



*žene u crnom  
beograd*



# Report

**September, October,  
November and  
December  
2025**

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](http://www.zeneucrnom.org) or contact us by mail: [office@zeneucrnom.org](mailto:office@zeneucrnom.org)

We thank you in advance for your understanding.

# September, October, November and December 2025

## Report

**Street actions:** In this reporting period, we organized fifteen (15) actions, and we also actively participated in other street actions (student and civil protests).

- commemorations/markings of important dates of crimes committed in our name

- feminist, anti-fascist, anti-war, anti-racist, anti-militarist...

### 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, ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:

#### Belgrade, October 5<sup>th</sup>



**Belgrade, October 5<sup>th</sup> “We will never forget the crime in Topčider”** - on the occasion of the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the murder of two guardsmen in the barracks in Topčider (October 5, 2004), activists of the Women in Black Network from Belgrade, Pančevo, Kruševac, Kraljevo and Leskovac, together with the women’s association Anima, Đulići/Bosnia and Herzegovina, organized two protests in black and silence:



• *In front of the barracks in Topčider* – the place of the murder, where we, together with the families, attended the commemoration of the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the murder. Banners were displayed at the scene of the crime *We shall never forget the crime in Topčider; Solidarity, Responsibility*. Flowers were laid that read “Remembering Topčider Crime - Women in Black”; twenty (20) women participated in this action.



• *In Knez Mihailova Street* – the following banners were displayed: *We shall never forget the crime in Topčider; We remember Dražan Jakovljević and Dražen Milovanović; Who killed the soldiers? Reveal the soldiers’ killers!*



On this occasion, a stage action was carried out: the following was written in salt on the pavement: *We remember! 10/05/2004 – 10/05/2025*. In memory of those killed, one by one the activists placed a white rose on the sidewalk. **25** women participated in this action.



**Sjeverin, October 22<sup>th</sup>** – The commemoration on the occasion of the 33<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the crime in Sjeverin was attended by activists of the Women in Black Network from Prijepolje and Priboj, where they paid their respects to the killed civilians, and afterwards went to the town of Mioče and laid flowers. (*Let us be reminded: on October 22, 1992, on the bus route Priboj - Rudo, members of the Serbian paramilitary formation Osvetnici (Avengers) kidnapped 22 passengers of Bosniak nationality*).

**Tuzla/B&H, October 22<sup>th</sup> – Ramiz Berbić**, poet, activist of the Women in Black Network, performed an act of commemoration of the crime in Sjeverin in the main town square, with messages written in salt on the pavement "*Sjeverin - Solidarity 10/22/1992 - 10/22/2025*". R. Berbić performs all actions alone, in accordance with his artistic-activist concept.



**Tuzla, October 25<sup>th</sup> "Kazani – Not in my name! I'm ashamed!"** – *Ramiz Berbić* dedicated this action to the crime in Kazani - the killing of civilians, mainly Serbs, but also of other nationalities from mid-1992 to October 1993. The bodies were thrown into the Kazani pit, which is located in the Sarajevo neighborhood of Bistrik. The murder was carried out by members of the B&H Army, a unit commanded by Sarajevo criminal Mušan Topalović Caco. The remains of 29 people were removed from the Kazani pit, and the number of those killed has never been officially determined. On the initiative of the NGO UDIK from Sarajevo, a memorial was erected in 2021 with a list of identified persons.



**Ustikolina (B&H) October 26<sup>th</sup> – Visit to the Memorial Complex 'The Hayir Fountain of Foča'**, a monument dedicated to more than 2,360 murdered residents of Foča. Some of them were members of the families present at this shocking event. The names

of the victims are written on a 34 meters long wall; with sculptures dedicated to the murdered, missing, women raped in the war, murdered children. Foča's Hair fountain was created thanks to donations from Foča from all over the world - a permanent reminder of the scale of the crimes committed in Foča. Instead of the memorial being built at the crime scenes in Foča, it was erected in Ustikolina (11 km from Foča, in the Federation of B&H) because the local authorities in Foča have not allowed even the smallest plaque to be placed to mark the crime scenes in Foča. During the war, more than 20,000 Bosniak people were expelled from Foča, over 3,000 Bosniaks were killed, etc. The visit was attended by: *Halida Konjo Uzunović, Ilvana Konjo, Kemalemir Frašto, Zenija Hajdarević* (witnesses at the Women's Court - Foča case), as well as *Staća Zajović, Violeta Đikanović and Lino Veljak*, WiB, Belgrade.

## Belgrade, November 18<sup>th</sup>

**Belgrade, November 18<sup>th</sup> "We will never forget the crimes in Vukovar!"** - on the occasion of the 34<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of Vukovar, Women in Black organized a vigil in black and silence in Knez Mihailova Street.



The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- *We shall never forget the crimes in Vukovar*
- *Camps for Croats in Serbia (1991/92): 7,000 prisoners, 14 killed*
- *Begejci*
- *Stajićevo*
- *Military and investigative prison in Belgrade*
- *KPD Sremska Mitrovica*
- *Niš*
- *Aleksinac*
- *Justice for the victims, punishment for the perpetrators*





A stage action was also performed at the protest: the word Vukovar was written in salt on the pavement and the Vučedol dove was drawn - the symbol of the city of Vukovar.

Twenty (20) activists participated in the protest.

Several verbal incidents took place during the protest: several passers-by hurled insults at our commemorative action, and several of them trampled messages written in salt. The police did not react, but calmly observed everything from a distance...

**Tuzla, November 18<sup>th</sup> - Ramiz Berbić** marked the 34<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of Vukovar in the main town square with messages written in salt on "Solidarity"; "Let us not forget Vukovar".

### FEMINIST, ANTI-FASCIST, ANTI-WAR, ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-MILITARIST ACTIONS:



**Tuzla/B&H, September 4<sup>th</sup> "Support to the Freedom Flotilla - Support to Palestine"** - peace action by Ramiz Berbić on the city square in Tuzla - solidarity with the international humanitarian action.

**Belgrade, September 17<sup>th</sup> "Let's banish war from history and our lives"** - an anti-war action in black and silence was organized on the occasion of the World Day of Peace.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- *Let's banish war from history and our lives (in Serbian and English)*
- *Endless wars*
- *Everything for peace, health and knowledge, nothing for weapons*
- *No military parades! Not in our name!*
- *September 21 – World Day of Peace*
- *Women in Black against the war*



## Belgrade, October 7<sup>th</sup>



Ten (10) activists participated in the protest; during the action there were verbal attacks - curses and insults by passers-by.

**Belgrade, October 7<sup>th</sup> "Stop the genocide in Gaza!"** - Anti-war action on the occasion of the second anniversary of the beginning of the war in Gaza.



The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- Stop the genocide in Gaza (in Arabic, Hebrew, English and Serbian)
  - Stop the occupation!
  - Serbia exports weapons to Israel = Serbia is complicit in the genocide in Gaza
  - You are called to rise together against genocide.
- Place: everywhere. Time: always.

Fifteen (15) activists participated in the protest.

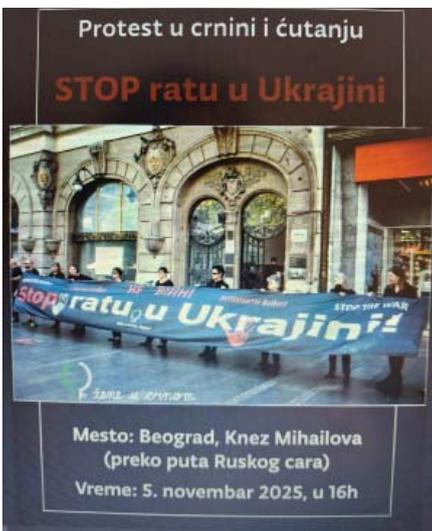


**Tuzla, October 26<sup>th</sup> "International Palestinian Women's Day"** - Ramiz Berbić organized a solidarity action with Palestinian women, holding the mentioned banner.

## Belgrade, November 5<sup>th</sup>

**Belgrade, November 5<sup>th</sup> "Stop the war in Ukraine!"**

- Anti-war action in blackness and silence.





Belgrade, December 6<sup>th</sup>

- Women in black against the war
- Women in black against fascism
- War in Ukraine: 3 years, 8 months, 1 week, 5 days

23 activists participated in the protest.

**Belgrade, December 6<sup>th</sup> "Stop killing women!"** – On the occasion of December 6 - the International Day Against Femicide, Women in Black and the Autonomous Women's Center, with the support of the association Anima from Đulić (B&H) and the Network of Women in Black from: Kruševac, Leskovac, Vlasotinac, Priboj and Prijepolje, as well as women, refugees from Gaza, organized a protest on Republic Square.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- Not one woman less, not one dead more
- Why are they not among us?
- Punish the irresponsible behavior of institutions
- December 6 - Day of the fight against femicide



During the protest, a stage action was also performed. The women stretched out seven red ribbons, crossing them to form a circle. Then, a drop of red shoes was placed at each end, symbolizing the murdered women. The action, which was accompanied by female drummers, ended with the banner *Stop Killing Women!* placed on the red ribbons! Forty (40) female activists participated in the protest.



**Tuzla, December 18<sup>th</sup> "Freedom to Migrants"**– On the occasion of the International Day of Migrants, **Ramiz Berbić**, activist of the WiB Network, carried out the mentioned action with the messages *"Stop Fascism towards Migrants"*, *"Freedom to Migrants"*, etc.

## 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](http://www.zeneucrnornom.org) i [www.zenskisud.org](http://www.zenskisud.org) or contact us by mail: [zeneucrnornombeograd@gmail.com](mailto:zeneucrnornombeograd@gmail.com)

**The first Women's Court in the territory of Europe was held in Sarajevo, May 7<sup>th</sup> to May 10<sup>th</sup>, 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.

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

During this reporting period, the following activities were organized:

**Feminist ethics of care and responsibility** - visits by WiB activists to female witnesses (W'sC Sarajevo), peace meetings of exchange and cooperation in the region - support for victims:

**September 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>**

**September 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>** – solidarity visit to *Mother Mejra* in Bihać (B&H) Mother Mejra (Mejra Dautović), a woman whose two children (daughter Edna and son Edvin) were tortured and killed in the Omarska camp in 1992. The visitors were: *Ervina Dabižinović* and *Ljupka Kovačević*, activists of the Center for Women's and Peace Education 'Anima' from Kotor.

**Đulići, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>**

**Đulići, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>** – meeting of feminist ethics of care - continued cooperation with witnesses at the Women's Court and support for women.

**September 26<sup>th</sup> – a gathering** organized by Lutvija, at her aunt's house. The living room area was filled with women (**36** women), which pleasantly surprised us. It is increasingly difficult to bring women together because the socio-political climate is too complex and unstimulating, but Suvada, in her calm and persistent way, succeeds in motivating women to participate in the fight for justice (witnessing and attending war crimes trials in Sarajevo) and to live a better life - organizing meetings, socials, joint trips and gatherings. We were at Lutvija's house, who treated us with Bosnian specialties with her sisters.

**September 27<sup>th</sup>:** we worked in the space of the association 'Anima', which was supplemented with new chairs and photographs and peace messages on the walls. **32** women from the villages of Đulići, Klise, Radava, Dubrava, Grbavci, Živinice, Šetići participated.

The topic was: **Parenting**

Workshop leader: **Ljupka Kovačević**, one of the founders of the Center for Women's and Peace Education 'Anima', feminist therapist of the Women's Court

Through an attempt to define parenthood (all emphasized care, pain and responsibility) and almost complete agreement (with the exception of two women) that parenthood is taught.

We talked about parental messages and the lack of parenting education during schooling. They mostly rated themselves as good parents and emphasized their position – as single parents (their husbands were killed in the war) and that they were forced to perform both roles and to ensure the existence and development of their children. They emphasized that it is important for parenting that both parents participate in it. They also pointed out that there was not much joy, apart from rare moments, during the period of their children's growth, but that they are now satisfied with the achievements and lifestyle of their children, aware that the conditions in which the children grew and developed were difficult and left their mark.

We acknowledged and supported their struggles and relativized their fear of the consequences of not having another parent. In the end, they all gave credit to themselves as parents. The atmosphere in the group was supportive, and humor and joy resulted after the workshop.

The continuation was a joint dinner and a pleasant restaurant. The next day (*September 28*) we had a short meeting, after which Ervina and I (Ljupka) returned to Montenegro.

**Vršac/Vojvodina, September 28<sup>th</sup> and November 22<sup>th</sup>**

**Vršac/Vojvodina, September 28<sup>th</sup> and November 22<sup>th</sup>** – visit to *Rosa Jakovljević*, witness at W'sC, mother of the murdered soldier (October 5, 2004); the following were visiting: Melanija Aleksić, Ljiljana Radovanović, Violeta Đikanović, Staša Zajović (WiB) and Suvada Selimović, association 'Anima' Đulići/B&H.

## The Women's Court – Foča case

**The Women's Court – Foča case** – It was held in Belgrade on **June 26<sup>th</sup>, 2023**, organized by Women in Black and the Autonomous Women's Center in Belgrade, in the Miljenko Dereta Space, with the support of feminist groups from B&H, Montenegro, Croatia, W'sC associates, as well as art collectives from Serbia. This event was attended by about seventy people (**70**), both from the region and from European and non-European countries.

*The Women's Court - the case of Foča* was devoted to sexual crimes because during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), Foča was a place of systematic sexual violence and rape. The International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia established for the first time in the Foča case that sexual slavery be considered a crime against humanity. Nevertheless, despite this historically significant verdict, some of the sexual crimes against the women and men of Foča, unfortunately, were not disclosed or acknowledged, but were silenced and forgotten... The Women's Court - the case of Foča is a continuation of the fight, together with the women and men of Foča, for justice for the victims of sexual crimes in Foča and beyond. At the W'sC - Foča case, the following 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, one (**1**) public presentation was held:

### Novi Pazar, October 24<sup>th</sup>



### Novi Pazar, October 24<sup>th</sup> – Women's Court - Foča case

The public presentation was held in the Bosniak National Council in the presence of **72** people from *Serbia*: Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Prijepolje, Priboj na Limu, Nova Varoš, Kraljevo, Pančevo, Novi Sad, Belgrade; *Kosovo* (Pristina); *Montenegro* (Herceg Novi, Kotor and Podgorica).

After the introductory remarks by Fahrudin Kladničanin, Academic Association 'Forum 10' from Novi Pazar (co-organizers of this event) and Staša Zajović, Women in Black, Belgrade, the documentary film **Women's Court - feminist approach to justice: the case of Foča** - screening of the documentary film (42 min.) directed by *Marija Arandžević*, produced by Women in Black, was shown. The film is about the Women's Court-Case of Foča, held in Belgrade (June 26, 2023).





**Witnesses at the Women’s Court - Foča case Halida Konjo Uzunović and Ilvana Konjo expressed their gratitude to the people of Novi Pazar who provided them with hospitality and refuge after the persecution from Foča.** “Novi Pazar is my second hometown. I was reborn from the inferno of Foča. I was born in Foča on June 28, 1964. My new birth was here when I came on June 28, 1992. I can never forget those scenes of warmth and friendship of people in Novi Pazar” (*Halida*). “More than thirty years have passed. We are grateful that you provided for us after the exile from Foča. We would have ended up in the camps, if it weren’t for you. We have no words to thank you.” (*Ilvana*).



*Then the witnesses spoke about the importance of testifying at the Women’s Court - exonerating guilt, overcoming fear, gaining self-confidence: ‘I was reborn with what we did at W’sC’; ‘I didn’t say to myself for a second that I shouldn’t have witnessed that.’* The witnesses spoke about their personal experience, which represents the experiences of a large number of women: “Our stories all match.” And of course, they talked about the duty to convey the truth: “So that what happened to us should never happen again to anyone. I pray you to pass it on so that it doesn’t happen again.”

**Halida Konjo Uzunović:** “Being a witness at W’sC freed me as a person from all the shackles of injustice, sadness, misery and hell that fell on our shoulders. Until 2018, when I met WiB and Staša for the first time, I’d remained cowardly silent and thought that I would never have enough strength to express everything that was happening to me. However, through acquaintance with them, through association, they instilled enormous strength and trust in me and the determination to finally speak out. I realized that everything that happened was not my shame, but someone else’s shame. I was so encouraged and empowered and freed that at the end the book (*Orient*) was published, where everything was described. I’ve been reborn with what we did at W’sC. I am very proud and very grateful to all the people who helped me”.





**Ilvana Konjo:** “When the W’sC process started, I thought I would never speak out because of upbringing, shame. It is not easy when a woman comes forward and speaks publicly. It is not simple to think how it will affect my mother who is 86 years old, who is a believer, how it will affect my child, the company I work for. However, I never told myself for a second that I should not have witnessed this”.

**Zenija Hajdarević:** “At W’sC we got the opportunity, with the help of WiB, to tell the truth. Our stories all match.”

**Kemalemir Frašto:** “I tried to speak in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2011, but I encountered misunderstanding. Halida encouraged me, so I met Staša. She gave me the opportunity to do something that I didn’t know I needed. I was freed from the shackles. After this testimony, I no longer feel guilty that I could not help my mother. I feel that something will remain behind me, for generations to read and learn. That what happened to us will never happen again to anyone.” I beseech you to pass it on so it doesn’t happen again.

*The witnesses and the witness spoke about suppressed, unrecognized crimes against the Bosniak people during World War II, when Bosniak civilians were exposed to ethnic cleansing, torture, and rape by Serbian armed formations (Chetniks). The silenced unpunished crimes left deep transgenerational traumas.*

“The same thing happened in the Second World War, but it was forbidden to be talked about. We experienced the same thing fifty years later” (*Ilvana*); “In B&H, Foča is a place of suffering for Bosniaks. I heard that from my mother-in-law, we experienced the same thing. We Bosniaks in B&H, whenever there was a war, we suffered the most. No one was ever prosecuted and convicted for all that” (*Zenija*); “Our parents and our grandfathers were not allowed to talk about what happened to them in the Second World War, so it happened to us in the nineties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century” (*Kemalemir*).

**From the discussion with the audience, we highlight some of the impressions of those present:**

“The tragedy that you went through is unspeakable. Your testimony is a guide to the young generations. You are always welcome in Novi Pazar”; “We want to give you support, to thank you for the courage to tell us. All the Bosniaks of this town lived your pain and they all tried to ease your pain”; “You have given a speech here tonight to the world. For the past thirty years, what you have carried with you is a tear in your eye, and that is the most powerful thing in the world. You have kept the humanity within you. You do not hate, but love”; “People from Pazar did what they knew and could. We survived it all together with you. Thank you for speaking. If what happened in the Second World War had been talked about, the 1990’s would not have happened again.”

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

In this reporting period WiB attended following trials:

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

*(Let us remind:* The Kravica crime indictment was brought at the beginning of 2016. This was the beginning of the most important trial at the High Court in Belgrade / Special Court, the Srebrenica genocide. However, on 14 July 2017, the Court of Appeal ruled that the indictment for this crime be annulled, 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, etc.

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

**September 11** - Without prior explanation, the court's expert, doctor Vedo Tuco, did not attend today's main trial, so the main trial was postponed.

**December 18** - At today's main hearing, the court expert, doctor Vedo Tuco from Tuzla, gave his testimony, questioned by the expert advisor, Dr. Marija Đurić. In their mutual questioning and answering, we could hear that it is undeniable that there is a connection between the locations of the mass graves and the crime scene, but the number is disputed, as well as the number of bodies that were transferred from the primary to the secondary graves.

### **The trial of Krunoslav Fehir**

Krunoslav Fehir was detained on June 15, 2025, upon entering Serbia. The High Court in Belgrade ordered the detention of this Croatian citizen being charged by the judiciary in Serbia with war crimes.

The defendant has been charged with the crime of organizing and inciting the commission of genocide and war crimes from Article 145 paragraph 2 of the Criminal Code of the FRY.

Krunoslav Fehir is a former member of the police and a former member of the formation "Branimir's Osijek Battalion" (BOB), and he was a key witness at the trial of Branimir Glavaš. In October 2023, Glavaš was extrajudicially sentenced to seven years in prison for war crimes. This is a repeated procedure, after the Constitutional Court of Croatia in 2015, for procedural reasons, annulled the final verdict, according to which Glavaš was sentenced to eight years in prison.

In this reporting period, five **(5)** hearings were held: *October 10; November 12 and 19 and December 2 and 10:*

**October 10** - A preliminary hearing was held before the High Court in Belgrade, which started the trial of Krunoslav Fehir.

At the next hearing, the Prosecutor's Office for War Crimes amended the indictment against Fehir, who is now accused of belonging to the armed formation "Branimir's Osijek Battalion" (BOB), which illegally deprived of liberty, intimidated, killed and abused civilians of Serbian nationality.

In the initial indictment, the Prosecution focused on the murder of Serbian civilian Čedomir Vučković, but the defense submitted files from Croatian judicial authorities that show that proceedings against Krunoslav Fehir in Croatia for the same criminal offense were conducted and suspended.

That indictment was amended, considering that a person cannot be tried twice for the same criminal offense.

Krunoslav Fehir rejected the charges against him at the trial. He said that in June 1991, his father Josip Fehir took him against his will to the "Ivan Goran Kovačić" Elementary School in Osijek, where as a 16-year-old boy, he became part of Glavaš's group.

The evidentiary proceedings officially ended on **December 2<sup>th</sup>**, with the presentation of the closing arguments of the War Crimes and Defense Prosecutor's Office. The court panel read the verdict on **December 10<sup>th</sup>**, by which it found the defendant guilty and sentenced him to six months in prison, the time he spent in custody was credited, so his custody was terminated and he was released.

**Other trials – in addition to the ones already mentioned, in this period we monitored the following trials:**

### **The trial of Miroslav Mika Aleksić for rape and sexual abuse**

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

**February 2022<sup>th</sup>** – the court proceedings against Aleksić began after several delays and final preparatory hearings.

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

**September 30<sup>th</sup>** - two women testified. The testimony of the second was interrupted due to health problems of the accused Aleksić.

Witness *Mina Radovanović*, as well as witness *Sara Zeljković*, stated that in everything they stand by the testimony they gave to the prosecution - about sexual harassment by the accused.

This hearing was attended by **13** activists of the WiB Network from: Belgrade, Kraljevo, Leskovac, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Banja Luka, Podgorica...

**30<sup>th</sup> September<sup>th</sup>** – At today’s main hearing, the accused Miroslav Aleksić did not appear. His defense attorney submitted to the court new medical documentation on the state of health of his client.

**November 7<sup>th</sup>** - At today’s main trial, the accused Miroslav Aleksić did not appear. The presiding judge made a decision to postpone the main trial indefinitely and ordered a new expert examination of the defendant’s health condition. Since the beginning of 2025, Aleksić has not attended any of the eight hearings, allegedly for health reasons. From the beginning, the trial has been accompanied by obstructions, “This trial will not end, we have lost hope for justice”, as the victims have stated on several occasions. **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...

### **Trial of the “Novi Sad Twelve”**

In the High Court in Novi Sad, **Novemeb 24<sup>th</sup>, 2025**, the trial began “for preparing an act against the constitutional order and security of Serbia and calling for a violent change in the constitutional order”. The meeting in the premises of the Movement of Free Citizens/MFC (March 11, 2025) before the large student protest on March 15 in Belgrade was eavesdropped by the Security Information Agency/BIA, and the target of the attack was MFC MP Anna Oreg, eavesdropped by the BIA (Security Information Agency) since May 2025 in the premises of the MFC in Novi Sad, thus the activists/women of the Novi Sad student organization STAV and MFC were ‘mistakenly’ recorded.

That conversation was broadcast on all regime televisions, and six people were arrested on March 14.

Six of them who were accused were present in the courtroom: activists of the Movement of Free Citizens *Marija Vasić, Lado Jovović, Srđan Đurić, Mladen Cvijetić* and *Davor Stefanović* and *Lazar Dinić* from the student group STAV. Six people are being tried in absentia: activists/women of the organization STAV and students *Mila Pajić, Anja Pitulić, Doroteja Antić, Branislav Đorđević, Jovan Dražić* and *Dejan Bagarić*, who are abroad.

At the beginning of the main trial, the defense lawyers said that “the defendants have already been judged by the media, that the proceedings are motivated by political and not legal reasons, that this proceeding is intended to declare the defendants guilty in advance. “They also requested the exemption of: Public Prosecutor of the Higher Public Prosecutor’s Office in Novi Sad Slobodan Josimović, Chief Public Prosecutor of the Higher Public Prosecutor’s Office in Novi Sad Branislav Lepotić, Appellate Public Prosecutor Tatjana Lagumdžija and Supreme Public Prosecutor Zagorka Dolovac. The High Prosecution Council will decide on that request. The judge made a decision

to postpone the main trial in order to make a decision on the requests for exemption, and scheduled the next one for February 2, 2026. Activists of WiB have been following this trial as a sign of solidarity with the accused, as well as with the organizations (STAV and MFC) with which they have been cooperating for a long time.

**The trial of “The Nine”, December 8<sup>th</sup>** - Before the High Court in Belgrade, the trial of the nine students who were arrested after the Vidovdan protest on June 28, 2025 began. On September 19, the Higher Public Prosecutor’s Office filed an indictment on the suspicion that the accused committed the criminal offense of “preparing an act against the constitutional system and the security of Serbia in connection with the criminal act of calling for a violent change of the constitutional system as a co-perpetrator.”

Luka S. (22) from Kragujevac, Bojo B. (23) from Belgrade, Lazar S. (21) from Zaječar, Ivan M. (20) from Smederevo, Dušan S. (23) from Belgrade, Dimitrija S. (22) from Niš, Dimitrija D. (25) from Niš, Nikola P. (22) from Apatin and Luka D. (20) from Valjevo are included in the indictment.

Today’s main hearing was postponed because the two defendants, who were prevented from coming for health reasons, did not appear at the same, about which their defense attorneys submitted medical documentation to the judge. Before the start of the main trial, a protest was held in front of the court.

*The next main hearing is scheduled for March 2, 2026.*

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

## **VIDEO ACTIVISM: TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE - A FEMINIST APPROACH**

In order to improve the visibility of the effects of different models of transitional justice, especially the one from a feminist point of view, promoted by Women in Black (WiB), a group of video activists was created in 2010, trained in recording, editing, digitizing and posting on the Internet video and audio material collected during regular WiB activities, in order to make it available to the general public in the form of short films.

In this reporting period, the group realized:

- **We will never forget the genocide in Srebrenica** (9 min.) - documentary by director Vladimir Šojat about the WiB action ‘Serbia, look at yourself in the mirror - you will see Srebrenica!’ - 30 mirrors - 30 years ‘ in Belgrade on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica.

## WOMEN IN BLACK MEETING

**Radmilovac near Belgrade  
10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, 2025**

**The meeting of the Women in Black Network was held on October 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, 2025 in Radmilovac near Belgrade.** The meeting was attended by 77 people from 28 cities from the following countries: *Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zvornik, Banja Luka, Mostar, Zenica); *Montenegro* (Pljevlja); *Croatia* (Zagreb); *Kosovo* (Prizren/London); *Italy* (Bologna); *Germany* (Berlin); *Palestine* (Ramallah); *Slovenia* (Ljubljana); *Serbia* (Belgrade, Kruševac, Novi Pazar, Novi Sad, Leskovac, Sombor, Subotica, Pančevo, Priboj, Bajina Bašta, Vlasotince, Prijepolje, Kraljevo, Ruma).

### **Friday, October 10<sup>th</sup>**

**A minute of silence for those who are no longer with us, for all victims of war, refugees, victims of natural disasters...- Ukraine, Gaza, Israel, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Palestine, Sudan, Congo, Libya, Tigray/Ethiopia, Myanmar, Pakistan, Iran...**

**Tragedies in the former Yugoslavia: Bosnia and Herzegovina:** at the beginning of October 2024 in the area of Northern Herzegovina and central Bosnia - catastrophic floods caused by illegal quarrying, in which **27** people died; Novi Sad, January 1, 2024: fall of the canopy at the railway station, **16** people killed; **Cetinje/Montenegro, 1/1/2025:** mass murder of 12 people; **Kočani/Macedonia: 59** people died in a discotheque fire...



**Presentation of participants, agreement on work**

**Transitional justice – a feminist approach**

**Sexual Violence in Wartime - Transmission of Trauma from Mother to Child**

Research presented by: **Feride Rushiti**, doctor, founder and director, Center for Rehabilitation of Torture Survivors (Kosova Rehabilitation Center for Torture Victims/KRCT), Prishtina, Kosovo; moderated by: **Sanja Pavlović**, Autonomous Women's Center, Belgrade.



In the introductory part, Feride Rushiti introduced the attendees to the provision of support to refugees from Kosovo in Albania (where she was specializing in gastroenterology). Rushiti said that as a doctor she met victims of sexual violence, but *'the trauma of victims of sexual violence was colored by silence. The victims came looking for different types of medical help, but they did not talk about the experience of sexual violence, because above all they felt enormous shame and guilt for what happened to them.'*

She then stated that 'Kosovo does not have official statistics, but according to estimates by international organizations, around 20,000 women and men were raped. About 2,200 people received the status of survivors of sexual violence in the war. The state and its institutions were silent. Society stigmatized survivors. In 2014, a Law was passed recognizing the status of victims of sexual violence in war. This is the most invisible pain in our society'.

Then she spoke about the establishment of the *Kosovo Center for the Rehabilitation of Torture Victims/KRCT*, about the activities: they provide psychological, medical and social rehabilitation for victims of torture, for victims of sexual violence during the war, for asylum seekers, for forcibly displaced persons, and for children coming from conflict zones; we advocate legal changes, we provide legal assistance; we do strategic things and awareness campaigns etc.



About the research *'Sexual Violence in Wartime - Transmission of Trauma from Mother to Child'*, Feride Rushiti emphasized: 'This is the first research that dealt with the transmission of trauma from a biological epigenetic perspective. We took blood samples and measured the level of cortisol, the stress hormone. In mothers who had PTSD, during pregnancy, the children who were born from that pregnancy also had elevated levels of cortisol (the stress hormone) by 15%, in contrast to those children who were born to mothers who did not have PTSD, that level was 3%. 200 women participated in the research, 120 women and 120 children who were born after the war (they were not born from an act of rape, they were between 1 and 18 years old). *What they have in common is that their mothers were ex-*



*posed to sexual violence during the war.*

The first phase of the research, which began in 2019, showed the following:

- 72% of women had pronounced PTSD symptoms during pregnancy.
- 65% of women were still suffering twenty years after the war.

These women were between 11 and 37 years old during the war. Research has shown that the trauma process can be reversible. If the trauma is transmitted in this way, it can be if you work with families and with children, the cortisol level can drop. It is a positive part that gives hope, the second phase of the research from 2020 to 2023 was done with 64 families, Rushiti stressed.

F. Rushiti concluded her presentation: *'Trauma is transferable, but healing is also possible and transferable. If we have good intervention measures and therapeutic processes, we can influence the termination of transgenerational trauma. When we provide a safe place for a mother, when we provide healing services, we are not providing those services to just one person, we are actually providing them to entire generations.'*

### **Discussion corner: "Where to and what to do next"**

**Vidovdan student rally (June 28<sup>th</sup>, 2025): Civil disobedience or nationalist loyalty?** – panel discussion

*Participants:*

**Rade Veljanovski, Belgrade, retired Belgrade University professor**

**Snežana Jakovljević, Kruševac, "Peščanik» association**

**Biljana Stojković, Belgrade, professor of the Faculty of Biology, official of the Democratic Party**

**Teo Taranis, Academic Initiative 'Forum 10', Novi Pazar**

**Vladimir Jevtić, history professor, activist of the WiB Network, president of the Executive Board of the municipal organization of the Party of Justice and Freedom, Bajina bašta**

*Moderated by: Fahrudin Kladničanin and Staša Zajović*





### **Key points from the panelists:**

**The achievements of the student movement are impressive** ('they freed people from fear'; 'students became the most important social actor of change'; students awakened solidarity throughout Serbia); "the student movement did a lot: it got people interested in direct democracy in Serbia"; "student movement on inter-ethnic relations, especially between Serbs and Bosniaks"; 'despite all the challenges and with enormous efforts, the student movement managed to preserve the unity of action', etc.

**The student movement is ideologically very heterogeneous:** 'Students are not a homogeneous group at all. The FPS survey from a week ago showed that 2/3 of students are European-oriented, but there is a loud nationalist minority in the student movement...'

*Most of the space was dedicated to the student meeting on June 28:*

### **The Vidovdan student gathering gave space to right-wing ideas - advocates of nationalist ideas, the Kosovo myth, anti-European attitudes...**

'Milo Lompar (professor of the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade) was announced as a man who preserves the Serbian soul and national identity and Serbian tradition, and that bothered me, and I wrote about it. And the fact that the student movement says that we can all unite, and the star and the cockade and the cross! Various influences are exerted on the student movement. I have the impression that the accumulated energy of change, which is on the surface civil, pro-European, democratic, will once again break against the Kosovo wall ' (Rade V.)

'It's as if we'd gone back in time. Nationalism is all-pervasive' (Snežana J.).

'The nationalist minority is always loud. The participants of the Vidovdan gathering were decided by the plenums that dealt with the Kosovo myth. The students are putting a lot of effort into maintaining themselves as a movement and as a network. Students are wise enough to not allow the conflict to escalate into a collapse of the student movement. Students tend to promote traditional values, which does not mean that they are nationalists and rightists' (Biljana S.).

'June 28 turned into nationalist loyalty. The democratically oriented public in Serbia is wondering where the students are, have they disappeared, sunk into the nationalist narrative? The society is dominantly nationalistic, this also prevails among students. Novi Pazar became very popular, because it was the only counterweight to Vidovdan Serbia. Only there were changes in the value sense' (Teo T.).

'I experience that June 28 as a sort of nostalgia regret for nationalist fervor. It's not just tactics, there are ideologies and beliefs' (Vladimir J.).'





'If the students cannot say that the Albanians created their own state, if we do not recognize the reality, we are going to get an autocrat again. We expect these young people to make some inroads. Who will if not the young? If that paradigm remains, there will be no democracy' (*Vesna P.*).

'We have to change consciousness from within. We have to explain to people that Kosovo is not part of Serbia' (*Nikola Krstić*).

'It's not only nationalism, but also racism, when it comes to the Albanian people' (*Sanja Pavlović*).

*During this panel, there was also talk about the necessity of joint action of various social and political actors, but also about the fact that the student movement should be one list to which political parties, etc., will join.*

### **HOR RUK – pensioner-youth choir, Belgrade (concert together with the audience-participants of the gathering)**

**"Ramiz's summer"** – screening of a documentary film (90 min.) about **Ramiz Berbić**, peace activist, poet from Donja Obodnica near Tuzla, activist of the WiB Network. 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.

### **Saturday, October 11<sup>th</sup>**

**First session, 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Dayton Peace Agreement: Bosnia and Herzegovina in the jaws of Serbia, Croatia, the international community...**

Participants:

**Tanja Topić**, journalist and political analyst, Banjaluka/BH

**Suvada Selimović**, Association 'Anima' Đulići/BH

**Štefica Galić**, journalist and human rights activist, Mostar/BH

**Boris Pavelić**, journalist and peace activist, Zagreb/Croatia

**Dragan Stojković, MOST ART JUGOSLAVIJA** – association for the culture of connection, Zemun

*Moderated by: Fahrudin Kladničanin, Academic Initiative 'Forum 10', Novi Pazar and Staša Zajović, Women in Black, Belgrade*

**Dayton agreement - peace from above - absence of armed conflict, with the fear of new conflicts; legalization of ethnic divisions; territorial and political claims of Serbia and Croatia towards Bosnia and Herzegovina; impunity for war crimes and all types of injustice; ethnic barriers, fear of new conflicts; dysfunctional political system: corruption, robbery of public resources...**



Common points in the statements of the participants of this session:

- Dayton stopped the war, but Dayton's Constitution and political structure created an enduring conflict. The country is divided into entities according to the ethnic key (*Štefica*).
- Dayton rewarded two aggressive policies towards BH: one absolutely, the Serbian one, and the other partially, Croatian. It continues today (*Boris*).
- The Dayton Agreement stopped the use of weapons, but BH is still at war. BH is a colony of Croatia and Serbia (*Ramiz Berbić, Donja Obodnica near Tuzla*).
- We have three dissatisfied political structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Serbian one, which is dissatisfied because it did not get a state that could join Serbia; the Croatian side is dissatisfied because there is no third entity, they have not given up on that dream; the Bosniak side regrets that it cannot create a state in the true sense (*Tanja*).
- The policy of *The Serbian world* is the policy of all the war goals that existed since 1991, and which were realized with the status of Republika Srpska, and the goal is to break up the state of BH, by dividing it between Serbia and Croatia (*Dragan*).
- The citizens of BH live in daily fear of the outbreak of a new conflict, and this is a tension where we are like timed bombs, where the question arises - when will we explode? (*Tanja*).
- Separation never ended in Mostar; it works in the institutions. You have everything double. Two zones of influence: Democratic Action Party/SDA and Croatian Democratic Union/HDZ. This is the cemented division of BH: you don't have a wall, but wherever you go, you hit the wall. Apartheid system in schools: two schools under one roof, two programs, one is Bosnian and the other Croatian. The children do not have any joint activities, they do not meet one another. (*Štefica*).
- We are living the nightmare of the Dayton Peace Agreement: I cannot go to Banja Luka by public transport, because it does not exist. I have a car so I can get there, but I have to have the means to go and listen to the women. There were no women in Dayton. When a woman was killed, the police started chasing the perpetrator, but had to stop because they could not cross the entity border. Murderers walk our states... Will this ever stop? (*Selma, Sarajevo*).
- 'Patriotic' robbery: huge public funds and money were taken outside the state of BH, mainly to the West (*Tanja*).
- Croatia canceled the investigation against the war commander in Mostar, Zlatan Mija Jelic, accused of war crimes in the camps. The BH Prosecutor's Office had sent the Croatian authorities a well-argued indictment of 2,000 pages, and 200 witnesses were ready to testify against Z.M. Jelić (*Boris*).

- Two politicians from the RS admitted (in 2006) that genocide was committed in Srebrenica, and later denied it (*Tanja*).

**The Dayton Agreement brought about the end of the war, and the most important effect is the return to our homes – achieved without the support of the state, but solely through the efforts of women-returnees; however, in many parts of BH there was no return...**

- When we heard that the peace agreement had been signed, we screamed with happiness that the war had been stopped, that everyone could return to their homes! The most important thing was that the war had stopped. As long as there was peace, as long as there was no shooting. We renovated the houses with our own funds. We did not receive help from the RS. We fought alone (*Suvada*).
- It is true that one of the key points of the Dayton Agreement is return. Of the 20,000 people who were expelled, there are currently only eight Bosniak families in Foča, as the women and men expelled from Foča keep telling us (*Stasa*).

**The primarily political, but also the economic and social situation led to a dramatic demographic decline, brain drain, especially of young experts in the post-war period...**

- Half of the population of BH left - 30 years after the Dayton Agreement. From 1997 until today, 500,000 inhabitants left the territory of RS. In 1991, 1,300,000 people lived in that area (*Tanja*).
- This political situation drove people away from BH. Uncertainty scares people (*Suvada*).

**Peace agreements most often do not bring peace - peace is achieved from below, by a joint struggle for truth and justice, by trust and cooperation, by joint initiatives against divisions and borders because "Peace is too important to be left to politicians"**  
(John Lennon)

- Dodik's campaign for the separation of the RS was an excellent thing for sobering up a part of the citizens. Thanks to some activists, members of the *Movement for Justice and Order*, it was explained to the citizens that every day around 6,000 Serbs commute to work in Sarajevo. People live on it, support their families. It was a turning point to show people that Bosnia and Herzegovina is one country (*Tanja*).
- There is a potential that is not visible: these are people who cooperate regardless of state politics (*Dragan*).
- We worked with children from Srebrenica, Bratunac, Orašje. It took two years for their parents to let them come to Tuzla. Mothers were anxiously expecting their children back,

fearing what might have happened. The children had never traveled more than 50 kilometers away. The children said that we are the same people. We must work on transgenerational traumas (*Jasna Zečević, Tuzla*).

- We should give a chance to the civil option in B&H (*Štefica*).

### **Second session, Bosnia and Herzegovina in the jaws of the international community**

*All the participants of this session spoke about the role of the international community, as well as the participants of the discussion after the introductory presentations. The following positions were crystallized:*

- **Rada Žarković**, Insieme (Together – agricultural cooperative), Bratunac/Sarajevo
- **Nidžara Ahmetašević**, Sarajevo, journalist, researcher, activist
- **Sonja Biserko**, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Belgrade

*Moderated by: Ljiljana Spasić, Pančevo, activist of Civic Action and WiB Network and Nikola Krstić, freelance journalist, Belgrade*

All the participants of this session spoke about the role of the international community, as well as the participants of the discussion after the introductory presentations. The following positions were crystallized:

#### **Criticism of the international community, international aid - specific objections:**

- **The Dayton Agreement ‘captured’ BH, reducing it to a semi-protectorate; The Office of the High Representative/ OHR/ acts in a non-transparent, non-democratic manner; international organizations (OSCE) encourage and maintain ethnic apartheid, ethnic barriers are also the result of mistrust between local elites and the local population...**

‘We are prisoners of the Dayton Agreement, we do not have that document in our language, but only in English’ (*Rada Žarković*).

‘BH is a semi-protectorate. The Dayton Peace Accords created a social structure that survives as an imitation of a state where those on the outside have more power than anything on the inside. BH is not a country, we don’t have a Constitution, we have the Dayton Peace Agreement. The international community is represented by the Office of the High Representative and various organizations. Any decision of the BH authorities can be annulled, changed by the decision of the high representative. The election of that representative is extremely non-transparent, no one knows how the high representative is chosen, nor who exactly appoints him...’ (*Nidžara Ahmetašević*).

‘1997 was declared the year of return. Unfortunately, it was not suc-

cessful, because people returned to their entities and thereby further cemented the ethnic division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Local elites were not ready for any compromises. Unfortunately, we still have an insistence on national agendas, primarily Serbian and Croatian. This weakens the influence of the international community" (*Sonja Biserko*).

"Two schools under one roof is a decision imposed by the international community." OSCE created two schools under one roof and we cannot destroy that' (*Nidžara*).

"I and a lot of women deny ourselves certain political rights because we don't want certain identities imposed on us." My identity is a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am Bosnian and Herzegovinian by nationality. As such, I make it impossible for myself and my daughter to ever be chosen. I am teaching my daughter the way my mother taught me, and she was taught by her mother' (*Selma Hadžihalilović, Sarajevo*)

- **The weakening of the influence of the international community in the Western Balkans: stabilocracy instead of democracy; strengthening of toxic Russian influence; secessionism, historical revisionism, conspiracy of nationalist elites against citizens...**

'In 2008 financial crisis comes and the West turns to itself and leaves the entire space, acting by inertia. The international community tolerated the behavior of Dodik and Vučić. In Serbia, the revisionist approach to defeat in the 1990s is strengthening. Russia is paying for it. It starts with the idea of integrating Republika Srpska/RS into the Republic of Serbia. It is well integrated - about 80%. When Kosovo declares its independence (2008), Dodik slowly starts secessionism, a policy supported by Russia. We are once again becoming a geostrategic space where great powers clash over our backs. In a way, the Western Balkans is a mirror of weakness, primarily of Europe. What has been achieved is going into regression, national elites are once again clinging to nationalism' (*Sonja B.*).

- **For the international community, Bosnia and Herzegovina has a role to play in preventing migrants and refugees from war-torn areas from going to Europe through violence, persecution, deportations; The EU absolves itself of responsibility for the genocide in Gaza and the extremely unfavorable status of refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the entire Balkans** (*'The whole Balkans are getting a bad role in Europe again. We do the dirty work for them...'*)...

"The protectorate in Bosnia and Herzegovina will exist as long as the West benefits from our territories. At this moment, the only reason BH is useful to the international community is to keep the borders closed, to beat and deport migrants.

I am afraid that the West will evacuate people from Gaza. At the moment they are brought, they do not receive any status that allows

them freedom of movement and a normal life. They will be trapped in BH forever. We currently have 200 people in BH who were evacuated in the past two years, which is quite a large number, because no much stronger country has received such a number. People from Gaza come to BH every week, who enter on student visas, etc. Migrants did not cause the crisis, countries that closed their borders did. It is not a migrant crisis, but a political crisis. The EU will support Vučić as long as he detains migrants. We in BH have camps where we keep migrants who are not white people. We had camps and we allow someone to imprison people in camps before our eyes. In those camps they beat people and we don't talk about it' (*Nidžara A.*)

- **A huge part of the official international aid is intended for the bureaucratic structures of the representatives of the international community, as a function of their economic privileges and enrichment; international elites, in cooperation with the authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are alienated from the problems and needs of the citizens...**

"Over **85%** of international aid to BH was intended for structures and salaries of international staff." Of the rest - 15%, I don't know how much reached the people, because there were large organizations involved in it. That system of international aid mainly went through the government structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In those projects, the international coordinator has a huge salary, and the people in the field had 200 euros, because here the salary is 200 euros. There are foreigners living in Sarajevo for 20, 30 years. They are not interested in anything. They didn't even try to understand. They work a little, then go on a vacation/retreat. They have to list money because they are non-profit. They change computers half a year' (*Rada Ž.*)

- **Alternative international aid is the best example of internationalist solidarity, building peace from below, through inter-ethnic cooperation, trust...**

"I deal with the restoration of traditional production. An engineer from Italy came to us and did all this with his own money. Our friends, primarily from Italy, helped us, supported us. They built houses together, went to parties. Time will show that international solidarity really works in our example. For all these years, women and men, of different ethnic origins, have been working together, and there has never been the slightest problem on a national basis. (*Rada Ž.*)

- **Positive effects of the action of the international community (The Hague Tribunal, building of institutions, joint registration plates...)**

"In the period from 2000 to 2008, the EU invested a lot in building the state, state institutions, army, police, and that was the most productive part. A joint army and joint police force were established. It created a kind of state framework, which was completely destroyed during the war. In that period, cooperation with The Hague Tribunal

is important. That was the best part of his work, because the largest number of judgments took place' (*Sonja B.*).

"The international community has done a lot. Without an international representative, nothing could be done and will remain so until the citizens move. The only place where I saw citizen action was related to LGBT - they managed to fight for the pride parade" (*Mensura Mikijelj*).

'High representatives in BH have done one positive thing for all these years. That's no small thing. These are common license plates where neither the city nor the entity can be seen' (*Rada Ž.*).

- **There are alternatives: Not in our name – a message to representatives of the international community and local elites: instead of paternalism and victimism, listen and respect the voices on the ground; citizens of the region cross and overcome borders, it is necessary to organize and consolidate; the student movement in Serbia carries the new spirit of the times; the highest authorities – global, regional, local – must, when making decisions, take into account the valuable experience and knowledge of women who survived the war...**

"We have to find a way to decide for ourselves. I think it's time that after thirty years we talk about Bosnia and Herzegovina differently and that we, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, talk about it. In BH, it doesn't matter who is who. We live together. I teach at the university and I don't know who is who. Children come from all over the world and they came here to learn something. I have the right to decide about my life without a high representative' (*Nidžara*).

"Citizens of this region have a desire to overcome the borders, but the elites do not allow them to do so, keeping them in these pens, holding their positions, and at the same time communicating with all the elites in the region. It is a conspiracy against the citizens of the region. The student protest in Serbia carries a new spirit of the times. It is very important for us in the region to consolidate and organize, and the international community will certainly welcome it" (*Sonja*).

"We are nowhere in the international community because they don't want to let us in there. What we are telling them is not valuable. We who survived the war know what hunger is and what fear is. We survived the genocide. Our experiences and our lessons learned are worth discussing at the highest levels of decision-making. There are no obstacles for women. I can no longer bear it when others talk about me without me" (*Selma H.*).

### **Women's experience and vision of peace and a feminist critique of the Dayton Agreement**

#### **Summary**

The panel **"Peace Agreement from Above – Feminist Critique of the Dayton Agreement; Contribution of Women's Organizations**

**in Building Peace and Satisfying Justice for Women”** gathered experienced feminist and peace activists from Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose decades-long work represents the most important support infrastructure for women survivors of war and violence

**Participants:**

**Selma Hadžihalilović**, Foundation CURE, Sarajevo

**Lejla Hadžimešić**, international consultant of the German Medica Mondiale Foundation, Sarajevo

**Irma Šiljak**, Medica Zenica

**Jasna Zečević**, director of the organization VIVE žene, Tuzla

The panel was moderated by: *Marijana Senjak* (Women’s Room, Zagreb; feminist therapist of the Women’s Court) and *Margareta Bašaragin* (Women’s Studies and Research, Subotica).

The deliberation starts from the position that peace is not established nor ends with the signing of a peace agreement. Peace is a process that must be rooted in the experiences of those who have lived it. Feminist authors *Gorana Mlinarević* and *Nela Porobić* (2021) point out that Bosnia & Herzegovina has been “for more than 25 years hostage to an imposed and flawed peace agreement that has shaped political, economic and social relations in favor of power, and to the detriment of citizens”. Dayton established a framework that guaranteed an end to war, but ignored the specific consequences of violence against women, their needs in peace processes, and long-term social reparations.

The panel clearly showed that women’s experience of war and peace was completely absent from the decision-making process, and that women still bear the heaviest consequences of the structural inequalities embedded in Dayton.

The interlocutors have been working for more than three decades to provide support to women who survived war, sexual violence, torture and persecution. Their organizations (Medica Mondiale, Medica Zenica, VIVE women and the CURE Foundation) have built models of psychosocial support, trauma therapy, rehabilitation, institutional cooperation, advocacy for reparations and support networks for victims and witnesses in courts - often without systemic support from the state.

Through work in several women’s organizations and the coordination of the B&H Women’s Network, **Selma** works on women’s political participation, advocating women’s human rights and peace. She points out that women’s organizations were crucial in opening the political space for women’s voices, strengthening the visibility of violence and trauma, advocating for institutional mechanisms of gender equality and preserving multi-ethnic cooperation in a time of ethno-national divisions.

As a Medica Mondiale consultant and human rights expert, **Lejla** analyzed the Dayton Agreement from the perspective of international

standards. Her assessment is that Dayton did not contribute to the realization of women's human rights, but created rigid ethnic and political frameworks that make their protection difficult. She also emphasized that international standards often exist only on paper, but are not implemented. Key changes were won by women's organizations through persistent advocacy, reporting and cooperation with the UN, Amnesty International and other international actors.

**Irma** brings thirty years of experience working with women and children who survived violence in war, family and society. It emphasizes the contributions of women's organizations in advocating the right to compensation for women who have survived sexual violence, the importance of building a support network for victims and witnesses in court processes, as well as the necessity of developing a multidisciplinary model of support (psychological, medical, legal, economic).

As a long-standing director of the VIVE women's organization, one of the most important centers for therapy and rehabilitation of war trauma in Bosnia and Herzegovina, **Jasna** emphasizes the role that institutional cooperation and the building of a support system have in working with women returnees and victims of torture. It advocates for the development of permanent working groups and advocacy networks and the constant struggle for the recognition of the rights of civilian victims of war, especially survivors of rape.

*The interlocutors share a strong emotional and political motive for their work:*

- **Personal experiences, encounters with the pain of women who survived the war, sense of responsibility and feminist ethics of care and solidarity. They all point out that the work is traumatic, but also deeply meaningful.**

*The key conclusions about the consequences of the Dayton Agreement on women's human rights are as follows*

- **The Dayton Accords stopped the war, but it did not bring peace, especially not to women. Since it was created "from above", without the participation of women and civil society, the Dayton Agreement neglected wartime sexual violence, civilian victims of war, reparations, structural and systemic gender discrimination, the needs of women in returnee communities and the long-term psychosocial consequences of war.**

*On the effects, concrete contribution of women's organizations, as well as the challenges they face in the post-war period, the interlocutors said the following:*

- **Women's organizations, not the state, built the main support mechanisms for survivors;**
- **Needs and challenges today related to the long-term consequences and effects of the Dayton Agreement: deteri-**

**oration of the social and economic situation, growth of family and community violence, lack of institutional accountability, unequal access to justice, difficulties faced by women returnees in divided communities, as well as growing poverty and instability.**

*Regarding future steps for building peace from below, the panelists stated and recommended:*

**Necessary future steps for building peace from below:**

- **Strengthening of institutional protection mechanisms;**
- **Inclusion of women in peace processes;**
- **Creating sustainable reparations systems;**
- **Political participation of women in decision-making;**
- **Investing in mental health and trauma and continuing feminist education and mobilization.**

**“Olives against the occupation”** – speaker: **Fareed Taamallah**, olive picker and journalist, Ramallah, Palestine; online discussion conducted by **Andraž Rožman**, journalist and activist, Ljubljana

Here are parts of the presentation:

*About the olives:* ‘Olive harvesting is one of the most important events for us. But not only the economic aspect is important. For us, the olive is a symbol of resistance, because they can survive very bad conditions. The olive is also a symbol of peace. The harvest is a social event, it serves to bring the family together. On this occasion, we sing traditional songs and prepare food together. This custom of growing olives has been going on for hundreds of years. We are very proud of that. In this way, we maintain the tradition of our attachment to this space.’

*About the settlers:* ‘About 720,000 Israeli settlers are distributed in some 200 settlements, in the occupied West Bank, on land stolen from the Palestinians. They are mostly fanatics and extremists, who come from all over the world. They are constantly attacking us, they are armed, because the Israeli state gives them weapons. They destroy our property. Murders also happen. Last year, 2,971 attacks by settlers on us were registered. On that occasion, thousands of olive trees were destroyed...’

*About (the absence of) freedom of movement:* ‘The west coast has an area of about 5,000 km<sup>2</sup>, with about 1,000 ramps/check points. These points are often closed. On the other hand, settlers have complete freedom of life and movement. That large settlement is only one kilometer from my house. We cannot use their buses, stations, roads. Some roads are only for settlers...’

*About water:* ‘We have a big problem with water. It is a great injustice, because there is no drought in Palestine. There is a lot of rain, and for us Palestinians there is always a shortage of water. This is not for

any natural reasons, but because the Israelis control how much water we will get. Israeli settlers get much more water than we do. This is a big problem for agriculture. Because of this, many Palestinians give up farming and leave the country...' testified, among others, *Fareed Taamallah*.

Promotion of the book **Alone on the Street: Selected Texts of Bojan Tončić (1967-2024)**; editor: Tomislav Marković; the book was published by friends of the deceased journalist, Belgrade (May 2025).

*We quote some statements from the conversation about Bojan Tončić and the book:*

'The book contains the following chapters: *Artists in War; The Fatal Attraction of Evil; When they call to death; A little more about non-humans; Years of dangerous living; A noble defeat and When films were made by the winners*. Each of these chapters contains 10 to 15 texts by Bojan. This book is not just a collection of great texts, it is a testimony of the fight for justice, freedom of thought and intransigence in a time when it was often unpopular and even dangerous, and it is not much different today. Bojan Tončić was, and remains, a symbol of brave journalism, and his articles always told the truth, especially about the wars of the 1990's and the crimes committed in our name.'

*(Mensura Lula Mikijelj, Belgrade, activist, retired film associate).*

'Bojan's place in the recent history of Serbia and the area of the former Yugoslavia is unique. It is unique because Bojan not only had an uncompromising attitude in relation to war crimes and what produced those crimes. Uncompromising attitude, uncompromising condemnation of those who designed, inspired, organized, and carried out those crimes, starting with crimes against peace, and ending with various crimes of genocidal character. Bojan Tončić's selected texts should find a place in the textbooks of upper grades of primary and secondary schools, his opus should be the subject of in-depth academic research'

*(Lino Veljak, philosopher, activist Zagreb/Belgrade).*

'Bojan always remembered marginalized people. There I see a connection with what I think was one of the main characteristics in his practice of journalism, which is the connection between journalism and morality. Bojan's path of journalism and morality is inseparable from the path of truth for which he fought, and which was again inseparable from his fight against evil, and we know that the greatest evil in this area is nationalism, especially Serbian. I think that the greatest compliment and the greatest importance of this book is that, if someone who absolutely does not know what happened in these areas, who is ignorant, wanted to find out something, could reconstruct all the main things and all the main trends of evil that happened through this book. This book is a great testimony of a time. Bojan recorded it meticulously, persistently and consistently'

*(Slobodan Sadžakov, philosopher, activist, Novi Sad).*

'Bojan is a great chronicler of Serbian evil towards others, different, different, but also towards his own in the nineties and 2000's, until the end of his life. What was most significant for me were exactly Bojan's real words, words of truth. On the one hand, the truth about war crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, on the other hand, Bojan testifies to the resistance to that evil.' (*Snežana Obrenović, WiB Network, Kraljevo*).

"I chose the chapter 'A little more about non-humans' dedicated to the phenomenon of crime denial, relativization of responsibility and society's tolerance towards those who committed crimes or facilitated them. The core of this chapter is the genocide in Srebrenica, the attitude of Serbian society towards the genocide, and the writer looks at politicians, NGOs, journalists, the judiciary, the regime media, the opposition... Tončić points out that we, as witnesses of that time, know that Serbia participated in the genocide financially, with the military weapons of the JNA, equipping the paramilitaries, etc. When it comes to Serbia - both the state and society are on the same side, the side of genocide denial. Peace groups that point to the continuity of genocide denial are branded as anti-Serb and spies!" (*Mima Alajbegović, Priboj na Limu, WiB Network activist*).

'Bojan wrote with warmth and lucidity and unpretentiousness, which speaks of him as a man. Bojan wrote about the murder of the Roma boy Dušan Jovanović (1997) in the text *When the War Came Home*. He recalls that Dušan, a thirteen-year-old, was killed by a group of skinheads. Bojan writes about that human tragedy, because when fascism, racism, war occurs, the weakest are targeted. Minorities are the weakest, and Roma are among the most vulnerable groups' (*Snežana Jakovljević, Peščanik, Kruševac*).

"If I were to make Bojan's identity card, it would have five characteristics of his character and work: he was certainly a dissident in the journalistic profession, he was an archivist of repressed responsibility, he was a dismantler of state myths, a chronicler of a rebellious society, and a guardian of an unconquered conscience. He did not write to be so widely read. It was for a narrow circle of people. There are no people today who deal with these topics that he dealt with. There are few of them. Bojan Tončić is a pioneer of this topic and someone who bequeathed this topic to us as a society"

(*Fahrudin Kladničanin, Academic Initiative 'Forum 10, Novi Pazar*).

**International News – International Bulletin** – prepared by *Staća Zajović* (bulletin distributed to participants).

**Feminist party: Evening with the artist Minka, Tuzla/Berlin; 34th anniversary of Women in Black etc.**

**Sunday, October 12<sup>th</sup>**

**Together against nationalism** – research by the Association *Women of Polimlje* from Prijepolje on the causes and consequences of the behavior of the young population; research was presented by **Binasa Džigal**.

*Socio-political context* - Sandžak is a multi-ethnic, border area, in which there were no major inter-ethnic conflicts during the war, but Bosniaks were the target of police violence. This caused ethnic divisions, so in Prijepolje there are cafes for Serbs and cafes for Muslims. We have two faiths and everyone wants to promote their own and that is an integral part of life, said Binasa at the beginning.

*About the research:*

In four local communities, where there are the most students and where the largest number of residents live, we organized meetings. The presidents of the municipalities had no room for us. We got space from the schools and we organized talks/workshops there. In the school, we included educational workers, whose hands are tied, unfortunately, they cannot do much. We got the school board involved; some individuals we knew could say something.

*Who is to blame?*

- The parents are to blame: the family is to blame for everything. Everyone shied away from responsibility.
- Women's organizations are to blame: women are to blame because they raise children. They should have reacted.

*What are the problems?*

- *media and social networks,*
- *environment and society,*
- *radicalization,*
- *mixed marriages,*
- *religious education/civic education,*
- *abuse of religion,*
- *the influence of right-wing radical parties,*
- *lack of free recreational activities: scouts, mountaineers, scouts.*

*What is needed?*

- *psychological support, because this is not practiced at all, and it is very important not to push things under the carpet, to discuss problems,*
- *carry out reforms of the education system which is in shambles,*
- *regulate media content,*
- *increase the number of cultural contents on the media,*
- *create content in cultural institutions.*

## **Evaluation**

*Activists who attended the Network meeting for the first time said:*

'Thank you. I am here for the first time. I am very honored that you invited me. This is a space where people think critically. I'm glad there is a group of people like this. I felt comfortable' (*Jasna, Tuzla*).

'It was a pleasure to be with you. I'm at a Network meeting for the first time. New experience and perspective. Civil society in Serbia is dying, it is getting tired, civil society has turned into a corporate system, a business model. This here is the foundation of civil society, that's my main impression that I'm leaving here with. Maybe it would be good if at the next meeting one session is dedicated to civil society between activism and business' (*Teo, Novi Pazar*).

'I knew about WiB, but I didn't follow your activities. When the program arrived, I understood where I was coming from, but I didn't know what to expect. WiB can't whisper. I hate people who whisper. I take back a lot of pleasant impressions' (*Bojan, Ruma*).

'Thank you very much. It is a great honor to be with you. I survived the war in Sarajevo and WiB was my salvation and light. From the moment I heard about you, I wanted to get closer to you. Thank you for receiving me and for creating spaces like this where we listen to each other. I hope I can also contribute to your work' (*Nidžara, Sarajevo*).

'I've been following WiB since the early days and I have a deep respect for it. I am honored to be invited. I felt comfortable. I knew some people, but I had the opportunity to meet new wonderful people. It is a kind of enrichment that I carry with me' (*Tanja, Banja Luka*).

'I have been following WiB for twenty years as a journalist. I am from Jagodina, but I live in Slovenia. I am proud to have stood with you on the street a couple of times. It is a great honor and also regenerating. Thank you for existing' (*Biljana, Ljubljana*).

'Thank you very much. This is my first time here with you. We know each other from Mostar. I'm glad we're fighting on the same side. I am glad that we are loud, that we network, that we act. Do invite me to such events. We stand by you' (*Štefica, Mostar*).

*On the importance of unity, especially the inclusion of new activists in the activities of the Network:*

'Every time I come here is great. We should protect and love each other in these difficult times' (*Šehida, Srebrenica*); 'I always meet some people I didn't know, so my family grows' (*Binasa, Prijepolje*); 'I always feel like one of my own here, since I live in a small community' (*Margareta, Subotica*); 'You fed me well. I cried from heartfelt emotions' (*Ramiz, Donja Obodnica near Tuzla*).

## **PEACE MEETINGS, MUTUAL SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY, EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS**

- in addition to those already mentioned, in this reporting period the following programs (transitional justice, women's peace activism, peace meetings, feminist roundtable discussions, etc.) were implemented within the Network, as well as in cooperation with related civil society organizations. We list them chronologically:

**Zagreb, September 26<sup>th</sup>**

**Zagreb, September 26<sup>th</sup>** – the promotion of the book **‘Alone on the Street - selected texts by Bojan Tončić’** was held in the Books premises, and the book was spoken by: *Boris Pavelić, Ivan Barbalić, Lula Mikijelj* (her presentation was read by Ivan Srdanović), *Stasa Zajović*; parts of texts from Bojan’s book were read by *Dušica Parezanović* (Buksa), moderated by journalist *Ladislav Tomičić*. This event was attended by twenty people **(20)** from Zagreb and Belgrade.

**Bečići, September 29<sup>h</sup> - October 3<sup>h</sup>**

**Bečići, Montenegro, September 29<sup>h</sup> - October 3<sup>h</sup> – Working 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 B&H, Kosovo and Serbia (Autonomous Women’s Center, Youth Initiative for Human Rights and WiB) participate in this project. *Stasa Zajović* participated on behalf of WiB.

## **WOMEN’S PEACE ACTIVISM**

**October 3, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5, 2025 in Belgrade,**

The meeting was held on **October 3, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5, 2025 in Belgrade**, and **19** women from **Bosnia and Herzegovina (Đulići, Anima and Tuzla association) and WiB Network activists (Belgrade, Kruševac, Leskovac, Kraljevo)** participated.

On the first day of the meeting, in the afternoon, the participants **visited the “Labyrinth of the Nineties” exhibition**. The participants were deeply moved, but also very interested in the exhibition. After viewing the exhibition, we attended a civil protest.

Discussions and debates were held in the premises of Women in Black on **October 4<sup>h</sup>**, from which we highlight the following:

**About the importance of protests (student, civil, etc.) in Serbia in the fight for democracy, for the culture of peace, for building good neighborly relations in the region...**

***On the motives and ways of participation: political, moral, emotional; the fight against impunity...***

“I felt the need to give my personal contribution to the fight against this government, against corruption at all levels, against captive institutions, against violence” (*Nadežda, Kruševac*); “Participation is important to me because of the fight against impunity, the arrogance of the regime” (*Violeta, Belgrade*); ‘Because of the continuity of crimes against others and against our own citizens. One of the crimes that particularly pains me against young people by adults. I am protesting because of the responsibility towards young people, because they have been deceived, and generations have been lost’ (*Snežana, Kraljevo*); In protest against the normalization of violence. We got used to everything’ (*Anđela, Belgrade*); “I am on the street because there is no responsibility for crimes” (*Verica, Kruševac*); “Against this right-wing, anti-modernization, predatory, criminogenic government, against

all the lies the regime produces, against the basic culture of normal life in Serbia" (*Slavica, Kruševac*); "I support students' fight for institutions" (*Melanija, Belgrade*); "Because of violence, robbery, insecurity. I go out into the street because I'm ashamed to sit at home while the students are protesting, and they started everything themselves" (*Milka, Leskovac*); "The continuity of impunity should be stopped." War came home a long time ago. I have a generational obligation to support the youth in rebellion. Their parents lied to them. It's a rebellion against our generation" (*Staća, Belgrade*);

**What worries us about these protests? The participants mentioned various types of concerns and dangers:** reducing the number of people at protests; regime propaganda, intimidation; fencing off and distancing the student movement from other oppositional social and political actors; nationalism within the student and civic movements; underestimating the work of women who provide support to students; repression of the regime against students, danger of civil war; lack of need among young people to talk about the crimes of the 90's, etc.

*Declining numbers of people at the protests:* "The elders were scared, which I perceive as a betrayal of the youth. I would like to say that the adult world should be a shame" (*Snežana, Kraljevo*).

*Regime propaganda permanently spreads fear:* "Support is declining because there is so much talk about the overthrow of the state, the kidnapping of Serbia" (*Ljilja, Belgrade*); "Most people withdraw, give up, which is complicity with the regime" (*Slavica*).

*Fencing and distancing the student movement from other oppositional social and political actors:* "I am concerned about the students' rigid fencing from both the opposition and NGOs" (*Violeta*); "Students did not accept the help of political parties. They did not respect the EU. They only held the flag of Serbia, not the EU" (*Melanija*).

*Nationalism within the student and civic movement:* "What deterred me from taking to the streets more often is nationalism and re-traditionalization" (*Violeta*); "Everything scares me, especially the fact that it is not clear what values the young stand for, what kind of Serbia?" (*Verica*); "Students opened a space for freedom from fear." However, they grew up in this country, they cannot get out of the nationalist framework, I am worried that the students give space to people who are against democracy" (*Staća*); "I am very worried about racist hatred towards Albanians" (*Snežana*); "If students cannot recognize the fact that Kosovo is independent, it is dangerous" (*Staća*).

*The underrated work of women who support students:* "Students don't seem to understand that this is a huge exploitation of the women who have been feeding them. They think it's normal for women to do that. It is the invisible and undervalued work of women, it can cause a loss of trust" (*Staća*); "Women, like in the nineties, bore the burden of providing and preparing food. These were 'political mothers'. We were primarily educational mothers. We were physically present. On duty in solidarity. A couple of female private entrepreneurs founded the "Great Mother" association. (*Snežana O.*)

*Repression of the regime against students, danger of civil war: 'Repression, bullying, beating' (Nadežda, Slavica); "The regime is creating a civil war, and I am afraid of the blindness of people who do not see it clearly" (Milka); 'I am afraid of deep polarization in society' (Mirjana, Leskovac); "Vučić now aims to defeat education and culture and to cause a civil war" (Snežana O.); "The regime will not step down from power, not even at the cost of life" (Reiha, Tuzla); "I am concerned that a large number of people from B&H are going to Serbia against students, about thirty buses each from Banja Luka, Zvornik, etc. They go for the money for sure. That's the agreement that Vučić has with Dodik" (Suvada, Đulići);*

*Young people show no interest in confronting the past: 'We in B&H follow N1 and have hope that young people will fight against the government that wronged us too. However, young people should not be blind and deaf, they should know what happened in the past. If they don't know, they can read what happened...!' (Suvada, Đulići); Unfortunately, it is about the willful ignorance of young people towards the crimes committed in our name' (Staša); "Young people are not responsible because the institutions failed, but also NGOs that did not commit to transitional justice" (Snežana).*

***Naming and shaming of representatives of the regime*** was also discussed as a form of transitional justice - *the participants generally consider it justified and adequate: 'It's great for me. We were walking in front of Gašić's house, shouting Gašić, the thief! In my opinion, that act is the pinnacle of human courage' (Slavica); "You have to tell them to their face" (Milka); "It is a form of punishment for perpetrators of violence and crime. People's anger turns into an act of civil disobedience' (Staša); 'I would go in front of the house of the mayor of Kraljevo, I would ask him what Serbia was doing in front of the houses in the nineties. If we harass you, you have ordered the killing of others. The ethics of courage would be to point them to all that' (Snežana).*

Some participants are against this form of justice: 'I would never go in front of anyone's house. Instead, I'm for lustration' (Melanija).

### **On human security/security and peace – a short lecture (Staša)**

*What threatens your safety? Where do you feel least safe?*

*Representatives of the government threaten security the most: 'Nowhere is safe for me. Politics threatens my security the most. Government endangers security' (Enesa, Safeta, Ljilja); "Real politicians are causing insecurity and intimidation among the people." If only there was no war. Just no shooting...!' (Suvada).*

*Freedom of speech and movement is the most threatened: 'First, freedom of speech, freedom of movement. No one can make me think otherwise. I think with my own head...!' (Reiha).*

***Our security is threatened by the search for the missing*** –this is what the women from Bosnia and Herzegovina spoke about:

*Searching for missing relatives causes the deepest personal and family traumas, competent institutions that deal with the missing are ineffective...*

'It kills me that I didn't bury my husband. I keep going there to ask. They told me that I don't have to come, I can call on the phone. I'm under pressure. The children tell me, how come our father is still missing? They are surprised, I feel guilty that my husband hasn't been not, that he is buried, so that my children could go to the cemetery. It is important to me that I should have a place to confirm that my husband existed (Suvada) .

I was expelled from Bratunac to Srebrenica in 1992 and went through all the Srebrenica Golgotha, we go to the Memorial Center in Potočari/ Srebrenica, we pay our respects, there are as many of my relatives as you want... (Reiha); 'In my surroundings, it was as if those murdered relatives of ours were not alive, as if they did not even exist. When the tomb was opened, and when they were all exposed in Tuzla, I examined all the bodies and found my husband. I saw a bullet hole in his skull, I recognized a sweater that I made for him by hand. My father-in-law was killed, his three sons and five grandsons' (Safeta).

*The families of the missing are often forced to pay for information about the missing accused of war crimes, but mostly without success, and women who follow the trials believe that the judicial authorities must put pressure on the accused to reveal the locations of the graves...*

'I went to the Institute for the Missing the other day. We are looking for 470 still missing, some tell us 630 missing only in our area (Zvornik). As soon as people tell us that they know the grave sites, we immediately schedule a commission. People dig and find nothing. For information about graves, people give money, which mostly goes to waste. Maybe we can pressure those defendants (for war crimes) who are on trial to tell where the graves are. Perhaps after the first-instance verdict, the prosecutor can propose that their sentence be reduced, if they tell where the graves are. In court, the accused deny everything (Suvada).

*The search for truth and justice, especially following the trial, even without any state support, is considered extremely important by women...*

"We bear all the travel expenses to the trials ourselves; the state does not give us anything..." (Suvada)

*"As long as I exist, I will monitor the trials" (Safeta).*

*Women from Serbia, as well as from B&H, pointed out that all levels of human security are at risk, due to deep polarization in society, there is a danger that the crisis will escalate...*

"I am threatened by political insecurity, institutional insecurity, health, economic, judiciary, prosecution and all institutions managed by the state" (Milka); "I fear that this harassment will lead to violence in the streets. There is too much anger and rage. I am afraid that the regime is waiting for someone to die and to blame the students for

it. All levels of security are compromised, and personal security becomes irrelevant' (*Stiša*).

*Women feel unsafe in their environment (neighborhood, community...) because of a different opinion, they are often stigmatized and even rejected because of a different political orientation...*

'I am unsafe in my surroundings; I feel threatened in the building because sympathizers of the regime (*Melania*) live there; "That insecurity in the community hurts me. In my neighborhood, we all grew up with each other, but most of them are silent about everything that happens, my neighborhood seems threatening to me. They do not declare..." (*Slavica*); 'The neighborhood, the community does not forgive otherness, so I do not feel safe in my environment. Otherwise, I live alone' (*Nadežda*); 'Targeting in small places is terrible' (*Snežana O.*); 'I was denounced long ago in my neighborhood. They ignore me' (*Ljiljana*); "If I start to say what I think among some people, then they won't hang out with me anymore" (*Verica*); "When I'm at a protest, I have the feeling that I might end up in detention." It bothers me that those who are close to the authorities do what they want' (*Snežana T.*).

*Women feel safe only in their home, in women's groups, among rebellious citizens...*

'I feel the safest in my house' (*Milka*); "The only two kinds of freedom are talking to oneself and talking to you." That's how I overcome any insecurity' (*Snežana O.*); "I only have freedom of speech here" (*Ljiljana*); 'I'm in a viber group in the building. There are rebellious citizens' (*Snežana T.*); 'I feel at ease only here at WiB' (*Slavica*).

## October 5<sup>th</sup>

### October 5<sup>th</sup>

**"We will never forget the crime in Topčider"** - on the occasion of the 21st year since the murder of two guardsmen in Topčider (October 5, 2004 - October 5, 2025), we organized two actions in mourning and silence:

- *In front of the barracks in Topčider* - the place of the murder, where we, together with the families, attended the commemoration of the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the murder;
- *Vigil in Knez Mihailova street; on that occasion, the stage action "We remember" was performed.*

**25** people participated in these two actions.

At the final session on **October 5<sup>th</sup>**, the participants expressed the exceptional importance of the joint participation of female activists from B&H and Serbia in the commemoration-marking of the **21<sup>st</sup>** anniversary of the murder of the Guardsmen, and communication with the families of those killed. The participants also expressed the importance of an open discussion about student and civil protests in Serbia, about joint reflection on security, transitional justice, etc. We agreed on joint activities in the coming period.

## Bern, Switzerland – 30<sup>th</sup>

**Bern, Switzerland – 30<sup>th</sup> years of the peace agreement - peace?** From October 14 to 25, the Brucke (Bridge) association organized a Festival of Peace and Literature on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Dayton Agreement. The Festival gathered around 30 writers, scientists and artists from Southeastern Europe, Switzerland, Germany and Austria. The program included readings, concerts, lectures, panels... At the panel *'Confronting the past from a feminist perspective'* held on October 19, Staša Zajović, WiB, participated together with Leandra Bias (Greece), Dana Landau (Switzerland), Tanja Miljanović (Switzerland), moderated by Adelina Gashi.

## Leskovac, October 21<sup>th</sup>



**Leskovac, October 21<sup>th</sup> - Tribute to Neveni Kostić - Nena** (August 1, 1968-October 21, 2011). Nevena Nena Kostić started to engage in activism in July 1999 during the civil resistance in Leskovac against the regime of S. Milošević. From that moment until her death (October 21, 2011), Nena participated in the activities of numerous local initiatives: People's Parliament, Women's Center; activist of the Women in Black Network since 1999; founder and coordinator of the women's peace group "Women for Peace" (2004) in Leskovac; Nena was also one of the coordinators of the Women's Court activities; in all activities, Nena wove her tireless activist passion, commitment, knowledge, solidarity... This meeting is an act of a culture of memory and the deepest respect for what our predecessors did, among whom Nevena Kostić occupies one of the most important places, not only in Leskovac and Jablanički district, but in all of Serbia and beyond.



**Tribute to Nevena Kostić - Nena and Bojan Tončić** (1967-2024) - at the Svetoiljsko cemetery in Leskovac.

**Peace meeting** - in the premises of Radio O16 organized by WiB, Belgrade, Nena - group for peace and women's rights and 'I ja se pitam', Leskovac.

**She left a mark on us** - a tribute to Nevena Nena Kostić; screening of the documentary by the Video Activism Group Woman in Black: *Nevena Nena Kostić* (37 min.) – the documentary is dedicated to Ne-



na's activism and shows the actions in which Nena participated, her public attitudes, passion, solidarity and knowledge; the memory of Nena was shared by activists, as well as Nena's friends...

**"Alone on the Street: Selected Texts of Bojan Tončić"**; editor: 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.

The following spoke about the book: Bratislav Stamenković, Vladimir Joić, Milka Rosić, Slobodan Stojanović Charlie from Leskovac, Goran Kostić Kosta Belgrade/Leskovac, Svetlana Šarić, Vlasotince, Ivan Srdanović and Lino Veljak, Belgrade; moderated by: Staša Zajović.

*Here are a few observations about the book:*

"In this country, almost everyone tries to forget everything that happened in the previous decades. Bojan faced the worst in the best possible way. He did not hesitate to bring the truth to light with the sharpness of his pen and to say what needed to be said. He did not shy away from anyone and did not shrink from standing up to crime" (B. Stamenković).

"With Bojan Tončić, the possibility of writing about war crimes, as he wrote, and with the purpose for which he wrote" (G. Kostić) ends and exhausts.

"He was compassionate, analytical and deeply human. His texts were not only journalism, but also testimony. He spoke about what others were silent about. He was on the side of those who did not have a voice, who could not be heard" (V. Joić)

"Bojan Tončić talks about the social and moral downfall of people in the context of wars and a society that has lost its soul, responsibility, empathy in denying the crime committed in the name of all of us. Tončić writes about the indifference of the whole society that does not condemn crimes..." (S. Šarić).

"All these texts, and all the others that were not included in this book, are exemplary examples of the responsibility of a thinking and active and moral man who faces what was committed, and facing that community is necessary in order to survive at all" (L. Veljak).

This event was attended by **21** people from Leskovac (NGO: Team 42, Our World - association for people with developmental disabilities, Leskovac Circle, Citizens' Assembly, I remain here, Festival Leskovac), Vlasotince (SOS telephone), Bujanovac (CDE - Dolina).

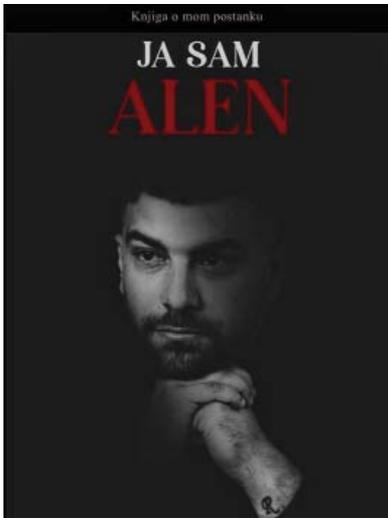
**Novi Pazar, October 25<sup>th</sup>**

**Novi Pazar, October 25<sup>th</sup> "What to do"** - Seventh regional meeting organized by Academic Initiative Forum 10 from Novi Pazar, with the support of Women in Black, Reconstruction Women's Fund and the Center for Women's and Peace Education 'Anima' Kotor. This event, held in the Cultural Center, was attended by **45** people from: *Serbia* (Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Prijepolje, Priboj na Limu, Nova Varoš, Kraljevo,

Pančevo, Novi Sad, Belgrade); Kosovo (Pristina); Montenegro (Herceg Novi, Kotor and Podgorica).

During the debate, the real scope of the student rebellion, its effects, internal contradictions and political consensus were discussed. The following persons spoke: Zoran Vuletić, Fahrudin Kladničanin, Ljupka Kovačević, Staša Zajović, Nermin Vučelj, Slobodan Sadžakov, Mehmed Slezović, Nikola Krstić, Edin Zećirović, Rade Veljanovski, Šefket Krcić, Aida Ćorović, Snežana Obrenović, Mijat Lakičević, Lino Veljak, Aleksandar Kraus, Zlatoje Martinov, Dragomir Olujić... At the end of this event, a short promotion of the book 'Alone in the Street' - selected texts by Bojan Tončić.

**Belgrade, November 26<sup>th</sup>**- Promotion of the book "I am Alen", the story of Alen Muhić, a child born from war rape during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina; Alen is an activist of the Forgotten Children of War association. The promotion was organized by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights, with the support of the Autonomous Women's Center and Women in Black, and about **70** people attended the event in *Dereta Space*.



## WOMEN'S PEACE ACTIVISM

**The meeting was held on December 6 and 7, 2025, in Radmilovac near Belgrade; 28** women participated in this meeting from: *Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Đulići, Zvornik municipality); *Montenegro* (Pljevlja); *Croatia* (Zagreb) and *Serbia* (Kruševac, Belgrade, Leskovac, Vlasotince, Prijepolje, Priboj, Novi Pazar).

**"Stop killing women!"** - on the occasion of December 6 - the International Day against Femicide, the Women in Black Network and the Autonomous Women's Center with the support of the women's association Anima from Đulići/Bosnia and Herzegovina. The stage action "Stop killing women" was designed by the artist **Zoe Gudović**, Belgrade/Vienna; forty (**40**) women took part in the action held on Republic Square.

Among the activities in Radmilovac, we highlight:



**Saturday, December 6<sup>th</sup>**

**About the action 'Stop the killing of women' – the deliberation was led by Marijana Senjak:**

*All women emphasized the importance of participating in the action, and said the following about the concept:*

**The performance was excellently designed, full of symbolism – at the same time poignant, powerful and in solidarity...**

'Today's action was full of symbolism for me: the shoes symbolize women victims of femicide' (*Nadežda*); 'Red ribbons and shoes scattered on the Square, as they are left after murdered women' (*Milka*); 'The performance itself was fantastic. It's interesting that people watched. The drums attracted attention' (*Svetlana*); 'The creativity in these actions is fascinating, it pushes the boundaries every time. The symbolic presence of various shoes shows very directly and touchingly that these are different women, many women...' (*Nastasja*); 'I was sad when I looked at the red ribbons, it reminded me of the blood of murdered women' (*Verica, Ahma*); 'I liked it when we held hands' (*Safeta*); 'Today was too hard for me. I held back tears...' (*Amira*); 'I felt strong. I was proud of myself for being a part of it. I saw the picture of those murdered women, especially when I saw the shoes. I felt sad when I saw the scattered shoes, which usually remain like that after the victims' (*Ramiza, Lutvija*); 'I am glad that today we pointed out the interconnectedness of women in both life and death, with our women's circle we pointed out the crime committed against women' (*Snežana O.*); 'For me, the moment when the ribbons crossed was moving, symbolizing women running, so that their lives would cross. The moment when the ribbons rose in the form of a net was great, the women continued to live through those nets' (*Staša*); 'I was moved and on the verge of tears and sad. The most moving moment for me was when the ribbons rose. That is both blood and life pulsating, continuing, flowing. It is a picture of all our lives. (*Marijana*).

**Femicide – a hate crime against women, is constantly taking place – both in war and peace; women victims of war remember those killed in war; some have testified to the femicide of loved ones; by the presence of bodies on the street, we pay tribute to murdered women ('there is someone to stand up for them...')**



'Femicide is a crime both locally and globally' (*Mima*); 'I was sad, but also proud because there is someone standing up for them. At any moment, we can be any of them, because we live in such an unsafe context' (*Sabina*); 'Femicide is constantly repeated, it never ends' (*Milka*); 'Today I was sad in the Square, because my sister died as a result of years of abuse. I saw her there' (*Svetlana*); 'I am from Gaza, now I live in Novi Pazar. Women give hope that we share our memory, that we support women who survived' (*Rana*); 'Today's protest reminded me of my own life story. I liked the shoes that were part of the performance, but I was sad because they reminded me of friends who are no longer there' (*Dina*); 'My best friend is a victim of femicide. She was killed in 1994.' (*Nastasja*); 'When we stand up for other women, we stand up for ourselves. It is important to stop for us as well as for others' (*Snežana J.*); 'We stand for our women who are no longer with us. I felt their presence. I felt that we were with them who are no longer there. (*Ahna, Safeta*) etc.



### **Institutions are responsible for femicide because they do not react...**

'If institutions had worked properly, femicide would not have happened. Almost all women would have turned to them' (*Verica*); 'All femicide is a defeat for the state' (*Marijana*); 'The system has failed in all countries' (*Lutvija*); 'Men hate women and that's why they kill them. What is it, if not war?' (*Snežana O.*).



**“Map of emotions – location of emotions in the body”** - the workshops were coordinated by **Marijana Senjak**, feminist therapist of the Women’s Court, consultant of the Women’s Room, Zagreb.

In accordance with the peace engagement, the psychotherapy work was connected with the current political situation in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, war traumas, and also included refugee traumas of women from Palestine and Ukraine. Refugees from Gaza participated in the workshops, towards whom the participants showed sincere sympathy, understanding and support. The group work was extremely participatory, dynamic, open - with the exchange of emotions, experiences and mutual support.

### **Documentary film screenings - WiB street actions**

**Magic Shop** – after dinner, the exercise was led by *Milka Rosić*, NENA - a group for peace and women’s rights, Leskovac and the Women in Black Network and *Suvada Selimović*; at the end of the day – a feminist party, singing and dancing together.

### **Sunday, December 7<sup>th</sup>**

#### **Dynamic exercises:**

**My feminist roots** – Tell me something from your own experience: has anyone from your family or environment influenced your feminist engagement?

#### **Participants most often mentioned their dedicated, but also rebellious relatives, primarily grandmothers, mothers, aunts...**

‘My grandmother is my example of a woman who always fought’ (*Nadežda*); ‘Since childhood, I had a female community: two aunts, my mother and my grandmother (*Sabina*); ‘My mother was a partisan and she was always herself, that taught me to be myself’ (*Milka*); ‘I would like to pay tribute to my mother, even though she lived in a patriarchal marriage, she managed to resist both my father and the environment in which she lived’ (*Snežana J.*); ‘My grandmother was a partisan. That was very important to me, because she was also in the Antifascist Women’s Front’ (*Svetlana*); ‘My grandmother was among the first to take off her veil. She always told me not to be submissive’ (*Mima*); ‘My grandmother was patient and brought the family together. She managed to ensure that we all stayed together, connected, and fought for ourselves’ (*Dina, Ljilja, Amira*); ‘My feminist roots go back to my grandmother, who was left a war widow with five children, to my mother, who went through the path of emancipation after completing primary, secondary school and studies. She was my role model’ (*Marijana*); ‘The person most responsible for what I have become is my highlander grandmother, a widow between the two wars, alone with three children in a village, who raised her children and continued to raise me and my brother. I adored them. When I say love, I mean my mother’ (*Snežana O.*); ‘My greatest role model was my aunt, who divorced her husband with five daughters’ (*Emina*); ‘Grandmother Sava is my role model. She never took off her mourn-

ing clothes. These are real women in black. She and her daughters and my father – all of them were partisans. Grandmother Sava was in the AWF. For me, feminism did not show solidarity, but those women from the karst, who worked in impossible conditions, maintained relationships with women, crossed borders, families and countries, and were all partisans and antifascist women/AWF. I really adore them all'(Stiša).



**I got to know feminism through activism in women's groups** – all the women from the 'Anima' association Đulići said this, especially emphasizing Suvada's enormous contribution to their emancipation, togetherness, and contacts with other women; similar statements were made by other activists of the WiB Network, who find feminist engagement important because of togetherness, solidarity, and shared learning.

*Rana from Gaza said: 'I will not mention any names, but I am proud to be a Palestinian, because I was raised to resist in life. My way of resisting is to preserve life.'*

**The other two dynamic exercises: Confession to each other: if no one has told you yet... and Closeness of women without words,** took place in a very relaxed atmosphere, getting to know each other better.

*Moderated by: Snežana Obrenović and Stiša Zajović*

**Then Rana read her testimony from Gaza in Arabic, and the Serbian and English versions were distributed to the participants.**

**Women's perspective on peace agreements: absence of armed conflict – presence of injustice?**

Joint reflection on the gender dimension of peace non-agreements in the former Yugoslavia (Dayton, 1995; Erdut, 1998; Kumanovo, 1999; Brussels Dialogue - negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo. On peace negotiations and plans at the global level: Gaza, Ukraine... Challenges, limitations, achievements of peace negotiations, agreements...

In a short lecture, Staša presented the content, key points of the peace agreements, achievements; WiB prepared a leaflet about this that was distributed to the participants.

*On the achievements and shortcomings of the peace agreements, the participants said the following:*

**Dayton Agreement: cessation of armed conflicts, cessation of killing and persecution, return home from exile...**

'The greatest achievement is the end of the war, for us the most important thing was that the killing stop. I lived on the front line throughout the war, so the most important thing for me is that the war stopped. We didn't think about the content of the peace agreement at the time. I heard in exile that everyone can go back to their own way. I hear from people around me that the war is still going on, but that's different. I wish the war had lasted shorter and that the negotiations had started much earlier (*Suvada, Enisa*); 'We were lucky, because we lived under fire throughout the war, people close to us were dying. We didn't think about what that agreement would bring' (*Lutvija*); 'The most important thing is that the crimes against civilians stopped. The agreement is important because the leaders were forced to sit down together at the negotiating table' (*Snežana, Nastasja*).

**The Dayton Agreement legalized ethnic cleansing, reinforced ethnic divisions; the territorial claims of Serbia and Croatia are destabilizing B&H...**

'Dayton's biggest mistake is that they did not unite the people. We did not need entities' (*Safeta*);

'Front lines have turned into ethnic divisions. These are entity lines. War goals have been transformed into political ones. Territories were the biggest war goal for Serbia and Croatia, signatories and guarantors of the peace agreement, and they never wanted a unified BH' (*Sabina*); 'The war has stopped, but it has not ended. The weapons are constantly rattling. Serbia has been awarded the Republika Srpska/RS. All criminals have become heroes' (*Binasa*); 'There is still unrest in our country. We do not have a state. We have three presidents, each pulling their own side' (*Lutvija*); 'The downsides of this agreement were inevitable, because the goal was to sign it as soon as possible, involving three ethnicities - Croat, Bosniak and Serbian - and the agreement went in favor of the entities, which makes the functioning of the state more difficult' (*Nastasja*).

The participants believe that the **Dayton Agreement should have dealt with justice, i.e., sanctioning war criminals** (What should have been included in that agreement? That all those who committed crimes should be extradited to one place and held accountable' (*Suvada*);

**They also believe that the alternative to the current entities is:**

**BH as a republic in its own right, without entities, BH can only survive as a civil state.**

**About the Erdut Agreement, Marijana highlighted the invisible active role of civil society** 'Because peace activism is suppressed, because the achievements of peace work are not built into the culture of society, nor into the way institutions work, it is actually suppressed and contrary to what nationalist policies are leading'. Despite the achievements of the Erdut Agreement, impunity for crimes is still a big problem 'impunity of war crimes, although the European Commission and the British government, according to the Berlin Agreement, are demanding that Croatia prosecute war crimes. There is no will for it'.

Regarding the **Kumanovo Agreement**, *Snežana Obrenović* believes that 'the most important thing was to stop the pogrom against the Albanian population, and for the Serbian army to withdraw from Kosovo. This military-technical agreement was signed after the violence and crimes committed against the Albanian population by the police and military authorities of Serbia. The international community had too much tolerance for Serbia. There was no bombing of the civilian population, but of military facilities. We were victims of the crimes of the Slobodan Milošević regime. The Serbian population also emigrated from Kosovo'.

*Snežana Jakovljević* spoke about the **Brussels Agreement**: 'In a way, it represented a de-escalation of the conflict between the Serbian and Albanian populations, which had been simmering regardless of the Kumanovo Peace Agreement. The Brussels Agreement was the institutionalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo. They were forced to sit at the negotiating table for the first time. The big problem with this agreement is its lack of transparency, because we do not know what the agreement contains, what it means for the status of Kosovo and for the relationship between Serbia and Kosovo. The Brussels Agreement was packaged with the process of stabilization and Serbia's accession to the EU. It was said that it was a technical agreement, but with it, Serbia de facto recognized Kosovo, because it was negotiating with them. This was never told to the Serbian public. After that agreement, obstruction continued, primarily from the Serbian side, agreements were on paper that were never implemented. People of Serbian nationality face numerous administrative problems, their emigration from Kosovo continues. The Serbian state does nothing for them, so that they can stay there and fight for their human rights.'

**Dina from Gaza spoke about Trump's plan for Gaza**: 'This peace agreement is not fair and does not stop the bombing of Gaza, it is exclusively in favor of the Israeli side. The killing in Gaza has not stopped. Gaza is still under siege. Life has not yet returned to Gaza. The Palestinians were not included in the peace agreement. The Palestinians cannot return. The Israelis have blocked all the borders. Gaza is a big camp from which there is no exit or entry.'

**Peace agreements** – Staša addressed **some of the key problems from a feminist/anti-militarist perspective:**

**Peace agreements do not imply the criminalization of crimes and the punishment of war criminals, but we must not neglect the contribution of the UN in the criminalization of crimes:** The UN Security Council, whose primary responsibility is to maintain international peace and security, established institutions of international justice that sanction genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity: the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia/ICTY and Rwanda (Tribunals in The Hague and Arusha) and the International Criminal Court/ICC, etc. If it were not for the UN, not a single criminal from the former Yugoslavia would have been punished.

**Peace agreements do not recognize conscientious objectors or deserters** – Neither the Dayton nor the Kumanovo Agreements addressed the issue of deserters and conscientious objectors in a single word, nor did they consider forced mobilization as a crime against peace...

**Peace agreements do not bring justice for victims of sexual crimes** – justice for victims of sexual violence (mainly through sanctions and prosecutions) was not included in the peace agreements.

**Impact of civil society (women's peace movement, peace movement on peace agreements...)** – some examples are given: Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, a peace movement founded by women in Liberia to stop the civil war in Liberia (1989-2002); **Ruta pacifica de las mujeres** – Women's Peace Route, Colombia - Together with related women's networks in Colombia, Ruta managed to include a gender perspective in the peace agreement signed in September 2016 between the government and the FARC-EP guerrilla formations; **Women's Peace Coalition:** launched in 2006 and consists of the Women's Network of Kosovo and the Women in Black Network of Serbia. The coalition advocates for a just and sustainable peace, for the inclusion of women as equal partners in peacebuilding, and for the implementation of Resolution 1325.

After the start of official negotiations on the status of Kosovo (2006), the Women's Peace Coalition monitored the negotiations from a gender perspective, with the request that the future status include issues of women's human rights, peace and feminist activism. Women in Black has extensive documentation on this.

**Evaluation** – the women finished the following sentences:

**I appreciate the way:** this event was organized, we were very connected, focused on each other; each woman was given space to say how she felt; I appreciate our connection, our community; I appreciate the way the topics we discuss are chosen at these gatherings; I appreciate the way we educate ourselves;

**What will I not forget from this gathering?** The participants stated: I will not forget all these wonderful friends of ours, women from Palestine, all of us; I will not forget anything from this gathering, I cannot single anything out.

*'The gathering fulfilled all my expectations. I am thrilled as I speak. I saw here how the community of women socializes and how it functions. I would like to join you in the future; thank you for the space and time to share our experiences. I am grateful to have been able to hear about your experiences'* (Rana and Dina, women from Gaza/Palestine).

**I wish there had been more...?** – all participants said that 'more time' was needed.

**Next time I would like to talk about:** The situation in Gaza, in Ukraine, about Kosovo, progress, that not everything stands still, about the consequences of A. Vučić's reckless decisions on the lives of ordinary citizens.

**Đulići, December 22<sup>th</sup>, 2025**

### **Women's Peace Activism, Đulići, December 22<sup>th</sup>, 2025 – report**

The thirty-fifth (35) cycle of workshops of the educational program 'Women's Peace Activism' held in Đulići/BH was attended by 17 women from the following places: Đulići, Sapna, Klisa, Grbavci, Lupa, Donji Grbavci, Kučić kula and Belgrade.

From the workshops we highlight:

**What are your biggest problems in 2025** - on a personal, family, social level?

Almost all participants focused on the war crimes trials in eastern Bosnia, in the municipality of Zvornik. These are three trials for crimes committed in that area during 1992 against Bosniak civilians. The trials began in July 2024 in Sarajevo, they are held several times a month, and dozens of women have already testified before the court. This requires enormous physical effort (they leave their villages for Sarajevo and return home on the same day). The women who monitor the trials do not receive any state support, but bear all the costs themselves.

*They expressed the following objections to the trials – there are four court proceedings before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the fourth one being closed to the public.*

*Obstruction of trials* – hearings are constantly postponed, mostly due to technical problems, very often on the day of the trial, without prior notice or, in the best case, the day before the trial. Women believe that this shows the extremely irresponsible attitude of the state of BH, especially the judiciary, towards war crimes and their victims. Women fear that the rare surviving witnesses will die, either due to old age or mental exhaustion. Regardless of the numerous problems, not only related to the aforementioned obstructions but also to the traumas that each court hearing entails, women are determined to continue

following the trials, to fight for justice. *As for personal and family problems*, the women did not talk about them, they believe that it is most important for their dignity to persist in the fight for justice.

**On disappointment** - personal, family, social/political – workshop

After the introduction to the workshop, a series of questions were asked, to which the participants said the following:

*The war taught us not to expect much from people, but to rely on ourselves 'the less we expect from people, the less disappointed we are'.*

*We experience sadness and disappointment from people who do not respond to our invitation to participate in our joy and rituals of joy (weddings, birthdays) – 'Everything has changed after the war – we are tired of funerals, mourning, commemorations, constant visits to cemeteries, it is important for us to gather and rejoice together. The most important things for us are our shared moments of joy' – a large number of participants said this.*

*We experience the greatest disappointment from our people who are closest to us – 'That hurts me, because I don't experience disappointment from the people I don't consider close and worthy of respect'; they also believe that the high expectations that parents have from their children, but also from daughters-in-law who come into the family through marriage, and who are often expected to take on a large burden of family responsibilities, are unfair.*

*Disappointment in the women's group/community – 'Our coordinator (Suvada) has enormous merit for the work of our group, not only in terms of organization, but also because of the way she resolves disputes – she is lenient, tolerant, but waits for the right moment and says everything directly'. They critically and self-critically pointed out the unequal distribution of responsibilities in the group, unequal engagement, but that these problems are resolved through open discussion.*

*As for disappointment in the political arena*, almost all women said that they 'don't trust politicians, that they are most affected by theft, corruption, and most affected by nationalism as a means of survival, for politicians to stay in power. They believe that the misuse of religion for political purposes is very dangerous.

*As for expectations for 2026* – all women said that the most important thing is peace in the world, that wars stop, especially in Palestine and Ukraine, and of course, that 'we preserve our health – both physical and mental'.

This was followed by a screening of films from the feminist action 'Stop the killing of women' held in Belgrade on the occasion of December 6<sup>th</sup> – International Day against Femicide. About ten women from the association 'Anima' Đulići participated in this action.

At the end, we agreed on joint activities in the coming period, then we relaxed and socialized for several hours.

*(Coordination of the workshops and report prepared by: Staša Zajović)*

**Pančevo, December 29<sup>th</sup>**

**Pančevo, December 29<sup>th</sup>** – Tribute to **Dejan Nebrigić** (1970-1999), gay activist, pacifist and anti-fascist, WiB associate; this event was attended by **15** people from Belgrade and Pančevo.

## **SOLIDARITY IS OUR STRENGTH**

**Solidarity actions – with members of endangered and disenfranchised minority communities** (social-class, ethnic-racial, sexual), citizens whose human rights (labor, educational, cultural) are threatened.

**Solidarity with war refugees:** Women in Black began in 2013 when solidarity actions were organized against racist attacks that culminated in late 2013 and since then until now Women in Black has organized a multitude of activities, information about which you can find on the Women in Black website. Solidarity activities are intertwined, simultaneously including multiple dimensions – peace, humanitarian, artistic-activist, informative...

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

**September 1<sup>th</sup>**, *Jakovo near Belgrade* - *Violeta Đikanović and Ljiljana Radovanović* visited the Palestinian Al Najjar family and on that occasion brought humanitarian aid.

**October 25<sup>th</sup>**, *Novi Pazar* - Solidarity visit (Violeta, Staša, Mirko) to Palestinian refugees from Gaza, with humanitarian aid.

**December 25<sup>th</sup>**, *Sremčica near Belgrade* - Solidarity visit (Violeta and Staša) to Palestinian refugees from Gaza - to the Al Najjar family who moved from Jakovo to Sremčica; humanitarian aid was delivered (hygiene items, food, baby food, clothes, fruit, toys...).

**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 support and assistance:

*Solidarity visit to the reception center for refugees in Vranje:* December 18. WiB Network activists from Leskovac and Vlasotince (*Milka Rosić, Svetlana Šarić and Ivana Gorunović*) visited the refugee center where 54 refugees, predominantly women and children from Ukraine are staying; humanitarian aid was distributed on this occasion.

**Solidarity support for students** – all universities in Serbia have been on lockdown (which is taking place at about 60 faculties in Serbia) since mid-November 2024. Students are demanding responsibility for the collapse of a canopy in which 15 people died (Nov 1, 2024). They are demanding the identification and punishment of those responsible for the attacks on students. Women in Black support the justified demands of students by participating in street protests, state-

ments, as well as modest humanitarian aid. During this period, WiB provided humanitarian aid to students: on the eve of the anniversary of the tragedy in Novi Sad, on **October 30**, WiB delivered medical aid. The students on lockdown published a list of first aid supplies for walking to Novi Sad, and this was delivered to the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and to the point in Ruma. These are the following items: gauze, bandages, handkerchiefs, leucoplasts, electrolytes, etc. The same was done at the checkpoint in Ruma, where students who were walking to Novi Sad were gathering. WiB activists also attended the anniversary of the tragedy in Novi Sad.

### **ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS, LECTURES, DEBATES IN THE PREMISES OF WOMEN IN BLACK “WEDNESDAYS IN WIB”**

The practice of regular roundtable discussions, lectures and joint reflections on important social and political issues in the country and the world continued in this reporting period, in which fifteen (15) lectures, debates, book presentations, film screenings were organized, in which **265** people participated.

**September 17<sup>th</sup>** – A conversation about the summer break/vacation, about the final preparations for the WiB Network meeting (October 10-12), was attended by **13** activists.

**September 24<sup>th</sup>** – Deliberation about the stories of **Jelena Lengold**, from the collection *“Dirac’s Equation”*. **Jelena Lengold**, poet, storyteller, novelist. Jelena Lengold’s stories are represented in several anthologies and panoramas of contemporary Serbian literature published in Serbia and the world. She lives in Belgrade as a professional writer.

**Dirac’s Equation:** The book consists of twelve stories about love and everyday life, about family, growing up, understanding and misunderstanding, about the experience of mature life, loss and death, about the importance and uncertainty of memory... As part of this reading circle, moderated by *Miloš Urošević*, **12** participants commented on the previously distributed stories.





## October 7<sup>th</sup> – “War in the Middle East: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict”

During this debate, several issues were discussed:

**On the recognition of Palestine** (151 states have recognized Palestine): *Is it just a symbolic and moral act?*

The majority believe that *‘the gesture of recognition is important, but sanctions against Israel are necessary, because Palestine is under occupation, nothing will change until the settling of the West Bank stops, until concrete pressure is exerted on Israel’*; etc.

**On complicity in the genocide in Gaza:** *‘It is about the complicity of the entire planet, except for Spain, Norway, Denmark, Slovenia... Serbia, which exports weapons to Israel, is complicit in the genocide in Gaza. Francesca Albanese, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Occupied Palestinian Territories, published the report ‘From Occupation to the Economy of Genocide’ in July 2025, in which she accuses a number of powerful European and world companies of helping Israel commit genocide.*

The discussion continued with the chances of the latest peace agreement proposal succeeding, but also the roots of European anti-Semitism and racism, new empires, and the rise of the far-right in Europe and the US. The debate, moderated by Staša Z., was attended by 17 people.



## October 15<sup>th</sup> – “Yet another Spring”, a screening of a film by director Mladen Kovačević.

*“Yet another Spring”* from 2022 (90 min.). The film refers to the year 1972 and the smallpox epidemic (Variola vera) in the SFR Yugoslavia. This documentary contains authentic documentary material from the media of the time and other sources. The narrator in the film is epidemiologist **Dr Zoran Radovanović** - who is one of the doctors who were part of the medical bulwark against the dangerous disease during the smallpox epidemic.

After watching the film, a conversation with Dr Radovanović followed. He spoke about the chronology of events surrounding the outbreak and suppression of smallpox in the SFRY in the spring of 1972 - which was otherwise considered to have been eradicated. In





the SFR Yugoslavia, vaccination was mandatory, **175** people died from smallpox, and **18** million people were vaccinated in a very short time: in less than a month, 18 million people, which confirms a very efficient health system. Dr. Radovanović believes that the SFRY 'was a serious state. It was not democratic. You could not attack and insult Tito, that is true. But the state and the health service were trusted'. **19** people participated in the debate, held as part of the '(In)visible SFR Yugoslavia' series.

**October 22<sup>th</sup>** – **Ursula Renner**, an activist from Berlin, spoke about **denazification in Germany as an (un)completed process and about Germany's current policy towards Israel, the genocide in Gaza...** She noted that denazification was carried out in both West and East Germany. "Thirty-three were convicted in Nuremberg, which is a very small number. The rest went through a mild process. This refers to the period from 1945 to 1951 in West Germany. Those 'from the middle echelon' mostly remained in office. Unfortunately, that whole way of thinking remained - racist, anti-Semitic, authoritarian."

**Renner** does not see a direct connection between the unfinished process of denazification and what is happening today: 'It is important to understand that we – because of the Holocaust – bear responsibility for the present and the future. Our society is very divided. There are Islamophobes – but there are also Palestinians who are extremists. The government is afraid: how to protect the Jews? Because there have been several attacks on Jews in Berlin. My opinion is that because of all this, the far-right AFD will have a great chance of coming to power – after the second election cycle'. During the debate, opposing opinions were expressed: today in German politics there is much less talk about what the Israeli state is doing to the Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank; how many people Israel would have to kill to absolve Germany of its guilt for the Holocaust. (J. Varoufakis); it is dangerous that in the middle of Europe people are not allowed to say what they think today...! **21** people participated in the debate.

**October 29<sup>th</sup>** – **"Passion for Ignorance – What We Choose Not to Know and Why"**, a book by Slovenian author **Renata Salecl**, published by the *Faculty of Media and Communications, Singidunum University*, Belgrade (2023). In ten essays by author R. Salecl, a philosopher and sociologist from Ljubljana, various aspects of the relationship to ignorance are examined: different forms of denial and lies on a personal or collective level - denial in the function of maintaining political power and the established order; ignorance and denial in times of crisis as a strategy for (not) dealing with trauma (personal, social...); consequences of the concept of the neoliberal ideology of success; consequences of denying the impact of climate change, etc. The previously distributed essays were commented on by activists. **18** people participated in this reading circle.

**November 5<sup>th</sup>** – On the war crime of rape in Ukraine: a documentary film and book launch by **Sofi Oksanen: By the same river twice: Putin's war on women**, published by Fraktura, Zagreb 2025.





In a short report by *Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (3:20 min.), a raped Ukrainian woman talks about her trauma, mentioning the personal names and nicknames of her rapists. It all happened in her immediate environment; her neighbor was also raped next to her, after her husband was killed by Russian soldiers in front of the two of them...

**Sofi Oksanen** does not see rape only as a problem in war zones, but as a permanent problem of humanity that is - and still is - most often associated with a sense of shame and humiliation among victims and their families. She talks about the causes of impunity for the crime of rape, and first of all, she cites the lack of political will. In Ukraine, too, punishment for this type of crime is left for the post-war period. "It is a lack of political will that leads to decisions that allow perpetrators of sexual violence to avoid punishment. The impunity of these acts consequently allows perpetrators to continue using them as weapons."

**Sofi Oksanen** believes that the condemnation and investigation of Russian war crimes for Ukraine is a prerequisite for peace negotiations. But that violence is one of the war crimes that attracts the least attention, and that the crimes of war rape were not part of any of the peace negotiations proposals. "Then there was talk of the imperialist policy of the Putin regime towards Ukraine, but also of the brutal repression in Russia against anti-war activists, as well as the crime of mass forced mobilization, etc. **13** people participated in the debate.

**November 12<sup>th</sup> – 'Ah a Subject'**, documentary film, screenplay and direction: **Zoran Solomun** (45 min.). The shooting of film lasted three years in the Laza Lazarević Clinic (Guberevac, Belgrade), and was completed in 1989. The film is a document about a psychiatric clinic, but also about the last years of Yugoslavia. This film was not financed by anyone and everyone (cameramen, sound engineers and editor) worked independently and used equipment from TV Belgrade (illegally). The author Z. Solomun participated in the discussion after the screening, as part of the cycle *(In)visible SFR Yugoslavia*. The film "Ah, a Subject" brings statements and confessions of patients, doctors and scenes from the hospital life of those who were treated there. The film testifies to the extremely inhumane conditions, to the brutal methods of treatment in a psychiatric hospital. The film is a direct criticism, which is why the film was practically banned. Director Solomun believes that the state of a society can best be seen through the state of its psychiatric institutions... 'The film is also a testimony to the social and political mood in the second half of the eighties. This is a well-made film, dynamic and multi-layered. It's a great shame that it was shown so rarely...' (Nastasja); **16** people attended the screening of the film and the debate.



**November 18 - Dušan Janjić 'Crisis and the Winds of War'**, published by Zepter Book World (2025). This is a sociological and political work on current events in Kosovo. D. Janjić is the founder and President of the Executive Board of the Forum for Ethnic Relations, an expert in geostrategic movements, the phenomena of nationalism, ethnicity, ethnic conflicts, human and minority rights, management of ethnic conflicts, etc.



The author *Dušan Janjić* participated in the debate. This discussion particularly concerned those texts that discuss the process of dialogue between Serbia and Kosovo within the framework of the *Brussels and Ohrid Agreements* mediated by the EU, the influence of the USA and Russia in Kosovo, the failure to meet the requirements of the normalization process by both sides, the future of Serbs living in northern Kosovo, and Kosovo's chances of becoming a member of the UN. Dušan Janjić considers the idea of demarcation along ethnic lines to be very dangerous, which is also evident today from the policies of *Netanyahu* - who started with similar ideas and ended up with the Gaza genocide. He notes that civil society in Serbia is against the idea of ethnic division between Serbia and Kosovo. This event was attended by **16** people.

**November 26<sup>th</sup>** - Presentation of **Muhamed Mulaganović's** book "*Pogrom nad Bošnjacima 1941-1995*", ("*Pogrom of the Bosniaks 1941-1995*") published by the *Bosniak National Council* in the Republic of Serbia. Mulaganović, who lives in Nova Varoš, is a political scientist and columnist for the Belgrade-based *Danas* etc. In the introductory part of the book, the author lists a number of names of historians, political scientists and publicists who have already written about the suffering of Bosniaks in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



The following persons spoke about the book: Philosopher **Lino Veljak** "this is a very important and useful book, and that the author has "successfully and solidly attempted to reconstruct the continuity of persecutions - which, as he pointed out, sometimes had the characteristics of genocide in Sandžak and in B&H". **Sonja Biserko** from the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights believes that this book shows the history of the relationship between the dominant Serbian community and the Muslim-Bosniak community. "During World War II, serious crimes were committed against Muslim communities, including crimes of a genocidal nature. In the wars of the 1990's - after the breakup of Yugoslavia, these historical patterns were reactivated - through policies of ethnic cleansing, mass persecutions and genocide, most tragically embodied in Srebrenica." The promotion of this book was attended by **15** people.





**November 29<sup>th</sup> - “Republic Day - Our Day”** - Women in Black, in cooperation with **HOR-RUK** - youth and pensioner choir action, anti-fascist activists, cultural workers, organized a friendly evening and event on the occasion of the 82<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of AVNOJ on Republic Day. On the occasion of this historic date, which was attended by about fifty (50) people, we organized the following activities:

**About the Second Session of AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia)** - opening speech - Aleksandar Kraus, Anti-Fascist Union of Serbia

**Punk - new wave rock bands as a critical response of young people to the social conditions of the late 70's - expression of disagreement and different opinions;** speaker **Petar Peca Popović**, journalist, publicist, music critic, the conversation was moderated by **Snežana Tabački**.

**December 3<sup>th</sup> - “Shadows Behind Me” and “Labyrinths of Fear and Horror”;** a book discussion within the cycle: *Sixteen Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women (November 25-December 10)*.

Two books-testimonies were presented at this discussion: *“Shadows Behind Me”* (VIVE žene, Tuzla) and *“Labyrinths of Fear and Horror”* by **Zenija Hajdarević**, Sarajevo. Both books were published in 2025, and the reason for them now being the topic of discussion is the marking of December 8, the *Day of Remembrance of Women Victims of War in Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

*‘Shadows Behind Me’* is a book of extraordinary importance published by VIVA žene - a tribute to brave women victims of war, women who did not ‘get stuck’ in the role of victims, but, with the support and solidarity of women’s groups, rose above tragedy and pain, rebuilding their homes, their dignity and autonomy. And fighting for justice and peace.

*“Labyrinths of Fear and Horror”* by **Zenija Hajdarević** testifies to the wartime suffering in Foča, to the systematic sexual violence against Bosniak women; Zenija also writes about fellow citizens of Serbian nationality who provided assistance to the persecuted Bosniak population in Foča. The books were commented on by WiB activists – 14 people participated in this reading circle.

**December 10<sup>th</sup>** – Conversation with **Hristina Cvetinčanin-Knežević** about violence against female journalists as part of the *Sixteen Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women* campaign.

**Hristina Cvetinčanin Knežević** – is a sociologist, researcher-doctoral student, journalist and member of the group *Journalists Against Violence Against Women*, with whom she participated in the development of guidelines for media reporting on violence against women, with a special focus on the so-called “revenge pornography” and other forms of technology-mediated violence.

**Cvetinčanin-Knežević** spoke on several topics: how violence against women journalists is normalized, what structural weaknesses of in-

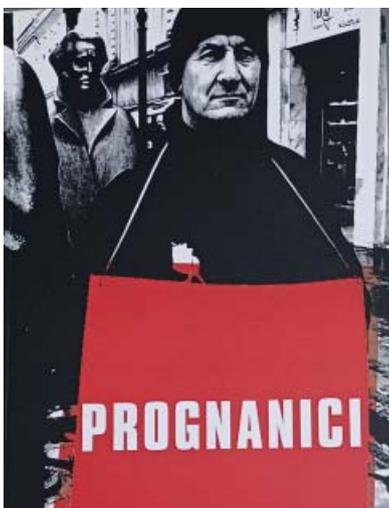
stitutions enable such violence, what systemic retaliation against women who speak out looks like, as well as forms of digital violence that remain invisible or unpunished. Special emphasis is placed on the protection of women journalists, ethical reporting and feminist approaches to collective security in the media space. **11** people participated in the deliberation.

**December 17<sup>th</sup> – Fifty years since the adoption of the Helsinki Charter** as part of the *'International Politics'* cycle.

Keynote speaker: Sonja Biserko, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia said: "The Helsinki Final Act is a consequence of the Cold War situation and the policy of *détente*. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, there was a relaxation of *détente* relations between the two blocs. The process formally took place through three "baskets": the *first* was security, inviolability of borders, sovereignty of states, non-aggression and peaceful resolution of disputes. The *second* "basket" concerned economic, scientific and technical cooperation, trade, exchange of technologies and cooperation in environmental protection. The *third basket*, which was particularly important to Western countries, referred to human rights and freedoms: freedom of movement, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the right to contacts across borders. It was this "third basket" that became historically the most significant."

When asked: *What is left of the Helsinki Charter and how did the global liberal order come about?*, Biserko replied: "Since the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014, the OSCE has been losing authority and has no effective role. They are employing fewer and fewer people. Russia is no longer paying money, and the US would like to leave. They want a division of influence between Moscow and Washington. Today we are at a point where everything is going back to the beginning. The document was important, but today it has almost no influence..." The debate was attended by **22** people.

**December 24<sup>th</sup> – Sarajevo Safari (2022)** screening of a documentary film by director and screenwriter Miran Zupanić, lasting 1 hour and 15 minutes, about people who came from Bosnian Serb positions to hunt citizens of Sarajevo with snipers during the siege (1992-1996). The screening and discussion were attended by **9** people.



## PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES

In this reporting period, we published the following publications:

**"The Exiles"** - promotion of a collection of poetry by **Ramiz Berbić**, poet, singer, peace activist, internationalist; the collection contains 25 poems by R. Berbić, dedicated to the struggle for human rights, for peace, for the dignity of the marginalized, discriminated against, especially refugees and migrants, and the LGBT community; the review was written by: Lino Veljak, philosopher; layout: Studio Čavka, Cover: Škart; the book has 48 pages, and the photographs are from R. Berbić's protest vigils in Tuzla.



## Women's Peace Agenda 2026

The Women's Peace Agenda for 2026 is dedicated to a significant anniversary – 35<sup>th</sup> years of Women in Black. October 9, 1991.

*The Women's Peace Agenda for 2026* - briefly and concisely presents our trajectory - 35 years of disobedience to all forms of patriarchy - war, nationalism, fascism, militarism...

*The Women's Peace Agenda for 2026* - presents a very concise overview of the activities of Women in Black/WiB: from the ethical principles of our peace policy, through peace networks, coalitions (feminist-anti-militaristic, anti-nationalist / anti-fascist / internationalist).

*The Women's Peace Agenda for 2026* - devotes the largest part to activities related to dealing with the past from a feminist perspective: to practices that we have invented during long and persistent work in the field through a policy of active solidarity with victims of war and war crimes, primarily those committed in our name, as well as all others. Feminist models of justice (primarily the Women's Court) are also briefly presented.

*Women's Peace Agenda for 2026* - also provides a brief overview of the practices of active solidarity with the marginalized and oppressed on gender/class/race grounds; it also briefly presents the extensive publishing activity - our alternative history.

*Women's Peace Agenda for 2026* – presents dates that mainly concern street actions, and due to limited space, only some dates from our extensive work are recorded. The agenda also shows our aesthetics of anti-patriarchal resistance, as evidenced by photographs from street actions.

*Women's Peace Agenda for 2026* – edited by Staša Zajović in collaboration with Ljiljana Radovanović and Miloš Urošević; has **158** pages; design and technical layout: Škart and Studio Čavka; photos: Srđan Veljović, Marija Janković and Nebojša Čović.

**Peace Calendar 2026<sup>th</sup>** – photographs from Women in Black street actions during 2025 were made by: Srđan Veljović, Marija Janković and Nebojša Čović; the calendar has 26 pages, layout and design: Škart and Studio Čavka.



**Munira's speech** – speech by **Munira Subašić**, president of the Movement of Mothers of the Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. "The historic speech by Munira Subasic on the thirtieth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide on July 11, 2025, is inscribed as a testimony to female heroism – it obliges us to talk about it, to convey it as courage and humanity, as care and justice not only for Srebrenica, but also for all of humanity" (from the publication). The speech has been translated into 10 languages, the publication was edited by: Fahrudin Kladničanin and Staša Zajović; design and layout: Škart; photos from the WiB archive, the publication has **62** pages.

Translation of the book **Building Human Relations Through Art: Škart group (Belgrade) – active since 1990**; Author: Seda Yildiz. The book has 268 pages and was printed in 500 copies.

## **CAMPAIGNS, APPEALS/ANNOUNCEMENTS**

In addition to the above initiatives in this reporting period, we have also launched or actively participated in numerous campaigns, primarily related to demands for facing the past – accountability for war crimes, violence against women, against repression of political dissenters; against refugees. Here are some of the statements:

**Stop militarism and militarization!** – In a statement on the occasion of September 21 – World Day of Peace, Women in Black expressed their deepest indignation and disagreement with the Military Parade called *“The Power of Unity”*, held on September 20<sup>th</sup> in Belgrade. The statement emphasizes, among other things: ‘It is extremely inappropriate that, in the midst of civil protests against regime corruption, while members of the security services are beating citizens who are peacefully protesting, a parade of 10,000 members of the Serbian Army is being organized. On the one hand, this has a negative impact on the region. Serbia, as a state, is responsible for committing multiple armed aggressions against its neighbors, which resulted in tens of thousands of deaths and expulsions. Members of the Serbian Army, as the successors of the YNA, are responsible for committing numerous crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia: Croats, Bosnian Muslims, Kosovo Albanians. Now, these same security structures are being used to deal with opponents of the SNS regime of Aleksandar Vučić, unable to kill those who have a different name, etc.

*“Stop the genocide in Gaza!”* – In a statement on the second anniversary of the Hamas terrorist attack on Israeli civilians on October 7, 2023, WiB emphasized: ‘This was a pretext for the genocidal offensive of the criminal Netanyahu regime on Gaza, which is a continuation of the decades-long Israeli occupation and colonization of Palestine. October 7 is a tragic event for all of humanity, for all the people in the Middle East, primarily for the Palestinian society.

**On a global level**, Gaza is a paradigm of human barbarity, legalization of atrocities, genocide with the intention of exterminating the Palestinian people. **Gaza** is a paradigm of the collapse of the international order, the loss of basic civilizational norms. The genocide in **Gaza** is being carried out with the silence and complicity of the entire world, including the EU countries (with the exception of Spain, but also Norway, Denmark, Ireland and Slovenia). Recognition of the state of Palestine is a significant but insufficient step - it is necessary to stop complicity with the genocide in **Gaza** by imposing sanctions on the state of Israel and suspending arms exports to Israel.

**The Serbian regime exports arms to Israel - this is** a continuation of the genocidal policy of the Serbian regime, first in Srebrenica

(1995) and now in Gaza. The regime has never condemned the killing of innocent Palestinian civilians, ethnic cleansing, terror, but is only interested in selling arms to the militaristic, brutal policy of the state of Israel. The latest shameful agreement between Serbia and Israel on a three-year cooperation shows even more clearly how the local regime persists in its support for the genocide that the state of Israel is conducting out in Gaza.

**And on this occasion, we once again express:**

- **Solidarity with the Palestinian civilian population experiencing the Inferno of the war in Gaza, as well as in the West Bank;**
- **Closeness to women in Israel and Palestine who, even now, in the midst of war and violence, are building relationships of peace and coexistence; support for Women in Black and other peace organizations in Israel who have been acting nonviolently against the nationalist-militaristic policies of their government for decades;**
- **Support and solidarity with the international peace movement and numerous initiatives to help civilians in Gaza.**
- **That the Serbian regime cease arms exports to Israel and end Serbia's complicity in the genocide in Gaza;**
- **That the EU countries and the entire international community discontinue arms exports to Israel and thereby end complicity in the genocide"**
- **That Israel cease all military operations in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, that the Israeli occupation authorities withdraw, that illegal settlements in the West Bank be stopped in accordance with the decisions of the International Court of Justice;**
- **That Israel enables the delivery of humanitarian aid and ends its genocidal policy of starving the Palestinian population;**

**"We will never forget the crimes in Vukovar"** - On the occasion of the 34<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of Vukovar, in a statement (Nov 17, 2025), WiB recalled that: on 25. 8. 1991. from the air, from the ground and from the Danube, the YNA attack on Vukovar began. We remind you that on 19. September 1991. a large number of Belgraders, throwing flowers in front of the tanks, accompanied the First Guards Armored Division of the YNA on a destructive campaign against Vukovar. **One of the most shameful events in the history of Belgrade is covered with a vow of silence and denial!**

Vukovar was under siege by the YNA and Serbian paramilitary formations for a full **87** days in 1991. During the siege of Vukovar, the war crime of urbicide and culturicide was committed - the historic core of the city was destroyed; Vukovar became a symbol of the barbaric

destruction of cities in the war... Several thousand people were killed; More than **25,000** people were wounded, and on the day the city fell, more than **30,000** people were expelled from the Vukovar municipality.

After the siege of Vukovar began, several camps were established on the territory of Serbia for Croatian prisoners of war from the territory of Croatia. They spent anywhere from a few days to nine months in the camps in Serbia. Around **7,000** people passed through the camps, and around **3,500** were held there for longer periods; a large number of detainees died in the camps in Serbia as a result of beatings and abuse, as well as due to the lack of adequate medical care. Only one person was convicted for all these crimes – a low-ranking member of the Territorial Defense. It is shameful that high-ranking officers of the YNA, the Yugoslav Army, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were not tried in Serbia for war crimes against captured Croatian civilians and prisoners of war in 1991 and 1992. It is obvious that the state of Serbia protects and glorifies war criminals (e.g., convicted war criminal V. Šljivančanin), and continues its policy of confrontation with Croatia, refusing to commit itself to resolving the issue of missing persons and prosecuting war crimes.

On the occasion of the 34<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the crimes in Vukovar, the state of Serbia and its institutions are obliged to:

- **Establish the responsibility of the former YNA leadership for the armed attack on Croatia and initiate legal proceedings for the crime of uricide in Vukovar.**
- **Establish the full truth about the missing by opening all state archives in order to find the graves of Croatian victims in Serbia.**
- **Prosecute all those responsible, primarily high-ranking military and police officers, for the establishment of the camps and for the killing and torture of Croatian civilians and soldiers in the camps in Stajičevo, Begejci, Sremska Mitrovica, Aleksinac, Niš and Belgrade.**
- **Accept the request of Women in Black and Art Clinic, with the support of dozens of civil society organizations, to erect memorial plaques at the sites of the camps in Stajičevo and Begejci and elsewhere and to support other forms of symbolic reparations to the victims and their families.**
- **Initiate a legal ban on the glorification and rehabilitation of those convicted of war crimes committed in Vukovar and all other places.**

**Initiative to name a street in Belgrade after Dejan Nebrigić** - December 29, 2025 marks the 26<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Dejan Nebrigić (1970-1999), a gay activist, pacifist and anti-fascist. Dejan was killed in 1999 at the age of twenty-eight. As a declared anti-fascist, anti-nationalist and anti-militarist, he refused military service, publicly an-

nouncing that he was homosexual, which at the time was treated as a disease that permanently exempted him from military service. In early 1992, he joined *Women in Black*, and made a very significant contribution to the anti-militaristic-feminist engagement of Women in Black by participating in the launch of the Network for Conscientious Objection. The competent institutions are requested to “name one of the many nameless streets in Belgrade after Dejan Nebrigić, one of the first fighters for the respect of human rights of LGBT people, feminist, anti-fascist and anti-militarist”, thus showing that they oppose “homophobia and prevent discrimination against others and those who are different from continuing to mark the reality of Serbia”. The competent institutions have not yet responded to this multi-year request.

*Report prepared by Staša Zajović in collaboration with: Ervina Dabižinović, Ljupka Kovačević, Margareta Bašaragin, Miloš Urošević, Nastasja Radović, Nataša Milanović, Ramiz Berbić, Snežana Tabački, Stanislava Lazarević and Zinaida Marjanović.*

*Belgrade, January, 2026*

