



Report

**May, June, July
and August
2025**

As before, we bring you 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 website www.zeneucrnom.org or contact us by e-mail at: office@zeneucrnom.org

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Report

Street actions

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

and we also actively participated in other street actions (student's and civic protests):

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

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

May 24th Kruševac

May 24th, Kruševac “We Remember the Brave Resistance of Women!” – Women's organization “Peščanik” from Kruševac and Women in Black, Belgrade marked the anniversary of the May women's protest against forced mobilization in (May 24, 1999) By this peace action, organized on the occasion of May 24th – International Day of Women's Action for Peace and Disarmament, activists recalled the courageous resistance of women to mobilization and war in Kosovo. Once again, on this occasion, a request was sent to *the state of Serbia and the local administration in the Rasina District to declare May 24 as the Day of Remembrance of the May protests and brave resistance of the citizens of Kruševac and the Rasina District.*

In this vigil was displayed during We Remember and peace symbol made by white roses; in this action participated **12** women from Kruševac as well as from Belgrade.



Belgrade, June 19th

Belgrade, June 19th "We remember war raped women!" –

On the occasion of June 19 – International Day of Struggle against Sexual Violence in War, Women in Black, the Autonomous Women's Center and Youth Initiative for Human Rights organized a protest in mourning and silence in Republic square.

The following banners were displayed during the vigil:

- *June 19 - International Day of Struggle against Sexual Violence in War*
- *Map of the former Yugoslavia with states and cities where, among other things, rapes were committed*
- *Map of the world with today's war conflicts, in which, among other things, acts of sexual violence are committed*
- *Members of Serbian armed formations committed the largest number of rapes in the war*
- *The law in Serbia does not recognize women raped in war as civilian victims of war*

In this action took part **23** activists.

Belgrade, July 10th

Belgrade, July 10, 2025, "We shall never forget the Srebrenica genocide!"

- On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, Women in Black organized a vigil in mourning and silence in Republic Square.

In this vigil the following banners were displayed:

- *We shall never forget the Srebrenica genocide*
- *Srebrenica – the name of genocide*
- *Responsibility*
- *Solidarity*
- *Women in Black and Srebrenica*

This action, performed by Women in Black, with the support of art collectives Škart, Dah theatre, as well as activists of civil society, consisted of following segments:



We shall never forget the Srebrenica genocide – the installation of a symbolic/living memorial is the continuation of the construction of a monument to the victims of genocide, since our years-long persistent requests that the construction of a permanent monument to the victims of genocide in Srebrenica in Belgrade be approved were rejected.

During the public action in mourning and silence, the stage action:

“Serbia, look at yourself in the mirror: You will see Srebrenica! - 30 years – 30 years of mirrors” – 30 people came to the Square holding 30 mirrors.



- **Mirrors** – because society refuses to look in the mirror, refuses to face the burden of crimes from the past and to build a society based on respect for the dignity of victims. On these mirrors we put **black ribbons** – the symbol of pain and mourning, as well as a symbol of rebellion against the denial of genocide.
- **Mirrors** – thinking primarily about the victims, but also about ourselves: the society in whose name the crimes were committed should be looked at in the mirror of the victims, and that is what restores our humanity.
- **Mirrors** – it brings to light solidarity with victims, resistance to crimes, every kind of condemnation of instigators and perpetrators - moral, political, criminal and legal.
- **8372** – four activists displayed on the public stage (on the steps of the equestrian monument) the number of the killed in the genocide represents the recognition of judicially established facts. With this act, we symbolically inscribe into the collective memory what is denied/falsified/downplayed in the majority of the public in Serbia - the extent of the genocide in Srebrenica.

In this protest participated one hundred **(100)** activists from: Belgrade, Pančevo, Priboj, Vlasotince, Leskovac, Kruševac, Sombor, Novi Sad, Priboj na Limu, Pljevlja, Subotica, Sarajevo, London, Berlin and Israel (Haifa and Megido).

During the protest, two persons shouted during the whole action, slogans against the recognition of the genocide in Srebrenica, as well as other nationalist slogans. The protest was covered by the media, with police security.

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

In this period, we organized the following street actions:

Belgrade, May 18th

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

In this vigil were displayed following banners:

- *Stop killing women!*
- *May 18 – Day of Remembrance of Women Victims of Violence*
- *In Serbia during 2025 were killed 17 women*
- *Initials of the murdered women and the status of violence (reported, unreported)*

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

Belgrade, Jun 11th

Belgrade, Jun 11th „Stop genocide in Gaza!” – Women in Black organized in mourning and silence protest Stop genocide u Gazi, in Knez Mihailova street.



In this protest were displayed following banners:

- *Stop genocide in Gaza (in Serbian, English, Hebrew and Arabic languages)*
- *Stop the occupation (in Serbian, English, Hebrew and Arabic languages)*
- *Stop the war in Middle East*
- *Rainbow flag – PEACE (in Serbian, English, Hebrew and Arabic languages)*
- *Serbia exports weapons to Israel (in Serbian and English)*
- *Solidarity with civilians in Palestine*
- *We demand liberation of Palestinian prisoners*
- *Women in Black against war*
- *The map of Palestine from 1948 till today*

In this protest took part **35** activists.

Belgrade, June 25th

Belgrade, June 25th „Stop genocide in Gaza!“ – Women in Black organized in mourning and silence protest Stop genocide u Gazi, in Knez Mihailova street.

In this protest were displayed following banners:

- *Stop genocide in Gaza (in Serbian, English, Hebrew and Arabic languages)*
- *Serbia exports weapons to Israel = Serbia is an accomplice in the Gaza genocide (in Serbian and English)*
- *Auschwitz - Srebrenica - Gaza... How much longer? (in Serbian and English)*
- *Rainbow flag PEACE (in Serbian, English, Hebrew and Arabic languages)*
- *Stop the war in Middle East!*
- *Stop the occupation!*
- *Women in Black against war*



During the protest, passers-by shouted:

- *Palestinians killed Serbs in Bosnia and cut off their heads.*
- *I am a Serbian woman from Kosmet. Shame on you.*
- *I would cut off all your heads and throw them rolling on the street all the way to Kalemegdan (park).*
- *This is not a peace flag - this is a fag flag.*
- *What a shame: do fags defend Gaza?*
- *And where is Jasenovac? Thousands of Serbian children were slaughtered in Mlaka, etc.*

In this protest **20** activists took part.

Belgrade, 16th July

Belgrade, 16 Julyth „Stop genocide in Gaza!“ – Women in Black organized in mourning and silence protest Stop genocide u Gazi, in Knez Mihailova street.

In this protest were displayed following banners:

- *Stop genocide in Gaza (in Serbian, English, Hebrew and Arabic languages)*
- *Serbia exports weapons to Israel = Serbia is an accomplice in the Gaza genocide (in Serbian and English)*
- *Auschwitz - Srebrenica - Gaza... How much longer? (in Serbian and English)*
- *Rainbow flag PEACE (in Serbian, English, Hebrew and Arabic languages)*
- *Stop the war in Middle East!*
- *Stop the occupation!*
- *Women in Black against war*

During the protest, several people shouted:

- *Stinky pussies!*
- *Go home, go home.*
- *Sectarians, sectarians.*
- *Hamas should fuck you, fuck you in the ass!*

In this protest, **20** activists from Belgrade and two activists from Israel took part.



DEALING WITH THE PAST / TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

- A FEMINIST APPROACH

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

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

Tuzla/Bosnia and Herzegovina, May 25th

Tuzla/Bosnia and Herzegovina, May 25th – On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the crime at the Tuzla Gate, Women in Black attended the commemoration of the crime. On May 25, 1995, members of the Republika Srpska Army carried out a massacre and 71 people were killed on that occasion. All the victims were civilians and most of them were between 18 and 25 years old. and 240 people were wounded. Three WiB activists laid flowers on the Memorial at the site of the massacre.

May 31th and June 1th, Zvornik

May 31th and June 1th, Zvornik (Bosnia and Hercegovina) – on the occasion of the 33th anniversary of the crimes against civilians in the area of Zvornik: **in the course of May and June 1992, Serbian armed formations committed crimes of ethnic cleansing, robbery, torture and killings** several thousand civilians of Bosniak nationality were expelled from 13 villages in the area of the municipality of Zvornik, and around **700** men were then killed in the place called Gerina klanica (Gera's slaughterhouse). Of the **1,573** missing persons in 1992 in the area of the Zvornik municipality, **1,040** exhumed persons were identified, and the search for **465** missing persons is still ongoing.

In occasion of 33th anniversary of the crimes May 31 and June 1, four Women in Black activists participated in commemorative gatherings, together with the Association of Victims of the Municipality of Zvornik:

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



- **Peace march along the 'Path of Death'** with families of victims and survivors;
- **Tribute to the victims at the Memorial Center in Bijeli potok;**
- **Burial rites at the cemetery in the Memorial Center Memići/Kalesija Gornja**, where the remains of four people were buried

Srebrenica 7-10th July

Srebrenica 7-10th July "March of peace – the deadly route towards freedom" – *Nezuk - Potočari/Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina*. After the occupation of Srebrenica in July 1995 by Serbian armed formations, under the leadership of war criminal Ratko Mladić, Bosniak civilians, fleeing from atrocities, tried to find salvation on the road from Potočari to Nezuk. Unfortunately, most of them were killed, and very few survived. The march, lasting 3 days and over 100 km in length, is primarily a tribute to the victims of genocide, as well as a reminder of mass and horrific crimes. Thousands of people participate in these marches, primarily from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also from all over the world. Women in Black participate in this march every year, and this year's Peace March was attended by: *Jelena Jaćimović, Dejan Kožul and Ramiz Berbić*.

Potočari/Srebrenica, July 11th

Potočari/Srebrenica, July 11th, "Solidarity and responsibility" – in accordance with the policy of solidarity and responsibility, Women in Black participated in the commemoration/burial rites in Potočari/Srebrenica, where, together with the families of the victims of the Srebrenica genocide, we attended the burial of seven remains of the victims. Twenty (20) activists from the Women in Black Network from Serbia (Belgrade, Leskovac, Subotica, Pančevo, Priboj, Vlasotince, Kraljevo, Kruševac...) in commemorative act in the Memorial Center, where we also held a commemorative gathering with messages/banners: We shall never forget the genocide in Srebrenica, Solidarity, Responsibility, Women in Black – Srebrenica, etc.).

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.zeneucrnomo.org and www.zenskisud.org or contact us by mail: zeneucrnombelgrad@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, Women's Network of Kosovo, 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:

SARAJEVO, MAY 9, 10 AND 11 – REGIONAL MEETING OF WOMEN'S COURT – A FEMINIST APPROACH TO JUSTICE

31 women participated in the twenty-first **(21)** Regional meeting: witnesses, organizers, therapists, associates from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Đulići, Klisa, Foča/Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Tuzla); Montenegro (Pljevlja, Kotor, Herceg Novi, Nikšić, Bijelo Polje); Croatia (Zagreb); Serbia (Belgrade, Pančevo, Kruševac, Leskovac, Prijepolje) and Germany (Berlin).

Two historical events were marked at this Regional meeting:

Ten years since the historic event - the Women's Court - a feminist approach to justice held in Sarajevo (May 7-10, 2015).

Two years since the Women's Court - Foča Case - (Belgrade, June 26, 2023)





Among the activities at this meeting, we highlight:

About the activities of the Women's Court in the previous period (from the previous meeting - from December 2024 to May 2025)

About transitional justice - trials, announcements, memorials...

Trials in BH - Foča, Sarajevo (Klisa, Đulići...)

Suvada Selimović reported on the trials before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo for crimes committed on May 31 and June 1, 1992. At that time, several thousand Bosniak civilians were expelled from 13 villages in the area of the Zvornik municipality, and around 700 men were then killed in Gera's slaughterhouse. An investigation into that crime was launched five years ago. The indictment was launched and divided into three crimes: for the persecution of the Bosniak civilian population, for the detention of more than **700** men in the former concentration camp at the Technical School Center in Karakaj and the third case is Gera's slaughterhouse where people were executed. So far, **26** hearings have been held, 22 hearings were attended by the families of the murdered. Between **50** and **70** people were present at each hearing.

*The court is a space for the perpetrators, (in)justice for the victims: 'Families organize themselves, from 50 to 70 people travel to the trials in Sarajevo. So far, **55** people (from the families of the murdered) have testified, and **30** were called by the prosecution. What is the most difficult for families? I was a witness in that court. Then a mother comes who testifies, they killed everyone, she is questioned by the prosecutor, the court, the defendant, the lawyer. That mother has no rights. All the defendants (of Serbian nationality) have lawyers, they ask pointless questions: what were the defendants wearing, how were they dressed, what did they look like? I don't know what I looked like...Despite everything, we are very happy that the trial was started,' said Suvada.*

(Mis)use of memorials by states, but also by society...

Halida Konjo Uzunović referred to the attempt to build a monument/ memorial in Sarajevo to Doctor Sekula Stanić from Foča. Since this is a very controversial figure (Stanić, as the director of the hospital, was responsible for the execution and liquidation of the wounded, patients and women, etc.), the Bosniak community reacted and the initiative was rejected.

Halida believes that the whole case is a *'provocation, deliberately humiliating the victims, falsifying events in order to make a hero out of someone who doesn't deserve it. The Bosniak victims in Foča do not have any memorial'*.

Ervina warned of *the local community's resistance to memorials for crimes committed in our name: 'We have an army that guards the memorial plaque at the place where the Morinje camp (for Croatian*



prisoners) was. The army must not withdraw from there, because the local community will remove that plaque. Now on May 27, we'll go again in front of the Herceg Novi Security Center. Maybe the Mayor will agree to put up a plaque.' (Ervina)

The concept of reconciliation without accountability - equating victims and executioners...

"They came up with the concept of reconciliation without accountability - elites conspire to equate victims and executioners." Reconciliation between whom, in what way and in whose capacity? An example of that is Vučić's trip to Srebrenica on the 20th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica (2015);' believes Staša.

'The worst is the religious concept of forgiveness: I have not forgiven anyone whom I consider responsible. I cannot forgive specific perpetrators and I will never forgive them in my life. Never in my life have I felt that an entire collective had done that to me. That story of reconciliation also came with international organizations' (Rada).

"Perhaps it can be forgiven when the entire process of criminal responsibility is completed" (Ljupka).

"I'm not talking about reconciliation or forgiveness." I want us to work on creating trust so that future generations can perhaps work on reconciliation. It is possible to forgive someone who stole something from you, but I can never forgive someone who left me with this life I live today. We should work on peace, on a better future for young people. Our life is as it is.' (Šehida).

'Who asks for forgiveness from us? I don't want to forgive anyone while I'm alive. I can be at peace with good people. We don't need to put everything in one basket. When you leave Foča, where hell broke loose, you only listen to your friends about what they survived, and I have no contact with the woman who is Serbian, I don't know what happened to her. When you meet these women, when they hug you, when they give you their hand, then you understand...' (a woman from Foča/Sarajevo).

Several participants spoke about the lack of institutional support for victims: 'The victim is a means of evidence in court proceedings, an instrument. We need women feminists to support victims in systems and court proceedings. The state uses civil organizations that provide assistance to victims, often without any funds' (Marijana).

'As victims and witnesses, we cannot expect any help from our state. If we, the families, had not gotten involved to find the witness, to provide the Prosecutor with his phone number, to go to the witness and talk to him, there would have been no trial. That's what we do, a group of women and a couple of men who survived. We spend our time and our money and follow the trial, get up at 2 in the morning and go to Sarajevo' (Suvada).

The international community in the function of the regime, activists in the function of peace and justice...

"The mothers of Srebrenica initiated criminal proceedings against the state of the Netherlands regarding financial compensation, because they are responsible. That process lasted more than 12 years. They had a list of 230 men who were in the battery factory. There were over 3,000 men there, and the Dutch only recognized that number' (Šehida).

'A month ago in New York I was at the UN. There I could not talk about the W'C, nor about the thirty years of the Dayton Peace Agreement, nor about the genocide in Srebrenica, nor about the Forgotten Children of War, nor about Gaza. I promised myself that I wouldn't stop talking about being censored. We must not stop talking. Maybe we don't have time, maybe there is no one to replace us, but there are those who want to hear us. We have a responsibility to ourselves and to the women who are currently suffering violence. We fought and we will fight. Don't stop talking and sharing' (Selma, Sarajevo).

Transitional Justice in Serbia – *Special Court for War Crimes, Belgrade (Stiša):*

The number of indictments filed is continuously decreasing - according to the data of the War Crimes Prosecutor's Office/WCPO, there are over **1,700** cases in the pre-investigation phase;

The indictments are selective - they do not deal with the responsibility of superior, middle and high-ranking officers (but mere perpetrators).

Trials for sexual violence in war - only **13** out of a total of **106** indictments for war crimes include acts of sexual violence. Serbia does not recognize the war crime of rape, etc.

Glorification of war, war crimes and criminals - at the level of the state and society, etc.

Trauma and recovery – *about the experience of working with families of mass murders in Cetinje (Montenegro):* On August 12, 2022, in Medovina, near Cetinje, one man killed ten people and on January 1, 2025, a man killed 12 people. The main problems faced by Montenegro: militarization of society (add illegal carrying of weapons), absence of an adequate response from the state; demonization of crime victims by the media - silence of the media about the protests of victims' families and citizens, etc. "Anima" works with the families of the victims: it provides psychological assistance to the families, puts pressure on institutions to establish a trauma institute, demands demilitarization, etc. This was discussed by *Ljupka Kovačević and Ervina Dabidžinović Anima, (Kotor)*

We celebrate women's courage and resistance...

They left their mark on us - witnesses, activists, associates of the Women's Court who are no longer with us: *Nevena Nena Kostić, Zumra Šehomerović, Nada Dabić, Borka Pavićević* - documentaries produced by the Group for Video Activism of WiB (33 min.)

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). The film testifies to women who turned their tragedy and pain into a joint struggle for peace and justice.

Saturday, May 10th

Saturday, May 10th

Brief summary of the activities of the Women's Court – quantitative report (*Stasha*)

Where did we come from, where are we going? – workshop, group work

What are the greatest effects, results of W'sC?

The participants of the working groups confirmed: **The Women's Court has historical significance (Sarajevo 2015, Foča 2023); the holding of W'sC was preceded by a long and tiring period of preparation in order to create a safe space for women to speak loudly and publicly, with the solidarity of nursing support from psychologists, joint learning is of great importance and the process of W'sC continues...**

Then they presented concrete effects and achievements...

Empowerment of survivors – witnesses at the center of the entire process of W'sC; solidarity network among women from the area of the former Yugoslavia; release from trauma through testimony; abolition of hierarchy – equality of pain and trauma:

A woman survivor – in the center of the process (the process was led by a woman); a strong help and support system; women got rid of fear, stigma and spoke publicly, this had a positive effect on our psyche and liberation from trauma; self-esteem and confidence; acknowledging one's own pain and that of others - every experience is equally valuable; breaking prejudices (not everyone is the same); creating a network among the women of the former Yugoslavia - understanding and supporting each other, regardless of the type and severity of the injustice we bear - lifelong friendships; healing the victim through various forms of support, for example going on a joint vacation; the building of mutual trust, solidarity and compassion contributed to the strengthening and empowerment of women; joint reflection regarding the continuation of joint activities...

Effects at the institutional level: testifying at the W'sC enabled the initiation of court proceedings, obtaining reparations:

recognition of the status of civilian victims of war; some women's testimony on the W'sC was recognized as evidence in the court process they led against the perpetrator; some women testifying at the W'sC managed to get reparations (mostly women from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia).

Kemalemir Frašto, a witness at the W'sC – Foča case, came online: 'I managed to get the status of a civilian victim of war. It's part of recovery. I didn't believe that it would be easier, that I would get some satisfaction. I feel like I'm not a loser'.

Contribution to transitional justice: documenting - archive of W'sC, monitoring court processes; support from experts from the region and abroad; contribution to reconciliation; values for new generations; W'sC supported actions against crime denial;

What are the biggest shortcomings, unfulfilled expectations from W'sC?

Very limited impact on institutional justice; forced mobilization is a crime that is not recognized even at the international level; insufficient impact on society and raising awareness and responsibility; lack of financial resources: many criminals have not been tried in the International Court nor in the national courts; there was no recognition from the authorities - ignoring the W'sC by official institutions; the lack of understanding of people from the environment about W'sC remained in a small circle - it had no influence to change the opinion of a large number of people, to make more layers of society aware; for a wider circle of people to find out what happened in the areas ex YU; limited financial resources; lack of funds for even wider support for women victims of war.

In the following, the women spoke about institutional injustices towards the victims: about the failure of justice at the criminal-legal level, about reparations (symbolic, material), about the consequences of not facing the past.

Joint reflection on important points, lessons from the presentation of Carlos M. Beristain (Regional meeting of the Women's Court, December 2024)

Marijana suggested that we discuss the important lesson of Carlos **'so that our pain was not in vain'**, and here are some statements: 'We are here, we survived to testify and that is a very important item' (*Halida*); 'What keeps me in activism is that we don't give up. We have some results every day. We leave a lot to young people. These are processes that cannot be completed. Our pain is heard every day' (*Šehida*); 'We must fight so that our pain is not forgotten' (*Šehida*); 'Our pain was not in vain, when I see us here' (*Suvada*); 'Only that pain is in vain that is felt somewhere at home in solitude, in silence, in captivity. Pain that is spoken, that produces action, pain that is not trapped, is not in vain' (*Sabina*); 'No one will blackmail me, because

I carry my pain with my head held high" (*Reiha*); "The pain has been present for 35 years, but I am fighting for peace, for truth and justice." I love you all' (*Mother Mejra*); "Through these years of cooperation and fellowship with you, both personal and common, I want to thank you for sharing your pain with us, and we with you" (*Violeta*).

Celebrating the Women's Court – Notes from Belgrade, December 2024 - by Carlos M. Beristain; awarding of recognition; a surprise concert (Minka) and a feminist party.

Sunday, May 11th

Sunday, May 11th

Final session: Agreements on activities in the following period and evaluation

Marijana asked the women to say one word with which they leave the circle:

Love, joy, solidarity, trust, faith, peace, contentment, patience, serenity, perseverance, empathy, companionship, remembrance, togetherness, sincerity, strength, sisterhood, progress, strength, hope, courage, life, success, steadfastness, growth, happiness, dignity, gratitude, defiance, nobility, learning, pumping up...

FEMINIST ETHICS OF CARE AND RESPONSIBILITY

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

- **Retreat/socializing** – Nine (9) witnesses, organizers of the Women's Court from Montenegro and Serbia, as well as activists from Israel and Palestine were on *July 13, 14 and 15* on a joint short break in the village near Ivanjica (central Serbia).
- **July , Vršac/Vojvodina** – four WiB activists visited *Rosa Jakovljević*, witness in Women's Court, mother of soldier killed (5,10, 2004).
- **Active women's holiday in the women's house 'Seka' Brač/** Croatia from July 28 to August 14. Thirteen (**13**) women - witnesses, W'sC activists from BH, Croatia and Serbia: *BH: Suvada Selimović, Safeta and Ramiza, Đulići/Zvornik; Croatia: Marica Šeatović, Novska; Jovanka Carević i Milica Miladinović, Zagreb; Serbia: Nadežda Kostić, Kruševac, Milka Rosić and Mirjana Mijailović, Leskovac, Snežana Obrenović, Kraljevo and Svetlana Šarić, Vlasotince and Gordana Radosavljević, Belgrade.*

Women's Court – Foča case – this event took place in **Belgrade, June 26, 2023** in Miljenko Dereta Space and was organized by: Women in Black and Autonomous Women's Center, Belgrade in cooperation with feminist groups from B&H, Montenegro, Croatia,

associates of Women's Court, as well as artistic-activist collectives: Škart, Dah Theater, Belgrade and Art Clinic, Novi Sad.

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

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

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

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

Public presentations Women's Court – Foča case: in this period two (2) public presentations were held:

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

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

In this reporting period was held one (1) public presentation:

Belgrade, June 25th

Belgrade, June 25th – The Youth Initiative/YIHR organized an educational cycle on sexual violence in war, and within this program the Women's Court - the case of Foča was presented. Staša Zajović, WIB, spoke about the Women's Court, its history, and the feminist approach to justice. This event was attended by twenty (20) young people from all over Serbia, and during the screening, as well as after the screening, the young people present, who mostly did not know anything about wartime rapes in Foča, were deeply distressed...

After that, Kemalemir Frašto, a witness at W'sC Foča, addressed the young people via Zoom, who, among other things, said:

"I don't consider myself a victim, but a hero. There were young people at the presentation in Podgorica (June 2024), just like here. I was 18 years old when it happened to me. Testifying at W'sC was difficult for me, but I felt an obligation to testify. Thanks to WIB, we got a wind at our back. For me, W'sC was a historical event, which meant a lot to me.

I came to the USA in 2003. I had a big crisis in 2010. I hit rock bottom; I didn't tell anyone about what I was going through. I didn't have the courage to open that Pandora's box. In 2011, I told the psychiatrist for the first time. In the USA, I started meeting women who were victims of rape, mostly refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, because I worked as a Bosnian-English translator. That's why I founded a group of Bosnian refugees consisting of thirteen women. They helped each other, I helped them in English.

I have returned to Foča many times, but I cannot stay there for even one hour. When I enter Foča, as soon as I cross the bridge over the Drina, all those buildings fall on me, I just want to leave. I tried in 2024 to enter the Lepa Brena building, I failed, but maybe one day... It's not easy to get to Foča, my city disappeared in 1992, my city was destroyed in 1992. It means a lot to me that young people want to deal with this topic. You will continue to talk. Please convey what happened to me and my people. Talk, share...' said *Kemalemir*.

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

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 were held two (2) sessions:

May 27 – at this hearing, closing arguments were presented by the Prosecutor, the defendant's defense attorney, and the defendant himself.

Prosecutor Vasilije Seratlić said, among other things: "During the main trial, it was undoubtedly proven that the accused committed the criminal act of a war crime against the civilian population because during the armed conflict, on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina: 24.11.1992 - as the commander of the Drina Corps, he forwarded the decision to enslave the enemy; 20.03.1995 - issued an order on further combat operations; 12.07.1995 - ordered the forced relocation of the population from the enclave. My proposal is that the court find the accused guilty and sentence him to 5 years in prison."

The defendant's defense attorney, lawyer *Dužanka Jovanović Šunjara*, believes that the Prosecution did not prove that the defendant committed the criminal offense he is charged with in the indictment and that the Court ought to declare the defendant innocent and acquit him.

In his closing statement, *the defendant Milenko Živanović* denied all allegations in the indictment.

July 1 – The court panel presided over by judge Mirjana Ilić delivered a **verdict acquitting the accused**: "The Public Prosecution has not submitted any evidence to this Court that would indicate the responsibility of the accused", etc.

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

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

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

May 21th – the accused Miroslav Aleksić did not appear at this hearing. His defense attorney submitted to the Court medical documentation related to his client's state of health.

The Prosecutor proposed that the accused be ordered to be detained for non-appearance, but the court rejected this proposal.

June 19th – the accused Miroslav Aleksić did not appear at this hearing. His defense attorney told the Court that his client was in poor health, etc.

Trials of rebellious citizens: activists of the student movement, as well as various civil initiatives against which the regime campaigns

on various levels: regime media (demonization, stigmatization, false accusations...); criminal law (trials for alleged misdemeanor and criminal offenses) with the aim of intimidation and retaliation against all those who lead a just fight against corruption, organized crime, violence...

May 19th – Trial for the attack on the students of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts/FDU - The main trial against the defendants: *Milija Koldžić* (an official of the ruling party in the municipality of Novi Belgrade), *Milena Aleksić* and *Ivan Stanišić*, whom the Prosecution charges for the attack on the students of the FDU, carried out on November 20, 2024.

The first defendant, *Milija Koldžić*, did not attend the hearing 'for health reasons'. The judge said that *Milena Aleksić* and *Ivan Stanišić* had signed a plea agreement with the Prosecution. They were sentenced to a one-year suspended prison sentence and a fine in the amount of 80,000 dinars.

June 16th - at this hearing, the judge announced that the first defendant, *Milija Koldžić*, entered into a plea agreement with the Prosecution. The judge said that he was found guilty of violent behavior and sentenced to a suspended sentence of six months and a fine of 50,000 dinars.

The injured parties were referred to civil proceedings. This is the end of this court proceeding.

(The integral report on the said trials can be found on the WiB website)

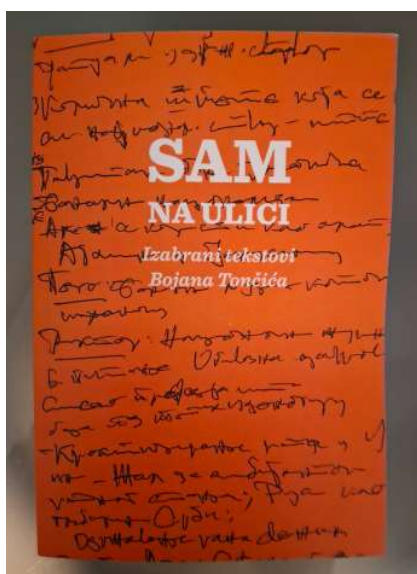
EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, PEACE GATHERINGS

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

We list them chronologically:

Belgrade, May 7th – Promotion of the book 'Alone on the Street: Selected Texts by Bojan Tončić' (edited by Tomislav Marković). The book was published by friends of the deceased journalist, Belgrade, May 2025. Bojan Tončić (1967-2024) is one of the most important journalists, who wrote primarily about war and war crimes, anti-militarist, anti-fascist, associate of Women in Black. About **70** people attended this event. The following spoke about the book: *Lula Mikielj*, *Jovana Kolarić*, *Tomislav Marković*, *Dragan Stošić*, *Staša Zajović*.

Bečići, Montenegro, May 12-16 – Operational meeting within the project "Strengthening women affected by war-related sexual and gender-based violence in the Western Balkans - for a culture of recognition and reconciliation" Amplifying Voices by



Women affected by war-related SGBV in the Western Balkans - For a culture of Recognition and Reconciliation) Medica Mondiale. Activists from BH, Kosovo and Serbia (Autonomous Women's Center, Youth Initiative for Human Rights and WIB) participate in this project. *Staša Z.* participated on behalf of WIB.



Belgrade, May 21th

Belgrade, May 21th – Meeting with American students from the University of Tennessee/USA - about fifteen students in the premises of Women in Black were most interested in the work of WIB in the field of transitional justice.

Tuzla/BH, May 26th

Tuzla/BH, May 26th – “Ramiz’s summer” – premiere of a documentary film (90 min.) about **Ramiz Berbić**, peace activist, poet from Donja Obodnica near Tuzla. Author of the film: **Dejan Kožul**, produced by the media production company K.U.P.E.K (*Cultural and artistic program of educational character*) 2025.) This event held at the Bosnian Theater was attended by four WIB activists.

Bilbao/Spain, May 28 and 29th

Bilbao/Spain, May 28 and 29th – Sanja Pavlović, activist of the Autonomous Women's Center and WIB, participated in the feminist anti-militarist rally organized by feminist groups. She spoke about WIB activities in the field of transitional justice - feminist approach, etc.



July 31th

**Opovo/Vojvodina,
June 6, 7 and 8th**



July 31th – Operational meeting (online) within the project “Strengthening women affected by war-related sexual and gender-based violence in the Western Balkans - for a culture of recognition and reconciliation” Amplifying Voices by Women affected by war-related SGBV in the Western Balkans - For a culture of Recognition and Reconciliation) Medica Mondiale. Women activists from BiH, Kosovo and Serbia (Autonomous Women’s Center, Youth Initiative for Human Rights and WiB) participate in this project.

Opovo/Vojvodina, June 6, 7 and 8th “Women’s peace activism”: 22 women from the following cities participated in this feminist roundtable discussion: Belgrade, Zrenjanin, Kruševac, Priboj na Limu, Kraljevo, Sombor, Prijepolje.

Workshops, lectures, screenings of documentary films were held, of which we highlight:

About the uprisings in Serbia (students, educators, farmers, citizens and citizens...) - all the women present actively participate in the uprisings in Serbia; the greatest importance of rebellions: ‘liberation from fear, perseverance, solidarity, togetherness, restoration of self-respect; this process is irreversible – the beginning of the end of the regime...’

Anti-gender movements and threats to the women’s peace movement – globally, regionally, locally...

The presenters (*Zorica Skakun and Staša Zajović*) warned of the constant growth of anti-gender ideology on a regional and global level. The basic goal of anti-gender movements is to threaten women’s human rights, LGBT rights, and democracy. Then short documentaries about women who break patriarchal norms were shown.



30th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide – joint design of the action – after a long and very creative workshop, it was agreed that the street action (July 10, 2025) will have the following name “Serbia, look at yourself in the mirror -- you will see Srebrenica

– 30th anniversary - 30 mirrors” (this action is extensively described in the section ‘street actions’).

Relations among women – conflict as responsibility – The template for the conversation was the essay *Navigating Conflict*– by Jean Baker Miller. However, the participants referred much more to their own relationship experiences. Highlights of the exchange:

Reactions to a conflict with another woman – the participants shared their feelings and bodily reactions when they think of a conflict with another woman: *emotions* (powerlessness, guilt, anger, sadness, discomfort, disappointment); *behavior* (withdrawal, interruption of communication, silence) and *bodily reactions* (abdominal cramp, nausea, feeling of disgust).

The reactions testify to a patriarchal culture that delegitimizes women’s anger, dissent and active expression of need. Conflict between women is often internalized as a “personal failure” or “proof” that a relationship is impossible. This undermines the potential for political solidarity.

Destructive conflicts – tactics, reasons and consequences: the participants mentioned different conflict avoidance tactics: silence, rationalization, withdrawal. Outcomes of destructive conflict: loss of trust, breakup of friendship, isolation; bad impact on professional life and work environment; build-up of tensions that can “explode” - comparison with political conflicts and wars in the region, etc. The participants concluded that *avoiding conflict leads to false relationships and prevents growth. This behavior maintains the status quo of power and does not open up space for changing the dynamics among women.*

The participants tried to define the qualities, practices and outcomes of **constructive conflict**: honesty, trust, mutual empathy, maturity, responsibility, openness, knowledge; creating space for dialogue, without suppressing emotions; breaking the myth of uninterrupted harmony among women, learning from disagreement, strengthening political and personal connection, etc.

Facilitator Zorica Skakun concluded: *“Feminist practice today must include not only collective organizing, but also collective learning about how we face conflicts without losing our commonality.” In the context of a deep political crisis and anti-gender movements, the topic has essential importance not only for the women’s movement internally, but what messages/models of behavior we send to the outside’*

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Cultural activities:

The visit to Kovačica – the center of the Slovak national community, the center of naive art, consisted of: a visit to the painter **Eva Husariková** (1942) in her house – a conversation with her, viewing her paintings; **tour of the Naive Art Gallery**; Galleries Babka - meeting with Klara Babka, gallery owner and painter; tour of **Titel**: visit to the Secondary Technical School ‘**Mileva Marić Einstein**’ (famous Serbian physicist and mathematician). Milena was born in 1875 in Titel, died in 1948 in Switzerland.

In the final session, the participants emphasized that the entire program was ‘excellently designed - a combination of joint learning, artistic content and relaxation’. The most important of the workshops was the joint design of the action for the 30th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, as well as the workshop on conflicts between women.

SOLIDARITY IS OUR STRENGTH

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

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

Direct actions – solidarity assistance in the field:

Solidarity support and assistance to Palestinian refugees from GAZA: WiB has established contacts since March 2024 with refugees who arrived from this war zone: solidarity support to Palestinian refugees from Gaza (*July 5*). On the same day, a meeting with Palestinian refugees living in Belgrade, as refugees from the West Bank, was organized in the WiB premises.

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

The practice of regular discussion groups, lectures and joint reflections on important social and political issues in the country and the world continued in this reporting period, in which eleven (11) lectures, debates, book presentations, and film screenings were organized with the participation of **180** people.

May 14th

May 14 – Eight (8) people participated in the discussion about the current political and social situation (student and civil protests). Namely, because of the rebellion against the regime, civil disobedience actions (blockades of traffic (in which WiB activists actively participate) it is often very difficult to implement the planned activity plan.

May 21th

May 21 “PALESTINE and SADism”, by Sead Alić, published by the Center for Media Philosophy, Zagreb 2025. This monograph includes the following topics: the influence of the USA on the policy of the state of Israel, the concept of anti-Semitism, the Holocaust vs Nakba, the Republic of South Africa vs Israel (apartheid). In addition to the author, the following spoke about the book: Lino Veljak, Fahrudin Kladnicanin, Aleksandar Kraus, Miloš Urošević. The discussion held as part of the series “War in the Middle East - Israeli-Palestinian conflict” was attended by **24** people.

May 28th

May 28 “Anatomy of a Morality”. Text by **Milovan Đilas** *Anatomy of a Morality* (Nova Misao 1954) traced the dissident fate of one of the highest officials of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia/KPJ, during the war and after it. The motive for the beginning of his persecution is to expose the false morality and corruption at the top of the new government. Djilas is believed to be the first high-ranking communist official to speak about it. After his book *Conversations with Stalin* was published in the USA, he was arrested and sentenced to 13 years in prison. About fifteen activists commented on the text, and the event (*within the (In)visible SFR Yugoslavia cycle*) was attended by **19** people.

June 4th

June 4th screening of the feature film “The Good Woman” was held as part of the cycle “Feminist Ethics of Care-Evil/Use, Traps, Controversies...”. The keynote (by Staša) referred to *Sandra Lee Bartky*, a feminist theoretician, who also dealt with the abuse of ethics of care, and numerous examples were cited, both from the history of the Second World War and the wars in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Then the film ‘The Good Wife’ was shown, directed by Mirjana Karanović, who stars in the film in which the wife discovers that her husband was one of the members of the infamous Serbian armed formation ‘Scorpions’ (in Trnovo, July 1995 as part of the Srebrenica genocide). A woman discovers that her husband is a murderer, after finding a video recording in the house, it also



coincides with her illness, all this causes an uproar, she decides to report her husband to a human rights organization, gets rid of the burden, goes for surgery... In the conversation about the film, about the motives of the heroine of the film to 'betray' her husband, and in general about the abuse of caring for others, the activists spoke, and the event was attended by 11 people.

June 11th "The War of Remembrance in Serbia 1980 – 1990. The Rise of Nationalism and Resistance" by Dragan Popović (published by Biblioteka XX vek, 2024). The book is part of the doctoral dissertation of Dragan Popović (defended at the Department of History of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade), best known to the public as a civic activist of the NGO *Center for Practical Politics*. Introduction about the book: *Staša Zajović, Miloš Urošević, Olga Manjlović Pintar, Nikola Krstić, Aleksandar Kraus, Nastasja Radović*.

"Dragan Popović's book shows that the breakup of the country (SFR Yugoslavia) was preceded by an ideological preparation. There it turns out to be an accusation against Serbian nationalism - which, if it was not the only author of the breakup, was its key driver." (*Olga Manjlović Pintar*).



"The wars of the 1990s were not a meteorological disaster - they were the logical tip of the iceberg, shaped from the chairs of SANU, church corridors (Serbian Orthodox Church) and Serbian nationalist intellectuals." (*Nikola Krstić*).

"This is a "real book", the methodology and approach are right. What seems to be missing to me is the part about self-management. And for the 80s, it is important to mention the struggle of some of the great self-management businessmen..." (*Aleksandar Kraus*).

"I didn't find more Yugoslavias in this book, since it was a country that was different for the different ethnic groups that lived in it. That country was not the same for the Germans from Vojvodina, for the Kosovar Albanians or for the people from Goli Otok or for all other politically minded people." (*Miloš Urošević*).



Dragomir Olujić had “many objections to the analytical nature of the work”, but he mentioned only some of them: “It is not true that the NOB (National Liberation Army) all the commanders were communists: “There were also believers in the Supreme Headquarters”.

“I remember the 1980s as a time of great excitement and, to some extent, chaos. Disagreements within the party and state apparatus became more and more open, the economic crisis was great, but there was also resistance, intellectuals of different ideological approaches collaborated in various initiatives...” (*Nastasja Radović*).

The discussion, held as part of the cycle “(In)visible SFR Yugoslavia”, was attended by **20** people.

June 19th



June 19th “Bloom: masters of one’s future” (52 minutes), directed by Jasmila Žbanić, co-screenwriter Zoran Solomun. The film is about *Emeric Blum*, the founder and director of “Energoinvest” in Sarajevo – one of the largest, most important socialist enterprises. Z. Solomun said that “Energoinvest” was the most famous example of self-management: “The idea of self-management was generally accepted.” When people criticized the system, they said they wanted real self-management, real democracy. Yugoslavia can be seen as a dynamic process that lasted for many years. If we look at it from that point of view, that project succeeded. Self-management was stronger than the party. It is a product of Yugoslav society. What happened with “Energoinvest” was a combination of Blum’s genius and the political context.

The film was first talked about by young people, like students in the blockade: ‘The film shows a time of solidarity, self-management. The worker is respected as a human being, not just as one of the screws that has no autonomy and value. I like the insistence on culture and on the emancipation of workers, especially women’ (*Nevena*); ‘The biggest impression of the film on me is the combination of culture, science, togetherness, solidarity.’ That is impossible today’ (*Sanja*); ‘In those socialist factories there were groups of people who supported each other for the benefit of the common good’ (*Lav Leon*).

Some other impressions of the film: “The film shows that Yugoslavia is not a dead object in a museum. This is the life of Yugoslavia. Socialism provided a chance for the emancipation and dignity of women” (*Stasja*); “Bloom supported the student and left-wing dissident movement” (*Oluja*); “Energoinvest workers” loved Bloom. That was something special in the city of Sarajevo’ (*Zinaida*); “Energoinvest” was a fantastic model that is hard to imagine today. Self-management means self-organization of workers’ (*Kraus*), etc. **23** people attended the screening and discussion.

June 25th

June 25th “From Srebrenica to Gaza” – the road of barbarism, the toxic nature of impunity, the tragedy of powerlessness...” The backbone of the conversation is the introductory part of the book (2025) “*El Rabo mueve al perro - Israel y Estados Unidos en el devenir de Oriente próximo*” (The tail that moves the dog - Israel and the United

States in the future of the Middle East), by **Martina Alonso Zarza**, philosopher, associate of *Women in Black-Spain*.



Staća Zajović prepared a summary of the mentioned text, introduced the author and based on his analysis of the cases of genocide (ruled by the court) in Srebrenica and genocide in Gaza (still without a qualified indictment of genocide before the International Court of Justice/ICC in The Hague). It is also presented how the author sees similarities in the actions of the aggressors and responsible perpetrators in these two trials (Serbia and Israel), as well as the difficulties in reaching international aid and justice and the unwillingness to face the causes and scale of the crime.



In the book, M.A. Zarza refers to the abuse of the Holocaust by the Israeli government, the political and Zionist right to justify the genocide in Gaza, as well as the refusal of Israeli officials, international Jewish organizations that preserve the memory and investigate the Holocaust, to accept the decision of the international courts on the genocide in Srebrenica. "If Israel were to recognize the genocide in Srebrenica, it would set a dangerous precedent by which it would indirectly have to recognize the crimes it commits in Gaza as crimes of genocide (especially if the ICC were to pass such a verdict). It is difficult to proceed with a trial for Gaza because Israel is a "world power" according to several criteria - a great ally of the USA and of special importance for geopolitics" (M.A. Zarza). the impunity of the perpetrators and, consequently, the rejection and disrespect of the victims..."

The debate also discussed the resistance of Israeli pacifists to the occupation of Palestine, the genocide in Gaza, and the protests of Palestinians against Hamas in Gaza. This event, held as part of the cycle "*War in the Middle East - Israeli-Palestinian conflict*", was attended by **12** people.

July 2th

July 2th "Student case" by Ilija Moljković discussion about the mentioned book by I. Moljković, as well as about the author's life and work.

Ilija Moljković (1933-1999), writer, translator and literary critic,



created his voluminous and largely unknown work on the deep margins of socialist and post-socialist society and the mainstream cultural scene. Moljković published his works himself - as self-published editions (one of them was banned). Posthumously, his *"Student Case"* was published in the state *Official Gazette* in 2008.

As his friends and colleagues remember, Moljković lived extremely modestly, often on the brink of poverty, subsisting on proofreading and editing. He graduated from the *Faculty of Philology* in Belgrade, where he tried to get a Master's degree, but his thesis on Dostoyevsky, which was otherwise praised, was eventually rejected because of his political activity in the student demonstrations in 1968.

D. Olujić: "Moljković was not just a man from the margins but a "genius of the margins"; "No one has paid the price of his convictions as much as he did" (*G. Jovanović*); "Ilija Moljković was a patriot of the most modern type. He was in solidarity with the refugees. He refused three times to be a member of the *Writers' Association of Serbia (Stasa)*, etc. 19 people attended the conversation as part of the *(In)visible SFR Yugoslavia* cycle."

July 9th

On July 9th, the lecture **"Palestinian resistance to Zionism: a historical lesson"** was held by Ehud Udi Adiv, an Israeli political scientist-professor of Political Theory at the Open University in Tel Aviv, who also writes for Palestinian publications about various forms of Zionism in Israeli society, relevant to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As a left-wing anti-Zionist activist, he was sentenced to 17 years in prison for treason - of which he spent twelve and a half years in prison. Adiv is still active today - both at the academic and political level.



Ehud was in Belgrade as a guest of WiB. During the meeting, he spoke about his many decades of political involvement. We highlight the parts related to the genocide in Gaza, the resistance in Israel: "The majority of public opinion wants an end to the war. One out of three independent newspapers criticize what Israel is doing. However, after October 7, public opinion turned to the radical right. There are young people who refuse to join the army, who think left-wing. I think that public opinion is gradually changing." Adiv pointed out that the

Palestinians living in Israel are oppressed a lot and he hopes that a new coalition that will defeat Netanyahu will emerge at the elections in a year. Adiv believes that the solution lies in a ceasefire and the arrival of international forces to govern Gaza. The deliberation within the cycle 'Middle East - Israeli-Palestinian conflict' was attended by 17 people.

July 16th

July 16th "Are there alternatives to war: on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; on the anti-war resistance in Israel against the occupation of Palestine; on the genocide in Gaza, etc.

Speakers: **Lily Traubman**, peace activist (Women in Black), anti-occupation movement from Meggido, and **Ehud Udi Adiv**, Israeli political scientist and activist from Haifa.

In the introductory part, **Lily** talked about her life and political path: from Chile, political involvement in the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), the military coup in which her father was killed (September 11, 1973), emigration to Israel, anti-war activism, especially after October 7, 2023.

Among the many daily protests and initiatives, she pointed out:

Conscientious objectors, whose number is constantly increasing, not only among the youth, but also among the pilots of the Israel Armed Forces/IDF (1,500 of them who work in aviation have said that they will not serve no army).

Women's protests in front of military bases and barracks - Israeli Jewish women took photos of those children and point them out in public places, primarily in front of military bases and barracks. They are large photographs of children when those children were alive. On them is written the name, surname, age when the child was killed. Some children were killed in groups. I went in front of the air force bases, where the pilots board the planes. They are the ones dropping bombs on Gaza. Some of the pilots say horrible things to the female protesters. Some look away, but when they see those photos, some of the pilots have a sense of deep reverence that not a word is heard, *Lily* said.

Collecting humanitarian aid for children in Gaza 'Everyone I know is donating money. A Palestinian woman and a Jewish woman have their own foundation, which deals with delivering gallons of water to Gaza, building toilets. There are many groups made up of Palestinian and Jewish women, collecting food and sending it to Gaza. The problem is that the IDF does not allow them to enter there. Thousands of women come within reach of Gaza, but the Israeli armed forces do not allow anything to pass. Women don't give up, you're here to show that you won't give up'.

She then spoke about **Haaretz**, a newspaper of rebellious voices in Israel: 'It covers all the listed actions; they write about a lot of joint Israeli-Palestinian protests. At first, the Palestinians did not dare to protest out of fear. Then they dared to go together with us.



Soldiers in Gaza testify to Israeli atrocities: *'The radical left in Israel completely identifies with the unfortunate Palestinians.* There are a lot of articles in Haaretz that identify themselves a lot with the Palestinians and express very radical views against the regime. Such views can only be found in this newspaper. Unfortunately, the majority of society in Israel is with this fascist government. Israel supports all fascists, all dictatorships around the world. The military junta in Argentina that killed many Jewish leftists, but the state of Israel never said a single word against the junta. For Netanyahu, war is the only way not to go to prison,' emphasized Ehud.

'We and the Palestinians are much more similar than others think. We have a political problem here and the solution must be political. The problem cannot be reduced to an ethnic religious issue. There must be a society based on civil rights. The solution is not in two states, one Jewish, the other Arab' concluded Lily.

There were **16** participants in the continuation of this conversation within the cycle *'Middle East - Israeli-Palestinian conflict.'*

July 23th

July 23th – Discussion of **Susan Sontag's** Essay **'The Double Standard of Aging'** and the movie **'My Favorite Cake.'** The goal of this conversation, said the introducer **Staša Zajović,** is to discuss the topic of women's aging and the relationship that the environment, society and family, dominant cultural patterns, but also women themselves, have towards this phenomenon based on Susan Sontag's essay and the film *"My Favorite Cake"*. Introduction - from the point of view of ethnographic knowledge about the depiction and symbolization of female aging, was made by **Lada Stevanović** from the *Ethnographic Institute, Belgrade.* She referred to ancient mythology, the ancient comedy writer Aristophanes, in which he dealt with the actions of women and their influence, such as *"Lysistrata"* and *"Women in the Assembly"*. S. Sontag's essay was previously shared and women commented on it.

Then *"My favorite Cake"* was shown, an Iranian-French-Swedish-German film from 2024, directed by **Maryam Moghadam** and **Behtash Sanaiha.** Mahin is a 70-year-old woman who lives alone in Tehran. Her husband died; her daughter moved to Europe. In the context of the religious police, the theocratic state, the heroine of this film makes a decision to make changes in her personal life - a new love and a romance with a tragic end.

After watching the film, which lasted *97 minutes,* an informal and lively discussion developed among the attendees, with impressions about the characters of the main actors, the atmosphere of privacy in the theocratic rule, breaking taboos about people in Iran and their need for freedom and personal happiness - and of course, not agreeing to the limitations of patriarchy and biological time... This event was attended by **11** women.

(Integral reports in Serbian language about „Roundtable Discussions“ you can find on WiB website)

CAMPAIGNS, APPEALS

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

Punish the attacker on Marija Srdić! – Women in Black strongly condemned the attack committed by an unidentified man on June 6 - he hit the activist Marija Srdić with his car, after a 16-minute silence in Novi Sad. "This is yet another in a series of unsanctioned attacks on citizens, male and female students, activists, journalists - a huge area of impunity created by the mafia-criminal regime in Serbia, led by Aleksandar Vučić. We demand from the competent institutions of the state of Serbia to find, process and adequately punish the attacker of Maria Srdić as soon as possible. As before, we will continue to participate in civil protests and thereby give his contribution to the fight against the SNS regime," *the announcement of June 6 states.*

We remember the women raped in the war! – in a statement on the occasion of June 19 - the International Day of Combating Sexual Violence in Conflicts, Women in Black, the Autonomous Women's Center and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights expressed solidarity with all women and girls who are victims of war crimes of sexual violence, both during the wars in the former Yugoslavia during the nineties, and today throughout the world in dozens of armed conflicts.

Since Serbia is the only country in the region that has not yet recognized the war crime of rape, the request for amendments to the Law on the Rights of Combatants, War Disabled Persons, Civil War Disabled Persons and their Family Members was repeated, in order to explicitly recognize women who survived wartime sexual violence as civilian victims of war, regardless of their nationality. The demand for efficient and fair prosecution of perpetrators, etc., was also repeated.

Stop the persecution of political dissenters! - Women in Black strongly condemned the initiation of criminal proceedings (*June 23, 2025*) against **MPs Dragana Rakić, Danijela Nestorović and Jelena Milošević** due to a conflict with the police in front of the Prosecutor's Office in this city, during a protest for the release of political activists. "The prosecution of political dissidents is a continuation of the misogynistic campaign of defamation and intimidation of both female students, activists, and opposition politicians. Women are always the first targets of persecution because women are the most active in the defense of human rights and democracy."

In a statement dated *June 24*, WiB expresses solidarity with the opposition parliamentarians, requests the end of criminal proceedings - political persecution, etc.

Stop state-organized terror against demonstrators – in a statement dated *July 3*, WiB condemns the brutal violence perpetrated for days by members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia. “The dissatisfaction of a large part of the population in Serbia is manifested in blockades in many cities throughout the country, which represents the most active resistance that the despotic government rightly fears. During the wars in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, the members of this regime were not mere observers, but active participants. Their hands have long been bloody. Now, when the war has returned home, they continue to wage war against the population of their own country. Their hands are still bloody. That is why we will continue to participate in civil blockades. That is why we will continue demanding an end to police brutality against peaceful protesters. That’s why we will continue to express our support and solidarity with all the victims of this regime,” the statement said, among other things.

The memorial park to Dragan Marković Palma is an insult and a shame for Serbia! - Women in Black and the Autonomous Women’s Center deeply abhor the fact that on July 7, 2025, in Jagodina, in the presence of A. Vučić, a park dedicated to Dragan Marković Palma was opened. He was a member of the military formation “Tigers”, which was commanded by Željko Ražnatović Arkan, and which is known for numerous war crimes committed, including sexual violence against women in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. Dragan Marković Palma also organized parties where sexual abuse and rape of girls and women took place.

“The history of impunity for violence and crimes committed in war is perpetuated both through impunity in the sphere of domestic violence and through the non-recognition of victims of rape crimes both in war and in peace. Sexual crimes in the so-called peacetime period in Serbia unequivocally indicate the connection between war and post-war sexual violence against women,” the statement states.

We shall never forget the genocide in Srebrenica! – Announcement on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica (July 10, 2025)

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

- **By the ruling of the International Court of Justice (2007), the State of Serbia was declared responsible for violating the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.**
- The Hague Tribunal proved, beyond reasonable doubt, the individual criminal responsibility of a large number of members of Serbian armed formations and political institutions that

acted in the spirit of realizing the territorial project of Greater Serbia, and the genocide in Srebrenica was part of that project.

- **On May 23, 2024, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Resolution on the Srebrenica genocide.** Serbia voted against, while all countries of the former Yugoslavia voted for the Resolution. The resolution, among other things, declared July 11 International Day of Remembrance of the Genocide in Srebrenica, and denying the genocide qualifies as a criminal offense.
- **Instead of immediately adopting the UN Resolution as an exceptional moral and political chance for the state and society to remove the stain from the name of Serbia in the region and worldwide, the Serbian regime headed by A. Vučić is pursuing a reckless, brutal campaign against the Resolution.**
- **By distorting the Resolution and through gross manipulation, the regime and its media are spreading a paranoid fear that by recognizing the genocide, guilt is being imposed on the Serbian people, thereby turning the entire nation into hostages of criminal politics.**
- **By hiding behind the Serbian people, to whom no mention is made in the UN Resolution, the representatives of the regime hide their personal, political and moral responsibility for their shameful past as active participants in criminal politics in the 1990's.**
- **As of recently, the current president of the Republic is spreading paranoia that the rebel students will admit the genocidal nature of the crime in Srebrenica and that this admission will cause supposedly irreparable damage to the Serbian people.**
- **In Serbia, not only the continuity of denial, but also the state policy of denial of genocide are still at work:** the state of Serbia continues to protect war criminals because the instigators and followers of the criminal led by President A. Vučić are in power. To the shame of this state and society, they are proud of the crimes committed in our name and that is why there is no justice for the victims, the prosecution of war crimes has practically stopped, and the absence of sympathy for the victims of genocide prevails in public space.

On this occasion, we reiterated our demands:

- **That the Srebrenica genocide be recognized, primarily as respect for the dignity of the victims,** but also as a chance for Serbia to join the community of democratic countries in Europe and the world.
- **That the President and all other state representatives stop**

denying the genocide and all other war crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond.

- **That the denial of genocide and all crimes against humanity and war crimes be qualified as a criminal offense.**
- **That July 11 be declared the Day of Remembrance of the Srebrenica Genocide.**
- **That all murals that celebrate the war criminal R. Mladić, convicted of genocide in Srebrenica, be removed throughout Serbia.**
- **That the state of Serbia stop its policy of causing regional instability** by interfering in the internal affairs of neighboring countries, primarily Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Stop violence against students in Novi Pazar! – Women in Black strongly condemned the invasion of the State University in Novi Pazar by members of private security from Kraljevo, as well as members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (July 29, 2025).

“This action represents an act of overt violence by the regime with the aim of expelling students from the faculty, as well as intimidating the students who block the faculties and the citizens who support them. It is especially dangerous and worrisome that they are trying to create inter-ethnic conflicts. However, this did not succeed thanks to the expressed solidarity of other university centers in Serbia. We support the just student struggle against the despotic and criminal regime,” the statement from *July 30* states.

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