



*žene u crnom
beograd*



Report

**January, February,
March and April
2024**

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

We thank you in advance for your understanding.

January,
February, March
and April 2026

Report

Street actions: Street actions: In this reporting period, we organized ten (10) events and we also actively participated in other street actions (student and civic protests in Belgrade etc.)

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, April 14 "We remember the women raped in the war in Kosovo

On the occasion of April 14 - the Day of Remembrance for the Victims of Sexual Violence in the War in Kosovo/14 Prilli - Dita e të Mbijetuarve të Dhunës Seksuale të Tëwegë në Kosovë, Women in Black, in cooperation with the Autonomous Women's Center and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights, organized a protest in black and silence.



The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- *We remember the women raped in the war in Kosovo*
- *Kujtojmë gratë e dhunuara gjatë luftës*
- *Pamtimo*
- *Kujtojmë*
- *April 14 – Day of remembrance of the victims of sexual violence in Kosovo*
- *14 Prilli - Dita e të Mbijetuarve të Dhunës Seksuale gjatë Luftës në Kosovë*
- *Kujtojmë krona e dhunuara dulua luwaweta*



Sixteen (**16**) activists participated in the protest.

After the protest ended, one of the police officers present said: "Brother, Putin, where are you to see this?"

April 16, Tuzla (Bosnia and Herzegovina/BH) - Commemoration of the anniversary of the crime in Ahmići (BH): On April 16, 1993, units of the Croatian Army/HVO committed a war crime against Bosniak civilians, killing **116** civilians. Convicted war criminal Dario Kordić, most responsible for this crime, is "celebrated and glorified today by the Croatian Democratic Union/HDZ". **Ramiz Berbić**, poet, activist from the village of Donja Obodnica near Tuzla, activist of the Women in Black Network, performs all actions alone, in accordance with his artistic-activist concept. On this occasion, we held the following banners: 'Those who celebrate crimes are criminals'; "Ahmići - 16.4.1993".



Tuzla, April 16 - "Not in my name! I condemn the crime!" - members of the BH Army committed a war crime against civilians and soldiers in the town of Trusina (April 16, 1993), killing 16 civilians and 16 soldiers. **Ramiz Berbić** expressed his solidarity with the civilian victims of Bosniak and Croat nationality.

Tuzla, April 26 - Commemoration of the crime in Vlasenica against Bosniak civilians in 1992, when Serbian armed formations killed around **2,800** people, including **288** children. 1,600 Bosniak civilians were killed in the Sušice concentration camp, and the survivors were deported to Srebrenica, Tuzla, Kladanj. **Ramiz Berbić** paid tribute to the victims.

Tuzla, April 29 "Hero of tolerance Graham Bamford" - In memory of Mr. Bamford (48), a Briton who committed suicide on April 29, 1993, setting himself on fire in front of the British Parliament as a sign of protest against "the killing of innocent civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the passivity and indifference of Europe towards the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina". Ramiz Berbić held banners: 'Hero of tolerance Graham Bamford' and 'Let's remember the work of a great man'.





FEMINIST, ANTIFASCIST, ANTIWAR, ANTIRACIST, ANTI-MILITARISTIC ACTIONS:

Belgrade, February 24th “Stop the war in Ukraine!” – In occasion of forth anniversary of Russian aggression against Ukraine, WiB organized vigil in black and silence.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- *Stop the war in Ukraine! (in Serbian, Ukrainian, Russian and English)*
- *Putin = war criminal*
- *Putin = killer*
- *Putin to The Hague*
- *Stop rape of women in Ukraine*
- *Hitler against URSS – 1.418 days, Putin against Ukraine – 1.461 days*



Stop the war in Ukraine was written in salt on the pavement!

23 activists participated in this antiwar action.

Tuzla, February 25 “Solidarity with Jelena Kleut” – J. Kleut, a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Novi Sad, was fired (the Senate of the University did not confirm her appointment as a full-time professor) because of her support for student protests. **Ramiz Berbić** held the banner ‘Solidarity with Jelena Kleut’.

Tuzla, March 3 “Stop the war! Stop the killing of civilians in the Middle East” – anti-war action by **Ramiz Berbić**, during which he held banners and wrote in salt on the pavement: *Stop the war! Every civilian matters! Reason, Reason, Simple-minded!*

DEALING WITH THE PAST / TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE - A FEMINIST APPROACH

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

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

February 11, Potočari/Srebrenica – Visit to the Memorial Center of WiB activists, together with activists for association 'Anima' Djulići (B&H), Movement of Mother of Žepa and Srebrenica, Women in Black, Udine, Italy and Association of antifascists/ANPI from Italy. This event





Prijepolje, February 27 – Remembrance of the victims of the crime in Štrpci - in front of the memorial plaque in Prijepolje, the 33rd anniversary of the crime in Štrpci was marked: 27.2.1993 – 18 persons of Bosniak nationality, one Croat and one unknown person, passengers of railway Belgrade-Bar, were kidnapped by Serbian armed units, all kidnapped persons were killed. Ten (10) activist of WiB Network from Prijepolje, Priboj and Belgrade, together with victim's families paid tribute to the victims of the crime in Štrpci.

March 25, Velika Kruša/Kosovo – Visit to Massacre Museum

– In occasion of 27 anniversary of massacre in Velika Kruša (Masakra e Krushës së Madhe) near Orahovac in Kosovo: March 25, 1999 Serbian armed units killed more than 90 persons of Albanian nationality; commemorative act together with victim's families was organized by Medica Gjakova and Fahrija Hoti, witness of Women's Court.



March, 26, Suva Reka/Suhareka/Kosovo – Visit to Memorial Center of Berish family in occasion of 27 anniversary of murder of 48 Albanian civilians (46 members of Berisha family) killed by policy units of Serbia; the visit to the Memorial was accompanied by a member of the Berisha family, together with activists from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Germany.



Women's court - a feminist approach to justice

We present a brief report on the activities of Women in Black in connection with the organization of the Women's Court – a feminist approach to justice in this period. If you are interested in more detailed information, you can find it on our website www.zeneucrnornom.org and www.zenskisud.org or contact us by mail: zeneucrnornombeograd@gmail.com

In this reporting period, the following activities were organized:

Feminist ethics of care and responsibility – visits of WiB activists to female witnesses (W'sC Sarajevo), peace meetings - support for victims:

Peace meeting, February 11 - In Potočari/Srebrenica, Women in Black from Belgrade organized a meeting of friendship, mutual support, solidarity, joint struggle for peace and justice.

This meeting took place in the **Bosnian House** - home for the elderly 'Hatidža Đida Mehmedović', where women whose male relatives (sons, husbands, brothers, fathers...) were killed during the genocide in Srebrenica. Some segments of meeting:

Munira Subašić, president of Movement of Mothers of Žepa and Srebrenica, spoke about their struggle for memory, truth and justice - one of the most important examples of resistance, consistency, and dignity of women in the world. The women of Srebrenica turned their tragedy and losses into a common struggle for truth and justice. "We mothers managed to raise our children without hatred, without revenge..." said Munira.

The publication **Munira's speech** published by Women in Black in December 2025 was presented. Munira Subašić's speech was translated into ten languages. "*Munira Subasic's historic speech on the thirtieth anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica on July 11, 2025 remains inscribed as a testimony of 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. Thank you Munira and all the brave women of Srebrenica!*", stated in this publication.

The book '**That cannot be erased**' (2025) by Andraž Rožman, Ljubljana, was also presented; the book is a translation from the Slovenian language of '*Tega se ne da izbrisati*' and testifies to the ethnic cleansing in Slovenia (1992) of persons of non-Slovene nationality.

This event was attended by more than seventy (**70**) persons from Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Italy, Slovenia and Serbia.

March 24, Velika Kruša/Kosovo – visit to Fahrija Hota, a witness at the Women's Court (Sarajevo 2015). The meeting was also attended by activists from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Serbia (Kruševac, Kraljevo and Belgrade), and on this occasion we also visited a factory of ajvar and other agricultural products. F. Hoti initiated all the women from the village and beyond, together they opened a large production plant, became known all over Kosovo, exported to EU countries.



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

In this reporting period, the following trials were held:

Trial for war crimes in Kravica - Before the War Crimes Chamber/ Special Court in Belgrade, eight members of the Special Brigade of the Army of Republika Srpska were accused of war crimes (the murder of **1,313** Bosniaks, as part of the Srebrenica genocide, on July 13, 1995).

Let us be reminded: The indictment for the crime in Kravica was filed in early 2016. That was the beginning of the most significant trial before the High Court in Belgrade/Special Court, because it is about the Srebrenica genocide. However, on July 14, 2017, the Court of Appeals made a decision to cancel the indictment for this crime, which is otherwise not qualified as genocide, because it was filed at a time when the War Crimes Prosecutor's Office did not have a Chief Prosecutor. The trial continued in November 2017, and the hearings are constantly postponed due to the non-appearance of witnesses, inactivity of the prosecution, etc.

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

January 12 - The examination of the court expert, Dr. Ved Tuc, continued. He was questioned both by the defense attorneys of the accused and the accused. Their questions were mainly aimed at denying the number found in mass graves in the vicinity of Srebrenica. Expert advisor, Dr. Marija Đurić-Srejić, joined the denial of the defendants, pointing out that the number of victims is 'unfounded', that is, no evidence was presented for it.

April 7 - *Amor Mašović*, a former member of the Institute for Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina, testified at this hearing. 11 years ago, at the request of the Belgrade prosecutor's office, Mašović compiled a list of prisoners in Kravica, and that list contained the names of 1,310 Bosniaks (among them 11 children) shot on July 13-14, 1995.

When asked by the prosecutor if there is any doubt that the bodies found in the secondary graves are not those shot in the Kravica hangar, the witness Mašović said that there is absolutely no such doubt. He added that perhaps all the secondary graves have not yet been found, as there are parts of the skeletons of a large number of victims that have not yet been found. Mašović said that the current number of victims from the Kravica hangar is **1,367**, of which **120** are children, and the remains of 16 people have not been identified.

When asked by the defendant Nedeljko Milidragović, how is it possible that from 1995 until today, the remaining graves that he claims to exist have not been found, the witness Mašović pointed out that the criminals made a good effort to hide the traces, and added "help



us, give us the locations of the graves.” Defendant Milidragović stated that “Srebrenica is the biggest lie.”

Mašović also pointed out that around **1,000** victims in the Kravica hangar have **74** surnames, and cited as an example that **46** members of the Salihović family were victims from the Kravica hangar.

April 27 - At this hearing, witnesses Ranko Cerovina and protected witness 301 were supposed to be questioned. However, no witnesses attended the hearing. Protected witness 301 said that he does not want to have any contact with the court for health and safety reasons. The judge maintained that the deputy prosecutor for war crimes submitted an amended indictment to the court, which was also submitted to the defense attorneys of the accused, but not to all the accused.

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

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, 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”.

A total of **12** people (activists and students) were accused: six of them are defending themselves from freedom, since their detention was lifted after one of the accused went on a hunger and thirst strike: 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.

The six are being tried in absentia: activists of the STAV organization and students Mila Pajić, Anja Pitulić, Doroteja Antić, Branislav Đorđević, Jovan Dražić and Dejan Bagarić, who are outside the country.

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

February 2 - The court decided to postpone the main trial due to the ‘complexity of the case’. One of the defenders of the accused, lawyer Vladimir Horovic, asked the court to cancel the detention of the persons tried in absentia, as well as to cancel the warrant, which the court refused.



The case of Andrej Tanko

Final year student of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering of the University of Belgrade, Andrej Tanko, has been accused of assaulting an official on August 13, 2025, at a protest in Pančevo, when he allegedly poured an “unidentified” substance on him and then pushed the shield away in order to pass through the police cordon. An investigation was first conducted against him for a criminal offense where a prison sentence of up to 10 years was threatened, precisely so that he would be detained and prohibited from leaving the apartment for three months. In the meantime, the Prosecution raised a new indictment proposal, for something that cannot even be a criminal offense because it is an offense of minor importance. During the trial, A. Tanko’s lawyers proved that ‘there are no elements of a criminal act’, that it was water from a sprinkler and that no police officer reported the consequences of the alleged ‘unknown’ substance’.

The trial began on Dec 19 in 2025.

In this reporting period, **3** hearings were held (February 18, March 11 and April 1)

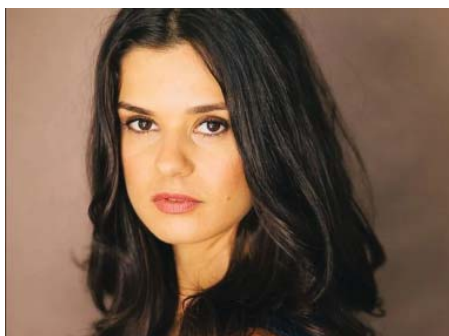
On the context of court proceedings:

Court proceedings against students and activists are classic examples of politically staged proceedings. The state of Serbia has a long history of prosecuting political dissidents. That was the way of dealing with opposition activists during the criminal regime of Slobodan Milošević.

The criminal-mafia regime of Aleksandar Vučić uses the same means, which shows that he and his political party, the Serbian Progressive Party, have almost complete control over the prosecution and the judiciary. The trials conducted against students and activists are classic examples of politically rigged trials. The state of Serbia has a long history of prosecuting political dissidents. That was the way of dealing with opposition activists during the criminal regime of Slobodan Milošević.

The criminal-mafia regime of Aleksandar Vučić uses the same means, which shows that he and his political party, the Serbian Progressive Party, have almost complete control over the prosecution and the judiciary.

These court processes show that the prosecutor’s office is working under orders of the regime - ready to bring indictments that are not legally founded, against any person - all those who think freely and protest. On the other hand, there are still no indictments, both for the fall of the canopy in Novi Sad (Nov 1, 2024) and for numerous others, both affairs and political murders, in which high government officials are involved. These court processes are proof that the regime has no intention of stopping the policy of pressure and intimidation, unjustified punishment and brutal crackdown on opposition - oriented citizens.



The Danielle Steinfeld Case:

In July 2021, the higher public prosecutor's office decided not to continue the proceedings due to, as stated, a lack of evidence, regarding the allegations from the film *Hold Me Right/Zaceli me*, in which the author Daniela Steinfeld talks about her experience as a rape victim. However, that case has not yet been legally concluded, because the decision of the Constitutional Court has been waiting for five years.

This was followed by a media campaign of insults and public claims by Branislav Lečić against Daniela Štejnfeld, as well as his report to the police for the alleged crime of falsely reporting rape. At the hearing held on *February 2*, B. Lečić not only denied responsibility, but continued to brutally insult D. Steinfeld in all regime media.

You can find Integral reports from trials (in Serbian) on WiB website

NETWORKS, COALITIONS – MUTUAL SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY

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

In this period, the following activities were carried out, of which we highlight the following:

The meeting of the Women in Black Network was held on April 3, 4 and 5, 2026 in Radmilovac near Belgrade. The meeting was attended by **53** people from: *Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Tuzla, Sarajevo, Đulići and Klisa/Municipality of Zvornik); *Montenegro* (Herceg Novi); *Croatia* (Split, Zagreb); *Slovenia* (Ljubljana); *Serbia* (Belgrade, Kruševac, Kraljevo, Zrenjanin, Novi Pazar, Ruma, Novi Sad, Sombor, Pančevo, Priboj na Limu, Bajina bašta, Prijepolje, Subotica); *Poland* (Krakow); *Palestine* (Bethlehem) and *Germany* (Berlin).

Friday, April 3

A minute of silence for those who are no longer with us, for all victims of war, refugees, victims of natural disasters...

Introducing the participants, agreement on work

Report on activities in 2025

(Staša Zajović, report previously sent by email)

Roundtable discussion: Where are we going from here?

*First part: **Civil society in the jaws of design; civil society - corporate system, business model or activism? How to fight for autonomy?***



*Keynote speaker: **Teo Taraniš**, Academic Initiative 'Forum 10' Novi Pazar*

*Participants: **Nela Pamuković**, Center for Women Victims of War, Zagreb; **Snežana Jakovljević**, Women's Association 'Peščanik', Kruševac, **Jadranka Miličević**, CURE Foundation, Sarajevo and **Ervina Dabižinović**, Center for Women's and Peace Education 'Anima', Kotor.*

*The keynote speaker **Teo Taraniš**, presented the following theses, dilemmas, challenges:*

Civil society is between authentic activism and corporate behavior, that is the first dilemma that concerns civil society itself.

Civil society is quite weakened - both financially and in terms of human resources.

Loss of trust on the part of broad sections of citizens in the context of all that has been happening in Serbia for a year and a half. According to some studies, greater trust goes towards informal ways of organizing citizens: assemblies, protest rallies.

Donors' attitude towards civil society in Serbia, but also about other countries - the withdrawal of a large number of donors or the reduction of funds to civil society. To a large extent, civil society relies on EU funds, which are quite bureaucratized, where civil society, especially small organizations, specifically outside Belgrade, are not able to receive these funds due to their limited capacities.

The state's relationship with civil society - these funds are limited and provide the state with the opportunity to influence and control organizations through these allocations.

Change in the thematic approach - topics of human rights, protection of marginalized groups, communication with citizens, that fell into the background. We got ecology, public administration reform, or some topics for which a huge part of civil society is not an expert and is now forced to adapt to those agendas.

During the conversation, many points of view crystallized - problems, challenges, obstacles, but also achievements...

Pre-war activism - the primacy of values, autonomous action outside of all official frameworks, exclusively volunteer work, activism, politics... Although very few participants spoke about it, it is worth referring to the continuity in civil society: "We entered the movement during socialism. Money was not an issue at all. Our issue was how to sponge





off youth organizations, how to use their spaces, and have them cover our costs. We squatted a shelter (for women victims of violence)" (Nela).



Activism in the 1990s: anti-war/feminist, education for peace, support for victims of war - activism, but also the beginning of an influx of money, which changes priorities and ways of working: "In the early 1990s, I started working in civil society because at that time it was a space of freedom, criticism, activities, etc. in Montenegro" (Ervina); "When the first money announced, I was terrified. I said that money corrupts people" (Nela); "The women who built the movement also built non-governmental organizations at the same time because it worked that way then. It was based on activism, criticism, values, politics, and what I see is that women now enter non-governmental organizations without that, but for stability, primarily financial" (Sanja Pavlović, AWC, Belgrade) etc.

Visibility of female activists through demonization and stigmatization due to their critical attitude towards the state, because of the 'undesirable' topics they have been dealing with: "Since the beginning of the 90s, they have defined us as spies, traitors, those who receive great appanage, and that is still the case now. The topics we dealt with and are dealing with are extremely undesirable" (Ervina); "The state's strategies are marginalization, denial, neglect, accusation that foreigners are mercenaries, enemies, traitors, defamation, labeling" (Snežana), etc.

The largest space in the discussion was dedicated to the current problems faced by civil society organizations (CSOs), and according to the frequency in the presentation, we can classify them as follows:

External factors – international donor policies, imposition of agendas, bureaucratization (reporting activities, etc.), professionalization at the expense of activism and field work; depoliticization of civil society, but also marginalization of "disobedient" CSOs:





'When EU funds came, we never had multi-year grants, we were constantly insecure and unsafe. The concept of applying with EU funds did not favor us, because we had zero points due to non-cooperation with the state. Over time, we lost donors who supported us in our basic activities' (*Ervina*); "BH was the largest recipient of donor funds, but neither the state, nor citizens, nor civil society received it. It was first of all received by international entities. In BH, you have 28,000 registered NGO organizations. All these organizations work well and usefully, as an extended arm of the system, but they do not change anything" (*Jadranka*); 'There are fewer and fewer grants and the criteria for awarding grants are becoming stricter. We received a recommendation from the donor organization that it is not good to use the word feminism, but democratization. That is a donor organization that supports women's groups" (*Snežana*); "We had a regular donor, it was the Open Society Foundation, the only organization that had a program dedicated to national minorities. After they closed, no one in Serbia deals with national minorities anymore. We tried four times to be partners in EU projects, but we didn't succeed" (*Fahrudin Kladničanin, Forum 10, Novi Pazar*) etc.



Domestic donors, various ministries - funding at the national level - NGO cheap services of the state, imposing agendas, favoring Gongs, NGO business for 'desirable' topics; attack on autonomous organizations of civil society (in economic, political terms):

"Today, the concept of civil society has completely changed its direction: you have large state donors who impose topics" (*Ervina*); "Only organizations that are partners of the state will survive. Small organizations that do not accept to support political parties lose funds. It will be a difficult situation. I am afraid that organizations that initiate changes will be closed, but services will survive" (*Jadranka*); "Government NGOs - Gongs take money from the budget, they spend a huge amount of money from both the state and local budgets. We do not compete with the state. We cannot cooperate with them. "The position of employees in non-governmental organizations is very bad.





They cannot take a loan; they work for the minimum. We cannot provide a salary for every month.” (Snežana) etc.

Internal factors - adaptation to the needs and agendas of donors, non-resentment; absence of space for critical reflection; centralization of NGOs - unequal relationship between center and periphery; moral dilemmas - compromises without ethics and politics; The NGO sector is a place of employment and not a generator of social change; lack of interest among young people in activism, due to lack of financial resources, but perhaps because of our way of acting:

“Centralization of the non-governmental sector: donors give large funds to large organizations, which then distribute them to smaller organizations. “We lack joint deliberation, as we do here with the WiB network. In other networks, in which we are members, for example, the *Women Against Violence* network, we do not deliberate. There is no exchange of information either” (Snežana); “Last year, there were seven protests for Gaza in Sarajevo, not a single woman from the aforementioned organizations (dealing with domestic violence) came so as not to provoke resentment of the state and donors” (Jadranka); “The specificity of the organization where I work is that it provides services to women victims of violence. There we had a lot of compromises that were made over the years. Then the question arises whether compromise is possible without ethics. We justify some compromises by saying that it is because of women. We lack debates on this topic and self-criticism. Besides, young women consider themselves professionals, not activists. They call themselves experts. We used to have activists (Sanja, AWC, Belgrade).



“We received a lot of blows, but we also did a lot,” said Ervina. The participants in the debate are feminist and peace activists and rarely talk about successes. Here are some of them: in Montenegro, civil society has made a breakthrough in dealing with the past (theater performances, memorials...); continuity in the organization of the Pičvajz feminist festival in Sarajevo; The autonomous women’s house in Zagreb remained autonomous, while all others gave in, etc.



In the final part, when asked by the moderator: *Where do we go next?* The participants posed dilemmas, expressed fear, but hope for the continuity of activism: "How can we create spaces for ourselves personally and for others to think together and see what we are doing" (*Snežana*); "I cherish hope that someone will remain behind us..." (*Jadranka*); "Resistance will always exist. It is activist" (*Snežana*); "I have never associated activism and resistance with money. Resistance is always there, and I don't know what will happen to non-governmental organizations" (*Ervina*).

Second part:

About the rebelling Serbia – student, civil, educational movements - joint reflection - workshop on: the most important achievements of the rebellions in Serbia; about shortcomings, objections; proposals for exiting the crisis/impasse)

Moderated by: *Miloš Urošević and Ljiljana Spasić*, Civil Action, Pančevo and WiB Network.

The most important achievements of the rebellions in Serbia:

Freedom from fear and awakening of hope, increasing awareness of citizens' rights and obligations of the state, civil solidarity; resistance of young people, rebellion, civic activism, overcoming some differences (interethnic relations in Novi Pazar); overcoming intergenerational gap, interethnic solidarity and solidarity of different social groups.

About shortcomings, objections:

Public distancing/walling off from the opposition, lack of willingness to learn from each other and cooperate; the danger of single-mindedness, an undetermined political program for the future; chauvinist outbursts (Albanians being insulted), clerical-nationalist iconography (processions), fencing off students from civil society; aggravating factors are: fatigue, terror of the regime, most of the pillars of the regime are standing firm, etc.





Suggestions for getting out of the crisis/impasse:

The common goal of all actors is to change the regime, that's why we need a referendum atmosphere: to avoid public attacks and secret agreements against the common goal; free and democratic elections, lustration and assumption of responsibility, respect for recommendations of EU institutions; association, union organizing, broad political education, etc.

Speech by Munira Subašić, president of the 'Mothers of the Srebrenica and Žepa enclave' on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, July 11, 2025.

"Munira's Speech" - Speech by Munira Subašić (Movement of Mothers of the Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves) in Potočari, on July 11, 2025, translated into ten languages; ed. Staša Zajović and Fahrudin Kladničanin, WiB, 2025.

'We shall never forget the Srebrenica genocide' - screening of the documentary film *"Serbia, look in the mirror: you will see Srebrenica! - 30 years - 30 mirrors"* on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, on Republic Square in Belgrade, July 10, 2025.

Saturday, April 5

Kosovo – from myth to facts; from dogma to rational confrontation with reality; from overcoming antagonisms to building a just peace...

Participants:

Vladimir Jevtić, historian, activist of the WiB Network, president of the Executive Board of the municipal organization of the Party of Justice and Freedom, Bajina Bašta



Natalija Stojmenović, People's Deputy of the Green Left Front, Belgrade

Vukašin Milićević, theologian, director of the Ljuba Davidović Foundation, member of the Presidency of the Democratic Party, Belgrade

Moderated by: *Fahrudin Kladničanin*, Academic Initiative 'Forum 10', Novi Pazar and *Staša Zajović*, WiB, Belgrade.

We convey some of the important points and statements...

*The concept of Greater Serbia completely killed and drowned the idea of modernization and Europeanization: "The Serbian elite persists in the concept of Greater Serbia even in the 20th century." In the nineties of the 20th century, the concept of Greater Serbia flared up again through wars. It returned to the nineteenth century concept again in the nineties. Serbian elites, not only with the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) Memorandum in 1986, but also long before that, defined their opposition to the shortcomings of the Yugoslav state, which certainly existed, as a return to the Greater Serbia concept. The concept of Greater Serbia or the 'Serbian world' remains a disruptive factor in the Balkans: "Serbia is still quite a disruptive factor and a factor of instability in the Balkan Peninsula," warned **Jevtić**.*

Vukašin Milićević explained his views very clearly:

The political future of Serbia depends on the attitude towards Kosovo and on the attitude towards the Albanians, in a symbolic but also real way; Serbia can never be a normal country unless it faces reality when it comes to Kosovo. And that reality does not concern the form, but the essence. And the essence is the indisputable right of Albanians to political emancipation.

Milićević concluded that at the moment there is no capacity to resolve the Kosovo issue, but we need to create it. Namely, he believes that the issue of Kosovo is not on the agenda at the moment because 'we need to raise the democratic capacity of this society, which does not actually exist. It was killed and systematically destroyed, so that we could get there so that we could ask all these questions'.

Natalija Stojmenović warned against violence and chauvinistic hatred towards persons of Albanian nationality, as well as those who disclose it, illustrating it with the example of the recent attack on the Albanian community in Surdulica.

The issue of Kosovo is a central topic, if we talk about the democratization of society and dealing with the past:

"If you want a society that does not promote hatred, that is a central topic because it concerns us who are against this regime that is happening." Our treatment is not much different from the way Milošević treated people in Kosovo,' Stojmenović emphasized.

During the discussion, the following views and questions were expressed:



The factual truth about the crimes against Albanians in Kosovo (through the education system, the media...) would change the attitude towards Kosovo:

"With a huge part, especially the younger population, when it comes to the issue of Kosovo and the political emancipation of Albanians in general, there is a huge and terrifying ignorance, which is the result of the system. The crimes against Albanians in Kosovo, as well as the mass graves near Batajnica, are issues that young people have to face" (*Vukašin*)

The context in which we live imposes priorities and we should not tackle controversial issues - those that divide and separate (Kosovo, Srebrenica, EU...) - it is necessary to gather in a united front, around a common denominator:

"Here we also have very specific things that are on the priority list. We are not even a hybrid democracy anymore. We do not have free elections – we do not have media" (*Vukašin*);

"We must unite all social forces in one social front to get rid of the regime, we need the mobilization of the population most at this moment. We need to maintain a united front..." (*Vladimir*).

Why are racist outbursts against Albanians at student and civic protests overlooked? What kind of political and even moral conformity prevents opposition political actors from declaring about it?

"Yes, we never had a statement about it. But I think we said publicly several times that for us at the protest it creates additional divisions in society. It's not that we didn't say it, it's just a question of whether we said it loudly enough" (*Natalija*); "I think it would be appropriate. There was no announcement, but I spoke openly about it several times and some things circulated on the networks. I will try, if it's up to me" (*Vukašin*) etc.

The issue of Kosovo is a taboo topic for NGOs as well - instead of open discussion and critical thinking, indifference prevails, (self-)censorship, adulation of donors:

"The Pešćanik (Kruševac) women's association has been working for ten years with a women's, ethnically mixed organization from North Mitrovica on reconciliation and good neighborly relations. We have not moved since then. It is a captive story... Why is the public statement of the fact of Kosovo's independence declared treason in Serbia? But we cannot even open them because of some women who hold certain positions and do not move from there. They are afraid of one another; they do not trust to talk to each other. I am a traitor both in Serbia and in Kosovo" (*Slavica Stanojlović*); "It is a question of directed and supervised cooperation by the international community. We have to speak up, we have to dare to say publicly and directly what we think. If civil society were independent in relation to the state and donors, the situation would be different" (*Staša Zajović*).

Bridges of cooperation, trust, peace...

Letter to an absent Serbian friend - author **Ag Appoloni**, Albanian from Kosovo, professor at Harvard University/USA - stage action - reading of parts of the *Letter to an absent Serbian friend*.

Is there a Dimitrije Tucović in Serbia today? - parts of Dimitrije Tucović's letter to Radničke novine, October 1913. D. Tucović (1881-1914), lawyer, publicist, founder of the Serbian Social Democratic Party (SSDP).

About the edition of "The Other Serbia" of the publishing house Admovera (Prishtina, Kosovo) in Albanian, Serbian and English - the views of Serbian intellectuals who opposed the violation of human rights of Albanians in Kosovo (Bogdan Bogdanović, Miloš Minić, Lazar Stojanović, Srđa Popović). Brief description: Miloš Urošević.

Women's politics of peace: solidarity, sisterhood, friendship, support, trust... (Women in Black and women's groups in Kosovo) – 10-minute presentation.

Report from the field – Palestine – Smiljana Ćurčić Bero, Bethlehem

On the situation in Israel: Although it is important to me that there are different voices in Israel, the anti-war voices in Israel are very quiet. Although Israelis are in shelters several times a day because of Iranian missiles, their daily life is disrupted, they are still in favor of war. Israel is fighting on so many battlefields...

About the situation in Palestine: The Palestinians are left to their own devices in this situation. We don't even have warning sirens, there are no shelters. Sirens are heard from those illegal settlements, when rockets arrive. Then the Israelis have twelve minutes to evacuate and take refuge in their shelters. We do not have that privilege. The Palestinians are left alone. The Israelis are using this situation to close the checkpoints that already existed and to set up new gates. They completely block the Palestinians from exiting. They completely suppress any kind of resistance. It's unbearable...





Gaza: in Gaza, the genocide has never stopped and the bombing has never stopped, despite the media outside saying that a ceasefire has been signed. Not only now, but for decades, Israel has been counting the number of calories entering Gaza. It did not start on October 7, 2023. It is the continuous physical and mental exhaustion of the people of Gaza...

West Bank: The West Bank is now completely in the shadow of the war with Iran. Pogroms and ethnic cleansing are being carried out on the West Bank. Jewish illegal settlers, mostly American and Russian settlers, are carrying out a pogrom. The attacks of those illegal Jewish settlers are taking place entirely with the support of the military...

Smiljana then cited examples of terror and violence against the Palestinian community.

Review of the book “Goods and Slaves of the Neoliberal World: Studies on the Commodification of Education, Science and Morality”, by Mihael Antolović and Slobodan Sadžakov

The following persons spoke about the book:

Lino Veljak, retired professor of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb;

Bojan Batalo, professor of philosophy at the Grammar School in Ruma;

Margareta Bašaragin, professor of German language and literature, Subotica

Snežana Obrenović, professor of sociology at the gymnasium in Kraljevo and activist of the WiB Network

Slobodan Sadžakov, author of the book

Moderated by: Ivana Gordić Perc, journalist and activist, Zrenjanin

The authors in their latest joint book, “Goods and Slaves of the Neoliberal World: Studies on the Commodification of Education, Science and Morality” (Publisher: Faculty of Education in Sombor, University of Novi Sad, 2025), demonstrate the collapse of university education and dismantle the entire neoliberal order. Here are some parts of the participant’s presentation:

Lino Veljak explained that the term commodification means turning something into a commodity that is sold and bought, and that the context in which the process of turning education, science, and even morality, and many other things into commodities takes place, is the dominance of the neoliberal model of production and the neoliberal worldview, etc.

Slobodan Sadžakov pointed out that neoliberalism is “capitalism without gloves” that puts profit above human needs, turning knowledge into a commodity and universities into service parts of that system. He warns that this logic creates a society in which formally free people have actually become “slaves” exposed to exploitation and fear, etc.





Snežana Obrenović emphasized that it is impossible to prepare students for the intellectual challenges of studies if critical thinking has already been systematically removed from secondary schools, thereby depriving them a priori of the freedom to reflect and question reality. She also warned that teachers of these disciplines have been fighting an exhausting struggle for the survival of their subjects for twenty years, which are constantly being questioned, directly preventing the formation of young people capable of independent thinking, etc.

Bojan Batalo, warned against the systematic suppression of critical thinking in secondary vocational schools: "In that sense, there is no more room for critical thinking. We are in an absurd situation. The crisis is deepening, and critical thinking is less and less or completely absent..."

reflected on the feminist perspective of this book.

Facing the past (about the Holocaust) after Gaza?

Lecture: **Stefan Milosavljević**, political scientist, Berlin/Belgrade

Moderated by: **Mirko Medenica**, lawyer, WiB activist, Belgrade

Stefan offered an analysis of Germany's current policy towards the issue of genocide in Gaza and its attitude towards Israel, highlighting the legal-political and value-political frameworks. The German attitude towards this issue can be read at the legal level from the adopted resolutions on anti-Semitism, which open up the possibility that those who are Germans can be victims of anti-Semitism at the same time.

"What is important about these resolutions, besides of that symbolic and political moment, is when state institutions and ministries distribute financial resources to civil society organizations. If they represent some views that can be interpreted as anti-Semitism, then the state can demand the return of those funds."

Protests against the war in Gaza face repression, and migrants and Jews who criticize Israel are subject to sanctions, including loss of citizenship. Universities and the media are under scrutiny, and criticism of Israel is often labeled as anti-Semitism.

"The second thing is that now citizenship for these migrants is not something that provides legal and political protection, because several people have already been stripped of their citizenship for participating in protests, which were not evaluated according to objective criteria, but according to subjective assessments of what is anti-Semitic. In addition to those categories of the population that are the most sensitive, we see that in addition to migrants, we also have German Jews, who may be American Jews who came and live in Germany, such as Susan Neumann and others, who face brutal violence of the state."

Germany presents itself as a model of dealing with the past (Holo-



caust), but at the same time it faces accusations of double standards and censorship, Milosavljević concluded.

Smiljana Ćurčić Bero's comment: "Everything you said is great. It's obvious that Gaza, which broke all the masks, should have happened. She showed that it was all empty talk. With the right, you know where you stand. But now you also know where you stand with civil society. The white supremacist European relationship is strong even today. The uniqueness of the Holocaust and the attitude towards it in both German and Israeli society is very strong. 'Never again' does not apply to others. Now we get it. The Germans, as the biggest part of Europe, are killing and kicking the Jews out of Europe. This is what is so devastating. Basically, they think that the Middle East, where people like to kill each other, supports the projects about creation of Palestinian schools that Israeli soldiers keep demolishing.

What is happening in Slovenia? About the political situation in Slovenia and the geopolitical position, the panel where they spoke:

Katja Fidler, painter, social worker and activist

Saša Hejzler, activist, journalist, researcher of political history from below at the Institute for Contemporary History in Ljubljana

Andraž Rožman, writer, social worker and activist, Ljubljana

The panel was moderated by *Boris Pavelić*, a journalist from Zagreb.

The panel addressed the following issues:



Regarding the recent parliamentary elections in Slovenia - participants in the debate expressed their fear that the government will be formed by Janez Janša, which is what happened.

On racism - a new repressive law that violates the rights of both Roma and migrant communities

On militarization: Military service was not introduced; it was not a topic in the election campaign (*Andraž*); There is promotion of militarism in schools. Children are taken to various fairs. This year there was a defense fair where they showed them weapons. (*Katja*).

About Palestine: The state recognized Palestine, the Slavic left-liberal government behaves like this towards Palestine, probably due to the pressure of a part of the public, so these movements have some effect. You should know that the government is only doing this for its own internal political interests. If Janša comes to power, that will change. It declared Netanyahu persona non grata, introduced a military embargo, but in essence it did not. The state buys Israeli defense systems, cyber systems, *pointed out the participants and presenter Andraž.*

Exhibition Where Does Virginia Woolf Sleep? Aleksandra Stojanović, Irfan Ličina, Luka Stojanović, Janez Bogataj and Srđan Veljović dealt with the issue of (female) emancipation through photographic research. The author of the concept is *Fahrudin Kladničanin*, and the author of the exhibition is Srđan Veljović. The exhibition was promoted on November 28, 2025 at the Ras Museum in Novi Pazar. On this occasion, the exhibition was presented by F. Kladničanin, then the activists selected photos...

Sunday, April 5

We remember: the beginning of the siege of Sarajevo - the killing of the city, people... (4/6/1992), Miloš Urošević, WiB, Belgrade.

International news - internationalist newsletter - *Staša Zajović and Snežana Obrenović (previously sent by email)*

Agreements on joint activities in the coming period *(previously sent by email)*

Evaluation:

- What will I not forget from this meeting?
- What was useful at this meeting?
- Next time I would like to learn more about...?

The most significant was Munira's speech (at the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, July 11, 2025): 'We will never forget that, it is a political and ethical peak' (*Snežana O., Manda, Marta, Snežana J., Enesa, Ljilja, Bojan, Slavica...*).

Smiljana's testimony about Palestine - internationalist solidarity: 'I will not forget Smiljana's testimony' (*Snežana J., Mima, Binasa, Teo*); "Although I listened to Smiljana's testimony several times, I have the impression that it is an unspeakable story" (*Miloš*); "It is important that Smiljana came to us again" (*Nastasja, Jadranka*); "Smiljana's story is a wound for me that I carry" (*Ramiz*); "Smiljana's story is always shocking..." (*Andraž*).

"The case of Germany: Facing the past (about the Holocaust) after Gaza?", lecture by Stefan Milosavljević: "It was very **useful** for me to listen to Stefan about the situation in Germany regarding the Holocaust, anti-Semitism" (*Manda, Marta, Snežana J.,*

Suvada); "Stefan's analytical and dynamic class about contemporary Germany" (*Nastasja*); 'Stefan exposed Germany in a negative sense. It's very sad for me' (*Mima*); "I considered Germany a democratic country, but denying free opinion is a dictatorship" (*Ramiz*), etc.

Meetings of the WiB Network - an oasis of critical, free thinking, joint learning and singing, trust, solidarity: 'It is important to me when I come here that this is a space where learning continues' (*Ervina, Nastasja*); "I had the most beautiful feeling when we were all singing. Then we exchanged a lot of things' (*Margareta, Jadranka*); "The Network is a special spirit that cannot be found elsewhere. This time I had the impression that we are all together, despite the optimism of our small community, today's world is falling apart at its very foundations' (*Boris*); 'I am happy to be part of this community, it is a great joy for me' (*Mima*); 'The sense of community, the atmosphere, the feeling that I am not alone are the most important things to me. Your looks and hugs give me strength to go on' (*Ljilja*); 'I really liked working in groups, because we had time to talk to each other' (*Ivana*); 'I will not forget that I am part of a collective sisterhood that has a long continuity. I will take with me how the political relationship works' (*Katja*); "Each time we meet, the spaces of solidarity and empathy seem to strengthen. We need that' (*Saša*) etc.

A letter to an absent Serbian friend; debate on Kosovo; about elections in Slovenia; the panel on civil society, the workshop on the rebellious society in Serbia, the presentation of the book by S. Sadžakov and M. Antolović also attracted a lot of attention.

Proposals for marking the 35th anniversary of WiB - the next meeting of the Network, October 2026:

A staple of the event street action; My first meeting with WiB – our memories, all our good memories, anecdotes; Celebration of the anniversary as loud and visible as possible; shared path; They left a mark on us - to remember all those who are no longer with us, but who made a great contribution; the militarization of Europe and the entire planet...



PEACE MEETINGS, 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:

Ljubljana, January 10, 2026 - Promotion of the book "Alone on the Street: Selected Texts by Bojan Tončič"; editor: Tomislav Marković; the book was published by friends of the deceased journalist, Belgrade (May 2025). Texts, originally published on the portals: *Nomad, Lupiga, Remarker, Al Jazeera Balkans, XXZ magazine*, etc. **Bojan Tončič (1967-2024)**, brave, uncompromising journalist, chronicler of evil times, persistent researcher of war crimes, fighter for justice and dignity of victims, anti-militarist, anti-fascist - man of unconquered conscience, solidary comrade and friend. Bojan Tončič, activist and comrade of Women in Black, who published his next books: *A Crooked Healing* (2011) and *Topčider Case - Anatomy of a State Crime* (2014).

The promotion was held in the squat/social center **PLAC** (Participative Ljubljanska Avtonomna Cona) organized by PLAC, Cultural Center "Danilo Kiš" from Ljubljana and Women in Black, Belgrade.

The following spoke at the promotion: **Andraž Rožman**, writer, activist, Ljubljana; **Biljana Žikić**, journalist, activist, Ljubljana; **Đorđe Balmazović**, Škart, Belgrade/Ljubljana; **Boris Pavelić**, journalist, activist, Zagreb; **Marijana Senjak**, feminist therapist and activist, Zagreb; **Nela Pamuković**, feminist anti-war activist, Zagreb; **Lino Veljak**, retired professor of the Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb/Belgrade; moderated by: **Staša Zajović**, Women in Black, Belgrade. About forty (40) people attended this event.

January 19, Zagreb – About antiwar-antimilitaristic movement in Serbia – Women in Black experiences presented by Staša Zajović at Center for Women's studies, Zagreb; this event was attended by ten (10) persons, the lecture was also online.

March 12-15, Dubrovnik - ZNA-DU - human rights festival entitled 'Happy New Year 1926' - The festival consisted of debates, screenings of documentaries and feature films, promotion of books, theater performances. The following participated in this festival: journalists, writers, activists from the area of the former Yugoslavia. On behalf of WiB, Staša Zajović participated in the panel 'My Voice, My Choice' together with Barbara Lapajne Predin (Slovenia), Boris Dežulović (Croatia).



March 23 – 26, Kosovo – Activities 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. *Staša Zajović* participated on behalf of WiB.

Prishtina, March 23 (morning) – Presentation of research about sexual violence in war prepared by Kosova Rehabilitation Centre for Torture Victims/KRCT).



Prizren, March 23 (afternoon) – Conversation between female activists of Serbia and Kosovo on current issues related to dealing with the past, relations between Kosovo and Serbia, etc.



Prizren, March 24 – Operational meeting of activists from B&H, Kosovo and Serbia as well as Medica Mondiale.



April 18, Subotica – Screening of documentary films: **“Neda Božinović – continuity of the fight for peace and women’s rights”** documentary film (17:15 min.) and **“Neda Božinović – from partisan to anti-militarist”** (15:45 min.). Neda Božinović (1917-2001). Before World War II, as a student at Belgrade University/BU, Neda was active in the student and women’s movement; during the Second World War, Neda was an anti-fascist fighter, active in the Women’s Antifascist Front (AFŽ), in the NLW, during the wars of the nineties, Neda was active in the Center for Anti- War Action, and she is one of the founders of Women in Black. The following spoke about Neda - the continuity of feminist initiatives in the pre-war, war and post-war period: *Staća Zajović*, WiB; moderated by: *Margareta Bašaragin*, coordinator of the Center for Women’s Studies and Research; ten-odd people attended the event.

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:

April, 25, Sremčica near Beograda - Solidarity visit (Violeta and Staša) to Palestinian refugees from Gaza – to family Al Najjar who moved from village Jakovo to Sremčica and on that occasion brought humanitarian aid.

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: April 6, WiB Network activists from Leskovac and Vlasotince ((*Milka Rosić and Svetlana Šarić*) visited the refugee center where **54** refugees, predominantly women and children from Ukraine are staying; humanitarian aid was distributed on this occasion.

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 fourteen (14) lectures, debates, book presentations, film screenings were organized, in which 240 people participated.

January 21 - Screening of the documentary film *Process and discussion about abuses by the prosecution and the police against political dissidents*. Speakers: Miloš Urošević and Milena Vasić; moderator: Ljiljana Radovanović.

The documentary film *The Process*, by Darija Stjepić and Jelena Rudakijević and produced by the group SviČe (2025), lasts 23 minutes and shows the inside of the months-long detention in which there were six people, arrested before the large student-citizen protest on March 15, 2025. Members of the *Movement of Free Citizens* (PSG) and the student organization STAV, after their arrest in Novi Sad, were kept in prison, and after several months in house arrest (more than seven months in total), under the suspicion that they intended to overthrow the constitutional order of the Republic of Serbia. The recording of their conversation, obtained without a court order, also reached the pro-state media. Some of the suspects were outside the borders of Serbia at the time of their arrest. Those who were arrested - talk in this film about the experience of arrest, interrogation, detention and hunger strike (in the prisons of Klis, Sremska Mitrovica and the Central Prison in Belgrade) ... At the end of November 2024, the trial of the 'The Twelve' began before the High Court in Novi Sad, which you can read about in this report ('Trials').

After the film followed a conversation, from which we transcribe the most important parts:

Milena Vasić, lawyer of *Jukom, Committee of Lawyers for Human Rights*: Without any evidence, they were accused of subverting the constitutional order, it is a politically staged process - the judicial system is under the total control of the regime of A. Vučić in order to intimidate the rebellious society, primarily the student and civil movement. Other participants in the debate, which was attended by 11 people, agreed with this.



January 28 - Talk about David Grossman's book *The Thinking Heart* - on the occasion of International Holocaust Remembrance Day (January 27). **David Grossman** is one of the most important contemporary Israeli and world writers and peace activists; *The Thinking Heart* is a book composed of eleven Grossman's texts written on the occasion of the most current events in the relations between the two nations and what followed in those relations after October 7, 2023. We are transmitting the presentations of the conversation participants:

Staša Zajović, at the beginning of this conversation, presented the most important aspects of the historical, religious and political dimensions of the Holocaust, with special emphasis on two things: the beginning of the persecution of Jews in Europe and the relationship between Zionist policy and the contemporary policy of the State of Israel towards the Palestinians. Staša Zajović pointed out that in connection with this book and in general, with this topic, several questions are asked: What is the purpose of remembering the Holocaust today if it does not contribute to stopping the deaths in Gaza and the West Bank? Why is today any criticism of the state of Israel criminalized and qualified as "anti-Semitism"? It is necessary to talk about the misuse of anti-Semitism, etc.

Fahrudin Kladničanin, among other things, said that Grossman does not provide answers to political questions: "Grossman almost consciously avoids the precise political naming of responsibilities and power structures that enable and maintain the war. Thus, the essay moves away from political analysis and remains in the domain of moral reflection. Part of the readers may understand this as insufficiently confronting the causes of war." Kladničanin sees some kind of explanation for the emphasis on a moralizing attitude and not on political analysis in and in Grossman's reliance on the concept of collective trauma, with the fact that the trauma of Israeli society is treated in much more detail and emotion than the trauma of the Palestinian population."

Miloš Urošević pointed out the importance of the period in which Grossman wrote his 11 essays. "That is the time before and after the attacks by Hamas, from 2017 to 2024. He also talks about the millions of demonstrators who are opponents of Netanyahu. Who then are those who voted for Netanyahu? The writer insists that the horror was caused by Hamas and not Israel. 'I agree with Grossman that most Israelis are unable to see the suffering and are indifferent to the occupation of the Palestinians. They say that the protests are hope...', he concluded Urošević.

Lino Veljak pointed out: "Grossman's book points to Israeli intellectuals who point to the violence of their people. Here he also gives concrete proposals for getting out of the situation. But he dwells more on moralizing - without analyzing politics. And to some extent justified, he portrays himself as a weak moralist. Secondly, he does not ask the question about the broader context of Israeli society that enabled the emergence of Netanyahu."





Aleksandar Kraus: 'The genocide of the Jews, in Srebrenica and today in Gaza, is a test for different political attitudes. Some leftists in Serbia can't wait to deal with other genocides, not the one in Srebrenica. These are the nationalist views of the local leftists.

I understand Grossman's approach as a writer. I lived in Israel for four years. There I also added that identity to myself'. This conversation was attended by **18** people.

February 4 - "Anarcholiberalism - service and ideology 1967-1985."

Authors: **Bojan Dimitrijević** and **Luka Filipović**, edition: Archipelago, Belgrade, 2025.

The conversation within the cycle (In)visible SFR Yugoslavia was held in the presence of **23** people.

B. Dimitrijević explained the origin of the book:

"The State Security Service followed the anarcholiberals. They were in the group of internal enemies: the first were the nationalists, then the anarcholiberals, and then the liberals, dogmatic statist groups, information bureaus, various religious communities, economic criminals, technocrats, etc. Anarcholiberals were people who were from the student-professor-thinking world. They were mentioned for the first time in 1967. I am speaking on the basis of the material created by the Croatian State Security Service, but the analogies are identical with Slovenia and Serbia. The state security service was federal, as well as six republican services. The service defined the procedures for monitoring and working with the internal enemy: a network of collaborators/informants, the use of operative means, which were secret: secret monitoring of telephones and letters. Special attention was paid to the monitoring of apartments and, of course, the sound system of certain areas. There are two key events when anarcholiberals came under scrutiny: the student demonstrations of 1968; Praxis (Korčula summer school) attended by many foreign scientists and theorists in the 70s; The trial of *The Six* in Belgrade, 1984, etc.

Then the actors from that period spoke - they looked back on the book but also on their experiences from that period:





Ljiljana Mijanović: To me, the term anarcholiberalism is a very unusual term. Knowing all that ideological spectrum, I believe that here there were never anarchists, nor groups, among the dissidents. They were all Marxists, there were also individual anarchists. They were always inspired by the ideas of anarchists. At certain historical moments, both anarchists and liberals were on the same side. In Yugoslav conditions, it was connected with the process of democratization of self-governance and, to a certain extent, the liberalization of economic relations and the market.

Anarcholiberals were a motley group of intellectuals in the university centers of Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana. The Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade was designated as the central place of that movement and activity in the report of the Service, it was the nucleus of ideologues, where the professors were labelled as extreme leftists. It is a group of eight professors at the Faculty of Philosophy, who were expelled from the faculty (1974). The service equates the professional work of professors with hostile action. The operational methods of the service included searches, which once had a predatory character. I know that from my own experience. In the initial period, anarcholiberals, primarily the 68-year-olds, were looking for a reduction in social inequalities, democratization was being sought. In that period, the idea of socialism was not rejected, but the practice of socialism. Then came repressive measures and arrests in response to that kind of criticism.

Dragomir Olujić Oluja: Regular activities that professors were engaged in, such as annual assemblies, seminars, were presented as hostile activities. As for the relationship between us and the professors, they were phenomenal and we learned to think from them. We started the Open University on December 19, 1976. year. The professors were expelled from the Faculty of Philosophy, then we looked for the possibility of how to act publicly, how to continue what we had started - we met in private apartments, discussed, etc.

Lino Veljak: This is an extremely valuable and useful book. I pointed out some minor flaws to the authors. The book is a good material for researching that recent past, which is most important for younger generations. We knew that some professors cooperated with the Service (SDB), so we were careful what we said in front of them... Another moment that is very important for understanding this wider context is the thought or recommendation of Vladimir Bakarić (supreme party leader in Croatia), who said the following: They (anarcholiberals) are very smart and very dangerous. If we lower our vigilance, they will take over the party in no time. That's why we have to beat them on the head with a hammer. That is the explanation of where the roots of service vigilance come from.

Vesna Pešić: *Free/Open University* - those were home conversations, there were 55 people in my apartment once. By the way, I interpreted what anarcholiberalism was. They were fanatics for self-government, which is a kind of anarchism. And liberal was for civil liberties. That made sense.



Gordan Jovanović: Anarcholiberalism is an ideological platitude. Anarchists are not liberals. These are two opposite concepts. It is a spook (State Security Service) construction that united the enemies.

Zdravko Gvero: In 1973, I organized a strike at school because I wanted to introduce self-management in the school. I was kicked out of school. When I got a job, I was constantly inciting workers to riot, but when I started hanging out with people from the *Open University*, police pressure started. They fired me from my job. I was constantly followed publicly by the police, and secretly by the Service. I did not attach importance.

February 11 Screening of the documentary film *“Precedent”*: The documentary film *“Precedent”* by director **Tamara Aćimović** talks about the brutal intervention of the police at the student-citizen protest in Valjevo, on August 14, 2025. The film lasts 28 minutes and in it, in addition to the author Aćimović, the victims of the police attack, their family members and lawyers speak.

Everyone testifies to the brutal police violence: ‘The police beat the demonstrators who did not offer any resistance’; ‘A policeman was telling a man how he was going to rape his daughter.’ Those were horror scenes. Traumatic scenes that, I think, will haunt me for the rest of my life...’; ‘They beat me with clubs, with their feet... They didn’t even look where they were hitting. It is clear to every person that we live in a criminal society...’; ‘The police stampede started. The first time I got about forty strokes. I was thrown to the ground again... They stepped on my head. They treated us like animals’ etc. Twenty-seven of the approximately forty who were beaten submitted criminal charges against the head of the Police Department in Valjevo. However, none of the police officers were prosecuted...

The presenter **Mirko Medenica** recalled the event of July 8, 2014 - also in Valjevo, when Women in Black organized a street vigil - a tribute to the victims of the genocide in Srebrenica. WiB activists were attacked by dozens of fascists while the police mostly watched. The attackers injured four female activists and one male activist, and three police officers were also injured. The process lasted for years, none of the attackers was convicted, the Constitutional Court rejected the appeal of WiB...

During the conversation, most of the participants agreed that the authoritarian regime is moving towards bare dictatorship, that the judiciary is under the direct control of A. Vučić: ‘From authoritarianism we have come to dictatorship. Everything is laid bare. There is a showdown between criminal clans in Belgrade...’ This event was attended by **10** people.

February 18 “Discussion about the book of memoirs *“Patriot”* by **Alexei Navalny**, publishing house *Fokus Komunikacije*, Zagreb, 2024. A. Navalny (1976-2024), one of the biggest opponents of the Putin regime, was killed on *February 16, 2024* - the responsibility for his death lies with the Putin regime. The book is a shocking testimony about tyranny, a political autobiography about A. Navalny’s fight against





the authoritarian regime and for democracy in Russia. WiB activists spoke about the book, we are transcribing parts of the presentation:

Miloš Urošević: 'He explained his return to Russia after being treated for Novichok poisoning in Germany by fulfilling the promise he made to the voters. In his memoirs, Navalny clearly states that he is aware of the risk of returning: that he will be imprisoned or killed for the rest of his life...'

Fahrudin Kladničanin: The greatest strength of these memoirs is their tone - direct, ironic, defiant. A strong motive for Navalny's engagement was the fight against corruption. He was ready to pay the price of his political involvement. He understood patriotism as a personal responsibility. He understood patriotism - through criticism of the government - as the greatest act of love for his country."

Staša Zajović: "Navalny refused to act politically outside of Russia also because he rejected the idea of leading his life outside the country. He believed that the hunt against him would not stop even outside of Russia. Alexei Navalny has completely redefined the concept of patriotism. He says that he does not just want to change the government in Russia, but to make people in Russia happier. He sees himself as a conscious victim. On February 1 (2024), Navalny called on citizens to vote against Putin in the elections and on February 6 (2024), they put him in solitary confinement and killed him... Navalny had a clear position on Russia's attack on Ukraine, on the inadmissibility of waging such a war of aggression..."

Stefan Milosavljević: 'Navaljni had periods in his public activity, when he approached politicians who were "more national" in their performances. But Navalny also proved to be a politician of a completely new breed in matters of "truth and lies." Milosavljević considers this to be the most important feature of Alexei Navalny's politics and public appearances. Navalny's return to Russia is not only the decision of an activist but also the fulfillment of his promise as a politician. Returning faith in the given word. That's why he's dangerous and dead."

Dragomir Olujić: "Navalny's return to Russia is a moral and courageous act, but it is a wrong move. He would have been more dangerous if he had remained free. The fact that he was killed right then and the way it was done, shows that it has to do with the immediately upcoming agreed exchange of Navalny for someone important in the regime who was in prison in Germany. This shows Putin's fear of Navalny who would have been abroad. In Russia, for the regime, he was less dangerous..."

Nastasja Radović: 'It seems that Navalny did not properly assess his chances of changing Russia. It is difficult to answer the question about the effect of individual sacrifice on collective change... It seems that the Russians are "subconsciously" burdened by the imperial tradition...' The conversation was attended by **22** people.



February 24 “Is there an end to the war in Ukraine?”

This conversation was organized on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of Russia’s aggression against Ukraine. The keynote speakers were: **Aleksandar Radić**, a military analyst and publicist, and **Nikola Lunić**, a consultant in the field of security and geopolitics. Here are parts of their presentations:

Nikola Lunić asked whether on February 24, 2022, there was an attempt to start the Third World War or just another local one. “Today we live in uncertainty regarding the beginning of the Third World War. I will not embellish. Russia entered the war unprepared. All the intelligence services of the world made wrong assessments.”

Aleksandar Radić: He pointed out that human sacrifices are not important to Putin. “They bring in people from the lowest social strata, the lumpen proletariat... They are not important... They mobilized less successfully than they had predicted. Putin promised the generals that they would solve Donbas quickly. But all that is lost. An immeasurably small territory was - during that time - taken by the Russian army. The Russian army tried militarily, but failed. Ukraine does not accept demilitarization, everyone is being mobilized, so the upper age limit was raised from 27 to 50. The reason is demographic - there are now less than ten percent of young people who are capable of mobilisation...’

When asked by the participants whether the EU will be able to influence a peace settlement for Ukraine in the near future, both presenters said that they were not.

The conversation also focused on topics related to the war in Ukraine and general militarization with trends in Serbia - the export and import of weapons, the existence of Russian intelligence agencies in Serbia. “The Russian intelligence services are conducting a hybrid war here” (N. Lunić). The conversation was attended by **22** people.

March 11 “Joint reflection: What is meant by the term Other Serbia?”

What is meant by the term *Second Serbia*? What period does *Second Serbia* refer to? Who made up the Second Serbia? What were (were) the main activities of *Second Serbia*? Can the *Second Serbia* be reduced to intellectual circles (to sessions of the Belgrade Circle)? What about the unrest with crimes outside of Belgrade - whistleblowers and troublemakers of conscience and the public? Why were they (in) visible? Is there still a *Second Serbia* today - the one that does not put up with crimes? Has anything changed - at the level of the state and society, in relation to the responsibility for the crimes committed in our name? What ethical and political practices emerged from the *Second Serbia*? Who criticizes *Second Serbia* today? With what intention and from which positions (moral and political) are the values of the *Second Serbia* being neglected? Why is *Second Serbia* still necessary today? The participants answered a series of these questions.

Some elements of the conversation:



Other Serbia symbolizes unrest with war, crime, nationalism, and the regime. It refers to the nineties.

Other Serbia was: *The Belgrade Circle, Women in Black, the Anti-War Center, the Civic Alliance and the Reform Forces...* *Other Serbia* can be reduced to intellectual circles...

Recognized and unrecognized Other Serbia: centre and periphery: conscientious objectors/disturbers, deserters, mothers of deserters - they are just as important even though they are invisible. In the interior, there was much more than symbolic resistance, and that in Belgrade there was also "deliberate ignorance" of what was happening in the interior. Thanks to Women in Black, it was recorded...

What is Second Serbia today? - Serbia, which "does not put up with crimes" and demands responsibility for crimes, even today in Serbia, that has not changed. *Second Serbia* is still distinctly minority, even more so than in the nineties... 25 people participated in this event. Here are some elements of the deliberations:

March 18 - Negotiated justice - on the recognition of guilt for war crimes in the wars in the SFRY - the book was published by the *Center for Nonviolent Action/CNA* in 2025. This book talks about how the institution of guilty pleas was created, which was originally not in the Statute of The Hague Tribunal.

The keynote speakers were: **Radomir Radević, CNA** and **Jovana Kolarić, Humanitarian Law Fund**

Jovana Kolarić, reviewer of the book, sociologist and researcher of the Humanitarian Law Fund, emphasized that the plea agreement for war crimes included the obligation of the accused to provide evidence of the crimes. Pleading guilty is voluntary. It was previously "informed" - the agreement is not binding for the Court, so **the accused may receive the maximum sentence despite the agreement.**

To the moderator's question: "Is the plea agreement just some kind of commercial arrangement?" **Radević** answered: "Sincerity cannot be proven here and the Court is not interested in that. We failed here.





Because the people-victims are interested in whether the confession is sincere.”



They also discussed the impact of admitting guilt on the victims’ families: “There is no court that - after the Second World War - worked as seriously and diligently as The Hague Tribunal for Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Confessions of crimes have enormous power. It is proof that a crime has been committed. It depends on the social climate how that person will be perceived. How can catharsis be achieved in societies where criminals are heroes? It is difficult to survive in such a society. The importance of some confessions can also be seen in the fact that no one in the victims’ community nor the community of perpetrators, denied some confessions. The interview was attended by **23** people.

March 25 “*In the name of the people*” screening and discussion about the film with JUKOM lawyer **Kristina Todorović**.

A documentary film by journalist **Jelena Zorić** “*In the name of the people*” was shown, about the SLAPP lawsuits that political, financial and media powers are increasingly bringing against activists, journalists... The film lasted 60 minutes, and after the screening, there was a conversation with JUKOM’s lawyer, **Kristina Todorović**. Todorović is the legal representative of some of the actors in this film.

Attorney Todorović, at the beginning and before watching this documentary, explained the nature of SLAPP lawsuits (Strategic lawsuit against public participation), the circumstances under which defendants’ defense takes place, experiences with prosecutors and judges, problems that her clients face in the courts and outside of them... The goal of SLAPP lawsuits is to cause emotional, moral and material damage to the defendants, even before a first-instance verdict is reached. They are piling up, in which lawsuits demand compensation in large sums of money, and increasingly prison sentences.





K. Todorović referred to some of the cases she represented: Chinese company (Zi-Đing) that brutally exploits mineral wealth in Eastern Serbia, which is why the citizens organized themselves, because of which they suffered all kinds of violence, including prison sentences...

The fight for environmental protection in Fruška Gora/Vojvodina, not the place where, as the protestors claim, the construction of a residential complex was illegally planned. Attorney Todorović, at the beginning and before watching this documentary, explained the nature of SLAPP lawsuits (Strategic lawsuit against public participation), the circumstances under which the defendants' defense takes place, experiences with prosecutors and judges, problems that her clients face in the courts and outside of them... The goal of SLAPP lawsuits is to cause emotional, moral and material damage to the defendants, even before a first-instance verdict is reached. They are piling up, in which lawsuits demand compensation in large sums of money, and increasingly prison sentences.



Aladin Paučinac from Novi Pazar has thirteen criminal charges against him. The reason is his criticism of the decisions and behavior of the director of the Novi Pazar hospital during the Covid 19 epidemic...

Stevan Dojčinović from *KRIK* (investigative media) reminds that they were sued at least a dozen times by 2021 and that they won all those disputes, but that the situation has changed drastically since then and that they started losing disputes... **Aleksandar Đorđević** from *BIRN* (Balkan Investigative Reporting Network) believes that this is a systemic, organized and well-thought-out campaign against independent media. State officials and "controversial businessmen" filed lawsuits against BIRN. When it comes to journalists, "astronomical figures, prison sentences and a ban on journalism" are demanded.

In the film, activists testify about physical attacks by members of private security or recognizable persons with criminal records. The participants conclude that only the public - for now - protects them from even greater violence. The participants of this conversation (**9 people**) were interested in the criteria needed to qualify a lawsuit as a SLAPP, the EU's objections to the Serbian legislation, etc.



April 1 "Is there an end to the war in the Middle East?"

The first part featured an interview with **Mirjana Rakić**, a foreign policy analyst from Zagreb, which was broadcast by *TV VIDA*. The reason for the interview is the escalation of the conflict in the Middle East and the US and Israeli attack on Iran, but also Iranian attacks in the region - as well as the geopolitical and financial consequences of the war. Rakić was extremely critical of the US and Israel's attack on Iran and Lebanon and, in general, of the dangerous growing global militarization.

The keynote speakers were: **Helia**, anti-war and anti-imperialist activist from Iran, and **Sonja Biserko**, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights.

Helia, originally from Iran (now living in Europe), an anti-war and anti-imperialist activist, emphasized: "It seems that they intend to destroy everything. It seems that they want to destroy us as a big nation - because, the Iranian nation is big. Iran is a big country with about ninety million people. We have lived together for seven thousand years, and now they want to tear us apart... I know that there is a dictatorship in Iran, but it is our dictatorship. In the last two hundred years, only in the time dictatorship, Iran was not losing its territories. We don't need someone coming from 11,000 miles away to free us from the dictatorship...'



Sonja Biserko believes that the *Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps* is taking over the decision-making power, on the other hand, she says, there is already a great resistance to the dictatorship in Iran, which is continuous and very strong. The Iranian opposition is the most organized in Europe', etc.

Helia reacted: "There is no Iranian opposition. These are spies working for foreign countries. They were paid by Israel, and in the Iraq-Iran war they were on the Iraqi side...'. She also denied the mandatory wearing of the hijab in Iran (?!), which caused a bitter outcry and was judged as disrespecting the women victims of the theocratic regime in Iran... Helia rejected claims about Iran as a regional, imperial power: "Not only is The USA an empire, but also Iran. There are 13 branch-



es of Hezbollah in the region. And Slobodan Milošević behaved imperially in the territory of the former Yugoslavia...” In the conversation moderated by Staša, 20 people participated.

April 8 “Historic Opinion of the International Court of Justice in The Hague: Climate Change as a Legal Question” - July 23, 2025 The International Court of Justice issued an advisory opinion on the legal obligations of states in the context of climate change. On this basis, states can sue each other for damages caused by climate change. **Dragiša Čalić**, legal advisor at the Committee of Lawyers for Human Rights/Jukom, spoke about the legal and moral consequences and the importance of the decision for the preservation of the environment, as well as activists.

Dragiša Čalić believes that the document on the climate of the Court in The Hague, in addition to having a strong moral effect, also has an impact on the development of international law, because in the future it will represent a relevant legal basis and a kind of guide for the decisions of international and domestic courts. This advisory opinion - which has no binding power - should help strengthen national courts - but also regional ones, such as the *European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg*. It can also be expected that this internationally relevant document will be a means of some kind of political pressure in strengthening “climate diplomacy”, and it could also serve as an argument in climate negotiations.

Dragiša Čalić also referred to the pollution caused by war conflicts: “There is huge pollution in Gaza due to debris from demolished buildings. That is a good basis for a lawsuit against the lords of war. The damage was caused to the entire Middle East...During the bombing of Serbia in 1999, great pollution was created in Pančevo and Kragujevac.” Then Čalić cited activist campaigns for the protection of the environment in Serbia (primarily Rio Tinto, Chinese companies...), that it is necessary to continue street actions in order to put pressure on the state that favors investors and polluters, etc.

In the second part of this circle, the documentary-research film *Hear the Fear*, by the architect and documentary-film author, **Nela Milić**, who lives and works in London, was shown. And the subject of this film - the use of a so-called acoustic cannon during the student-citizen protest on March 15, 2025. There are well-founded suspicions that the state used an LRAD, which has not been precisely identified to date, against a peaceful and extremely massive gathering, thus jeopardizing the safety of more than 300,000 people present at the said protest. **Dragiša Čalić** said that JUKOM (*along with Citizens’ Initiatives and the Belgrade Center for Human Rights*) with the help of the Faculty of Special Education - whose psychologists helped them - heard about 4,200 citizens who reported various physical and psychological disturbances caused by the attack of an unidentified acoustic weapon on March 15, 2025. 13 people attended the discussion and the screening of the film.





April 15 “War, narratives and women’s rights in the Middle East: between instrumentalization and resistance”

The lecture was given by **Zorica Skakun**, a feminist activist and humanitarian consultant in the Middle East, who has worked for several international organizations since the nineties (Afghanistan, parts of the Middle East), and since 2016 in Syria. She also does scientific work. Here are parts of her presentation - answers to questions:

What does the Middle East mean, how is that image formed? - ‘The Middle East is not only a geographical space, but also a historically produced political space, most often depicted as exotic, irrational, violent and backward. This implies that the Middle East needs someone to continuously monitor and manage it. They do not take into account important components that mark the lives of people in this part of the world: histories of organizing, everyday life, class differences, colonial legacies and external interventions. Instead, the descriptions of the Middle East are simplified to the determinants of “eternal conflict”, religious fanaticism and the oppression of women (orientalism)’ emphasized Skakun.

What is happening in the region today, what do modern wars and humanitarian crises look like?



Skakun believes that today the Middle East region is marked by several simultaneous and combined crises: “These crises can no longer be understood only as armed conflicts between parties at the front lines. These are wars that destroy the infrastructure of life: health, water supply, education, housing, transport, the labor market and the daily reproduction of society. In this sense, modern war acts deeply “within civilian life”, and not only on the battlefield.”

Knowledge: Who produces narratives about women in war and humanitarian crisis, and whose interests lie behind them?

‘Narratives are not only produced by the media. They are produced by states, international organizations, think tanks, military alliances, the humanitarian sector, activist networks, academies and the diaspora. The most visible narratives often come from institutions that already have political, financial and media power. Because of this, women

from the region very often become the subject of others' speech: they are spoken of as victims, as heroines, as evidence of civilizational difference, as objects of rescue, or as symbols of resistance. "We rarely see them as complex political actors who have contradictory positions, different interests and their own strategies," said Skakun.

Power: Have women's rights become a political tool in contemporary conflicts?

Skakun believes that today the Middle East region is marked by several simultaneous and combined crises: "These crises can no longer be understood only as armed conflicts between parties at the front. These are wars that destroy the infrastructure of life: health, water supply, education, housing, transport, the labor market and the daily reproduction of society. In this sense, modern war acts deeply "within civilian life", and not only on the battlefield."

Knowledge: Who produces narratives about women in war and humanitarian crisis, and whose interests lie behind them?

Power: Have women's rights become a political tool in contemporary conflicts?

'Women's rights are used to legitimize other projects; When are they being abused? This is not a new phenomenon. We saw it in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and we still see it today in discussions about Iran, Palestine and beyond. Then women's rights appear as a moral argument: "We must intervene because women are suffering there", or "Our side is civilized because it defends women". It is used to justify regimes of sanctions, militarization, intervention or alliances. In that case, the visibility of the "women's issue" does not become emancipatory because it is "dealt with" by the same actors who occupy, bomb, punish collectively or have authoritarian allies. That is why, according to Skakun, it is important to know who invokes women's rights, when, against whom and with what consequences... We should be ready to say when it is about the instrumentalization of those rights, and not about feminist politics...' said Skakun.

Experience: How does war reshape the everyday life of women and why are they simultaneously visible as victims and less often as political actors?

"War does not suspend gender - it often emphasizes it. Women are taking on more work, more care, and more responsibility for maintaining life, while formal power does not shift to the same extent. It is an important corrective to the romantic idea that war "automatically empowers" women because it pushes them into a more public role. Women can become visible in a moment of crisis, but this visibility is often conditional, fragile and accompanied by moral surveillance. That is why in the dominant stories they are often present as victims - which they are, in the sense of exposure to violence, loss and exhaustion, but not as political actors, although in practice they make decisions every day, mediate, maintain aid networks and negotiate the limits of what is possible' emphasized Skakun.

Leadership: How do women position themselves within those narratives and what strategies do they use to negotiate or change them?

"Women do not wait for someone from outside to give them political space, but often produce it from within, through everyday, informal and formal strategies. Historically speaking, women's organizing in the region has a long genealogy: from anti-colonial and national movements, through trade union and student activism - to contemporary feminist, legal, humanitarian and grassroots networks" citing examples of women's organizing in Syria, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Palestine, etc.

Politics: Where do we see feminist resistance today and is there room for real political change?

"We see it in massive and symbolically powerful moments, such as the Iranian slogan 'Woman, Life, Freedom,' which opened global recognition of the connection between the body, freedom and political power." We also see it in Palestinian, Syrian, Iraqi and Yemeni networks that document crimes, organize support, defend access to services, insist on political language in the midst of humanitarian depoliticization." Skakun listed the shortcomings and limitations: NGO-ization of feminism, movement fatigue, repression, dependence on donor cycles, fragmentation and constant pressure to reduce feminist work to a project, service or symbolic presence, etc. The conversation continued with comments and questions, and **18** people attended this event.

April 22 - Talk about the work of the painter, director, screenwriter and editor Vera Jocić and screening of her films "The pioneer and a Bad Mark" and "House without a Facade".

The lecture was given by **Ivana Kronja**, doctor of filmology, cultural expert and film critic from Belgrade, employed at the BAPUSS Department of Art and Design. The conversation was held as part of the *(In)visible SFRY* cycle. **Vera Jocić** (1916-2000) was a painter, editor, pioneer of Yugoslav animation and film director.

Ivana Kronja pointed out that **Vera Jocić** "introduced a female sensibility into the film. She does not show women only as "emotional". Vera Jocić brought a new vision in terms of content and characters - in her films where the female protagonists stand out more, she puts their attitudes in the focus of her films. A specific erotic aspect is also highlighted: how women look at the male body, within the heteroculture. She has a subtler, complex view of the destinies of her heroes." Then the mentioned documentaries were shown, **16** people participated in the conversation.

April 29 "The situation of foreign workers in Serbia (with special reference to the case of the Chinese factory Ling Long in Zrenjanin"

The keynote speaker, **Marija Anđelković** from the NGO ASTRA (*Anti-Trafficking Action*), cited examples of labor and sexual exploitation, human trafficking, and slavery: 'We have been dealing with the topic

of human trafficking and sexual exploitation for twenty-five years, and we have been dealing with labor exploitation for the last five years. Most of the victims we deal with are victims of sexual exploitation, women and girls (75%), followed by victims of labor exploitation. Most of them from Africa and Asia, they are exposed to the pressures of foreign profits and domestic corruption: they are brought in by agencies, they work for Serbian state companies on projects-investments of capital importance-financed from the Serbian budget. Anđelković specifically referred to the Chinese tyre factory Linglong in Zrenjanin (80 km from Belgrade) where workers from India, Bangladesh, China...live in slave conditions. Products (cheap tyres) that are bought by Western countries, ASTRA disclosed it, launched numerous activities (legal procedures, support for workers, etc.).

Then the documentary film "Hell on the land of Banat" by Zrenjanin journalist **Ivana Gordić Perc** was shown, testimony about the solidarity of activists with workers, legal aid, humanitarian actions, etc. **10** people attended the event.

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 dealing with the past – accountability for war crimes, violence against women, against repression of political dissenters; against refugees. Here are some of the statements:

Women in Black also demand on this occasion (statement of *February 21*):

Stop the war in Ukraine! – on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, WiB stated, among other things, in a statement (February 24): "Aggressor Russian troops are waging war against the civilian population throughout the territory of Ukraine." More and more intense barbaric attacks on civilian infrastructure - railway stations, energy plants, residential buildings... cause enormous material damage and mass suffering of the Ukrainian population. Russian occupying troops throughout Ukraine are carrying out crimes: urbicide, culturocide, femicide, infanticide... The criminal imperial militaristic campaign under the leadership of V. Putin must be called GENOCIDE.

WiB repeated demands:

- **Immediate cessation of all military operations and withdrawal of occupation troops of the Russian Federation from Ukraine.**
- **We support the establishment of a Special Tribunal to try crimes of aggression committed by the Russian Federation since the beginning of its invasion in February 2022;**
- **Investigation before the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice for the crimes of**

the Russian invasion troops against civilians in Ukraine. We support requests to establish a special UN tribunal for war crimes in Ukraine.

- **Conducting effective peace negotiations in order to stop all military operations in order to end the suffering of the civilian population, the destruction of cities, the destruction of civil infrastructure. These negotiations cannot and must not take place without Ukraine!**
- **For Serbia to join the EU sanctions against Russia, not only because of the obligation arising from the status of a candidate for EU membership, but also as an act of clear condemnation of Russian aggression.**
- **Stopping and sanctioning war-mongering propaganda in the regime media in Serbia, which denies the crimes against the Ukrainian population, glorifies the crimes of the Russian occupation troops, etc.**

We will never forget the crime in Štrpci! – in occasion of 33 anniversary of crime in Štršće (27.2.1993 – 27.2-2026) WIB recalled: “On February 27, 1993, at 3:48 p.m., on the Belgrade-Bar railway, in Štrpci, from train number 671, the Serbian paramilitary formation “Osvetnici/Revengers”, which operated in the reserve of the Višegrad Brigade, Army of the Republika Srpska, under the command of Milan Lukić, took **18** Bosniak passengers, one Croat passenger and an unidentified person. The prisoners were taken to the gymnasium of the elementary school in the village of Mušići (Višegrad municipality), where they were beaten and robbed, and then they were killed in the backyard of the house of Rasim Čehić, in the village of Prelovo (Višegrad municipality). Women in Black immediately supported the families of the victims: since 1993, years ago, every February 27, they marked the anniversary of the kidnapping in Štrpci with protests in mourning and silence. Women in Black provided emotional and political support to the families of the victims during the entire trial against several accused for this crime in the Special Court in Belgrade. The verdict of the same court was shameful - a judicial institution once again mocked both the victims and the families of the victims of this crime. No one was punished for this, nor for the other crimes, which were committed in Sandzak, against the Bosniak population, before The Hague Tribunal.

Women in Black, on this occasion, also reminded that: “None of the planners, commanders, or instigators of the crime was responsible for this state-organized crime (behind which all the political structures of the FRY stood); that the families are still searching for most of the remains of the victims; that due to the discriminatory provision in the Law on Civilian Victims of War, the same law does not recognize the families of the victims as victims, since the victims were killed outside the territory of the FRY (even though that territory was under the control of the Bosnian Serbs), and that they did not suffer from

the so-called enemy troops (in the future they were killed by members of the Bosnian Serbs), etc.

Statement regarding violence in local elections – regarding violence in local elections in ten municipalities in Serbia (March 29, 2026) WiB emphasized “Yesterday we witnessed the war that the regime, whose members once fought throughout the former Yugoslavia, is waging in Serbia against its own citizens. What happened yesterday points to the fact that the ruling Serbian Progressive Party wants to stay in power at all costs. The mafia regime in Serbia shows its firm intention not to recognize the loss of citizens’ trust and to withdraw peacefully. It uses all possible means - from blackmail, to open and brutal physical violence, both against citizens, journalists and observers in the elections. Women in Black demand that all members of the parapolice and police units who used violence against citizens and thereby violate the law be arrested, and the Women in Black appeal to all the relevant political factors, and above all the institutions of the European Union, to stand in the way of the autocracy with all means available, in order to force the regime into Serbia to call for free and democratic elections’ is stated in the announcement of *March 30, 2026*.

We remember women raped in war / Pamtimo žene silovane u ratu! / Kujtojmë gratë e dhunuara gjatë luftës! – On the occasion of April 14, the Memorial Day for Survivors of Sexual Violence during the Kosovo War, Women in Black, the Autonomous Women’s Center, and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights are organizing a street action on April 14, 2026, at 12:00 at Republic Square in Belgrade.

For the Memorial Day for Survivors of Sexual Violence during the Kosovo War, Kosovo institutions—on the initiative of civil society—symbolically chose April 14, as on that day in 1999, Vase Krasniqi-Goodman, who was sixteen at the time, was raped by members of the Serbian police. She was the first woman to publicly speak out about the crime of sexual violence during the war in Kosovo.

With this street action, we express solidarity with all women and men who survived sexual violence during the war in Kosovo, as well as with the civil society initiative “Be My Voice,” which calls for reparations and justice for the victims.

We recall that during the war in Kosovo, rape and sexual violence were used by members of Serbian armed forces against the Albanian population in an organized and systematic manner, as a weapon of war and an instrument of ethnic cleansing.

We call on states to fairly prosecute all sexual war crimes, to sign bilateral extradition agreements, and to ensure reparations for survivors of sexual crimes, regardless of their nationality.

We reiterate our demand that the state of Serbia recognize the war crime of rape committed against women during the war.

April 14 – Memorial Day for Survivors of Sexual Violence during the Kosovo War

14 Prilli – Dita e të Mbijetuarve të Dhunës Seksuale gjatë Luftës në Kosovë

Statement on the request to release the convicted war criminal Ratko Mladić to Serbia for treatment “Women in Black strongly oppose the release from prison, for treatment in Serbia, of the convicted war criminal Ratko Mladić, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for the genocide in Srebrenica. The State of Serbia and its Ministry of Justice immediately offered guarantees for his treatment in Serbia. The State of Serbia and its judicial institutions have never offered anything (either material or symbolic compensation) to the victims of our crimes name.

The cynical request of the regime in Serbia is humiliating and insulting for the victims of genocide, to whom the criminal R. Mladić did not give even a second to have a sip of water or say goodbye to their loved ones before deportation and execution...

The regime’s inhumane request is an insult to all responsible citizens of Serbia who stand in solidarity with the victims of genocide and all crimes committed in our name.

The disgraceful act of the regime once again proves that war-mongers or active perpetrators of crimes have been in power since the 90s, deniers of war crimes, admirers of the image and actions of war criminals, primarily R. Mladić, the statement of *April 22* states.

The report was prepared by:

Staša Zajović, in cooperation with:

Ivana Gordić Perc, Miloš Urošević, Nastasja Radović,

Nataša Milanović, Stanislava Lazarević,

Stefan Milosavljević and Zinaida Marjanović.

Belgrade, August 2026.