



*žene u crnom  
beograd*

**REPORT**

## **May - August 2018**

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

We solidarity thank you in advance.

*žene u crnom*



# STREET ACTIONS

In this reporting period we organized seven (7) actions, and we also actively participated in other street actions:

## **Commemoration / marking of important dates of crimes committed in our name, as well as other crimes against civilian population, during and after the wars, in the territory of the former Yugoslavia:**

**Maz 24th, Kruševac „We Remember Brave Resistance of Women!“** – Women’s organization „Peščanik“, The Women’s Network of the Rasina District and the Women in Black Network marked the 19th anniversary of the women’s protest against forced mobilization in 1999. This peace action, organized on the occasion of May 24th – International Day of Women’s Action for Peace and Disarmament, activists recalled the courageous resistance of women to mobilization and war in Kosovo.

In memory of that day, activists stood on the square holding banners with inscriptions:- - *We remember the courage of the women of the Rasina district*

- *Rasina district: 12 000 mobilized and 52 dead people. Why?*
- *Everything for peace, health and knowledge - nothing for weapons!*



About twenty (20) activists took part in the action.

Women’s Association “Pescanik”, Women’s Network of Rasina District and Women in Black Network mark this day since 2014. The mentioned associations send an initiative every year to the City of Kruševac to declare May 24th the Day of Remembrance for the Revolt against Forced Mobilization in Kruševac and Rasina District in 1999.

In the initiative, among other things, it states: “In May 1999, several thousand mothers, sisters, wives and citizens marched day by day in the streets of the city demanding the end of the war in Kosovo and the termination of the mobilization of men. We still do not know who is responsible for 12,000 mobilized during 3 months and 52 dead people in Rasina district. We still do not know who is responsible for the immense losses, suffering, and traumas of women caused by the forced mobilization of their male relatives.” So far, the authorities have been silent about this initiative.

**June 19th, Foča (Bosnia and Herzegovina) “We Remember Women Raped in War, We Remember Women of Foca”** - On the occasion of the 19th of June - the International Day Against Sexual Violence in War, Women in Black from Belgrade organized a event in Foca, a place where the war crime of rape, including the crime of sexual slavery, was the most widespread during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



The event was organized with the support of: *Citizens' Associations 'Goraždanke' from Gorazde, Women's Association Seka from Gorazde, War victims associations Foča 92-95 from Sarajevo, Women War Victims Associations from Sarajevo, Cure Foundation from Sarajevo, Autonomous Women's Center from Belgrade, Women's networks against violence and Women in Black Network from Leskovac, Kraljevo and Pljevlja.*

The action began with a protest in front of the sports hall Partizan (as one of the many places of detention and sexual violence against women), where women were raped in the war, we laid flowers. Then the participants went to the main town square where the protest was held and the banners were raised:

- *We remember the women raped in the war,*
- *We remember the women of Foca,*
- *June 19th - International Day Against Sexual Violence in War,*
- *Solidarity,*
- *Responsibility*

The protest continued on the city streets, with the stopping near the Foča Prison (one of the numerous places of detention, abuse and murder of men), and on the bridge where people were killed.

On the bridge on the Drina river, a scene action with mirrors was performed, during which ten activists held ten mirrors on which black ribbon was printed *We remember women of Foca.* By scene action with mirrors, *"we put into the public space what is hiding, denying, and diminishing - the crimes of the past. It was also a call to the community / society in whose name the crimes were committed, to look at the mirror - to face the truth about the crimes, to think about the victims, but also about themselves - to face their own mirror reflection!"*, it's written in the campaign flyer.

The action was completed in the place Miljevina (not far from Foča), where flowers were laid on the fence of Karaman's house (one of the most famous places of detention of women and sexual slavery of women in the war) and the banner „We remember the women raped in the war“ was left.

For the first time, this action was organized for publicly marking and reminding of crimes committed in the city of Foca - after 26 years of crime, after 26 years of silence, which, unfortunately, continues to surround the crimes ...

A hundred (100) people participated in this action and the whole event had a good media-cover.





**July 10th, Belgrade, „Srebrenica 8372...“** - On the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, Women in Black on July 10th, 2018, on the Republic Square organized a standing in black.

A scene action was performed in cooperation with art collectives Dah Theater and Skart.

Women in Black activists carried a 40-meter-long **black canvas** - symbol of pain and sorrow on the Republic Square - as well as rebellion against the denial of genocide.

Then 30 activists were reading the names from the silver foil of the murdered people in Srebrenica with whispers. This act marks the trace /presence of the dead in us - the entry into memory of what is denied in Serbia ... Then ten activists went to the Square, slowly one after the other, with ten black papers forming the word Srebrenica. On the left and right sides, the *Solidarity* and *Responsibility* banners were set up.

The group of 23 (anniversary of genocide) activists climbed the stairs of the monument to Prince Michael and held **silver foil** - 23 mirrors on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the genocide with the figure 8732 ... a symbol of respect for the victims.

In the end, an activist from a black bag in the Republic Square fluttered **petals**

**of white roses** - a symbol of tenderness and sublimity. With this scenic action, we have made visible the situation of violence committed against Srebrenica and expressing concern and compassion for the victims of genocide.

A hundred (**100**) people participated in the action, and the whole event was very well prepared.



Земе и крвот





## Feminist, anti-fascist, anti-war, anti-racist, anti-militaristic actions:

### In chronological order:

**May 1st, Belgrade – On the occasion of the International Labor Day**, organized by the trade unions “Nezavisnost” and “Sloga” around fifteen activists of the WiB participated in a street march. During the march there was an incident - two activists were arrested, allegedly insulting the Minister of Labor of the Republic of Serbia and in action in front of the police station where they were detained, we organized an action against police repression with a request for the release of activists. After a few hours activists were freed.

**May 9th „Stop fascism”** – On the occasion of the Day of Victory over the Fascism, Women in Black, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, antifa-choir Our Song, the Anti-Fascist Union of Serbia organized an anti-fascist protest in front of the Memorial for hanged patriots from the Second World War (Terazije 12, near Iguman’s Palace).

The following banners were raised at the protest:

- *Stop fascism*
- *Women in Black against fascism*
- *No pasaran*
- *Women in Black anti-fascist women*
- **Stop fascism in different languages**

Antifascist choir Our Song on that occasion sang songs: *Our song, Bella ciao, Konjuh planinom, Ay Carmela ...*



The action ended with the laying of red roses on a monument by antifascists.

About **40** activists took part in this peace action.

**May 14th, Belgrade, „We Will Never Forget – Nakba 1948”** - On the occasion of 70 years since the start of Nakba (disaster), when the state of Israel was created in Palestine in 1948, Women in Black in the main city street (Knez Mihailova) organized a peace action “*We Will Never Forget Nakba 1948*” in black and silence.

At the protest, the following banners were displayed in Arabic, Hebrew, English and Serbian:

- *We will never forget Nakba (1948-2018)*
- *Stop the occupation*
- *Peace*
- *Rights*
- *Responsibility*
- *Justice, not revenge*
- *Solidarity with the peace movement of Israel and Palestine*

The protest was attended by twenty (**20**) activists. Unfortunately, the protest was not media covered, and it was accompanied by a visibly police security.





**May 18th, Belgrade „We remember women victims of violence“**, organized by the Autonomous Women's Center, the Network for Women Victims of Violence and Women in Black. The protest is aimed against femicide and growing male violence against women in Serbia.

**June 20th, Belgrade „Solidarity with refugees“** – On the occasion of the 20th June - World Refugee Day, Women in Black organized a peace action pointing to the difficult situation of refugees / migrants around the world.

At the protest, about thirty (30) activists of Women in Black, in black and silence, resisted the militarization of borders, the installation of fences and barbed wire, and above all racist policies across Europe. As a sign of international solidarity, activists and activists carried banners on which were written in English, Bosnian, Pashto and Farsi language:

- *“Stop the war, not refugees,”*
- *„We want open borders, “etc.*

Throughout the protest, Simo Spasic, the president of the Association of Missing and Abducted and Killed from Kosovo and Metohija, attacked and insulted activists. This was also happening in numerous other actions, which is why we file criminal charges (you can find more in Dossier no.12 - about attacks on WiB, September 2018).



A Canadian of Serbian origin (who had previously obstructed the activities of the WiB) exclaimed mainly in English: “This organization has always worked against the interests of the Serbian people, and in the interest of the West ... They support those who killed us, stealed our organs, they work against Serbian history, asking for the heart of Serbia ... “etc.

Activists of Women in Black reacted as soon as the violence started, and the police reacted only after half an hour, which enabled the violence to go unhindered and the WiB filed a criminal complaint.





# FACING 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:

In this reporting period Women in Black organized the following activities:

**May 31st – June 1st “We Remember”, Zvornik (Bosnia and Herzegovina)** – On the occasion of 26 years of crimes in the Zvornik area, Women in Black on May 31 and June 1, 2018, together with the Association of Victims of the Municipality of Zvornik, marked 26 years of mass crimes committed by Serb armed forces against the non-Serb population.

During May and June 1992, Serb armed formations committed crimes of ethnic cleansing, robbery, torture, killing ... Thousands of civilians from 13 villages from Zvornik municipality were expelled in May 1992, and about 700 men were later killed in the place of Gerina slaughter.

Within the framework of the commemoration, five (5) activists of WiB participated in the following commemorative events:

### May 31st 2018:

- **A visit to the Pilica Concentration Camp** (former Cultural Center, now ruins) in which 595 Bosniak men were killed, only two survived, one of them died last year; More than a hundred people attended this event.
- **“Klisa Night of Fear and Uncertainty”** is a historical time in the village of Klisa about a crime committed on May 31, 1992, when thousands of civilians from 13 villages from the Zvornik municipality were taken by the Serbian armed forces. Promotion of the book “Take off from bread and water” was also organized by Nazima Ibrahimović and Hazim Karic. The book reconstructs the events of May and June '92, testifies to the genocide, the denial of genocide in Serbia ...

### June 1st

- **Peace march ‘The death trail’ with families of victims and survivors;**





- **Black peak - mass graves** - Victims' Association representatives recalled that 670 victims were exhumated, of which 450 were identified, tracing another 250 people, and since 2003 there have been no victims found...

- **Karakaj** - a visit to the former campus in Karakaj High School, where more than 700 men were deported, including minors and older than 80, where they were killed;

- **The burial at cemetery in Memici** - buried remains of an escaped victim ...

**July 11th, Srebrenica "Solidarity and Responsibility"** – commemoration in the memorial center Potocari / Srebrenica, where 35 burial remains of victims of genocide were buried on that day. Twenty-five (25) activists from the Women in Black network from all over Serbia, as well as three activists from Italy, attended the ceremony.

**July 18th, Belgrade, „We Remember Crime in Orahovac“** – On the occasion of 20 years since the crimes against Serb civilians, Women in Black and the Humanitarian Law Center, together with families of victims, attended the commemoration at the Orlovaca cemetery on July 18, where they placed a wreath bearing the inscription *"We Remember the Crimes in Orahovac"*. In this act, Women in Black and the Humanitarian Law Center expressed compassion and solidarity with the families of victims, as well as support to their demands for establishing all the facts about this crime and bringing all perpetrators to justice.

In Orlovaca cemetery, the remains of most victims were buried, among which are members of the Kostic family and the Nikolic family. They were killed on July 17 and 18 in an attack by the KLA on the villages of Retimlje and Oplotusa, in the municipality of Orahovac, in Kosovo.

And this, like all previous years, none of the political officials of the state of Serbia attended the celebration of the twentieth year of the crime.





# WOMEN'S SOLIDARITY FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMES

Actions of women's solidarity - feminist ethics of care and responsibility, acts of mutual support, exchange and cooperation in the region in order to build a just peace.

During this period we organized exchanges and visits:

**May 31 and June 1** - Meeting in Đulici and Klisi with women and families of victims after the commemoration of the anniversary of the crimes in the municipality of Zvornik.

**June 18, Goražde** (Bosnia and Herzegovina) - A meeting with activists and survivors of war crimes in the area of East Bosnia was organized at the premises of the women's association Seka in Goražde. At the meeting there were women who survived war crime of rape. They testified about the war sufferings, but also about the activities in the post-war period.

**June 9th, Belgrade - Solidarity visit** of about fifty (50) activists from the women's section of the Social Democratic Party / SDP from the municipality of Sarajevo. During the exchange, the activists talked about the activities regarding transitional justice - facing the past, as well as about the current social and political situation in BH and Serbia. After that, a joint tour of Belgrade was organized.

**June 22nd and July 25th - Solidarity visit** to activists in Đulici, agreement on the next joint activities.

**21st of July, Novi Sad - Cultural and historical visit and solidarity meeting** organized by the Citizens' Association "Anima" from Đulići, with the support of WiB activists, 53 women from the municipality of Zvornik (BH) visited Novi Sad. During the visit, several cultural activities were organized: the feminist tour "*Famous Women of Novi Sad*"; visit the old part of the city; anti-fascist monuments, Danube Quay, Petrovaradin Fortress, socializing.

This cultural and historical visit to Novi Sad was organized by Anđelija Vučurović (WiB) with the support of activists and associates of WiB from Novi Sad: Jelena Stamenković, Svenka Savić, Nedim Sejdinović, Duška Medić, Damir Marton, Nikola Acanski.

## **Punishability of the crime - the path to just peace: monitoring the trials at the Special Court**

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

To remind: The Kravica crime indictment was erected at the beginning of 2016. This was the beginning of the most important trial before the High Court in Belgrade / Special Court, because it is a Srebrenica geno-



cide. However, on 14 July 2017, the Court of Appeal ruled to annul the indictment for this crime, which is otherwise not qualified as genocide, as it was raised at the moment when the War Crimes Prosecutor's Office did not have a Chief Prosecutor. The trial continued in November 2017, and the hearings are continually delayed due to non-attendance of witnesses, inaction of the prosecution and the withdrawal of protected witnesses due to the threats they receive.

In this reporting period, only one hearing was held - on the **20th of July**. The main trial was held, although defense attorneys tried to postpone it ... On this occasion, two protected witnesses were testified.

Protected witnesses told the Trial Chamber that they remained with the testimony given in the investigation on March 16, 2015, and at today's main trial he briefly summarized the killings of 1,313 captured Srebrenica civilians in the hangars in the village of Kravica.

The continuation of the main trial is scheduled for 25 and 26 September.

### **Trial for war crime in Trnje/Kosovo**

On March 25th, 1999, members of the Serbian armed forces committed massive killings of Albanian civilians in the village of Trnje (Suva Reka municipality). That day, between 24 and 36 people were killed.

In the continuation of the trial, session was held on June 4th, when the accused (Gavrilović Pavle and Rajko Kozlina) pleaded with the amended indictment of the War Crimes Prosecution of April 23rd 2018. Both defendants pleaded that they understood the indictment, that they do not feel guilty and that the allegations contained in the indictment were not true. Also, at today's main trial, Defense witness Dejan Milosavljevic was heard.

### **Trial for a crime in Lovas/Croatia**

In front of the War Crimes Chamber of the Special Court in Belgrade, a main trial was held against indictees charged with having committed the criminal offense of War Crimes against Civilians referred to in Art. 142 st. 1 of the CC of FRY, in conjunction with Art. 22 of CC FRY". From 10 to 18 October 1991, members of the aggressor YPA, with the help of members of the Territorial Defense, local civil-military authorities, paramilitaries "Dusan Silni" and "Beli orlovi", committed war crimes in Lovas, killing 70 Croatian civilians.

*To remind:* the trial for crimes in Lovas began on April 17, 2008. 194 witnesses were heard. The first-instance verdict issued on 26 June 2012 states that the accused were sentenced to between 20 and 4 years in prison. On December 9, 2013, the Appellate Court reversed the verdict and returned the proceedings to a retrial.

In this reporting period, only one hearing was held - **June 14**, although trials were scheduled each month, but due to delay, no hearings were held ...

*(More reports from the above trials can be found on the WiB website).*



# ARTISTIC ENGAGEMENT IN DEALING WITH THE PAST/TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

During this period, the practice of joint work and cooperation between art collectives, professional theaters, artists engaged in artistic design of resistance to war, war crimes, repression, human rights violations has continued. In addition to the aforementioned artistic activist initiatives, primarily in the section "Street actions", during this period, several working meetings were organized in connection with the design and realization of activist-artistic actions with art collectives. During this period, we organized the following activities:

**May 5th; Joint artistic-activist visit** – to gallery of artists and activist Nikola Dzafo / Art clinic (Multimedia center Led art / Art clinic) in Petrovaradin near Novi Sad.

At this meeting, **29** people from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia attended the Regional Meeting of the Women's Court - a feminist approach to justice. In addition to visiting the gallery, it was about the importance of artistic engagement and cooperation with Women in Black in dealing with the past.

*During June and early July*, working meetings with art collectives Škart and Dah were held at WiB. - a joint designing of street actions related to the commemoration of the 23rd anniversary of the Srebrenica Genocide.

## VIDEO AKTIVIZAM TRANZICIONA PRAVDA - FEMINISTIČKI PRISTUP

In order to improve the visibility of the effects of various models of transitional justice, especially those from the feminist point of view, promoting Women in Black (WiB), in 2010, a group of video activists was created, which was capable of recording, editing, digitizing and setting up on the Internet video and audio material collected during the regular activities of the WiB, so that it, in the form of short films, becomes available to the general public. In this reporting period, the group produced the following video materials:

- **Stop fascism!** (2,5 min) - antifascist action in Belgrade on the occasion of may 9th – Victory Day
- **Srebrenica – 8372** (5 min.) – WiB peace action held on July 10th on the occasion of 23<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Genocide in Srebrenica



## Dealing with the past – joint reflection

(lectures, media conferences, book promotions, meetings ...)  
organized by WiB and related civil society organizations:

### May 4th, Sremski Karlovci: What After The Hague?

Debate on facing the past after 25 years of work of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia / The Hague Tribunal (on results, achievements, inheritance, deficiencies, continuation of work through the Mechanism for International Courts ...)

Lecturer is Nemanja Stjepanović, Humanitarian Law Center, Belgrade. This debate was attended by **29** people from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia who participated in the Regional Meeting of the Women's Court - a feminist approach to justice.

### May 17th, Tuzla - Peace meeting, at the International School: lecture on Women in Black activities

(ethical principles, facing the past, antimilitaristic / anti-fascist activities.) There were about fifty (**50**) participants, some of them were educational workers from Tuzla. The students were most interested in antifa action, solidarity with refugees, as well as the fight against all forms of discrimination, which was discussed by *Stasa Zajovic* and *Violeta Djikanovic* (WiB), while about W'sC spoke *Mira Vilusic*, on behalf of the NGO "Novi horizonti" from Tuzla. Documentary films of the WiB are also shown.

**May 25th, Belgrade "Why is RECOM Important?"** - Media Conferences of the Coalition for RECOM (Regional Commission for establishing facts about war crimes and other serious violations of human rights in the territory of the former SFRY). Representatives of the Coalition from Serbia, the Republic of Montenegro for RECOM presented the Action Plan for the establishment and commencement of the work of this commission. On behalf of WiB, Mina Damjanović was present.

**May 30th - June 2nd, Belgrade "Miredita, dobar dan!"** - The fifth festival organized by the collectives from Pristina and Belgrade. The festival presents the contemporary cultural and social scene of Pristina in Belgrade, with a focus on facing the past (projections of films, theater performances, debates, exhibitions). WiB activists attended all events within this festival.

**June 7th, Belgrade** - The Anti-Fascist Union of Serbia organized the promotion of Radovan Pantovic's book, in the CZKD. At the promotion, Aleksandar Sekulovic, Latinka Perovic, Sanja Petrovic-Todosijevic spoke. There were more activists of WiB.

**June 9th - Public talk about Zvornik** - About crimes committed in the area of Zvornik municipality in 1992 spoke Suvada Selimović, Đulići / BH, as well as researchers from the Humanitarian Law Center / HLC. Public hearings held in the framework of the School of Transitional Justice organized by HLC were attended by WiB activists: Ljiljana Radovanović, Mina Damjanović and Miloš Urošević.

**June 12th, Belgrade - A lecture on transitional justice from a feminist perspective** (WiB experience) for students from the Center for Women's Studies from Belgrade; the meeting was held in the WiB premises and there were words about facing the past, history, political philosophy of WiB, which was discussed by WiB activists. Also participated Tanja Ignjatović (Autonomous Women's Center).

**June 15th, Belgrade - Dossiers of the "Yugoslav People's Army/YPA in the wars in Croatia and Bosnia"**



- At the press conference, the Humanitarian Law Center, Belgrade presented its tenth dossier entitled "YPA in the wars in Croatia and Bosnia". HLC researchers spoke about Dossier findings; on behalf of WiB were: Mina Damjanović, Miloš Urošević, Mirko Medenica, Staša Zajović.

**June 19th, Foča (Bosnia and Herzegovina)** - Working meeting of the representatives of the Municipality of Foča (Izet Spahić, President of the Municipal Assembly Foča and Zoran Elez, Deputy Mayor of Foča), representative of the Association of Victims of the Foca War 1992-1995, activist from Gorazde, activist of WiB Serbia network and activist of the Autonomous Women's Center. The activists presented their demands for justice (trials, symbolic reparations, marking the crime scenes in Foča)

The working meeting (the first ever held between the representatives of the government in Foca and the Association of victims of Foča '92 -95 and civil society activists from BH and Serbia, took place ahead of the action "*Remember the women raped in the war! We remember the women Foča!*"

**June 27th, Belgrade "The forbidding of justice: Obsolete as a mechanism for denying the rights of war victims to compensation for damage"** - a press conference at which representatives of the Humanitarian Law Center spoke about this kind of obstruction of meeting justice for victims. On behalf of WiB, Miloš Urošević was present.

#### **Promotion of the book of Tatjana Tagirov „J'accuse! Optužujem!”**

**Tatjana Tagirov (1961-2017)**, one of the most important journalists and anti-war / anti-fascist activists in the former Yugoslavia. Since its founding (1991), she joined the Croatian Anti-war Campaign as a legal adviser in the field of direct human rights protection and member of the editorial board of her newspaper Arkzin. Columns by Tatjana Tagirov (1993-1996) under the title '*J'accuse*' express her uncompromising attitude towards all forms of nationalism, fascism and militarism in Croatia, as well as in the whole region. This edition of the selection from the mentioned columns, as well as the articles on Tatjana Tagirov: Vesna Teršelić, Lina Veljak, Boris Rashete, Bojan Tonic and Stasa Zajovic. The publication was published by: Documenta-Center for dealing with the past from Zagreb and Women in Black from Belgrade; editor Lino Veljak, associates: Miloš Urošević, Nikola Mokrović, design Marija Vidić; The publication has 167 pages.

Promotion of the above book were held:

- **July 4th, Zagreb** - in the premises of the Human Rights House, organized by Documenta-Center for dealing with the past, Zagreb and Women in Black, Belgrade; about the book and the author spoke: *Vesna Teršelić*, Documenta, *Srdjan Dvornik*, sociologist, Zagreb, prof. Prof. Dr. *Lino Veljak*, Faculty of Philosophy and *Stasa Zajovic*, Women in Black and numerous participants in the promotion, about thirty (30) persons were present.

- **July 7th, Belgrade** - at the Center for Cultural Decontamination, organized by the Documenta-Center for dealing with the past, Zagreb and Women in Black; about the book and the author spoke: *Vesna Teršelić*, Documenta - center for dealing with the past Zagreb, Prof. *Lino Veljak*, PhD (Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb), *Žarka Radoja*, journalist, Belgrade); Dr *Miodrag Majic* (Judge of the Appellate Court, Belgrade) and *Stasa Zajovic* (Women in Black, Belgrade), and the conversation was moderated by *Jovan Gligorijevic* (journalist of *Vreme* weekly). This event was attended by about 100 people.

Also on both promotions the film "*She left a mark on us*" (17 min.) composed of TV and radio performances by Tatjana Tagirov was screened.



# WOMEN'S COURT A FEMINIST APPROACH TO JUSTICE

We bring a brief report on the activities of Women in Black regarding the organization of the Women's Court-the feminist approach to justice in this period. If you are interested in more information, you can find them on our web site [www.zeneucrnom.org](http://www.zeneucrnom.org) and [www.zenskisud.org](http://www.zenskisud.org) or contact us by mail: [zeneucrnom-beograd@gmail.com](mailto:zeneucrnom-beograd@gmail.com)

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

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

In the continuation of the process of the Women's Court, Women in Black, Belgrade coordinated program and other activities, with the support of organizations: Anima, Kotor (Montenegro), Center for Women Victims of War, Zagreb (Croatia), some members of the former Organizing Committee of the Women's Court who acted until the events in Sarajevo, participate sporadically ("Cure" Foundation, Sarajevo) while other members support activities without active participation.

In this reporting period following activities were held:

## **I Regional meeting, Sremski Karlovci – May 4th – 6th 2018**

**29** persons from **17** places were present:

### **W'sC witnesses:**

*Bosnia and Herzegovina:* Suvada Selimović, Đulići, Šaha Hrustić, Klisa, Nura Mustafić, Bajramović, Rejha Avdić, Tuzla

*Montenegro:* Sabina Talović, Pljevlja

*Croatia:* Milica Miladinović, Zagreb, Jovanka Carević, Zagreb, Marica Šeatović, Novska

*Slovenia:* Mirjana Učakar, Ptuj

*Serbia:* Nadežda Kostić, Kruševac and Marija Kovačev, Novi Bečej



**Organizers, therapists and activists of W'sC:** Ljupka Kovačević, Kotor, Nela Pamuković, Zagreb, Mira Vilušić, Tuzla, Refija Hadibulić, Bajramovići, Milka Rosić, Leskovac, Anđelija Vučurević, Novi Sad, Senka Rastoder, Bar, Tatjana Đurić Kuzmanović, Sremski Karlovci, Milica Lupšor, Zrenjanin, Marijana Senjak, Zagreb, Staša Zajović, Violeta Đikanović and Mina Damnjanović, Belgrade.

**Friday, May 4th**

**The activities related to the proceedings of the Women's Court in the previous period (from November 2017 to May 2018)** were about public presentations of the W'sC (regional and international level, preparatory activities for organizing the Women's Court on the violation of women's labor rights (Serbia) feminist ethics of care and responsibility, publishing activity ...).

**Debate "What After The Hague?"** - On the results, achievements, inheritance of the Hague tribunal and after 25 years of work of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia /The Hague Tribunal (it stopped working at the end of 2017, but continues its work through the Mechanism for International Courts ...).

The introductory speech was given by *Nemanja Stjepanovic*, Humanitarian Law Center, Belgrade. From the conversation, we summarize:

About the achievements and effects of the Hague Tribunal / HT: HT provided court-established facts and evidence (tens of thousands of documents), this is the first international court to qualify rape as a war crime, over 10,000 witnesses went through the Hague Tribunal ...

**The climax of impunity at the state and society level in the countries of the former Yugoslavia prevails:** unpunished crimes ('criminals are still at large ...'); States protect war veterans, not civilian victims of war; celebrating criminals in the media; the legalization of an avalanche of war booty ('War is a lucrative business - wealth of criminals and poverty of victims ...'); Reconciliation is not a matter of courts ('Who can comfort us, save ourselves?') ...

**Shortcomings and Deficiencies of the Hague Tribunal:** HT failed to deal with those responsible for the crimes of paramilitary units; some representatives of HT were guided by political rather than legal criteria (eg T. Meron, former President of HT), the influence of geostrategic interests, the influence of the international community (large powers) on some judgments, their continued support to the leaders in the region ...

**About alternative models of justice** (Rasel's tribunal, Permanent peoples court...) – In the interactive lecture (Stasa





Zajovic), there were talk of transitional justice mechanisms (Truth Commissions for Reconciliation, with a special emphasis on the pressure of civil society to satisfy justice in Chile and Argetina); on national tribunals who do not have legislative power, but have a great moral character; are aimed at condemning certain states, armies, companies and institutions for the crimes they committed. The most famous is the Rasel Tribunal, which grew into the Permanent peoples court.

**Unsatisfied justice - unpunished crimes:** short feature films by director Dijana Mladjenovic ("Thresholds" and "Grimizno") that featured on ethnic cleansing and war crimes of rape during the 1990s in Croatia are shown. After the screening, a conversation followed.

### Saturday, May 5th

**Where do we feel safe?** - Relaxation therapy, during which the participants expressed the importance of mutual support, solidarity, responsibility among women in the continuation of the W'sC process.

**I testify...** Participants of workshops on labor rights violations spoke about the experiences of injustice in the world of work (from November 2017 to May 2018); Ljupka Kovacevic, moderator, who explained in the introduction the meaning of testimony, methodology of work.

Five women from Leskovac, Zrenjanin and Novi Becej testified about various forms of exploitation: long-term mobbing at the workplace (state institution), explained the manner of mistreatment, the consequences for psychological and physical health; a worker in a dairy, exposed to constant exploitation (including unlimited working hours, non-payment of overtime work, blackmail, work in Slovakia, where unemployed young people from Serbia work mostly through extremely suspicious 'agencies') are forced to accept numerous irregularities: work without contact, exploitation, humiliation, worker in a foundry in Kikinda, single mother), suffered from severe working conditions, three years in forced labor, remained on the street; a seasonal warden, exposed to abuse, by bosses and mediators. The witnesses also expressed their experiences of resistance ...

After the testimony of women, three female associates / experts spoke about the types of violence in the work process, the context (political, social, economic) in which this violence occurs. We bring a short summary:

*Tanja Đurić Kuzmanović*, feminist economist, Novi Sad: Violence suffered by the largest number of workers is the result of the general climate experienced by workers (and in all these areas in the phase of neoliberalism). The state is deliberately working to disadvantage workers' rights, and large mafias, tycoons, in the form of "big" employers, make a connection with the state, the government and its institutions. Breaking up workers and preventing mutual solidarity is what gives the state and capital the power to continue doing so smoothly, resulting in the only connection of workers, solidarity can make changes ...





Mira Vilušić, feminist therapist, Tuzla (BH): Mobing (psychological, material ...) is a very dispersed type of violence in the world of work, and solidarity and union organization are necessary ...

Senka Rastoder, union leader, Bar (Montenegro): The economic and social war that is already in force for 25 years in our environment is the continuation of that war with rifles. It is a war that is no less terrible, after the consequences for the worker. Laws protect the wealth acquired by the robbery - twenty-five years have passed through the legalization of the capital acquired by the wars. Laws protect capital and turn workers into slaves. The degree of exploitation is terrifying.

The witnesses at the W'sC in Sarajevo provided full support to potential witnesses, who expressed their satisfaction at presenting their experiences: (*"I feel good because I have presented the story and I want to encourage other women to talk about their experience"; "I am a brave, great fighter for labor rights"; "I took off the load from my heart. I want others to know what I've been through"*). After a lunch, a joint artistic-activist trip was organized - a visit to the gallery of artists and activist Nikola Dzafo / Art clinic in Petrovaradin took place in a beautiful atmosphere ...

### **Feminist ethics of care and responsibility ... in this session, there were various questions:**

**Family and female entrepreneurship - a critical review:** the lecturer was Tatjana Djuric Kuzmanovic. She presented the findings from her research on family businesses and the abuse of women's labor, the misogynist of capital and the state of women's work, and also spoke about unpaid, invisible female work in the private sphere.

### **International solidarity - support for refugees, refugee cuisine ...**

#### **Experiences of activists from:**

**Montenegro** (Bona Fide, Pljevlja who have provided emotional-moral, accommodation and food to hundreds of refugees since the arrival of refugees in February 2018, in which they are unselfishly supported by people in Pljevlja);

**Serbia**, WiB provide support and solidarity to refugees in self-organized camps in Šid, but also in BH and Montenegro; cooperate with international volunteers; refugee families who come to the WiB's premises, etc.);

**Croatia, Center for Women War Victims from Zagreb** formed a group at the Center for Women Victims of War - psychological counseling for children and women involved in activities, in cleaning, in preparing food ...

**"We Are All Women of Syria"** - Nura Mustafić and Refija Hadibulić from Bajramović / Srebrenica spoke about the caravan of international women's solidarity. The caravan was organized in early March 2018, lasting nine days, and women crossed 6,000 kilometers. There were **200** women from BH...

**What next?** - agreements for the forthcoming period and evaluation, and the next Regional Meeting of the Women's Court will be held on November 9, 10 and 11, 2018 in Sremski Karlovci.





## II Public promotion of the Women's Court - a feminist approach to justice - regional and international level

W'sC promotions / public presentations consist of the following segments:

- What is the Women's Court? What is feminist approach to justice? The history and process of organizing of the Women's Court - what is most often said by the organizers of the W'sC.
- Women's court - feminist access to justice (52 minutes) - projection of documentary film
- The witnesses speak about their experience of giving testimony at the Women's Court in Sarajevo (What means testimony on W'sC ?, as well as participation in the continuation of the W'sC process)
- Discussion with the audience (Effects of the Women's Court, continuation of the W'sC process, the problems most encountered in their surroundings - suggestions, suggestions for maintaining the mini-W'sC on specific issues, etc.).

During this reporting period, two (2) public presentations were held in the two countries of the former Yugoslavia; at these presentations there were about 90 people:

**June 16th, Belgrade** - The promotion was held within the "School of Transitional Justice" organized by the Humanitarian Law Center.

About the history of the W'sC and the feminist approach to justice was spoken by the organizers and associates of W'sC:

*Dasa Duhacek, Masa Malešević and Staša Zajović* (Belgrade) and the meeting was moderated by *Jelena Krstić*, Humanitarian Law Center.

About their experience of testimony and participation in the continuation of the W'sC process, spoke:

- *Shehida Abdurahmanovic*, Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina
- *Mirjana Mijailovic*, Leskovac
- *Binasa Dzical*, Prijepolje

The continuation of the W'sC process, in particular on the preparatory activities for organizing the W'sC on the violation of working rights of women in Serbia, was addressed by: *Milica Lupšor*, ROZA - Working Women's Rights, Zrenjanin and *Milka Rosić*, NENA- group for peace and women's rights, Leskovac. They talked about the exploitation of women in the world of work due to robbery privatization, climate of fear and economic insecurity of workers in Serbia.

**25** students from all over Serbia took part, and they were most interested in the experiences of women who suffered war crimes, expressing admiration for their contribution to just peace. They expressed great concern about the climate of impunity in Serbia and the whole region.

**August 23rd, Vukovar/Croatia** – The promotion was held within the International Summer Camp (dealing with the past, memory culture, etc.) called 'Venues of victims / venues of perpetrators. Over **65** young people from **12** countries (Belgium, the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Croatia, Lithuania, Norway, Germany,



Poland, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain) have been involved in the mapping, decoding & processing of the role of historical and civic education. The camp was organized by the Documenta Center for dealing with the past from Zagreb together with NVO from Germany and Lithuania.

Feminist therapists talked about their experiences with women / victims of sexual violence in BH and Croatia, about the importance of the Women's Court in Sarajevo and the role of women victims of sexual violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina (history, process of organization, continuation of the process, spoke: *Mira Vilušić* from Tuzla and *Marijana Senjak* from Zagreb. Continuation of the W'sC process for raped women (the process of recovery, the strength, courage and responsibility of surviving women for joint learning, work and creation of new knowledge, new women friendships and communities based on trust, understanding and mutual concern.

Activists of the Women in Black Network from Serbia (*Snežana Obrenović* from Kraljevo, *Violeta Đikanović* and *Zorica Trifunović* from Belgrade) emphasized the importance of organizing and continuing the process of W'sC.

The witnesses spoke about their experience at the W'sC:

*Jelena Baketa*, Lovas / Vukovar

*Mirjana Mijailovic*, Leskovac

*Suvada Selimovic*, Djulici (BH)

*Milica Miladinovic*, Zagreb

*Marica Šeatović*, Novska / Croatia

After the screening of the film and the testimony of women, young people asked questions about the process of transitional justice, primarily on the accountability of states towards them as victims of war and families of victims. Some participants of the camp decided to transfer the idea and practice of the Women's Court to their grandmothers which could testify to the time and crimes of fascism in Spain, especially in the Basque city of Gernika.

In addition, there were talks about the Women's Court within other regional meetings and during this period we had a lot of meetings with researchers - whether direct meetings, whether over skype ...

### **III Preparatory activities for organizing the Women's Court on the violation of women's labor rights (Serbia)**

During this reporting period, working meetings were held with workers in the organization of activists ROZA - Working Women's Rights Group and NENA Group for Peace and Labor Rights of Women.

Within the framework of educational activities of the W'sC on violation of women's labor rights, WiB, together with the NENA group, organized a "Solidarity is our strength" meeting in **Leskovac on June 22nd** to create a space for strengthening confidence, mutual support and solidarity. **15** people participated (activists of opposition political parties, activists from civil society and workers from Leskovac).

In the introductory part there were words about the notion of solidarity (the origin of the term, the change in the meaning of solidarity - the enrichment of ideas and the practice of solidarity ...); different aspects



and challenges of solidarity (the moral dimension of solidarity, the “ethnic” solidarity - the evil / the use of solidarity, the social-class solidarity, the gender dimension of solidarity-feminist solidarity, international solidarity ...).

*The participants talked the most about the moral dimension of responsibility for war and war crimes - this part of the conversation showed a very high degree of civic culture among the participants - awareness of the events of the 1990s, a very high level of moral responsibility, a clear and public refusal to glorify the crimes and criminals while simultaneously criticizing the society that supports or approves the reduction and denial...*

This is expressed through the following attitudes:

- *Serbia has the greatest responsibility, “has participated in most of the warfare”;*
- *There are solely individual criminal responsibility - crimes were committed by individuals from my nation, but I refuse to do so in my name, and all those who committed crimes must be prosecuted;*
- *During the war, the state organized crimes on behalf of the whole community (“We the Serbs are the greatest perpetrators of war crimes”) and after the wars, the state protects war criminals and the society supports them ...*
- *The distorted value system transforms criminals into victims (“it turns out they are victims in The Hague”) and does not respect people who have suffered (“those who were killed”);*
- *The war is not ended with the end of armed conflicts - the war is being manifested as a fear of the Other (“war is in the minds of men”) ...*

Concerning the socio-class dimension of solidarity, it was emphasized that *“the current position of the workers is marked by the struggle for mere survival - by the students, the fear of rebellion, the fear of public speaking about their slavish position, brainwashing through regime propaganda, media, party employment”*

#### **IV Feminist Ethics of Care and Responsibility**

Encounters in Safe Spaces in which women speak publicly about injuries, repressed trauma, and for the purpose of strengthening mutual support, trust, friendship, involvement of a wider circle of women in the activities of the continuing process of the Women’s Court. We continue with this practice from the previous meetings where it was agreed that where there are no conditions for organizing ‘mini’ W’sC, workshops, circles, meetings are organized ... The feminist ethics of care and solidarity includes the monitoring of war crimes trials; support to legal processes and procedures led by witnesses to the W’sC.

Within this segment of continuation of the W’sC process, the following activities were implemented:

**1. Ljubljana, May 19th** – all-day workshop held at the Social Center ‘Rog’; 13 persons participated (organizers and witnesses at the W’sC from Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia).

Introductory workshops and artistic and relaxation exercises: ‘Female gender / female genealogy = women’s power - women from our lives’ and ‘Sacrifice coat = female resistance’, moderated by Marijana Senjak.



In the continuation of the discussion on social and political tendencies, it was emphasized that: *current political tendencies in Croatia are marked by the growth of nationalism, they resemble the 1990s, even in some segments the situation is worse; the position of minorities in ethnically homogeneous countries on the territory of former Yugoslavia is becoming increasingly difficult ...*

After that, the promotion of the book 'Welcome' by Vesna Le-maić about 'Erased', edition 2018, was held; In the first part, experiences from the war (personal and family) are presented, while the others are concerned with the experience in working with refugees. Participants from the region, as well as activists from Germany, talked about the problems of refugees on the Balkan route.



Then, the feminist choir 'Zboraka' from Ljubljana sang antifa-feminist songs.

**2. Pljevlja, Montenegro** – Among Bosniak women in the northern part of Montenegro, fear of public speaking is still prevalent about the crimes of ethnic cleansing during the war (1991-1999). These are unrecognized, unpunished crimes and suppressed traumas that women survived. At this workshop, it was emphasized that the trauma was transmitted by the generation, and ethnic discrimination is still present. The aim of these workshops is to create a safe space, empower women to testify about ethnic violence, and on the other hand, to strengthen mutual support, solidarity and non-violence culture. Workshops include individual and group work, and all workshops are coordinated by feminist therapist Ljupka Kovacevic, an activist from the Peace Group "Anima" from Kotor and a female therapist at the W'sC.

In this reporting period, four (4) workshops were organized by NGO "Bona Fide" Pljevlja:

**May 18th** - A full-day workshop in which 15 people participated (14 women and 1 man).

The workshop was divided into individual interviews / counseling and workshops: *"National feeling and nationalism (at personal, political and social level) during which it was concluded that women from" mixed "families feel the difficulties most clearly, but negate problems ... Women who belonging to a minority group also clearly feel violence on an ethnic basis which in their opinion is more present than before and frequent "provocations" and exclusion. Women belonging to a majority community are least aware of ethnic tensions and nationalism. "*

About **500** people (men, women and children) stayed in the Bona Fide premises since February. All activists of Bona Fide are involved in providing each type of refugee assistance.

**June 15th** – Individual talks and workshops: on non-violent communication and ways of overcoming conflict situations, active listening and recognizing feelings ...

**June 29th** – The first part was dedicated to individual interviews, and in the second part there was a workshop "Fights and misunderstandings in communication", with the participants (7) discussing about the conflicts in the mother-daughter relationship.

**July 28th** - After individual interviews, a workshop on the feminist concept of care and responsibility was held. The participants (7) agreed that in the care of others (primarily the family) there is a patriarchal imbal-



ance between men and women; In the second part of the workshop, there was talk of the abuse of women's care in the current capitalist context (exploitation of women's potentials in the care of the elderly and children, where women from poor countries are cheap labor).

**V Monitoring of trials** (for war crimes, legal processes and procedures conducted by witnesses, organizers, activists in W'sC):

- **Kravica War Crimes Trial at the Special Court in Belgrade:** together with the relatives of the killed, the trials are followed by activists of the WiB (*for this trial, you can find more information in this report in the section (Monitoring the trial at the Special Court)*)

- **Trial in Sarajevo for war crimes rape - before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina -**

At the trial of Sasa Cvetkovic for crimes committed in Srebrenica and Bratunac, the second count of the Prosecution's indictment reads that "*Sasa Cvetkovic (Army of the Republika Srpska (VRS) brutally raped and kicked a minor KE in early June 1992 in a deserted house in Bratunac, which was previously that day brought with two other girls from the premises of the Zinc and Lead Mine "Sase", in which the civilians of Bosniak nationality were captured*"

The trial commenced in July 2017 in the course of 2017 and 2018, several hearings were held before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At a hearing held on **May 16, 2018**, Prosecution witness Edina Karić, who was 15 years old in 1992, said that she was taken to the Sasa mine in late May of that year with her father and aunt, where she and dozens of Bosniak civilians were subjected to continuous torture. The witness on sexual crimes was given by witness E. Karic, that part was closed to the public, because the presiding judge Stanisa Gluhajic said that he proposed this because of "protecting the personal and intimate life of a witness". E. Karić testified at the Women's Court in Sarajevo (May 2015) and encouraged by support, decided to initiate judicial proceedings almost 25 years later. Sabina Talović, a witness at the W'sC from BH and Montenegro, as well as Vildana Džekman, CURE Foundation, Sarajevo, was present at this, as well as previous hearings.

The court proceedings were resumed, and in this period, hearings were held on May 23rd and July 11th.

During this period, witnesses who conducted legal proceedings (return of property, war crime preparations) and in all cases were supported by female therapists, organizers and activists of the Women's Court.

**4. Active women's holiday in the women's house 'Seka' Brac / Croatia** from the 1st to the 12th of August.

Nine (**9**) women (six witnesses from BH, Croatia and Serbia, as well as three activists of the WiB Network):

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Reiha Avdic, Bratunac / Srebrenica; Edina Karić, Bratunac / Tuzla

Suvada Selimovic, Djulici / Zvornik, Kadefa Rizvanovic, Srebrenica / Sarajevo,

Serbia: Binasa Džigal, Prijepolje, Serbia and activists of the WiB Network: Milka Rosić and Ivana Ristić, Leskovic and Violeta Đikanović, Belgrade

Croatia: Jovanka Carević, Zagreb and Marica Šeatović, Novska.



**VI Joint Work Consultation Meetings** - During this period, operational working meetings of organizations, experts, activists participating in the process continued:

**May 21st, Zagreb /Croatia:** a working meeting attended by Nela Pamuković and Marijana Senjak from Zagreb and Staša Zajović from Belgrade; the continuation of workshops (Feminist ethics of care and responsibility) in Ljubljana was discussed, organizing a recreational holiday for witnesses in the house 'Seka' in Brač, as well as the next Regional Meeting of the W'sC.

**May 27th, Podgorica/Montenegro:** a working meeting attended by Ljupka Kovačević from Kotor and Staša Zajović from Belgrade; it was about continuing workshops (Feminist Ethics of Care and Responsibility) in Pljevlja, on public promotions of W'sC in academic circles in Montenegro, as well as on the next Regional Meeting of W'sC.

**VII Working meetings of Women in Black:** as holders of program activities in the continuation of the W'sC process, they held working meetings (reporting activities, preparation of publications, documentation and archives of W'sC, preparation of regional meetings of W'sC.)

## VIII Video activism

Video activism which implies the realization of video material in relation to the feminist approach to justice; includes translation and subtitling of documentary films about the experiences of non-violent movements against the impunity of crimes, neoliberal economic globalization, etc.

*(Documentary films made during this reporting period have already been listed ("Video activism - transitional justice - a feminist approach))*

## IX Publishing

**Feminist Reader World of Work** (Selection of Essays): Part I: Historical Review (Roza Luxemburg, Klara Cetkin, Part II: Position of Women in the Labor Market - Ecomomia of Care (Gordana Stojakovic, Silvija Federici, MVLee Badget, N.Folbre Aintzane Saitua / Maruha Sarasola Ipek Ilkarakan), the publication has 36 pages and is organized within the framework of educational activities in organizing W'sC on violation of women's labor rights in Serbia.

### Reports:

- *Regional Meeting of the Women's Court*, May 2018 (22 p.)
- *Workshops on solidarity* (7th page)
- *Feminist Ethics of Accountability - Workshops* (18 pp.)



**X Participation of witnesses on the W'sC in the educational activities of the WiB:** In this reporting period, witnesses at W'sC participated in numerous activities of the WiB Network: street actions; dealing with the past (visiting the crime scene, monitoring the trial, meeting women's solidarity), meeting the Network, educational programs.

**Research on the security of human rights defenders - attacks on Women in Black:** Since the beginning of Women in Black (1991), they face various forms of repression, both by state and non-state actors. From the very beginning of our work, we have been very often and now we are targets of attacks because of our commitment to the human rights of others and different (in ethnic, political, and sexual terms). However, as a women's peace group, we had the most problems because of our insistence at all levels of responsibility for war and war crimes committed on our behalf. This research project began in January 2018 and during this period the following activities were realized:

1. *Documenting cases of attacks and threats to the WiB* (attacks by state and non-state actors, on social networks ...). Due to the escalation of repression against activists of Women in Black (early 2014), Women in Black organize / publish Dossiers several times a year (quarterly), about the attacks on activists in an analytical and systematic way, by measures taken by WiB complaints, requests, letters ...), measures that are not taken / undertaken by the state in which impunity prevails ('none of the cases of physical attacks or threats to activists of Women in Black have so far been resolved in favor of the activist of the WiB'). In this period, Dossiers no. 12 is prepared by lawyer and activist Mirko Medenica. In order to inform the domestic and international public about the repression on the defenders of peace and human rights, the Dossiers are published in Serbian and English and are sent to international institutions, human rights organizations, networks. All Dossiers can be found on the WiB website.
2. *Tracking /researching the messages on social networks about the WiB:* attacks, threats, accusations, hate speech ... by pro-fascist and / or right-wing organizations.
3. *Analysis of the visibility and performance of Women in Black in the media and on social networks:* the representation and strategy of their representation; message categories, frequency of reporting; analysis includes Private Messages (Facebook's Facebook page); texts from daily press about WiB, reactions to events organized by WiB; reactions from other profiles and websites of oppressive repression organizations ... The analysis was prepared for the period January-April and May-August 2018; this activity is coordinated by Marijana Stojčić, sociologist and activist of the WiB.
4. *Monitoring and reporting of non-fulfillment of key international and regional recommendations on protection of human rights defenders in Serbia:* activity is carried out continuously and the findings / final report is planned for November 2018. This activity is coordinated by Danilo Ćurčić, lawyer and associate of WiB.
5. *A critical review of the questions submitted by the State of Serbia to the CEDAW Committee/Convention* against all forms of discrimination against women. Namely, at the 74th Session (which runs from February 2018 to March 2019, consideration is given to the reports submitted by the State under Article 18 of the CEDAW Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. A document with extensive objections to the report of Serbia, three organizations were submitted in early July 2018: the Autonomous Women's Center, ASTRA and Women in Black, issues related to violence against women, trafficking women and the position of human rights defenders.



# NETWORKS, COALITIONS MUTUAL SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY

## Educational programs, feminist discussion circles ...

In addition to the aforementioned educational activities (Women's Court, Transitional Justice - Confronting the Past ...), the following activities were implemented in this period:

### 1. Women's Peace Activism, June 25th, Đulići, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Educational program that the citizens association "Anima" from Đulići and Women in Black, Belgrade have been organizing since the beginning of 2016. This is the *eighth cycle* of the above educational program dedicated to the joint consideration of the participation of women in peace building, the role of women's peace activism in achieving just peace. Meetings within Women's Peace Activism are strengthening trust, mutual support and solidarity, widening of areas of women's autonomy and self-confidence.

This meeting is a continuation of many years of cooperation, friendship, mutual support and mutual cooperation of "Anima" and WiB.

Within this cycle, a workshop was held: *Relations among women (conflicts - how to overcome them?); rivalry/competition among women; gossips, politics of partial disagreement, confidence building ...*), etc.

In this workshop, **26** women were present from the following places: Đulići, Sapna, Klisa, Glumina, Tojšići and Belgrade.

### 2. Women's solidarity meeting, Kotor/Kovač, Montenegro, May 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>

The aim of the meeting is to create a place for better acquaintance, strengthening of trust, mutual support and solidarity, exchange of experiences about the mother's rebellion (in Montenegro) on protests for the defense of the right to compensation for mothers with three and more children from 2016 to May 2018) social political contests of rebellion, hunger strike, support ...

The meeting was attended by **14** women from the following cities: Kotor, Herceg Novi, Risan, Bijelo Polje, Prcanj, Niksic, Podgorica. Workshops were moderated by Ljupka Kovacevic and Stasa Zajovic.

During the conversation: *Why did you become an activist?*, the participants most often indicated the following motives: on the social sphere, the reaction to injustice (social-class, political ...) and in the private sphere responded most to the discriminatory attitude of the family towards 'feminine children'.

In a shorter *interactive lecture on the peace movement*, the participants talked the most about the need for strengthening, but also about the difficulties of organizing the movement 'in our conditions'; and then the participants are introduced to the women's peace movement (characteristics, principles, currents ...).



*During a joint reflection on the moral dimension of solidarity, and in connection with war and war crimes in the territory of the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s, the refusal to speak directly and clearly about the crimes committed "in our name" prevails in the participants' statements. Namely, the present women are witnesses of the crimes of the 1990s and that there were no clear references to that period (mainly in the Second World War), which indicates a dominant suppression/silence ...*

*Regarding the socio-class dimension of solidarity, participants agreed that „there is no solidarity among workers, they are smashed and atomized; political parties, above all, ruling, deliberately breaking workers; nationalism serves as a paravan for the robbery of privatization and the transformation of workers into slaves ...“*

Projection of the film *"Solidarity Mother for Peace"* (30 min.), Produced by WiB Group for video activism on regional meeting of mutual support of women - victims of the most serious war crimes from Srebrenica (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Vukovar (Croatia), Bela Reka, Belgrade (Serbia), provoked admiration, encouraged "hope and belief that community and peace are possible".

## **Solidarity is our strength**

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

**I Solidarity with war refugees from Serbia:** Women in Black started this actions in 2013 when solidarity campaigns against racist attacks that culminated in late 2013 were organized, and since then, Women in Black have organized a lot of activities, which you can find information on the Women in Black website. Solidarity activities are interconnected, at the same time they include more dimensions - peace, humanitarian, artistic-activist, informative ...

**Direct actions** - Solidarity assistance in the field has several segments and includes:

**Visits to places in Serbia where refugees are located** - activists of the WiB provided solidarity assistance in self-organized refugee camps - **Šid, at the border between Serbia and Croatia**. In this reporting period, we went to visit refugees in Šid, where the number of refugees is significantly lower than before - some 30 refugees. The reason for this is primarily the terror of the Croatian police against refugees. For this reason, a large number of refugees headed for Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this activity, we cooperate with "No name kitchen", an international volunteer network that continuously provides assistance to refugees in a self-organized camp in Šid and elsewhere. **On July 19 and 20 we were on the border between Serbia and Hungary**. We visited all the places where refugees used to reside, after the ban on refugee transfers (September 2015), the continuous terror of Hungary, as well as the Serbian police, there are no refugees in the city of Subotica, neither near the border. Women activists from all over Serbia participated in the collection of assistance.

o **Visit to places in Bosnia and Herzegovina / BH where refugees are: From June 5th to 8th**, Mirko Medenica, an activist of WiB, visited places in Sarajevo (mostly around the Railway Station), providing humanitarian solidarity support together with local and international volunteers. At that moment, there were about 4000 refugees in BH, of which about 1000 are in Sarajevo, about 400 are in two existing camps Sala-



kovac (Mostar) and Delijas (Trnovo), while the largest number of people are in the area of Bihac and Velika Kladusa. *(An integral report in Serbian and English can be found on the WiB website).*

o **Visit to places in Montenegro where refugees are:** From June 17th to 19th, a group of activists from WiB (Goran Lazin, Mirko Medenica and Violeta Đikanović) visited Pljevlja / MNE and the safe house "Bonafide" (Active in the WiB Network). This space is from February 2018, with the beginning of the arrival of refugees / migrants transformed into a refugee / migrant space. Since the beginning of February 2018, when refugees / migrants started using the route through Montenegro, **660** people passed through this area. In this refugee / migrant area, besides accommodation, they receive food and clothing, as well as all other possible help and information from local activists. Refugees / migrants in this area sometimes only sleep one night, and some stay longer, for several weeks. These activities are financed exclusively by local activists and their families as well as individual citizens of Pljevlja. *(An Integrated Report in Serbian and English can be found on the WiB website)*

o **Peace action of humanitarian character - provision of humanitarian assistance** - through humanitarian actions we encourage solidarity, familiarity, friendship, meetings with war refugees, acquiring knowledge about the situation of refugees, information about their position, etc. During this reporting period, the WiB organized an average of one weekly, and sometimes several times, solidarity visits to WiB refugees located in a camp in Krnjaca (girls and women from Afghanistan), as well as other refugees.

o **Artistic activist actions of solidarity with refugees - street peace actions** - protests over abuses and militarization of refugee tragedy, fostering solidarity of citizens with war refugees. This segment of activities also includes the aesthetic dimension of solidarity (printing flyers, making badges, banners in Arabic, Farsi, English, Serbian). In this period, street actions were organized: March 21st (more information in the section "Street actions").

o **Documentary films about actions of solidarity:** WiB's video activist group recorded shorter films about street actions, artistic activist programs, which has already been mentioned in this report 'Video Activism Group'. We also have a rich photo documentation on solidarity actions.

**In addition to this, solidarity with war refugees of Women in Black is expressed also by other activities:**

**Reports** - in Serbian and English, for domestic and international networks to familiarize themselves with the problems of refugees, their position, their human rights, abuse, discrimination, both at the level of institutions and society.

**Reporting abuses and militarization of the refugee tragedy** - cases of repression, abuse, exploitation of refugees by state and non-state actors in the form of plunder and enrichment at the expense of refugees; About this WiB reports both through reports, as well as in numerous publications.

**Monitoring of the application of measures by institutions** - fulfillment of obligations undertaken by the state on the basis of international conventions on the situation of refugees and asylum seekers - a gap between factual and normative state *(Read more about this in Mirko Medenica reports) Balkan route: Stuck in the mud of exploitation, crime, populism, brutality, June 2018)*



**Internationalist solidarity** – contacts with international networks for the exchange of information, designing joint actions, organizing visits to the places where refugees reside in Serbia, so that during this period we organized numerous visits, participated in international conferences, debates, among which we highlight:

- **May 19th, Ljubljana:** exchange of experiences in dealing with refugees / migrants in which the activists of the Social Center Rog, Ljubljana, the Center for Women Victims of War, Zagreb and Women in Black, took part in the event. On behalf of WiB, Staša Zajovic participated.

- **June 5th, Sarajevo** - a group of activists helping refugees from the region (BH, Croatia, Serbia), as well as from Italy and Spain. During the meeting, exchanged experiences, as well as information on the current situation on the "Balkan Route" in the light of further militarization of the borders and the continuation of terror against refugees. Mirko Medenica took part on behalf of WiB. The gathering was organized ahead of the summit of officials from the Balkan countries with the theme "Increasing border security" held on June 7th.



**Permanent Peoples Tribunal/Tribunal permanente de los pueblos, Barcelona, June 29th – July 1st** – The tribunals of the "Unprotected Rights" (Espacios No Derecho) took place in sessions covering three key points: Borders on the south of the continent / Spain, Gender aspect and children. After listening to testimonies, victims (most women) or collectives / organizations that help refugees, an international panel of six women: De Teresa Almeida Cravo (Portugal), Briget Anderson (Great Britain), Marina Forti (Italy), Patricia Orejudo, Laia Serra (Spain) and Stasa Zajovic, tribunal judges at the Barcelona sessions they made a judgment.

### **Mutual support and solidarity**

In this period, we also participated in numerous conferences, civil society initiatives in the organization of related groups; Here we chronologically list those in which we had active participation (lecturers, panelists...):

**May 18th, Belgrade** - "When the system does not react, the criminal is reacting. Reaction instead of crime" - media conferences on the occasion of the Day of Remembrance for Women Victims of Violence, organized by the Autonomous Women's Center, Belgrade and the Women's Association Peščanik, Kruševac

The conference presented the results of the analysis of police, prosecution and social work centers in cases of violence against women and reports on the efficiency of court proceedings in two cases of femicide. Media reporting on violence against women was also presented. On behalf of WiB, Mina Damjanović, Miloš Urošević, Staša Zajović attended.

**May 14th – 17th, Fruška Gora, Vojvodina** – a working meeting of women's groups from Serbia supported by the Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, Sweden, with about 20 activists. Snezana Tabacki and Stasa Zajovic together with Aleksandra Nestorov (AWC) coordinated the panel "What to do? Challenges for feminist-anti-militaristic activism, the impact of international assistance policies on activism".

**June 12th, Belgrade** - A partnership in the fight against human trafficking and all forms of gender-based violence organized by the ATINA Association in Belgrade, and at a conference (held in the Embassy of



France), a law regulating prostitution in France was presented, as well as the analysis "Response to human trafficking and gender-based violence against the migrant and refugee population in the Republic of Serbia". On behalf of WiB, Mina Damjanović was present.

**July 30th – August 3rd – Jahorina, Bosnia and Herzegovina** – The Peace Building Network of Bosnia and Herzegovina has organized a work and recreational camp for activists in which Stefan Milosavljević, an activist of WiB, took part.

### **Discussions, lectures, debates in WiB office- "Wednesdays at WiB"**

The practice of regular discussions, lectures and joint reflections on important social and political issues in the country and in the world continued in this reporting period, in which nine (9) lectures, debates, book presentations, projections of films were held and about **180** persons participated:

**May 9th "Alternative Right - New Form of Nazi-Fascism"**, lecture by Zlatoje Martinov, publicist, journalist and member of the Alliance of Anti-Fascists of Serbia. Twenty (20) activists participated in the discussion.

**May 16th "Enkel" (Grandson)** - documentary film produced by TV Vojvodina (2018), lasting 55 minutes by Aleksandar Reljić from Novi Sad. The film talks about the friendship of a survivor inmates from the notorious Auschwitz Nazi concentration camp (Jew Eve Mozes) and Rainer Hess, the grandson of Rudolf Hess, commander of Auschwitz. The film testifies to two unusual life stories, intertwined and connected through forgiveness, friendship and a joint struggle against Nazism, racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia ... The film's author, as well as **15** people, participated in the conversation.

**May 23rd "Hannah Arendt and Martin Heidegger - Letters from 1925 to 1975 and other testimonies"**, published by TIM Press, 2017; in the discussion on the book participated: Dasa Duhacek, Danica Vukicevic, Lino Veljak, Snezana Tabacki, Stasa Zajovic, Vesna Pesic and others and **28** persons attended.

**May 30th "On Aging"** - a feminist workshop co-ordinated by feminist activist and doctor Vera Litricin; **15** women participated in the conversation.

**June 6th, "50 years of a '68"** - about student protests in 1968: Dragomir Olujić Oluja, a leftist and activist from Belgrade, moderated by Lino Veljak, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb; The interview with the screening of short films about '68 was attended by **20** people.

**On June 13th, "About Goli otok" (1948-2018)**, a journalist Ljubisa Stavric spoke about the victims' death (Dragica Vitlovic-Srzentic and Eva Nahir) in the penitentiary camp in Yugoslavia, along with the screening of the documentary "One Woman Two Centuries" about Dragica Vitlovic - Srzentić, director Želimir Žilnik. This event was attended by **21** people.

**June 20th "The Presumption of Innocence"** (90 minutes) screening of the film and interview with the director Jelena Markovic; 24 people attended.

**June 27th „Paper Disco Balls“** promotion of Dragoslava Barzut novel, writer and LGBT activist; event was organized on the occasion of International Pride Day of LGBTIQ persons, 12 people participated.

**July 25th - 'Veze' (Connections)**, Jelena Marković movie (50 minutes); after screening, the author and **20** other people participated in debate.



## Campaigns and statements

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

**Stop fascism!** – in a statement on the occasion of May 9th - Victory Day, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, antifa-choir Our Song, the Anti-Fascist Union of Serbia and Women in Black warned that “In Serbia, fascism slammed into the door in the late eighties when sowing inter-ethnic hatred prepared the ground for the war that led to great human casualties and the destruction of Yugoslavia, three decades later, fascism has wide open doors and it entered the Serbian society tired from wars, economic misery and general impoverishment. Forms of violence by the ruling regime in Serbia are not just open violence as in the time of Slobodan Milosevic, but also violence that is invisible, and materializes in an unbearable social terror to which population of Serbia is exposed. This is reflected in the denial of the basic right to life and work, the crude exploitation of workers in private as well as in public companies. Media blockade, such as the one from the Nazi-fascist tradition of the 1930s in Germany and Italy, accounts with political opponents, corruption that is a significant source of revenue for the ruling coalition led by the SNS, capillary penetration of its cadres into all the pores of the system, and the entire society - economy, culture, art and sport - are new forms of violence that are nothing but a dangerous form of neo-Fascism”, etc.

**We Will Never Forget - Nakba 1948-** On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the beginning of Nakba (disaster), when the state of Israel was created in Palestine in 1948, the statement reminds us that “After 70 years of occupation, the longest military occupation in the world, a large number of Palestinian populations live outside Palestine: 2 million in Jordan, close to half a million in Lebanon and Syria.” We are organizing this peace action in protest of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories and we urge the state of Israel to stop urgently the construction of both the wall and Israeli settlements on the West Bank and to stop the shelling the Gaza Strip.

With this peace action, we express our support and solidarity with the Palestinian civilian population, with a Palestinian civil society advocating for a nonviolent and peaceful solution, with the Women in Black of Israel who for three decades are acting nonviolently against the nationalist-militaristic policies of their government.”

**We Remember Women Raped in the War!** - On the occasion of the 19th of June - the International Day Against Sexual Violence in War, WiB visited Foča in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which during the 1992-1996 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was probably the site of the largest systematic sexual violence and rape in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

WiB also expressed “solidarity and sympathy towards women victims of sexual violence, both to those who were killed and those who survived.

**Solidarity with refugees!** - On the occasion of World Refugee Day on June 20, the WiB pointed to the difficult situation of refugees / migrants around the world. We witness the open war of the countries of Europe against refugees / migrants. The statement stresses: “In the time of globalization, there are no borders for goods and capital, but they are being put up for people, especially those who are disenfranchised and endangered. People across the globe are threatened by both weapons and dictatorial regimes, brutal exploitation, disrupted economies and global pollution, leading to natural disasters and hunger.



The international community is most responsible for this situation, because of its greed and material interests it encourages wars, exporting weapons and not wanting to engage in the end of wars." The WiB denounces the militarization of the refugee strategy by the state of Serbia: "Serbian authorities use refugees as a source of income. In addition to the profits earned by Serbian companies by the embarrassing sale of weapons to conflict parties, we especially emphasize that Serbia, from the European Union since October 2015, received about 100 million euros to help refugees / migrants. By inspecting the data on the funds obtained and the situation in the camps, it is obvious that a large part of these funds has been end up in private pockets of corrupt government representatives, which is just another proof of deep and systemic corruption in Serbia,"etc.

**Srebrenica – 8372...** – On the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, the WiB recalls that "no verdict has been issued to the courts in Serbia in which the crime in Srebrenica is qualified as genocide. In front of the War Crimes Chamber of the Special Court in Belgrade, the obstruction of the crime case in Kravica (where 1313 civilians were killed on July 14, 1995) is an insult to the dignity of the victims. Instead of satisfying justice for victims, rehabilitation and glorification of convicted war criminals is at work". Women in Black and related organizations will continue to demand that the state of Serbia respects the decisions of the international courts, the judicially established facts, the recognition of genocide, the proclamation of the Day of Remembrance of Genocide in Srebrenica on July 11, the denial of genocide to qualify as a criminal offense.

**We remember the crime in Orahovac** - 20 years since the crimes against Serb civilians - in a statement of the WiB and the Humanitarian Law Center / HLC they recall that during and after the armed conflict, which took place from 17th to 25th of July 1998 in the territory of the municipality of Orahovac, Kosovo, between the military and police forces of Serbia and Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and the Kosovo Liberation Army, on the other hand, crimes against Serb civilians were committed. The KLA attack on Orahovac took place on July 17th, and the attack on the villages of Retimlje and Opterusa on July 18th, marking this date as a day of remembrance of killed Serb civilians in the municipality of Orahovac. On this occasion, the WiB and HLC expressed their sympathy and solidarity with the victims' families, as well as their support for their identification of all the facts about this crime and the bringing of all perpetrators to justice.

**The crimes in Operation Storm are the responsibility of all of us!** - On the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the crimes (Center for Women Victims of War - ROSA (Zagreb), Center for Civil Courage, Serbian Democratic Forum and Women's Network of Croatia, supported by Women in Black (Belgrade) and Association for Social Research and Communication - UDIK ) have been reminded

the public to war crimes committed in that operation as well as to the state organized denial of these crimes. Since the fate of the missing and killed has not yet been revealed and that the perpetrators have not been prosecuted for the conduct of ethnic cleansing and war crimes, those organizations have repeated the request "to prosecute the war crimes committed during the Operation Storm, committed on behalf of the Croatian people, especially since the denial and relativization of war crimes has led to the glorification of the same."

## International politics

In the previous sections, this report lists participation in numerous international conferences, as well as visits at the international level.

In addition to the already mentioned, from the participation in international conferences we highlight:



## **Jun 2018, Women in Black receive the Kulin Ban's Prize for courage and high morality**

The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Archives awarded the Kulin Ban Award for the courage and high morality to Women in Black from Belgrade.

In the explanation of the award, among other things, it stated: "You have made a very important contribution to the search for the truth about Bosnia and Herzegovina in relation to the aggression on its sovereignty and territorial integrity, with the huge casualties on its inhabitants. You were not afraid to tell the truth, no matter how hard it was and why you deserve this high prize, to emphasize that your work was not futile. By telling the truth, you have created broken bridges between the peoples of the Balkans, which should be for all well-intentioned people."

On behalf of Women in Black awards ceremony at the Center for Children and Youth at 11 am in Sarajevo, on June 8th, 2018, four activists Women in Black were present.

**June 29th – July 1st, Barcelona – Permanent People's Tribunal/Tribunal permanente de los pueblos/ TPP** – The tribunals of the "Unprotected Rights" (Espacios No Derecho) covering three key points: Borders on the south of the continent / Spain, Gender aspect and children. After listening to testimonies, victims (most women) or collectives / organizations that help refugees. The International Tribunal for the Judiciary, consisting of six female judges: De Teresa Almeida Cravo, (professor of international relations at the University of Coimbra / Coimbra, Portugal), Briget Anderson (Professor and Migration Researcher, United Kingdom), Marina Forti (Journalist of the leftist media Il Manifesto, Italy), Patricia Orejudo (professor of international law at Complutense University, Madrid, Spain); Laia Serra (Human Rights Advocate, Barcelona, Spain) and Stasa Zajovic (Women in Black, Belgrade, Serbia) after the Barcelona session issued a judgment.

**August 10th – 17th Sarajevo/BH** – In the framework of Sarajevo Film Festival/SFF, Nadežda Kostić, activist and witness at WC, took part in debates on dealing with the past and she spoke about WiB activities related to transitional justice.



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**Women in Black**  
Belgrade, September 2018