Said Redžić, an injured witness who was in the Trnopolje camp, said that he did not know the accused, and that his brother Muhamed Redžić was killed and that his remains were found in a pit near Sanski Most.

Mehmed Filović, the injured witness, also said that he did not know the accused, and that his cousin Miralem Velić was killed in the war.

Mejra Dautović, an injured witness, said before the court panel: "My daughter Edna Dautović was killed in the Lisac pit." She was 22 years

old, a student. She came from Tuzla for our Eid holiday, July 14, 1992. years. She was taken to the Omarska camp where she was raped every night. She was there until August 25, 1992. years. They killed her in front of the church, and then threw her into the Lisac pit. **2** women and **43** men were killed there. I took over the remains of my daughter... My son Edin was killed in front of the white house with a blunt object in the Omarska camp on 16 July 1992, and his body was discovered in the Kevljani tomb. When asked if she made a material demand in relation to the accused, the witness said: "No one can return my child to me." I'm not asking for anything. No one can return my child to me. May God judge him and punish him."

December 25th

December 25 – Nusreta Sivac testified in today's hearing.

The witness said that she was imprisoned in the Omarska camp from June 9, 1992, and remained there until the camp was closed (August 1992). She said she did not know him, but that she knew Željko Meakić: "I testified against him." He was the head of the camp, everything was under his command. Edna Dautović was with me in the room all the time. There were **36** of us women and all but two of us were accommodated in two rooms. One was located in the White House, and the other was of Serbian nationality, so she had a privileged position. Edna was taken away on July 20, 1992. when Željko Meakić came to the room and called Edna Dautović, whose parents I knew. Edna packed. She hugged me and told me to say hello to her mother. Meakić told her that he was taking her for an exchange to the village of Ličko Petrovo selo. We prisoners could see everything through the bathroom windows and heard the roll call. A small bus with Bihac license plates arrived and some women saw us with the 'Šešelj Driving School' sticker on the bus. The camp was lit, although there was a power outage, the camp had a generator. Those people who came were not part of the camp structures. 45 inmates were called, among them were two women. Edna was 24 years old and was a student at the Pedagogical Academy in Tuzla, and Sadeta Medunjanin was a teacher in Kozarac. They sat in the front, on the first seats in the bus. When Edna was found in the Lisac pit, I went to identify Edna's remains in Sanski Most. The inmates were told: "Watch out, we have lists." **3,200** people passed through the camp. Women were completely isolated, separated from men. Whoever didn't come to that one meal we had per day, we knew they'd been killed. The day in the camp began with counting the dead. A small truck was coming to collect the dead. In the camp, there were the White House and the Red House. The White House - the infamous prison where the so-called extremes. No one survived from the White House, while some survived the Red House. In these camps, people were housed by category. While we watched people being taken out of the camp, it was very risky. I also saw when we women who remained, regretted that they didn't take us away because we thought it was for exchange'. Then Nusreta Sivac spoke about the ethnic cleansing, persecution and torture of non-Serbs in Prijedor: 'The first day I went to work, some armed men told me that I no longer worked there. All

non-Serbs had been fired. I never received an indictment to see what I was accused of. I was the first woman from Prijedor to have been arrested' etc.

(You can find reports from these hearings on the WiB website)

Women in Black are drivers or active participants of numerous regional networks, coalitions and associations, active participants in the activities of related organizations, in order to strengthen mutual support, solidarity, civil society and democracy in Serbia and the whole region.

In this period, the following activities were realized:

NETWORKS, COALITIONS - MUTUAL SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY

Women in Black are drivers or active participants of numerous regional networks, coalitions and associations, active participants in the activities of related organizations, in order to strengthen mutual support, solidarity, civil society and democracy in Serbia and the whole region.

In this period, the following activities were realized:

WOMEN IN BLACK NETWORK MEETING took place by **14th to 16th SEPTEMBER 2023 in Radmilovac, near Belgrade**

This meeting was attended by **55** activists from **20** towns from ex-Yugoslavia countries: Bosnian and Herzegovina (Tuzla, Sarajevo, Zvornik); Croatia (Zagreb and Pakrac); Kosovo (Priština); Serbia (Novi Pazar, Beograd, Bajina bašta, Kikinda, Prijepolje, Priboj na Limu, Sombor, Pančevo, Zrenjanin, Kraljevo, Leskovac, Novi Sad, Kruševac), as well as activist from Poland (Krakowia) and Germany (Berlin).

September 14th

Thursday, September 14





In pictures and words - about the activities of the Network of Women in Black Serbia, in the previous period – *Dealing with the past* (street actions, visiting place of crime, monitoring at Special Court for war crimes in Belgrade); Women’s Court – feminist approach to justice – Foča case; feminist ethics of care and responsibility; Solidarity is our strength – support to Ukraine refugees; monitoring of trial for sexual crimes...) etc.

Discussion corner: “Where to and how to proceed”– activists reported the following topics on which they reported briefly.

What is anti-fascism today?

Dragan Stojković, Alliance of Anti-Fascists of Serbia, *reflected on the current fascism of both the state and society in Serbia, and this is reflected, among other things, through:*

Legal equalization of fascism (Chetnik movement) and anti-fascism (partisan movement); right-wing parties, the academic community, and cultural workers participate in the falsification of history: “The law adopted by the Serbian Parliament (2004) opened the door for a very wide front of propaganda, both in academic structures and among historians, literature, music and generally among the intellectual elite.”

In Serbia, the war continues by different means - a totalitarian state (with all collapsed institutions) generates fear, produces enemies based on ideological orientation, ethnic/religious affiliation, spreads a climate of violence, fear and hatred in society: “We are creating a society that functions on fear, hatred and violence. Fear is produced by creating fear among citizens of each other in various ways, so our neighbors who are of other religions and nations are a danger to us. We are on the threshold of broad daylight fascism’ etc.



Mirjana Bilopavlović, NGO Delfin, Pakrac/Croatia commented on the revision of anti-fascism in Croatia, manifested in Croatia through:

Culturocide: “Over 3,000 anti-fascist monuments were destroyed. For us, most of the monuments are not registered in the register





of cultural property and we, as anti-fascists, cannot call anyone to protect the monuments”.

Denial of the Holocaust: “The Holocaust is generally denied in Croatia.” High school students

Are told that the Holocaust is a fabrication of the communists, who deny the right of Croats to live in their own country”.

Equating fascism and anti-fascism: “Even the Minister of Foreign Affairs qualifies the partisan movement as totalitarianism, and says that Tito was one of the greatest enemies of the Croats, who should be equated with Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin.”

On ab/use of religion against democracy, human rights, women...

Snežana Jakovljević, Peščanik, Kruševac, warned against:

The fundamentalist request of the Serbian Orthodox Church/SOC on the repeal of the Law on Gender Equality-gender-sensitive language: “In the epistle of Patriarch Porfiry on the occasion of Easter, he attacked gender-sensitive language and said that it is a ‘fabrication that comes from the West’, that it is not ‘in the spirit of our language, neither in the spirit of our tradition, nor does it have any good influence on us’. This caused the indignation of non-governmental organizations, and of language experts’

Patriarch Porfiry’s hatred of women encourages the impunity of domestic and sexual violence in Serbia: ‘What the Patriarch is saying is extremely dangerous, for society, for women, because since 2010, **430** women have been killed in Serbia. If someone who has such an influence on the citizenry says such things, it encourages others to abuse women and get away with it.’

Nikola Krstić, freelance journalist, Belgrade, *referred to the extremely high level of clericalization:* “According to the data of the Republic Institute of Statistics, we in Serbia have 86% Christians, (81% Orthodox), 1.1% atheists, 0.1% agnostics, 2% non-respondents, 4.4% of Muslims”.

Krstić warned of the *growth of clerical-fascist tendencies among believers - attacks on freedom of the media, freedom of speech:* “When I wrote about the SOC, I only received the fiercest attacks, the most bloodthirsty, precisely from Orthodox believers, if you are against the SOC, if you are against Patriarch Porphyry or Pavle, if you think differently, you don’t deserve to live. They have great power.”

Azra Šeta Hadžić, Sarajevo/Belgrade, *warned of the growth of fundamentalist tendencies, especially Wahhabism in BH:* “Wahhabism came in the nineties through humanitarian organizations from Islamic countries and stayed there. They do not recognize the Islam preached by the Islamic community. Wahhabis in Bosnia and Herzegovina create their own community, have strict rules and claim





to have returned to 'original Islam'. The Wahhabis have everything separate, they act according to Sharia law, and otherwise they are financed by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, etc.'

Religious fundamentalists support each other in the fight against democracy and human rights: 'When there was an LGBT event in Banja Luka, the comments were 'we support the Chetnik brothers, kill the fags'. Then they united there. They don't like each other, but when they have a common enemy, they unite.'

"Islamic fundamentalists spread propaganda through social networks - they spread hatred towards women - they prescribe their manner of behavior and clothing, they incite hatred towards atheists, they recruit young people," stressed Azra.

In the continuation of the conversation, the participants pointed to the social context - on a local, regional and global level - which favors the growth of fundamentalist forces:

The mushrooming of fundamentalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina must also be seen in the context of Croatia and Serbia's pressure on the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina: 'It cannot be seen outside the political context in which Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina are between two political and religious fundamentalisms that have been humiliating these people in every way for 30 years. Genocide was committed in Srebrenica and they are derisive of it. Instead of Zagreb and Belgrade doing everything to normalize the situation in BH, they are doing the opposite' (Boris Pavelić).

The vacuum of the social welfare state is filled by fundamentalist movements with so-called alternative social institutions (kindergartens, schools...): "The same is true in Novi Pazar. They are engaged in humanitarian work and they receive a lot of financial resources from all over the world. They have their own schools, kindergartens" (Aladin Paučinac).

In a situation of general hopelessness in Sandžak (socially, politically), organizations of a religious orientation are flourishing, the area is becoming the scene of the struggle of powerful Islamic regimes for influence, especially for religious radicalization: "For several years now, in Novi Pazar, you have a very interesting tendency - there are hundreds of civil society organizations that have a large support in religion..." said Fahrudin Kladničanin.



The influence of religious communities and clericalization on trade union organization and labor rights

Binasa Džigal, Polimlje Women's Association, Prijepolje:

The collapse of the socialist project, on the economic and political level, resulted in the rehabilitation of religious beliefs and the flourishing of religious organizations: "In the 1990s, when workers and communists and trade unions were scattered, all religious organizations occupied the entire space. The working class has disappeared, there are fights



for life. The religious communities took advantage of that and began to exert their influence on all people."

Women are the main target of attacks by religious organizations: "Their biggest targets are women, fundamentalists believe that they should no longer work outside the home, but rather give birth and depend on men." "Women are no longer workers, they do not have any labor rights, but they only have the obligation to give birth and can always be replaced by another woman," emphasized B. Džigal.

Staša Zajović, WiB, Belgrade presented some experiences from the WiB educational programs on the violation of women's labor rights in Serbia (2017/8), which indicate the impact of clericalization on trade union organization and women's labor rights:

Distrust in collective labor actions, total distrust in trade unions; the fatalistic conviction of female workers that nothing can be done: "It's such an atmosphere that women can't stand it, and they blame themselves." They think there is something wrong with them."

Nationalism, clericalization, and medicalization prevail among female workers: "It has been noted that the consumption of sedatives among female workers is huge. The workers think that this is the only way they can survive. The demands are too great and they stated 'we have to empower ourselves to endure it, either by going to church or taking medicine or seeking psychological support. It's only short-term' etc.



Milka Rosić – SMS dismissals, cotton goods factory Džinsi, Leskovac – NENA – group for peace and rights cited examples of 'slave exploitation of women': "The most recent case of violation of all possible rights is in the Turkish clothing factory. They let them go on collective vacation. When they returned, they read headlines in the newspaper that the factory was under blockade. They were later fired via text messages. They have three unpaid salaries, and six months of unpaid hot meals and travel expenses. Bankruptcy proceedings have been initiated. The state is to blame because it made it possible. Both poverty and fear block people. People are in chaos..."



Reader's circle – a small fair of engaged publishing houses

Dragan Stojković briefly introduced the publications **MOST ART YUGOSLAVIJA** - association for the culture of connection: 'This publishing house publishes authors from the territory of Yugoslavia, which 'no longer exists as a country, but there is a unique Yugoslav space and civilization that has not disappeared'. MOST ART publishes titles that other publishers dare not, and it is an extraordinary cultural and ethical endeavor. Stojković emphasized the importance of books about women, etc.

"The happiest man in the world" (95 min.) – by Macedonian director *Teona Strugar Mitevska*; screenwriters *Teona Strugar Mitevska* and *Elma Tataragić*; the film was produced in 2022, it talks about war traumas, an attempt to overcome the past. After the screening, there was talk about the wrong practices of reconciliation in project/donor arrangements - the exploitation of suffering and tragedy.

Friday, September 15th

Friday, September 15

On reconciliation – was the 'central' topic of this meeting, it consisted of several segments:

On reconciliation: concept, theories, abuses – presenter **Lino Veljak**, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, moderated by: **Marijana Stojčić**, WiB, Belgrade

At the beginning, *Veljak* referred to the *religious roots of the idea of reconciliation* in monotheistic religions. He cited the abuse of forgiveness and remorse by perpetrators of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia:

Biljana Plavšić, convicted of war crimes at the Hague Tribunal, expressed remorse for the evils committed against (primarily) Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina under her leadership or with her participation, and for that reason she was released early. Returning to the country, she explained that her remorse was not sincere at all, because everything she did was justified and everything the Serbian armed units did to Bosniaks was just, but she verbally repented in order to get out of prison.

Dario Kordić, convicted before the Hague Tribunal for the massacre in Ahmići, where HVO units carried out a terrible massacre of the civilian population of Bosniak nationality in the village of Ahmići in central Bosnia, today a student of theology in Zagreb, stated that he does not regret anything he did, and what he did was just and justified'.

Veljak went on to talk about '**concepts of post-conflict reconciliation**' – **about modern theories of reconciliation**:

The first refers to conflicts, wars, aggression of one state against another, ethnic cleansing, etc. It starts from the question of how societies that were in conflict can reach a stable government or the establishment of some stable order.



Žene u crnom, 1999 →



The second question on which a significant part of these modern theories is based is how it is possible for the victim (and not only the collective but also the individual victim) to reconcile with the perpetrator, how to forgive him and whether reconciliation is possible without forgiveness. Public recognition of the perpetrator is a basic assumption for any reconciliation. However, the criminal often declaratively confesses to the crime without true repentance. This is the already mentioned case of Biljana Plavšić.

And the third issue from which modern theories start is the adoption of positive feelings and attitudes, so first of all, the development of empathy and solidarity as a prerequisite for authentic reconciliation.

The fourth question concerns another assumption for reconciliation: whether the victims are given adequate compensation for their suffering.



Veljak points out that *“compensation to victims without the first three moments is quite problematic, because without a true change of attitude, not declarative and verbal, without a change of belief, without authentic empathy, authentic solidarity, in the end it is actually hypocritical, because it cannot be anything other than bribery”*.

He gave a specific example of bribery: *‘I cannot help but mention one recent bribery of this kind: you probably all know about the case of a large number of Bosniaks, refugees from BH, who were handed over by the Montenegrin police to the police or paramilitary formations of the RS (1992), and the largest part those extradited refugees of Bosniak nationality were killed by the army, police and paramilitary units of the RS. When the affair was revealed, the government of Montenegro gave certain material compensation to the surviving members of the families of the killed or extradited Bosniaks. They accepted that money, which was not too much, 50,000 marks is probably a lot, but it is questionable that one human life is worth 50,000 marks and whether it can be compensated with that money’*.

Veljak believes that there are alternatives: authentic acceptance of responsibility, collective responsibility and individual guilt:

Collective responsibility means that a nation, a state, an ethnic group, citizens of a state in whose name certain crimes were committed, authentically accept their own responsibility for what was committed, regardless of the fact that they were indifferent or that some even opposed it within the limits of their ability.

Guilt is always individual and institutional: nations are not to blame, but individuals are to blame and institutions are to blame. However, that community which, on the basis of accepting its own collective responsibility, does not also accept the guilt of specific people who are not only accountable but also guilty for crimes committed in the name of the community, is not capable of reconciliation and does not deserve forgiveness.

Forgiveness is deserved only by the community that will consider its criminals as freaks, so that even nationalist options will deprive them of their moral right to be members of that nation. Only such a nation is able to approach the process of reconciliation. So, if we want to talk about reconciliation, then we have to talk about changing mass consciousness (public opinion), and without that, it's all just empty talk and a waste of time, *concluded Veljak.*

Reconciliation from an activist perspective - a critical review

Crossing the boundaries around and within oneself - experiences outside the project framework in the 90s; reconciliation without responsibility - reconciliation from above - abuse of commemorations by politicians - regional and international; commercial arrangement of inter-ethnic reconciliation; initiatives and responsibility of civil society ('We should not be reconciled from above, but reconciliation must come from us'), etc.

Participants:

Manda Prišing, peace group 'Ravangrad', Sombor/Vojvodina

Memnuna Nuna Zvizdić, Sarajevo, member of the Regional Women's Lobby for Peace, Security and Justice in Southeast Europe

Nora Ahmetaj, human rights activist and feminist, Pristina/Kosovo

Suvada Selimović, association 'Anima' Đulići, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Fahrudin Kladničanin, Academic Initiative 'Forum 10', Novi Pazar

Nela Pamuković, Center for Women Victims of War, Zagreb

Moderated by: Staša Zajović

Peace activism at the beginning and during the nineties took place outside the project framework through: peace building initiatives from below; crossing borders; internationalist solidarity of peace groups - Manda Prišing and Nuna Zvizdić talked about this.

Manda, out of desperation due to the war, forced mobilization, state-cut telephone and all other connections between Serbia and Croatia, started taking actions, some of which we mention:

First meetings of friendship in Hungary - self-financed trips; the circle is slowly expanding: "It was in March 1992 and we agreed to meet in Baja, Hungary on the last Saturday of the month." At that time, going to Baja from Sombor was time-consuming and expensive, there was no gas, you had to pay the exit tax, and you had to wait a long time at the crossing to Hungary. So, on the last Saturday in August, we were in the column at 05:00, and we arrived at 16:00. That circle was getting bigger..'

Crossing 'enemy' borders - historic meeting in Osijek - Center for Peace and Nonviolence - the epicenter of peace activism in the entire region: "We traveled to Baja, then to Pécs, then from Harkanj to Osijek. We arrived there at 07:30. She asked me 'would you agree to come to our seminar?' I showed up at the Center for Peace and Nonviolence the next day. There were about forty of us. The whole room was filled with a certain heaviness and I said: 'Here I am from Serbia. I came to meet you, because I don't know what to do in such a terrible world.' These contacts helped us to start changing something: only after four hours of that workshop, 40 of them sang and hugged me goodbye. Absolutely everyone approached me, everyone hugged me, and whispered to me who they had in Serbia. (...) The next day I received some things that should be taken to them. Afterwards, I kept going to Osijek like crazy, in my own arrangement, with my own money".

*The Way is Peace, Peace is the Way - building peace through joint learning, visits, trust: "Contact with people from Germany was very important, because they came to Serbia, in March of the following year they were with us in Sombor. On March 21 (1992), the five-day seminar *The Way is Peace, Peace is the Way* began. Very soon after that, the *Meeting House* was organized in Mohács. We moved from Baja to Mohács".*

Then Manda reminded of the Coordination of Peace Organizations for East Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem. Of this (in)visible path of peace achievements (as of 1991) we mention only a few:

- "Several hundred thousand citizens participated in the activities; we organized several hundred seminars and workshops on non-violent communication, work on conflict transformation, restoration of trust between people, human rights and civil initiatives for more than 5,000 teachers, volunteers and others who work with people;

- They invested more than 100,000 volunteer working hours in cleaning up the ruins and rebuilding buildings, and delivered and distributed humanitarian aid and materials for reconstruction worth more than two million dollars;
- Various materials were printed (from newsletters to weekly and monthly magazines) in a total circulation of more than half a million copies;
- The number of transmitted messages and letters, as well as conversations and meetings with representatives of the authorities or the media, foreign and domestic organizations, as well as the number of human rights violations prevented is so great that it will never be known”.

Nonviolence and peace are not news in the dominant war-mongering media in Serbia and Croatia: “Peace organizations were discussed on radio and TV programs around the world and were the subject of more than 10,000 articles in newspapers all over the world.” During all that time, all the organizations (from the Coordination) were not shown together for more than a TOTAL of fifteen (15) minutes on all ‘our’ and ‘your’ televisions”.

At the end, Manda spoke about the *Youth Peace Camps from 1993 to Yu peace - youth for peace to this day...*

Memnuna Nuna spoke about women – builders of peace:

Women brought peace to communities that had not yet recovered from the ravages of war - our communities had not yet recovered from the ravages of war, and we were building peace:

“The tireless passion of us women for seeking human values in everyone who cared about life without violence and war, kept us all wakeful at every moment and in every place of the shared space in which we lived together...”

Live waters – domestic concept of peace building - denouncing war policies, establishing broken ties, healing, caring, compassion, sharing our experiences around the world; **Žive vode** was supported in solidarity by international friends, without intervention in the content of our work, with full confidence in our concept and practice: “We had a conceptual framework, *Women Build Peace*, and we called ourselves **Žive vode/ Live waters**. We tried to create a domestic concept of peace building that we would apply in all our communities and cultures. The support (American women) they gave us lasted for five years, we walked half the planet... Our conceptual framework was healing, in difficult days: from naming harmful war policies, truth and reconciliation, good theory and practice’, etc.

Nuna then looked critically at the perpetuation of war-mongering policy in the region and raised the question of the responsibility of the actors of the entire society: "What did we do that in the forty years that we worked non-stop, this collapsed somehow? What did we miss? What did we not pay attention to? For years, decades, we have been trying to open issues of guilt and accountability in our performances. What did we get as a result? We found that every nation welcomed its prisoners, criminals, perpetrators, whatever we call them, celebrated and represented them. So, no one accepts either collective accountability, nor individual guilt".

Without accepting responsibility and acknowledging the suffering of all; in these circumstances, justice and reconciliation seem unattainable: 'Justice is a key element of the reconciliation process. How will we get justice when we haven't confessed to each other what we've been through, what happened to us?

She raised the question of the responsibility of the international community: "Peace was imposed on Bosnia and Herzegovina (by the Dayton Agreement). We did not fight for it nor did we create it, but it was imposed on us."

In the end, she confronted us with challenges and 'tasks' in times of permanent wars and unrest: 'Conflicts around the world endanger everyday life. How can we live together in our differences, how can we strengthen dialogue and how can we dare advocate for more peace in a time that is so strongly marked by war? Serious and difficult tasks are ahead of us.'

Right at the beginning, **Nora Ahmetaj** expressed a clear critical attitude towards the practice of reconciliation:

The very word reconciliation irritates people - political elites have 'kidnapped' it for their own purposes; auto-victimization prevails ('here is the attitude that we are the only victims' and we will not move from that position'): "The word reconciliation is no longer mentioned, it does not exist as a word. It irritates people. Political elites are responsible for it. The prevailing attitude here is that we are the only victims, and we will not budge from that position. Kosovo is too small, so much so that everything is problematic".

*Civil society's responsibility for aversion to 'reconciliation': we have not deconstructed that notion ('reconciliation') that was imposed on us through the transitional justice industry (the so-called four pillars of TJ); instead, we should inherit documentation and build our models of justice: "I wonder what we from civil society have done when the word reconciliation must not be spoken?" In the Serbian and Albanian languages, we do not have an adequate word for the English translation of the word *reconciliation*. I often think whether we have deconstructed that notion. We obviously failed to work with the victims. We should leave documentation as our heritage".*



Political agendas of donors (imposing topics, priorities...) were perceived as coercion and in conflict with local political agendas and needs; it deters the notion and practice of reconciliation, especially young people, trapped in the nationalist narratives of their parents. Instead, it is necessary to develop different models of transitional justice 'from below': 'discuss in small groups without outside interference, examine the terrain, see where to go. We need a reconciliation that will contribute to the next generations in the fight against nationalism': "I work with young people, and when I talk to them, I see that they have a narrative that they believe in, and that's what they hear from their parents. Donors may be the reason why young people do not even want to hear the word reconciliation. What do donors do? Are they lobbying? For what? Are these activities really what we want or is it what they want? How to do it from below, let's start with those activities to see what we want. We need a reconciliation that will contribute to the next generations in the fight against nationalism".

At the beginning, Fahrudin Kladničanin recalled the long history of silenced, suppressed, forgotten crimes and repression against the Bosniak population in Sandžak by the Serbian regime during the nineties: mass repression of the Bosniak population by the police and the State Security Service of Serbia; ethnic cleansing of the Bosniak population, militarization of Sandžak, etc.

Fahrudin put donor policies in the field of transitional justice under a critical scrutiny, the so-called inter-ethnic reconciliation, support for the autocratic regime, project arrangements for reconciliation with young people...



Donor policies at the beginning of the 2000s reduce transitional justice to the criminal justice level (trials) and support such projects; starting from 2010, they change the 'course', and they impose agendas: from confronting the past, they support the so-called democratization programs, i.e. ethnicization of all problems' - promotion of ethnic cooperation'; in the struggle for survival, civil society loses its autonomy because 'in order for civil society organizations to survive locally, they

had to undergo their own change of program at one point': "in order for civil society organizations to survive locally, they had to at one point subjected to their own program change. For example, the Sandžak Committee is about to be closed, and where should the tens of thousands of documents collected by Semiha Kačar be deposited? She went to various local Bosniak politicians to ask for help, first of all to store that documentation. They are not interested in that".

Commercial arrangement of inter-ethnic reconciliation: ethno-nationalist leaders i.e., businessmen sold the suffering of 'their' people for the rich appanages that the regime showered them with ('these are pawns of the regime today who continue that policy'); donor policy of reconciliation undermines reconciliation, reduces it to cynical 'multicultural reconciliation'; the policy of not holding grudges (both to the regime and donors) of false apparent agreement prevents responsible critical reflection on the key issues of the past, present and future: "We are reconciled through multicultural reconciliation. We participated in a project with Albanians from Pristina, and with young people from Macedonia. The theme was reconciliation. Seven days in Dorjan/ Macedonia. We were dead tired, we'd done exercises, volleyball, football, etc. for seven days. Then some Germans came and told us that it was wonderful, no one quarreled there. We were exhausted..."

Erasing the crimes of the 1990s goes hand in hand with erasing resistance to crimes: "We are waiting for the biological death of female activists from the 1990s who were a thorn in the flesh of all authorities. The coming teams will never deal with reconciliation in this way again. Reconciliation requires truth and justice".

Donors, knowingly or unknowingly, create a 'laboratory team of young people' who support imposed agendas that deter them from reconciliation because at this stage the international community is almost not interested in democratization, but only in stabilocracy ('so that nothing is shaken') which supports the regime that 'lobotomizes the population', produces constant tensions in a sensitive environment such as Sandžak. In short, this is the 'end of the era of reconciliation' and the multi-cult discourse - these are the smokescreens that hide all the problems: "The international community has the wrong intention, they want to create a laboratory team of young people who will not care about reconciliation. When you're dealing with donors coming in, it's tragic. Last week there were some ambassadors in Pazar and they are not interested in this, they are only interested in stability. When we mention the regime, they immediately tell us 'You chose it'. Kosovo is close, Sandžak is a very sensitive area, everything breaks there. The policy of the security apparatus in Sandžak works in such a way that nothing "makes waves". That's reality TV politics. It was influenced by the policy of this regime, which is doing a lobotomy of the population. It is the end of the era of reconciliation of these people today. Today, they just want to hear multi-cults, and that's a smoke screen. It is very problematic".

At the beginning, **Suvada Selimović** briefly stated a few facts about crimes - ethnic cleansing, refugees, returning to occupied houses, fighting for survival, searching for the missing – women paid the highest price...

Then she spoke about organizing women: *creating a space for healing-psychological strengthening, economic empowerment, caring for the community, primarily about children ('to raise them without hatred'), following the trial in Belgrade, working together with the WiB, etc.*

Suvada succinctly stated her concept of reconciliation:

"For me, it's reconciliation and trust. For criminals, the process is different. They should first admit to the crime, to be held accountable for it. Then it is up to the victims how they will accept it. Material things can be easily forgiven. People were killed, children, 21 people were killed in my family. We should only distinguish between good and bad people."



Nela Pamuković immediately presented a criticism of the **'project newly-coined language** – advocacy, lobbying, reconciliation', and then explained the reasons for rejecting the concept *'Reconciliation may have been used in English, but never in our language. I don't see any sense in it, it's blurry, it reminds me of the church, of forgiveness. It has become a term that includes everything and anything: from democratization to establishing the facts, trials, all this is reconciliation, and even that when you go to each other's house...'*

Nela is in favor of abolishing the term reconciliation: *'I am in favor of abolishing the term reconciliation, our task is to find a language that suits us and that will be understandable for people, because this irritates everyone; we have to find something that touches us, that makes sense, and that opens up horizons...'*

During the discussion, comments were made that critically examine the notion and practice of reconciliation:

Binasa Džigal, Prijepolje emphasized that the ethnic leaders have

“reconciled” by joining the regime’s structures, they are not interested in human security nor are they concerned about the permanent militarization of Sandžak: “Bosniak leaders, Sandžak leaders have the support of the regime, they have an alliance with them – they reconciled and came into power. The municipality of Sjenica declared Vučić an honorary citizen. The training ground on Pešter was full of soldiers this summer to keep Sandžak under his paw’.



Manda Prišing warned that a militaristic approach to facts from the past - celebrating ‘military’ feats instead of successful peace achievements: ‘There is no mention of the extremely successful process of peaceful reintegration in January 1998 (Baranja, Western Srem and Eastern Slavonia integration into the legal system of Croatia, and after the Serbian occupation). Celebrating operation Storm...’

Vladimir Jojić, Leskovac believes that reconciliation had to be achieved by changing the regime (2000); reconciliation can be achieved through fieldwork with young people: ‘That should have been done after the change of government. I am very pessimistic that something positive will happen. The right is getting stronger on all sides’

The gender dimension of small arms control in South East Europe: the main problems and strategic response

Dragan Božanić, Advisor for Gender Equality and Research,

UNDP SEESAC

Moderated by:

Sanja Pavlović, Autonomous Women’s Center, Belgrade

Božanić presented the results of UNDP research in Southeast Europe:

- Over **97%** of all firearms are owned by men, and in some regions, such as Albania, that percentage is **99.9%**. Owning a gun is a very masculine thing; on the one hand, men dominate as gun

owners, and on the other in professions where there is access to firearms. This has direct implications for security, especially in the context of domestic violence and violence against women;

- Men committed incidents involving misuse of weapons by men - **98%**. Last year, we analyzed all incidents involving firearms, of which there were approximately **11,600** in the four years from 2019 to 2022;
- Men committed a huge percentage of murders with firearms - **98%**. They most often abuse weapons in a criminal context, public disputes and domestic violence. Men make up the majority of victims of misuse of firearms, especially murders, over **80%** of those killed are men;
- In the period from 2012 to 2016, of all the women who were killed in Southeast Europe, **67%** were killed in the context of domestic violence, 2/3 of women die in domestic violence.
- Of all women killed in the region, **38%** were killed by their partners. In the 1% of cases where women killed their partners, there was a decades-long history of violence. **40%** of all domestic violence murders are committed with firearms etc.

Božanić then pointed out the dangers of *toxic masculinity*: 'By that we mean the behavior of men where the emphasis is on dominance and in order to achieve dominance they use violence, including sexual violence. If the abuser has a gun, he has all the power and control. If a weapon is present, it reduces the likelihood that the violence will be reported at all. The chance of the woman running away is reduced. The key problem with the possession of firearms is that many more people are killed in domestic violence than in any other type of incident, *Božanić concluded*.

Decades of violence and accumulated traumas take their toll

(About the massacres committed in May 2023)

Speaker: **Dragan Popadić, professor of social psychology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade**; moderated by: *Staša Zajović*

The decades-long and transgenerational violence in Serbia escalated into massacres:

On May 3, 2023, in the Belgrade school 'Vladislav Ribnikar', a thirteen-year-old killed eight students and a school guard, and injured six children and a teacher; Another girl later succumbed to her injuries.

May 4, 2023 - a twenty-one-year-old man killed eight people and injured **14** in the vicinity of Mladenovac.

Popadić spoke about the escalation of decades of omnipresent violence in Serbia, but also about the citizens' response to violence:

Normalization and brutalization of violence - sanctification of citizenship through protests: 'Brutal violence went completely unnoticed as if we

were numb. The protests arose from a strong collective emotion. We can talk about how strong that emotion still is...'

Popadić believes that the biggest responsibility of the state for violence is:

The responsibility of the state as the main generator of violence: 'It was obvious to the citizens that the system did not function in the case of the two massacres, and not even immediately after. As for verbal violence, it was never greater from the authorities than after those events. There is no limit. It actually escalated.'

Popadić pointed to **society's responsibility** – lack of empathy, support in elections to perpetrators of violence; non-recognition of victims ('there are no other victims, one's own victims are the only ones'): 'How is it possible that the whole society finds itself so immersed in everyday violence, in various forms. It has been going on for more than twenty years. How is it possible that the perpetrators of violence are elected in elections by the citizens, how is it possible that they have a two-thirds majority?'

Popadić warned of the **extremely destructive consequences of not confronting the crimes** of the past:

'The perpetrators of the crimes of the nineties returned to power, they became politically and economically powerful: The same group of people who participated in the program that led to the war and nationalist politics, for which the war was a natural consequence, the same group was enabled to take over the state. The students of **Šešelj** and Milošević are now in power.'

Among the consequences, Popadić pointed out the **climate of impunity** for crimes at the level of the state and society, justifications of war policy perpetuate the climate of violence and make it difficult to create any alternative: 'Not only the current, but also the previous authorities, resented the fact that he lost the war and not that he started it. In this climate of crime tolerance, no one has the transformative power to say let's go in a different direction and unfortunately, society will remain anesthetized to the violence of its past.'

Then Popadić warned of **growing militarization**: *The regime is waging a low-intensity war - producing enemies, organizing a media lynching against dissidents; blind obedience of subjects - militaristic patriarchal structure ('a large family of the Serbian people headed by patriarchs both ecclesiastical and secular, alpha males'); vilification of the opposition; organized crime; the collapse of all institutions...*

The hate talk in the media always precedes physical violence: 'It works on that level of constant verbal violence that we are trapped by, which is a stepping stone to physical violence. I don't see a solution because they are constantly teaching us the language of hate,' Popadić emphasized.

Some of the comments after Popadić's presentation:

Vladimir Joić: 'In this country, the cultivation of militarism has been going on since the nineties. We live in a war without weapons. The percentage of suicides has increased in Serbia.'

Melania referred to the militarization of schools: 'In front of the school there are policemen with batons and guns. I am horrified.'

Ivan emphasized the continuity of demonization of all those who rebel, especially against the war: "Since the nineties, society has been turned upside down." People who took part in anti-war protests were called traitors.'

Ljilja R. emphasized the solidarity in the region with the victims of the massacre: 'It is very important that our neighbors in Bosnia and Herzegovina declared the Day of Mourning. We have never done anything like this with a strategy of denial.'

SERBIA AGAINST VIOLENCE - ABOUT PROTESTS - REPORTS FROM THE FIELD

Participants:

Vladimir Joić, NENA - group for peace and women's rights, Leskovac

Ivan Prišing, peace group "Ravangrad" Sombor

Nadežda Kostić, Peščanik, Kruševac

Aladin Paučinac, Free Citizens' Initiative, Novi Pazar

Gordana Perunović Fijat, journalist, Kikinda

Vladimir Jevtić, Women in Black Network, Bajina bašta

Branislav Markuš, Zrenjanin Social Forum, Zrenjanin

Melanija Aleksić, WiB, Beograd

Snežana Obrenović, WiB Network, Kraljevo

Moderated by: Ljiljana Spasić, Citizens' Action, Pančevo

WHY WERE THE PROTESTS IMPORTANT AND WHY DID WE PARTICIPATE IN THE PROTESTS?

Perennial intensified and ubiquitous violence, which culminated in mass murders on May 3 in Belgrade and May 4 in the vicinity of Mladenovac, in the villages of Dubona and Malo Orašje, is the main reason why citizens gathered at the civil protests "Serbia against violence" in ten observed cities during the past months.

According to the statements of the reporter, the participants of the protest, the main motives for participating in the protests are:

They considered it their moral obligation and their personal civic act to participate in these events.

- to express solidarity with the victims' families,
- to express distrust towards the competent institutions and
- to warn the public that such events are unacceptable.

They considered it their moral obligation and their personal civic act to participate in these events.

What do these protests have in common?

- protests spread throughout Serbia,
- participants everywhere supported the same demands,
- many citizens from the interior came to the protests in Belgrade,
- the participants of the protest agree that the tragedies that occurred showed the Serbian society the extent of the complete collapse of the state and education system, despite the statements of the highest state officials that "the system has not failed".
- reporters satisfied with the presence and active participation of young people at these events in the beginning, while it significantly decreased later,
- the different political attitudes of the gathered citizens were generally not an obstacle for joint participation in the protests,
- the protests had a similar scenario - they started with addresses from well-known fellow citizens or "ordinary people", later also guests from other areas, often from Belgrade, among whom were also representatives of opposition parties, and in some cities a walk would follow after the introductory speeches,
- Protests against violence in Serbia were reported by many regional media.

What are the main challenges and difficulties observed in organizing protests?

- Fewer and fewer people gathered, as time went on, in a peaceful protest, expressed their views,
- in some cities completely suspended: relatively low response due to depopulation and a large percentage of the old population,
- many people, especially those employed in the public sector or who are connected to state institutions in various ways, are afraid that their presence at such gatherings could threaten their jobs or economic existence,
- in smaller circles, proportionally more courage is needed to express a moral or political position, etc., in this way.

“This could have been our living room” – promotion of the poetry collection of Boban Stojanović (published by Rende, 2023), a poet, anti-war and LGBT activist living in Canada. Activists read selected parts of the book, then Boban called on zoom - the whole event was very moving...

September 16th

Saturday, September 16

Internationalist corner – International news (feminist-anti-militarist/anti-racist; transitional justice, anti-fascism...) – prepared by Staša Zajović, this report was distributed to participants.

The political situation in Germany – the growth of the right

Speaker: Stefan Milosavljević, political scientist, activist WiB Belgrade/Berlin; moderator: **Mirko Medenica**

Stefan summarized the issue as follows:

- Although the largest percentage of votes for the AFD (Alternative for Germany) comes from eastern Germany, the electorate of this party cannot be reduced to that criterion. The reason is that the AFD is gaining more and more supporters in West Germany as well.
- AFD has been gaining more and more support during the Covid19 pandemic when it profiled itself as a party of freedom - fighting against government measures and freedom of choice regarding vaccinations. The next phase of the rise is the start of the war in Ukraine and the increasing demands that Germany supply weapons. At that moment, the AFD advocated for negotiations and a diplomatic solution, but also rejecting the request to send weapons. During both phases (Covid19 and war) AFD initiated its own protests, but also joined the protests organized by citizens, which is an attempt to appropriate the protests.
- In the discourse in Germany, the debate about the responsibility of political actors for the rise of the AFD prevails. Divisions in the government, constant conflicts, inflation, the war in Ukraine, but also other factors influence the rise of this party. However, the opposition (CDU - CSU, but also Die Linke) and the government attribute responsibility to each other for the increasing support for the AFD.
- The rhetoric of the AFD is being normalized through the increasing adoption of their vocabulary by other ruling and non-ruling parties.

Agreements on activities in the following period

Evaluation: What did you gain from this meeting?

- **It is very significant and valuable that the topic of reconciliation was raised - a critical review of reconciliation at the academic and activist level:** 'We also tackled the topic of reconciliation, which is not discussed anywhere, but only appears; "The topic of reconciliation is very important because it became controversial in the political discourse years after the war. The activist angle is very important, but also the academic approach, which helps to understand the concept of reconciliation, etc.
- **An atmosphere of trust and emotional closeness - that we are together:** 'The only space where I can speak, and share is this space. To be honest, this is also therapeutic for me. Both participants and topics top notch'; "This is a really special place for me, I mean the people we are with." We are all so different, but we are used to it, because we are also different at home. When we who are different meet here, then we are alike. That is important to me. I'm fascinated by our inner connection,' etc.
- **Space for political debate and dialogue at the regional level; of joint learning on relevant issues - at the local, regional, international level:** 'As always, this is a space of political debate, and such spaces are rare. The government is an ideological mess and the right is making good use of it, and the left should be discussed in that way'; "It's great that there is an international aspect as well as a regional aspect so we can hear people from the region and the world," etc.

Among other topics discussed at the Network meeting, the following were highlighted:

- **Talk about the challenges on the left vs the rise of the right - answers (solidarity, anti-fascist/anti-war resistance, protests):** 'I would like to continue the story of the European left because it is very important for our context. The left has a great responsibility for the rise of the right'.
- **Getting to know the (in)visible history of anti-war resistance in the nineties, etc.**

Participation in the 'Serbia against violence' protest: activists from Croatia and Serbia went to the protest together in the evening...

(Integral report (40 pages) from the meeting of the Network in BCS languages is available on the WiB website)

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

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

October 5, 6 and 7th

Kanjža/Vojvodina, October 5, 6 and 7: "Multiculturalism – interculturalism: challenges..."

In this feminist roundtable discussion, twenty-two (22) activists took part, from the following places: Sombor, Subotica, Trešnjevac/Totovo selo, Segedin, Belgrade, Leskovac, Kruševac, Tuzla, Zrenjanin.

On the first day, the **lecture 'Segregational potential in multicultural communities in Serbia: state policy of closure'** was held by *Fahrudin Kladničanin, Academic Initiative "Forum 10", Novi Pazar.*

At the beginning, Kladničanin presented his work in the field: "There are a total of 26 minority communities living in Serbia, most of them in Vojvodina." For the last six years, we have worked a lot with minorities in central Serbia and in Vojvodina, and they are two different worlds: in Vojvodina, there is a tradition of coexistence going back hundreds of years. *The Hungarian national minority* in Vojvodina is the most organized, the most numerous in Serbia, and the most financially able to carry out and implement various projects and policies in Vojvodina.

Then Klandičanin spoke about the problems faced by minority communities in whole Serbia:

Closure/ghettoization instead of integration: "Each national minority in Serbia represents an isolated island of its own," stressed Kladničanin and explained this through the experiences of the Hungarian community in Vojvodina and the Albanian community in the south of Serbia: "minority politics, through state policy and legislation, closes itself within its space without trying for a single moment to integrate". Although the government of Hungary (through the Hungarian National Council) invests very large amounts of money in the Hungarian community in Vojvodina (mostly in education-preservation of the language and ethnic identity), Budapest, as the main financier and patron of its ethnic community, saw that the young members of the Hungarian national community do not know Serbian language and for the last three years the most scholarships are given to Hungarian children in Serbia to learn the Serbian language'. The situation is even more unfavorable in the case of the Albanian community in the south of Serbia, who speak the Serbian language very rarely or not at all - the state is not interested in that at all!

Segregation potential: the state formally fulfills everything the EU asks of it regarding national minorities (laws, etc.). However, the state leaves the actual fulfillment to the councils of national minorities "they were thrown a hot potato" to deal with education, to put pressure on parents, to carry out various campaigns in the field of education in the languages of the national minority, while the aspect

of education in the language of the social environment is completely neglected - to have classes in Bosnian, Serbian, Hungarian...

"Segregation potential is very present among members of national minorities, which is more pronounced in the south of Serbia among Albanians, among members of the Croatian and Hungarian national minorities, but also among others (Bulgarian, Romanian minorities, etc.)," emphasized Kladničanin. He also pointed to the problem of the "aggressive" policy of the mother country: "Bulgaria made it possible for all its Bulgarians living in Bosilegrad and Dimitrovgrad to get a Bulgarian passport in Sofia, a free education at the University of Sofia."

Through some kind of self-identification ("it's enough to say you're Bulgarian"), members of the Serbian people from the mentioned two cities go to Sofia, get a passport of the state of Bulgaria, a member of the EU, which is an EU passport, which enables travel to EU countries. It is definitely not less aggressive compared to what Hungary is doing towards its community in Vojvodina'.

The policy of segregation is carried out by the state in cooperation with the elites of national minorities: "There is a division within the Bulgarian political elite - some promote policies in favor of 'Mother Serbia' and 'Mother Bulgaria.'" This is especially happening since 2018, because there are silent policies of repression of the state that Bulgarians are afraid of, in the style of 'what good is education in Bulgarian, you are in Serbia', etc. This is done by the political leaders of the Bulgarian parties who implement it in the communities. It is connected with the politics of the local regime and with the leaders with whom our regime is in complicity. Similar divisions also occur with the Romanian national minority.

The policy of segregation (segregation potential) is most pronounced in the educational system of the Albanian minority in the Preševo Valley, but also in Vojvodina: 'In schools in Preševo, classes are conducted exclusively in the Albanian language. The language of the environment is not taught there regardless of the law. The Albanian elite in the national councils are allowed to do whatever they want. It's a state game. There are no official textbooks in that area, the state has allowed translated textbooks to enter via Kosovo and Albania. The National Council is given the option to include 30% of the content that is most often used in history textbooks. In terms of education, you have a closed Albanian national community'. This leads to division on an ethnic basis: in the 'multi-ethnic' Bujanovac, Serbian-language schools are attended exclusively by students of Serbian background, while all the students in Albanian-language schools are Albanians'.

Segregation spreads to all spheres of street life, cafes: 'This division based on ethnic principle is most pronounced in Bujanovac, there are Serbian and Albanian cafes, the same is seen in Vojvodina, where there are Hungarian cafes, where members of other ethnic communities do not go. In Novi Pazar, where 80% Bosniaks and 20% Serbs live, you have an ethnically divided city - the Serbian part, Serbian streets, Serbian cafes. And when you talk to political leaders, religious leaders,

it's all a 'don't rock the boat' agenda. That public opinion is directed and supported by the state apparatus.'

Employment policies in state institutions in Serbia (at the local level in the security services, prosecutor's office, judiciary...) are discriminatory towards members of national minorities: "Albanians, Bosniaks, Bulgarians alike, and where members of the Romanian community live, there, in the local state institutions, members of the Serbian people are established in the system of police, security, prosecutor's office, fire service. This is most pronounced in Preševo and Novi Pazar'.

Multiculturalism, which boils down to confinement in ethnic and religious identities (cultivation of national culture and customs, language...) nourishes and fuels the segregation potential: 'When I say this at gatherings attended by members of national minorities, I am confronted with defiance, because I am allegedly canceling the identity that is guaranteed by law, conventions' said Kladničanin.

Multiculturalism policies, especially those related to members of ethnic communities in Serbia, lead to the creation of isolated islands: 'Each of the 26 ethnic communities are 26 isolated islands that function, live in that space we call Serbia, through what is made possible by laws, political elites, international standards. Ethnic minorities are being shut down a lot...' Kladničanin warned.

Kladničanin advocates interculturalism and practices of so-called intercultural education that bring students together and connect them: 'The concept of intercultural education meets with resistance, because you, representatives of national minorities, believe that education in the language of the national minority is the highest level and the greatest possible phase of intercultural education. That is not true, because interculturalism implies interaction, communication of identity, cultures that live in one space'.

After this presentation, similar experiences of the state's fueling of segregation were shared:

Manda Prišing: I am from Bački Monoštor, Sombor. There are various villages, Šokáč, Hungarian, Croatian, German, Serbian. And then there was some kind of segregation. Nobody ever went from one village to another, nor did they get married until after the Second World War. Now the segregation is heating up from above and it is worse than the previous one. In Bački Monoštor, where the majority of Croats live, they introduced Croatian and Serbian languages into the schools, and there are hardly any children for one whole class, they divide them into two classes - one learns Croatian, the other learns Serbian. It's all for money, because the Republic of Croatia helps them. It's a terrible fueling of segregation. It comes from the state, it is from A. Vučić'.

The participants referred to ethnic segregation in the SFRY, which has worsened dramatically since the 1990s:

Staša: The anthem 'Hey Sloveni' contained the idea of segregation. There is no mention of minority peoples, there are no Albanians, nor Hungarians'. Now the situation is incomparably worse. This regime's

bizarre multiculturalism produces fear and confinement in ethnic identities...'

Violeta: 'Even in Tito's time, there were separate cafes in Priboj. They lived next to each other. I don't know five mixed marriages. There were terrible pressures from the families to break those ties. In the 1990s, Bosniaks in Priboj suffered ethnic cleansing: of the 30% of Bosniaks who lived there before the war, 90% left.

Vilmoš: 'National segregation in Vojvodina began in 1988. When Milošević gave a speech in Gazimestan, that's when they started expelling national minorities from the army, from the militia, from self-government, from local communities. Then came the war and the mobilization of Vojvodina minorities. Minorities were punished. There were also Serbs who said no to mobilization, but they were not prosecuted. The national composition of the population has changed. In Kanjiža, 20 militiamen act as Knin Krajišniks: 8 Serbs and 2 Hungarians. Should people be surprised why the national minority is imprisoned? They have an uneasy feeling towards the government, which settled the refugees in houses, evicted the locals. The Hungarian government, with tens of millions of euros, is helping not only Hungarians, but Vojvodina residents to stay in Vojvodina, not to flee to all corners of the world. They receive various scholarships, non-refundable loans for agriculture. Serbs from Vojvodina can also apply.'

Nastasja Radović pointed out the segregation in SFRY: 'In SFRY, we who spoke Serbo-Croatian, we didn't study Slovenian or Macedonian, and they studied Serbo-Croatian. There was also a segregation of peoples. Now young people are growing up in those closed ghettos and that's where those evil perspectives are created.'

Ramiz Berbić pointed to discrimination within the same ethnic-religious community who think differently: 'In BH, it led to endangering me within the same ethnic community. A Muslim who is not in a mosque is not a Muslim. That is the problem.'

My identities – during this workshop the following positions were expressed: plurality of identities; avoiding the hierarchy of identity, motherhood - politically engaged, outside blood kinship; condemnation of the stigmatization of the elderly, 'we are not a trash can', but our experience and knowledge are important to pass on, and almost no one declared themselves by ethnicity, etc. *This workshop was moderated by Staša Z.*

October 6th

October 6

European railways – coexistence in diversity - in this workshop - an imagined joint seven-day journey by train from Timisoara to Lisbon, the favorite potential companions were asylum seekers, refugees, pacifists, deserters, etc. which indicates a high level of activist awareness; among the unwanted companions were:

drunken fans, turbo-folk singers, former volunteers, newly converted believers, etc.

Greetings - getting to know others, with various cultural customs

- this dynamic exercise was moderated by: **Milka Rosić**, NENA - group for peace and women's rights, Leskovac.

Multiculturalism, interculturality, coexistence, tolerance and youth

- the research project was presented by **Mirana Dmitrović** citizen's association "Centre of Civic Values" Subotica - Magločistač portal, project manager and sociologist

Mirana pointed to a series of dangerous phenomena in the collaboration between the regime and the leaders of national minorities:

Ethnic ghettoization/isolationism - the mushrooming of the so-called native associations - 'Since the SNS came to power, we have had a flood of native associations, which organize the so-called Native days. The point of the story is that there is no civic orientation, urban culture, or community spirit anywhere. A new tendency is the so-called ethnic houses - Hungarian, Croatian house, and funds were also provided for the opening of the Bunjevac house.'

Strict ethnic key in educational institutions: 'The same principle started to be applied to schooling a few years ago. First, a special high school was opened for talented students in the Hungarian language, the same is true of the university institutions (Teachers' College), for elementary schools, for kindergartens only for persons of Hungarian nationality. The Croatian community intends to apply the same principle so that for the first time after decades of living together, our children will be completely separated from kindergarten to college.'

*Abolition of Yugoslav cultural manifestations and initiatives: from the nineties onwards, cultural manifestations of the Yugoslav and European level, which had existed continuously since 1945 (art meetings, Youth Festival, etc.), are no longer held in Subotica, there are women's initiatives (e.g., Klara and Rosa) who are resisting cultural provincialization, trying to 'recover the civic cosmopolitan spirit' but generally have no support for it, Mirana said. Famous personalities born in Subotica of Yugoslav, anti-nationalist orientation (philosopher Radomir Konstantinović and writer Danilo Kiš) are unknown to the youth. The *Danilo Kiš Foundation*, which organized important cultural events, "when the SNS came to power, they replaced people overnight with extremely high-quality cultural workers, appointed their own staff, so that today we have neither the space nor the time nor the opportunity to meet and do something together."*

Due to ethnic ghettoization, young people from various national communities are not in contact, and if they communicate, they do so in English: 'There were several inscriptions in the media that young people in Subotica communicate in English, and that is true.'

Mirana presented the research and explained the reasons for the lack of communication and dialogue:

- *young people lack a physical place where to gather*: there are more and more betting shops, at one time they gathered at the cemetery, where young people mostly get drunk;
- *there is no content, program, concerts for young people*: and that interests young people;
- *low budget allocations for youth*: we have repeatedly addressed the local self-government and drawn attention to the youth policy, for which 0.02% of the budget is allocated for youth;
- *the economic crisis encourages right-wing nationalist-racist indoctrination among young people*: the obscure right-winger Malagurski Boris is in charge; in the center of the city, a concert by Baja Mali Knindža, who celebrates Serbian war criminals, is being organized with funds for the culture of the city. There are also nationalists (movement of 64 counties that advocate for Greater Hungary). These are the contents that are offered to young people;
- *negative stereotypes and prejudices give rise to violence*: on the occasion of September 1 (2023) - Subotica City Day, all names in Hungarian were destroyed on all approaches to the city. Many believe that this was actually done by the movement of 64 counties in order to 'prove the thesis about the threat of the Hungarian national community'.
- *Bilingualism used to be normal in Subotica, but now it is an exception*: previously unimaginable incidents are happening - a woman of Hungarian nationality who speaks Serbian 'with a Hungarian accent' was attacked by a man saying that all this is getting on his nerves because 'this is Serbia'.

Mirana also referred to the very important cultural institutions in Subotica that operate autonomously: the Modern Gallery, the famous Deže Kostolanja Theater in Serbian and Hungarian, the Open University, the Palić Film Festival of European rank...

At the end, Mirana spoke about the drastic decrease in the number of inhabitants, as well as the changing demographic structure in Subotica:

- According to the last population census, there are 123,952 registered residents in Subotica - 20,000 less than the 2011 census;
- the only constant is the number of members of the Serbian national community - 38,000;
- There were 50,000 Hungarians in the previous census. Now there are 37,000;
- There were 14,000 Croats, now there are 10,000, etc.
- The decrease in the number of members of national minorities can also be explained by emigration to EU countries - Hungary and Croatia, etc.

“On Reconciliation from Above in the Arrangement of State Institutions of the State of Serbia and Hungary”

Discussion on the scope and limitations of reconciliation from above: on the example of Čurug, in 2013 - the joint condemnation (by the presidents of Hungary and Serbia) of crimes against victims of Serbian nationality (1942) and victims of Hungarian nationality (1944-45).

Keynote speakers: **Balla Lajos**, anti-war activist, Trešnjevac; **Almasi Vilmos**, anti-war activist, Trešnjevac, Szeged; *moderated by: Staša*

It was emphasized that “the political rapprochement of Serbia and Hungary had no impact on society” it is a salon reconciliation of leaders, not two peoples. Neither A. Vučić nor V. Orban are working to reconcile the people. It is about nationalist rhetoric and competition between the parties: SVM (Union of Vojvodina Hungarians) and SNS (Serbian Progressive Party) within the ruling coalition in Serbia’.

Then there was talk of the ‘1942 Raid - Ice Nights’ - a crime against civilians - Serbs and Jews, but also Roma and Ruthenians, committed by members of the armed forces of the Kingdom of Hungary (Honved under the leadership of M. Horti), during the Hungarian occupation, between 4 and January 29, 1942, 3,809 people were killed. The pogrom was the most massive in Novi Sad. After the liberation of Bačka in 1944, the German population was put into camps (with the few exceptions of Germans who collaborated with the NOP/People’s Liberation Army) and were eventually deported to Germany (as is the case in other countries of Eastern Europe). Hungarians remain in Bačka, but there are numerous cases of reprisals in all parts of Bačka (the most infamous is Čurug), some collaborators of Horti’s regime were sentenced to death in martial courts (among which there were innocent people, who were denounced for private revenge), and even higher numbers of Hungarians were liquidated without trial.

Laci and Vilmos spoke about the ‘traumas of the unburied past’: *‘The exact number of victims of those reprisals cannot be determined, but it is certainly several thousand killed, and for years among the Hungarians in Bačka there was silence about those events or they were talked about exclusively in the most closed family circles, whereby the children were excluded from those conversations and reminiscences’ etc.*

Let’s learn together against sexism, racism, nationalism, homophobia - a workshop on politically correct speech - moderated by *Margareta Basharagin*, Women’s Studies Novi Sad/Subotica.

Crossing borders – for a just peace – screening of documentaries by the Group for Video Activism of WiB:

- **Solidarity mothers for peace** (32 min.): about regional meetings of mutual support of women - victims of the most serious war crimes from Srebrenica, Vukovar (Croatia), Bela Reka, Belgrade (Serbia). This film contains testimonies of women who turned their tragedy and pain into a joint struggle for peace and justice. The film was made by the WiB video activism group

- **Stop racism against Roma in Serbia** (4:49 min.): about the anti-racist march in Novi Bečej on the occasion of March 21 - the International Day against Racism; WiB and the Roma Women's Network of Banat, on that occasion a performance was performed in the town square on March 23, 2011.
- **Stop racism against Albanian in Serbia** - March 21, 2021.

After dinner, a movie was shown:

Duga resa (62 min.), *directed by: Škart*, an artistic-activist group from Belgrade. Roles: Milica Savić - Mica and many others; production: *Faction - film revolutionary action*; production: 2021; at the international festival Free Zone (Belgrade, November 2021, this film won the first prize of the audience. The film shows how traditional women's handwork turns into a struggle for dignity, the imagination of women, how different human and artistic experiences intersect, social activism in the space of the former Yugoslavia...

After the screenings, followed a conversation with **Dragan Protić Prota**, Škart.

The participants expressed their enthusiasm for the films shown. "Duga resa" - represents Yugoslavia, the country I loved, with all its faults and beauties. Now I am desperate that my generation has fallen into the jaws of identity, I am horrified by being forced into the 'Serbian world' (Melania, Džana...), etc.

October 7th

October 7 – two workshops were held on the last day of the circle:

Coexistence in diversity - a fun and educational workshop on coexistence, diversity, tolerance moderated by *Violeta Đikanović*.

In search of treasure - exercise 'Pitalica/Quizlet' - moderated by *Ljiljana Radovanović*.

In the final session, the participants expressed their impressions: *'the program was very educational, but also fun'; 'it is important that the topics were related to the places where we worked, that we dealt with the traces and heritage of the past'; 'mutual support in the way of thinking (Margareta); 'precious in terms of information, I was most surprised by the situation in Subotica'; 'we learned about history from below - which was not written by the winners'; 'the burden of the past worried me a lot'; milder than usual, more on the level of feelings, but very disturbing' etc.*

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, wider areas of women's autonomy



and self-confidence. This meeting is a continuation of many years of cooperation, friendship, mutual support and mutual cooperation the work of "Anima" and WiB.

In this reporting period, were organized two cycles of workshops:



October 9 and 10 – 22th

October 9 and 10 – 22 women from the villages of Đulići, Klisa, Radova, Dubrava, Grbavci, Živinice, Šetići participated. Workshop leaders were: **Ljupka Kovačević, Ervina Dabižinović**, feminist therapists, activists of the Center for Women's and Peace Education - Anima, Kotor/Montenegro.

Feminist ethics of care - several workshops were held:

The war in the Middle East - everyone is shaken by the current events in Gaza. The feelings associated with that situation are powerlessness and horror at the merciless violence against civilians and children.



Associations with power - were varied: courage, strength, life, security, success, love, wealth, action, joy, will, understanding, respect for harmony, health, determination. When asked who has power, they believe that power lies with: politicians, directors, judges, the rich, leaders, thugs, and mostly it came down to "power over".

About the feelings of fear and sadness: bringing back memories of the war and especially the period of searching for the remains of family members, and many of them remembered the situation when they recognized their loved ones and that traumatic experience is still present.

About love - women once again faced enormous loneliness, although they all stepped out into social life and activism, what remained and continues is the patriarchal attachment to children, especially sons.

An evening at Enesa's house - a common gathering when women treat each other and socialize; the gathering took place in a wonderful atmosphere and closeness...

November 21 - 19th

November 21 - 19 women from 11 places participated: **Đulići**, Kučić kula, Sapna, Tojšići, Grbavci, **Šetići**, **Živinice**, Klisa, Kaldrani, Glumina, Belgrade...

In this twenty-ninth (29) cycle, the following workshops were held:

How did we spend the summer? And early fall?

Are we satisfied? – workshop

The responses of the participants showed the most important events during the summer and early fall:

Recreation, joint excursions organized by the association 'Anima' - the largest number of participants expressed great satisfaction and joy with joint travel, tourist visits (Novi Pazar, Turkey, the island of Brač/Croatia, etc.). *Activities in agriculture* - most of the women from these rural areas are dedicated to growing vegetables and fruits and they are all worried about the 'weak' harvest due to serious climate changes, etc. *Arrival/visits of children from abroad or going to visit children abroad* - satisfaction, joy, emotional support.

About the Dayton Peace Agreement - on November 21, 1995, an agreement was signed in Dayton/USA by the then presidents of BH (A. Izetbegović), Serbia (S. Milošević) and Croatia (F. Tuđman) and this agreement ended the war in BH (1992-1995).

Women believe that the most important effects of the Dayton Agreement are:

It stopped armed conflicts ('no more shells and fear of persecution'; 'so that people don't kill each other'; 'so that we have freedom of movement');

It made it possible to return home, but the state did almost nothing to help the return "we won it all ourselves"; "we rebuilt our houses ourselves";

Better communication at the ethnic level ('I am not afraid that, like in the war, I will be persecuted because I am a Muslim in the Republika Srpska'). However, most women are not satisfied with the level of trust between ethnic communities ('we live next to each other, not with each other ...').

The discussion showed that: **Negative peace was achieved with the Dayton Peace Agreement** - the absence of war, the cessation of armed conflicts, but that positive peace was not achieved as the absence of fear, hatred, misery, and injustice, and the participants expressed this as follows: The war has continued, it is being fought by different means and on a psychological level - they constantly create tensions in the media, threaten us with a new war and do all this in order to maintain power...

About the Middle East – the Israeli-Palestinian conflict - they all expressed their horror at the suffering of civilians, especially in Gaza, and they feel enormous fear of the outbreak of the Third World War. Since they are very little informed about the situation in the Middle East, a short lecture was held about the history of the conflict, about the tragedy of both peoples (Jewish and Palestinian) and the women are very worried about the lack of political will to end the war through negotiations, they express solidarity with all civilian victims, regardless of religion and nation.

The magic shop - a dynamic exercise in which the participants expressed their value system - traits and behaviors they would 'buy', i.e., those that mean and value the most to them: compassion, courage, concern for others ('so that we do not offend anyone and that no one offends us'); wisdom and calmness, self-confidence, acquiring knowledge...

Traits and behaviors that would 'sell' - rashness ('short fuse'; 'to learn to forgive'; 'to not have a bad memory'), etc. It is interesting that traits and behaviors that are gender conditioned (e.g., tolerance) women simultaneously want to reject and nurture because they are socially desirable, not because they want to. At the end, we talked about future joint activities.

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 have 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 Ukrainian refugees

– since the beginning of Russia’s aggression against Ukraine, in February 2022, WiB has established contacts with Ukrainian refugees, providing humanitarian aid and support in Belgrade as well as in Vranje:

Belgrade, October 28 - as part of a recreational activity - to help Ukrainian children organized by the humanitarian organization “Do Good” in the Grad cultural center, WiB activists participated with humanitarian contributions and support.

Vranje, December 18 - Solidarity visit to the reception center for refugees in Vranje; WiB Network activists (Milka Rosić from Leskovac and Svetlana Šarić from Vlasotince) visited the refugee center where **44** refugees from Ukraine are staying; humanitarian aid was distributed on this occasion.

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.

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

In this reporting period, three (**3**) hearings were held:

September 19 - at this hearing, the plaintiff **Milena Radulović**, the actress who was the first to file a criminal complaint against M. Aleksić, testified.

“From November 2012 to April 2013, the actions that are the subject

of the indictment took place." - said Milena: "I attended acting classes from the age of 11 to 18. When the minor Jefimija V. appeared, when she contacted me, I promised her that she would be the last girl who'd survived that. On January 16, 2021, I went to report all this to the police'.

The plaintiff then spoke about an episode from her personal experience.

"When it first happened to me, I was in shock, I didn't know what happened to me (...) I felt dirty. When I objected the first time, he slapped me several times in front of everyone. He beat me and the whole group saw it. Everyone clapped. I was afraid to leave the group, and I had suicidal thoughts. He hurt me like no one ever did. Those are the images that I remember, that are etched in my mind, that I cannot forget." The witness was questioned by the defendant's defense attorney Zoran Jakovljević, who humiliated and discredited the witness, and the judge did not react to all of this.

October 19 - the hearing of the injured witness **Milena Radulović** continued, who was interrogated by the defense attorney of the accused, lawyer Zoran Jakovljević, who continued to harass and humiliate the witness at this hearing, which was opposed by lawyer Borivoje Borović, who demanded that the farce be stopped. "This is wretched cowardice to avoid responsibility."

November 23 – the hearing of the injured party, Milena Radulović, continued, and she was continued to be questioned by the defendant's defense attorney, his client, and the defendant, his attorney, as well as the President of the Court Council.

Among other things, the injured party said the following to the accused: "I begged you not to do what you did, not to rape me, and you enjoyed watching me wither and destroy me." You threatened me that if I told anyone what was going on that you would manipulate them all and that no one would believe me. For a very long time I lived in self-denial of what you did to me. I was on medication for a long time. I was judging myself, not you. It was easier for me to maintain the appearance that everything was fine."

In the end, the injured party answered the judge's questions, saying among other things: 'I felt powerless. I thought that I had no option, that I was without a way out. I felt that I had suddenly aged, I felt dirty, disgusting, I was disgusted with myself, I was ashamed of myself. I felt like I was in a cage. I was expressing self-hatred. I was losing my identity, my will, while my dominant feeling was and is fear."

The hearing scheduled for *December 22* was canceled due to the defendant's illness.

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

The trial for setting fire on embassies in Belgrade

Repeated trial (due to a change in the composition of the Court Council) against four high-ranking police officials in connection with the attacks on the US, Croatian, German and Turkish embassies during the “Kosovo is Serbia” rally on February 21, 2008.

The defendants are: *Mladen Kuribak, Stevan Bijelić, Slobodan Vukolić and Bojan Marković* (for the criminal offense of causing general danger, Article 288-paragraph 2 of the Criminal Code of Serbia). The defendants also pleaded not guilty on this occasion, and Bjelić, complaining of his poor hearing, said that it was not true that he had the rank of general in February 2008, while Kuribak claimed that he did not understand what he was being charged with.

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS, LECTURES, DEBATES AT THE WOMEN IN BLACK PREMISES – “WEDNESDAYS AT WIB”

The practice of regular discussions, lectures and joint reflections on important social and political issues in the country and the world, continued in this reporting period, which included **14** lectures, debates, book presentations, film screenings, with the participation of more than **230** persons.

September 6th

September 6 – the first part of the roundtable discussion was dedicated to the screening of the working version of the documentary film *Women’s Court - the case of Foča* held on June 26, 2023, and on this occasion, we commented on the film, with certain suggestions. Then we talked about the summer vacation - **14** WiB activists.

September 13th

September 13 – Screening of the feature film **Beehive** (alb. *Zgjoi*), directed by **Blerta Basholi**. This film, shot in the Albanian language, shows the struggle for the economic survival of Albanian women, after the 1999 war and the withdrawal of Serbian security and paramilitary forces. The main character **Fahrije** (played by **Ilka Gaši**) was inspired by the life struggle of **Fahrije Hoti** from the village of Velika Kruša, whose husband disappeared in an attack by Serbian security and paramilitary forces. Fahrije Hoti was also a witness at the Women’s Court in Sarajevo in 2015. Fahrije, despite strong resistance from the patriarchal environment - which also considered it indecent for a woman to drive a car - organized a group of women from the village with whom she started a small business. The film received three awards at the Sundance Independent Film Festival, and was also Kosovo’s Oscar candidate for the best foreign film. After the screening of the film, those present expressed their admiration for Fahrija’s struggle, among other things they said: “With this film, director Basholi overcomes the nationalist discourse and the position of women as victims”; ‘women’s solidarity that Velika Kruša as a “widow village” manages to achieve’; “this film does not mention criminals. The film rises above hatred and revenge’ etc. **15** people attended this event.

September 20th



September 20 'My imaginary country' (Mi pais imaginario) - Chilean-French documentary film (2022) by Patricio Guzmán/Patricio Guzmán, a famous Chilean director. The film partly testifies to the period of the military junta, but primarily to the student and feminist rebellion, which grew into the most massive popular rebellion (2019), after which the left-wing candidate Gabriel Boric won the elections (2022), etc. Before the screening of the film, a short introduction **'Chile - then and now'** on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the assassination of S. Allende (September 11, 1973) by the military junta of Pinochet; on resistance during the dictatorship, on models of transitional justice in Chile - achievements and challenges (Staša Zajović); **15** people were present.



September 27th

September 27 "Argentina 1985" (2022) - Argentine film directed by **Santiago Mitra** about the trial of members of the military junta that led the military dictatorship (1976-1983) in Argentina. The film bears witness to one of the most important trials (1985) during the time of President Raul Alfonsín - the newly established democratic government (1983) in Argentina. Before the projection, a short introduction (Staša Zajović) *about models of transitional justice in Argentina* (Truth Commission, role of civil society, Mothers from the May Square (Madres de Plaza de Mayo), etc. **10** people were present.

October 4th



October 4 "What is the immediate future of Serbia?" (About protests and elections...)

The keynote speaker was **Aleksandar Olenik**, independent MP (Coalition "Together for Vojvodina") and lawyer. He spoke about the problems related to the organization of protests, which have long been declared as just protests by citizens affected by two tragedies of mass murders, at the beginning of May. Although the "technical" part of the opposition ("pro-European opposition") was behind the organization of the protests, it was considered that the representatives of the opposition should not speak at these protests. However, that has changed in recent weeks...



Regarding the reasons for participating in the protests, the participants said that it was 'liberation from fear, a fight to defend the meaning of what we do. We have no expectations from the opposition' etc. Then there was a discussion about the opposition's request to call elections, where opinions were very divided, etc. **19** people participated in this debate.

October 11 "Klitopismenjevanje" presentation of the book by author Lori Mintz (ed. 2023, Reconstruction Women's Fund /RŽF, Belgrade); presenters: **Galina Maksimović, Ana Imširović and Đurđa Trajković**. As the main motivation for the publication of the book **Klitopismenjevanje** (Why orgasmic equality is important and how to achieve it), psychologist **Galina Maksimović** cited the problem related to the absence of sex education classes in schools in Serbia. **12** people attended this event.

October 25 –Talk about Riots girls, a feminist punk movement.

WiB activist **Goran Lazin** spoke about the international **Riots girl's** movement, which combined punk and feminism as well as political engagement (along with showing recordings and short films). In the introduction, Lazin said that the **Riots girl's** movement originated in the USA in the 1990s, and then spread to over 20 countries... **Lazin** first presented the subcultural roots that preceded the contemporary appearance of Riots girls. He labeled the subculture as an "aesthetics of difference", most pronounced in art - especially in music. "Subculturists" are those, he said, whose appearance-external style and way of life deviate from the dominant-mainstream. Short video materials about this movement were also shown, in the presence of **12** people.

November 1 "Where do we go from here?" – joint reflection on protests, elections...

Moderator: **Nenad M. Kostić**, civil activist, chemist, retired university professor in the USA. Among the successes of the protest, those present stated that the most important was the "unification of the pro-European opposition in the Coalition of Serbia against violence". The most objections present were directed to that Coalition for not dealing with the issues of 'normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia, war crimes, genocide and similar topics on which not only is there no consensus within the aforementioned coalition, but it has brought into question an already insecure electorate, etc. **20** people were present at this debate.

November 4 – Conversation about the Kugla theater

with the subtitle: Where did the theater group KUGLA GLUMIŠTE stop, and where did it stay?). The event started with the showing of an insert about that theater group (a performance on Trg Republike in Belgrade), followed by a discussion moderated by **Dragan Protić Prota**, where the opening speech was given by **Lino Veljak**. Kugla glumište was a theater group from Zagreb that operated in the 70s and 80s of the last century. It was founded by Zagreb students (mostly from the Faculty of Philosophy) at the beginning of the





turbulent 1970s, gathering in the Student Center, where alternative and avant-garde art, including theater, flourished since the 1960s. The essential characteristics of Kugla's activities were: spatial exploration, carnivalization, evoking medieval theater, addressing social problems, and (most importantly) all performances were jointly designed. **Ana Jovanović Zorica**, Zagreb, spoke about the current activities of Kugla Glumište; **18** people attended the event.

November 9 – two events were organized at this roundtable:

First part: "Neighbors who are absent" (20 min.) – A record of the cemetery, the Čifut bridge and neighbors who are absent - screening of a documentary film (2016) produced by the Adadem initiative Forum 10, Novi Pazar; the presenters were: **Fahrudin Kladničanin and Aleksandar Kraus**.

This documentary film revealed to those present what most did not know - that there was a Jewish-Sephardic community of about thirty families in Novi Pazar. The first records of the Sephardi in Novi Pazar, as claimed in the film, date from the 18th century, and they disappeared, like the majority of Jews in Serbia and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, during the Second World War and the Holocaust... There are remnants of Jewish material culture today. The Jewish cemetery in N. Pazar, which was devastated by the Germans. This film was part of the campaign of the NGO Forum 10, for the restoration and arrangement of the Jewish cemetery in N. Pazar and reminding citizens of "neighbors who are no longer there". Forum 10, with the help of the city administration and the mayor, as well as the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, restored the Jewish cemetery. On the occasion of the World Day of Peace (September 21, 2023), a Public Lecture was held at the site of the now restored Jewish cemetery, which was attended by the project authors, historians, local officials and guests, as well as the ambassador of Germany, as well as a large group of high school students from Novi Pazar, stressed *Kladničanin and Kraus*.

Second part: About the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (discussion)
 moderated by *Staša Zajović*.

"The conflict in the Middle East is too complex, burdened with persecutions, traumas, crimes. It is important that we bring to light our (dis)agreements and disputes at various levels, and we all share concerns about the war, but also because the entire public, and also our scene (leftist and peaceful) is very divided. This latest Israeli-Palestinian conflict has caused extreme polarization, a very high degree of one-sided alignment,'Staša emphasized in her introduction.

Here are some of the views:

'Israel's right to self-defense looks like revenge and not justice, and crimes against Palestinian civilians are "collective punishment of the Palestinian people": 'the state of Israel has established a hierarchy of power in which Israel is privileged over the Palestinians. It is an apartheid situation like in South Africa';



The division on the basis of "either-or" is unacceptable : "on the one hand, in our milieu" - "a great charge of anti-Semitic discourse" and on the other, Islamophobia is growing;"In Europe, anti-Semitism is often masked by anti-Semitism";



In Europe, there is a guilt complex due to the Holocaust, and European countries therefore support Israel: "It's hard for me to be determined"; "it is not good that some representatives of the EU a priori sided with Israel", but it is positive that others are insisting on the suffering of civilians on both sides";

Hamas and Netanyahu are two sides of the same "coin": 'extremism on both sides is a great danger to achieving a peace solution'; "If we talk about Hamas, we should also talk about the Israeli army. If we talk about the suffering in Gaza, we should also talk about the hostages held by Hamas';

Instead of an alignment policy, the majority of those present are in favor of:

The end of warfare, the end of the occupation of Gaza - solidarity with Israeli and Palestinian civilians, solidarity for the Israeli-Palestinian organizations that have been working together for decades to build peace: 'It is important to sympathize with the Palestinian victims exposed to collective retaliation by the Israeli army and with the victims of terrorist attacks by Hamas on the kibbutz and elsewhere in Israel'; "the release of Palestinian prisoners in Israel and the release of hostages". 19 people participated in these events.

November 15th

November 15 " We cannot be healed by the past " – Prescribed memory - the dangers of standardization in the name of human rights - discussion about the book author **Lea David**, sociologist and researcher, published by the Humanitarian Law Fund (2021). During the debate on this book, the following were highlighted:

Positive aspects - the author refers to the abuse of the idea of human rights; warns of the danger of being locked into ethnic identities, but the problem is that the author understands ethnic identity in the same way as those she wants to criticize; she insists on the responsibility of the international community, which ethnicizes the

victims and creates a hierarchy among them, and the nationalist leaders do the same; the author's excellent definition of the donor policy of professionalizing young activists through the so-called "project-arranged youth meetings" etc.

Negative aspects - reductionist understanding of the meaning of dealing with the past, as well as the setting of standards related to that topic that would have to be applied mechanistically; reduce the reductionist understanding of human rights boiled down to identity issues, and human rights understood in this way are "Western and imperialist"; not universal; the approach to the Yugoslav wars is wrong, because she sees them as almost 'inevitable' due to the ancient histories of the conflict and the nationalist past before the war - it is obvious that the author does not know the Yugoslav context, etc. The discussion was attended by **17** people.

November 22th

November 22 "How do Serbs in Kosovo see the realization of their rights and interests?" – lecture by Stefan Surlić, Faculty of Political Sciences/FPN. FPN's research on the attitudes of Serbs in Kosovo was presented together with the organization *KASA* from the north of Kosovo. The framework of this research was attitudes about the national interest, and the conclusions were reached based on the attitudes of citizens on the relevant sample, based on interviews (academic community, NGOs...) and comparison of the responses of Serbs from the North and those from the South.

Here are the most important findings:

- On issues of dialogue and finding a compromise with Pristina or the status quo, as well as cooperation with the EU and the USA, Serbs from the South showed a significantly "harder" attitude than those from the North;
- about **33%** of Serbs in Kosovo are in favor of the status quo in which Serbia does not recognize Kosovo's independence (without CSM and without Serbia and Kosovo in the EU)
- (**90.30%**) of Serbs in Kosovo believe that Serbia must not enter the EU without Kosovo;
- **91.60%** of Serbs from the south of Kosovo believe that the participation of Serbs in Kosovo institutions is in the interest of Kosovo Serbs, and only **8.4%** in the North;

As for the policy of the current government in Serbia, about **42%** of Serbs in Kosovo believe that the policy of Kosovo Serbs is 'correct', whereas **84%** of Kosovo Serbs rated the attitude of the Government of Kosovo as 'wrong'. The keynote speaker also spoke about the devastating demographic data when it comes to Serbs in Kosovo. There was also talk of an attack (September 24, 2023) in the village of Banjska/northern Kosovo, when members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the State of Kosovo, according to the instructions of the regime in Belgrade, killed one policeman, while another was wounded. There is a well-founded suspicion that they carried out a terrorist attack led by the vice-president of the Serbian List, the



so-called defender of Serbia in Kosovo, hardened criminal Milan Radoičić. After the events in Banjska/Kosovo, around five thousand Serbs moved out, and many moved their children to schools in Serbia. "If the trend of population reduction continues, in ten years, we will no longer have this story." **19** people were present.

November 29 "Republic Day – Our Day" - thirty (30) people from Belgrade were present, as well as guests from Osijek/Croatia and Skopje, Macedonia

Women in Black, in cooperation with anti-fascist activists and cultural workers, organized a friendly evening and event on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of AVNOJ on Republic Day. The event will be held on November 29, 2023 in the premises of Women in Black. This event is organized because: we celebrate and respect the anti-fascist heritage from the NLS/National Liberation Struggle, we celebrate the life of Yugoslavia, we value the experience of its cultural creativity and coexistence, etc.

On the occasion of this historic date, the following activities were organized:

Snežana Tabački Barči, WiB activist, spoke about the **Second Session of the AVNOJ/Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia** (November 28 and 29, 1943).

JAMA - promotion of the phototype edition of **Ivan Goran Kovačić's** poem, **MOST ART YUGOSLAVIJA** - Association for the Culture of Connection, Zemun, 2023. The poem was printed for the first time in a partisan printing house in the free territory in December 1944 with graphics by Edo Murtić and Zlatko Prica. This year marks 80 years since I.G. Kovačić (July 1943) was killed by Chetniks; **Dragan Stojković**, the publisher, spoke about the book.

We celebrate the anti-fascist struggle - partisan songs in a new arrangement - the festive performance was led by: **Dragan Protić Prota, Violeta Đikanović, Sabina Talović.**

This event was attended by thirty-odd (30) people from Belgrade, as well as guests from Osijek/Croatia and Skopje, Macedonia.

December 20 – Talk about the elections, the post-election crisis after the rigging of the elections (December 17). Ten (10) female activists participated, after which they participated together in protests due to election fraud.

(The integral report on discussion circles/Wednesdays at WiB can be found on the WiB website)

PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES

In this reporting period, we published the following publications:

Women's Peace Agenda 2024

Women's Peace Agenda 2024 – refers to the Women's Court - a feminist approach to justice - the case of Foča, held in Belgrade on June 26, 2023, organized by Women in Black and the Autonomous Women's Center from Belgrade. The agenda is dedicated to the war crime of rape in the area of Foča, because during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), Foča was a place of systematic sexual violence. The Agenda provides a short 'list' of crimes in Foča committed by Serbian armed formations: *The Agenda* also provides a 'list' of verdicts at the Hague Tribunal, as well as in the courts of Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding rape during the war in the area of Foča. The photos show the street actions of Women in Black and related organizations in connection with the war crime of rape, primarily in Foča, but also in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *The Women's Peace Agenda 2024* is dedicated to the victims of rape in the war in the area of Foča, as well as in the area of the former Yugoslavia and throughout the world, with the deepest respect for their fight against impunity. *Agenda 2024* has 160 pages; edited by: Staša Zajović, collaborator: Miloš Urošević, design and technical arrangement: Studio Čavka, photos by Marija Janković and Srdjan Veljović.

Peace calendar 2024 – photos from WiB street actions in 2022 were taken by: *Srdan Veljović* and *Marija Janković*; the calendar has **26** pages; the layout and design were done by Studio Čavka.

Give Peace a chance!/Dajmo šansu miru – 'reader' (In Serbian language) about israeli-palestinian conflict – reflections, controversies, pacifist and ethics dilemmas... Selected essays, testimonies, statements; this reader has 53 pages; prepared by: *Staša Zajović*.

CAMPAIGNS, APPEALS

In addition to the above initiatives in this reporting period, we have also initiated or actively participated in numerous campaigns, first of all in relation to requests for dealing with the past - responsibility for war crimes, violence against women, against repression of political opponents; in relation with the refugees, etc.

We highlight some of the announcements:

Stop attacks on Albanians in Serbia! – in the announcement of October 3rd, Women in Black, Belgrade, NENA - group for peace and women's rights, Academic Initiative 'Forum 10', Novi Pazar strongly condemn the attack on the Albanian Muharemi family in Medveđa, which was committed on September 30, 2023. 'The attack on the Muharemi family is a continuation of continuous institutional chauvinist policies and the opening of the hunting season for citizens of Albanian nationality living in the Preševo Valley. We ask the official institutions of the State of Serbia to urgently prosecute all those responsible for this attack.

Reveal the soldier killers! – in the announcement on the occasion of the nineteenth anniversary of the murder of a guard in Topčider (October 5, 2004 - October 5, 2023), WiB reminds that two soldiers-

members of the Guards Brigade, **Dražen Milovanović and Dragan Jakovljević**, were killed while on guard duty on October 5, 2004, in the area of the Topčider barracks in the immediate vicinity of the "Karaš" military facility. Even today, 19 years after the crime, the state has not publicly acknowledged even the possibility that the soldiers had seen before their death the then most wanted fugitive from The Hague, Ratko Mladić, a convicted war criminal, (June 8, 2021). On this occasion we demand that the top of the state (primarily from the ministries of police, defense and justice): Immediately stop the obstruction of the investigation into the murder of Dragan Jakovljević and Dražen Milovanović; announce the real truth about the murder of the soldiers, as well as about the hiding of Ratko Mladić in the facilities of the Serbian Army. This is the only way for Serbia to move away from the war past and the crimes committed in its name; that the competent institutions sanction all the commanders and perpetrators of crimes in Topčider and that justice be provided for the victims' families!'

Stop the persecution of Aida Ćorović! – Non-governmental organizations (Women in Black, Sandžak Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, Novi Pazar, Urban In, Novi Pazar, Cultural Center "Damad", Novi Pazar, Academic Initiative "Forum 10", Novi Pazar, Impuls, Tutin) in the announcement of 4 October 2023, strongly condemned the verdict of the Misdemeanor Court in Belgrade, by which the activist Aida Ćorović has been sanctioned to pay a fine of 100,000 dinars because on November 09, 2021 she threw eggs at the mural of convicted war criminal Ratko Mladić, which is located on a residential building at the corner of Njegoševa and Aleksa Nenadović streets in Belgrade. "The state continues to persecute all those who stand for the respect of judicially established facts, against the relativization of crimes, for breaking away with state-organized crimes, etc. Citizens who think differently in relation to the ruling regime are constantly qualified as traitors, foreign mercenaries and the biggest enemies of the state, and their activities are criminalized', according to the *press release dated October 4 of the mentioned NGOs.*

We remember the crime in Lovas – in the *statement on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the crime (October 18, 1991 - October 18, 2023)*, Women in Black - Belgrade recalled the crime committed in the village of Lovas against Croatian civilians on October 18, 1991: 'From 10 to 18 In October 1991, members of the aggressor YNA, with the help of members of the Territorial Defense, local civil-military authorities, paramilitary units "Dušan Silni" and "White Eagles" committed war crimes in Lovas in which **70** Croatian civilians were killed. The trial for the crimes in Lovas began on April 17, 2008. **194** witnesses were heard; in the first-instance verdict handed down on June 26, 2012, the accused were sentenced to between 20 and 4 years in prison'. *The court proceedings for the war crime in Lovas lasted for 11 years, which caused deep indignation, especially among the families of the victims, but also among part of the public in Serbia, who advocate for the punishment of crimes and the dignity of the*

victims of crimes committed in our name,' according to the press release dated October 17.

Sjeverin – 31 years since the kidnapping and murder of 17 Serbian citizens – on the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the kidnapping and murder of 17 Serbian citizens of Bosniak nationality from the town of Sjeverin near Priboj, the Humanitarian Law Fund, Women in Black, the Sandžak Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Serbia remind of the victims of this crime, stress that the multi-year search of the families for the remains of the victims is still not over and demand that the institutions of Serbia end the continuity of discrimination, violations of rights and denial of support to their families, it was stated in the press release on October 17. NGOs: Humanitarian Law Fund, Women in Black, Sandžak Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights.

Announcement of non-governmental organizations regarding the new book of convicted war criminal Vojislav Šešelj

The president of the Serbian Radical Party and convicted war criminal Vojislav Šešelj accused non-governmental organizations (Women in Black, Humanitarian Law Fund, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights), as well as activist and journalist Bojan Tončić, a permanent associate of more domestic and regional media. Šešelj's book, entitled "Marginal traitor Bojan Tončić", which was published last week (published by Greater Serbia, the Serbian Radical Party and the Committee for the Protection of Vojislav Šešelj, 1,016 pages) is full of brutal insults of journalists, while the activities of non-governmental organizations are especially evaluated as treacherous and mercenary. In the comments of Tončić's texts, published from 2011 to 2023, it is stated, among other things, in the press release (October 18) of the aforementioned NGOs.

Condemnation of the attack on Haver! "We strongly condemn the attack that took place on the premises of the Jewish organization Haver (Nov.7). On the door, in the corridor and the entrance, the graffiti "Haver get out of Serbia", "Israel kills children", "Freedom for Palestine" and "Down with Zionism - down with anti-Semitism" were written. We ask the competent institutions of the State of Serbia to identify the attackers of the premises of the Haver organization and to process them in accordance with the law,' it is stated in the announcement of November 9. of the following NGOs (Women in Black, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Alliance of Anti-Fascists of Serbia, Academic Initiative Forum 10, Novi Pazar). "We are particularly concerned about the fact that the number of attacks motivated by anti-Semitism and Islamophobia has increased since the Israeli-Palestinian conflict began. It is a trend both at the global and local level. During this year, there were a couple of anti-Semitic attacks in Serbia that were not sanctioned. The attack of the Israeli armed forces on the occupied Palestinian territory of the Gaza

Strip in retaliation for the attack of the terrorist organization Hamas on Israel must not be a reason for attacks on both Jews and Muslims. And on this occasion, we demand both the release of Israeli hostages and Palestinian political prisoners, as well as the withdrawal of the Israeli army from the occupied Palestinian territories, where women and children suffer the most as part of collective punishment,' *the announcement states.*

Statement regarding the refusal of entry into the country to Russian anti-war activist Ilya Zernov

– Non-governmental organizations strongly condemn the illegal refusal of entry into the country to Russian citizen and human rights activist Ilya Zernov, by members of the Border Police Administration at Nikola Tesla Airport. Zernov arrived in Belgrade on November 5, 2023. at the invitation of the Third Basic Public Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade, in order to give a statement regarding the attack carried out on him by several persons from right-wing organizations, in which Zernov suffered multiple bodily injuries. Zernov stayed in Serbia from the beginning of the Russian aggression against Ukraine until April 2023, when he received a humanitarian visa from Germany, with which this country recognized Zernov as a fugitive and persecuted person. "The case of Ilya Zernov is just one in a series of worrying trends of preventing the entry or canceling the stay of Russian citizens, based on the alleged existence of a "security risk" for the Republic of Serbia. What connects all these cases is that they are about people who publicly expressed their position against Russian aggression against Ukraine. Ilya Zernov in no way represents a security risk, nor would his stay endanger the Republic of Serbia. We demand that the competent authorities conduct an investigation into this case, that those responsible be prosecuted, that the illegal decision be revoked, as well as that Ilya Zernov be sent an official apology by the Republic of Serbia", reads the statement of November 6. *NGO Women in Black, Yucom - Committee of Human Rights Lawyers, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Alliance of Anti-Fascists of Serbia, Nena - group for peace and women's rights, Leskovac, SOS phone for women and children, victims of violence, Vlasotinac, Civic Action, Pančevo, Academic initiative "Forum 10", Novi Pazar, Peščanik Women's Association, Kruševac).*

We will never forget the crimes in Vukovar! – in a statement on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the crimes in Vukovar (Nov.18, 1991-Nov. 18, 2023) WiB reiterated the request to the competent institutions of the State of Serbia to:

- establish the responsibility of the leadership of former Yugoslav Popular Army for the armed attack on Croatia and to initiate legal proceedings for the crime of urbicide in Vukovar;
- establish the full truth about the missing by opening the archives of the Serbian Armed Forces and discovering the graves of Croatian victims in Serbia;
- initiate court proceedings for the establishment of camps and

for the killing and torture of Croatian civilians and soldiers in camps in Stajićevo, Begejci, Sremska Mitrovica, Aleksinac, Niš and Belgrade;

- acknowledge the request of Women in Black and the Art Clinic, signed by more than 30 civil society organizations, to erect memorial plaques at camps in Stajićevo and Begejci and to support other forms of symbolic reparations to victims and their families;
- initiate a legal ban on glorification and rehabilitation of war crimes convicts committed in Vukovar and all other places" (WiB statement November, 17).

For a life without violence and war – on the occasion of November 25 - the International Day against Violence against Women, Women in Black, Belgrade, Women in Black from Italy and Spain, as well as 'Anima' from Kotor expressed solidarity with all women living in the zones conflicts:

- to the women of Gaza who live through the hell of war, give birth on the street, among the ruins, while the entire society is being destroyed,
- Israeli women who are destroyed by the violence of Hamas,
- to women in Israel and Palestine who, even now, in the midst of war and violence, are building relations of peace and coexistence,
- to women in Ukraine and Russia who fight against war, oppose the forced mobilization of men and support conscientious objectors, draft evaders and deserters,
- women in Afghanistan, excluded from social life, who oppose the Taliban regime,
- to the girls and women in Iran who fight against the fundamentalist regime and shout "Woman, life, freedom" in the streets,
- refugees and migrant women who reject the logic of borders - in the fight for freedom of movement and a better life,
- to women who, in countries after wars, war crimes, rape, genocide, are fighting for justice, aware that "forgetting a crime is a crime", etc.

Let's stop the killing of women! – in a statement on the occasion of December 6 - the International Day Against Femicide (Autonomous Women's Center, Women in Black and Dah Theater from Belgrade, with the support of the women's association Anima from Đulići/ BH) warned that **28 women** - victims of femicide were killed in 2023 in Serbia. Data confirm again and again that women in Serbia are killed by their current and former spouses and partners (in 20 cases), sons (2), stepfather and stepson, with whom they lived in the same household (in 17 cases). The murders of two young women

took place within a short period of time after they left their violent partners, which is why we *remind you again and again that the most dangerous moment for a woman to be killed is when she communicates her decision to a violent partner that she is going to leave or report him, i.e., after has left.* Circumstances in which in 2023 **25 women, two girls and one trans girl** were killed, and that in only four cases it can be said with certainty that the violence was previously reported, indicate that *women in Serbia have lost confidence that the institutions will protect them,* the statement reads.

Announcement regarding the banning of the LGBT movement in Russia – On November 30, 2023, the Supreme Court of Russia designated the LGBT movement as an ‘extremist organization’ and banned its activities on the territory of Russia. “The authorities in Russia have a long history of persecuting LGBT people and everyone who is different. And on this occasion, we express our indignation towards this procedure of the Russian authorities; sympathy for all those persons who have already been and will be the target of persecution, as well as requests to the authorities in Serbia to stop supporting the regime in Russia and distance themselves from such persecutions’ is stated in the press release (December 12, 2023) Women in Black, Belgrade Pride, LABRIS - Organization for lesbian human rights, GETEN - Center for the rights of LGBTIQ persons and “IZAĐI” Group.

Initiative for naming a street in Belgrade after Dejan Nebrigić – December 29th, 2023, 24 years have passed since the death of Dejan Nebrigić (1970-1999), gay activists, pacifists and antifascists. Dejan was killed in 1999. As a declared anti-fascist, anti-nationalist and antimilitarist, he refused military obligation, and was publicly reprovved for being a homosexual, which at the time was treated as a disease for which he was permanently released from military duties. In early 1992, he joined Women in Black, and gave a very significant contribution to the anti-militarist and feminist engagement of Women in Black. He participated in launching the Network of Conscientious Objectors. We demand that “one of many streets in Belgrade be named after Dejan Nebrigić, one of the first fighters for human rights of LGBT people, feminists, antifascists and antimilitarists”. The relevant institutions have not yet answered this many-year request.

*Report prepared by: Staša Zajović; in cooperation with:
Fahrudin Kladničanin, Ljiljana Spasić, Ljupka Kovačević,
Miloš Urošević, Nastasja Radović, Nataša Milanović,
Stanislava Lazarević, Stefan Milosavljević, Zinaida Marjanović.*

February 2024