



*žene u crnom
beograd*

Report



**May, June, July
and August
2021**

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

May, June, July and August 2021

Report

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

Street actions:

Street actions: In this reporting period we organized eleven (11) events,

and we also actively participated in other street actions:

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

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

Kruševac, 24th May

May 24th, Kruševac “We Remember the Brave Resistance of Women!” – Women’s organization “Peščanik” from Kruševac and Women in Black, Belgrade marked the 22nd anniversary of the women’s protest against forced mobilization in 1999. By this peace action, organized on the occasion of May 24th – International Day of Women’s Action for Peace and Disarmament, activists recalled the courageous resistance of women to mobilization and war in Kosovo.

The following banners were displayed during the vigil:

- *We remember the courage of the Rasina district women*
- *We remember women’s resistance to forced mobilization*
- *Women’s courage*
- *Everything for Peace, Health and Education – Nothing for Armament etc.*

During this street action, twenty (20) activists of the Women’s Association Peščanik, the Alternative Center for Girls, and Women in Black were exposed to verbal attacks and provocations by people who referred to themselves as members of the Serbian Radical Party. Members of the mentioned party, who set up a stand at the same time and at the same place and distributed promotional material, called us names and commented: “How ugly you are”, “Shame on you”, “There was no genocide in Srebrenica”. Insults were mainly hurled at

Women in Black activists and Staša Zajović. In addition to verbal abuse, members of the Serbian Radical Party trampled on the inscription “We remember the resistance of women”, which, as a message of action, was shaped with salt on the concrete. The policemen got out of the vehicle, which was parked in the main street, across the road from the scene, only when the organizers approached them and asked them to ensure that the action, which was duly and timely reported to the Kruševac Police Department, be carried out, without intrusions.

Belgrade, June 17th

Belgrade, June 17th “We remember women rape in war” – on the occasion of June 19th –*International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in War*, Women in Black and

the Autonomous Women’s Center organized a vigil in mourning and silence in Republic Square.

Foča June 19th

During the protest, the performance “**We remember the women of Foča**” was performed: four activists dressed in white (symbol of mourning for Bosniaks), spread a white canvas, on which one activist spray-painted the word, then the following banners were displayed in a semicircle:

- *We remember women raped in war*
- *During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina more than 20 000 women were raped*
- *We remember the women raped in Bosnia and Herzegovina*
- *– the site of the most massive war crime of rape*
- *Map of sexual crimes in: the Sports Hall “Partisan”; the Correctional facility in Karaman’s House in Miljevina; Buk Bijela, the High School in Foča...*
- *The state of Serbia does not recognize the war crime of rape - Admit it!*



The protest was attended by thirty-odd (30) female and male activists.



During the protest, a couple of passers-by hurled verbal abuse at the activists: "Are these Muslim women?" (to the policeman) "Just look at you, who would want to rape you?"; "These are Women in Black, they are state enemies." etc.

Foča June 19th

June 19th, (Bosnia and Herzegovina) "We Remember Women Raped in War in Bosnia and Herzegovina" - On the occasion of the 19th of June - the International Day Against Sexual Violence in War, the action organized by *War victims associations 92-95 from Sarajevo*.

The UN General Assembly declared June 19, 2015, the International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in War. During the war more than 20 000 Bosniaks/Muslims were expelled from **Foča**, over 3,000 Bosniaks were killed in Foča, of whom one in three victims were women; it is at the very top of the scale in terms of the number of raped women; in Foča, girls were also raped, the youngest of whom was only 11 years old, etc.

The following activities were organized as part of this event:

- *Karaman's house in Miljevina*, near Foča, one of the most famous places of detention of women and sexual slavery of women in the war); on this site, flowers were laid on the fence and the banner "We remember the women raped in the war" was placed;
- *Protest in front of the Partisan Sports Hall* (as one of the many places of detention and sexual violence against women) flowers were laid and tribute was paid to all abused and killed women in Bosnia. On this occasion, the following women addressed the public: Halida Konjo Uzunović and Midheta Kaloper Oruli, the Association of War Victims FOČA 92-95, Melika Mahmutbegović, Vice-president of the Federation of B&H; Staša Zajović, Women in Black, Belgrade, who after her address, presented to the Association of War Victims 92-95' artistic artifacts:



- ‘*Sites of Crime*’ (memorial/commemorative plaque dedicated to raped women from 1992 to 1995), made by sculptor Dejan Jankov from the art collective Art Clinic in Novi Sad; A map of crimes in Foča made by Đordje Balmazović Žole from the art collective Škart from Belgrade, as well as a large white canvas with the inscription - from the June 17th action in Belgrade. This is the contribution of WiB to the future memorial, which has been advocated for years by the Association of Victims of 92-95’. Unfortunately, the efforts so far have not borne fruit due to the obstruction of the municipal authorities in.
- *Peaceful march on the streets of Foča with banners* (from the Partisan Hall to the Main Square);
- *Vigil in the Main Square* commemorating all abused women in Bosnia;
- *Continuing our march through the city towards Aladza Mosque backyard* - hanging out/meet up.

This event was attended by around two hundred persons, as well as eight (8) women activists of the WiB Network, the Autonomous Women’s Center and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights from Belgrade.

“WE WILL NEVER FORGET THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE!”

**Belgrade,
10th July 2021**

On 10th July 2021, on the 26th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, Women in Black held a protest under the slogan “*We will never forget the Srebrenica genocide*” in Republic Square in Belgrade.

In mourning and silence, the scenic action “**Srebrenica – the name of genocide**” was performed, consisting of the following elements:

- **Srebrenica – the name of genocide** – observing international court rulings, rebellion against the shameful renaming of genocide – central banner.





- **8372** – bringing to the public stage the number of people killed in genocide is respect for court-established facts. In this way, we symbolically inscribe in the collective memory what is denied / falsified / played down by the majority public of Serbia - the scale of the genocide in Srebrenica.
- **Solidarity – Srebrenica – Women in Black** – installing a symbolic / living memorial is a continuation of the construction of a monument to the victims of genocide, after our long-standing requests to approve the construction of a permanent monument to the victims of the Srebrenica genocide in Belgrade were rejected.
- **The factual truth about the genocide** – which most people in Serbia do not want to see, know about or accept - **ghostly figures denounce a society of moral breakdown, a community of zombies**; instead of silence and complicity, they express sympathy and solidarity with the victims by disclosing long-known facts – this part of the action was carried out by seven activists completely wrapped in black tulle, which they unfolded by presenting information about the Srebrenica genocide on the public stage.
- **Installation of the Flower of Srebrenica** – a symbol of mass suffering of people, the petals of this flower represent July 11th, 1995; it is a symbol of the joint struggle for the dignity of the victims of genocide
- **Installing a symbolic memorial:** the figure **8372** is engraved on the stone - as a sign of non-violent rebellion against the denial of the genocide in Srebrenica.



- The Srebrenica genocide was carried out with the direct support of the Serbian regime.
- The Srebrenica genocide took place from 11th to 22nd July 1995.
- 8,372 Bosniak men aged between 12 and 77 were killed in the genocide.
- Sites of mass executions: Jadar, Cerska, Tišća, Grbavci, Orahovac, Pilica, Branjevo.

- Over **20,000** members of Serb armed formations took part in the genocide.
- The remains of the killed were found in over **60** mass graves.
- All buses for deportations were from Serbia: "7th July"-Šabac, "Strela"-Valjevo, "Raketa"-Užice ...

Even before the arrival of Women in Black, Republic Square was occupied by a large number of members of pro-fascist organizations. Women in Black reported the action to the police on June 25th, 2021. However, over sixty fascists constantly obstructed the action with insults, threats, and the like. They were carrying many pictures and flags with the image of the Hague convict Ratko Mladic, flags with skulls and other fascist symbols. Among them was Simo Spasić, president of the Association of Missing Kidnapped Serbs. We immediately asked the police when that rally had been reported, the police did not know or did not want to tell us, which led us to the conclusion that there is a direct connection between the regime and the hooligan / pro-fascist groups. Everything the above-mentioned fascist group did was carried out without adequate police intervention.

Throughout the action, the fascists shouted, yelled, hollered death threats over a megaphone, chanting:

- *Ratko Mladić, Serbian hero*
- *Srebrenica – is not genocide*
- *Whores in Black*
- *Ustasha cunts*
- *Stasa Ustasha*
- *Stasa, I'll run you over by car!*
- *Stasa, I'll kill you!*
- *Stasa, who's going to bury you?*
- *Stasa, you whore*
- *Stasa, don't cry too much in the embassy tonight. Cry, but not much.*
- *Stasa, Gargamel*
- *Get lost from Serbia*
- *Fuck you in the mouth*
- *You black whore*
- *Why don't you talk about Serbian victims?*
- *Whore, where are Serbian victims?*
- *Poor thing, motherfucker Ustasha*
- *Whores, fagots, you fucked up Serbia*
- *My Mladić, your problem is that you are a Serbian hero*
- *Radovan Karadžić, Radovan Karadžić*

- *Oh Serbia, our mother, don't grieve, just call, all the falcons will give their lives for*
- *Montenegro, stay with us forever*
- *Serbia, Russia, never Yugoslavia*
- *Serbia, Russia, we don't need a union*
- *Long live Serbia!*
- *Srpska, Serbia, never the Federation*
- *Srebrenica, is not genocide, is not genocide!*
- *General, at your command, we shall fly like bullets!*
- *Brace up, brace up, Chetniks, there will be a mighty fight!*
- *Hurl bombs Chetniks!*
- *From this victory of ours the sun of freedom is being born!*
- *From Topola, from Topola, all the way to Ravna Gora, all are guards, all are guards of General Draža, and patrols, and patrols of Kalabić Nikola, reconnaissance, reconnaissance of Pavle Đurišić, the vanguard, the vanguard of Voivode Đujić, and ambush, and ambush of Račić, all of them*
- *Draža is alive, he hasn't died, as long as there are Serbs and Serbia*
- *Long live, long live, the kingdom of Serbia*
- *Women in Black are pre-war, war, and post-war mongers. They didn't lose anyone. None of their folk was killed, etc.*

Also, the fascists played songs over loudspeakers glorifying war criminals, denying the verdicts of the Hague Tribunal, mocking the victims, etc.

While Staša Zajović was giving a statement to the media, most members of fascist groups swarmed in that place, creating strong physical pressure, repeating the open threats to Staša Zajović mentioned above.

The protest was covered by the media, and it took place under heavy police security measures.

The protest was attended by seventy-odd activists from Belgrade, Novi Sad, Leskovac, Vlasotince, Kraljevo, Zrenjanin, Novi Pazar, Niš, Pančevo.

Beograd, 11. jul

Belgrade, 11th July – “Lighting candles for the victims of Srebrenica”– a commemorative gathering on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the genocide, was held in front of the Presidency of Serbia, organized by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights, with the support of the Humanitarian Law Center and Women in Black. In the immediate vicinity, pro-fascist organizations held a counter-rally, insulting NGO activists, chanting songs in honor of R. Mladic, a RS Army general who was convicted in Srebrenica by the Hague Tribunal for genocide in Srebrenica on June 8, 2021, to a life sentence. Police prevented physical contact between NGO activists and pro-fascists.

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

In this period, we organized the following street actions:

Belgrade, 9th May "Antifascism is my choice!" –On the occasion of the Day of Victory over Fascism, Women in Black, with the support of the Association of Antifascists of Serbia, the art collective Škart and the choir Naša pjesma, organized an anti-fascist action in Knez Mihailova Street.



The action was directed against historical revisionism and the obliteration of the anti-fascist legacy. The names of streets, dates and personalities from the anti-fascist movement in the Second World War were highlighted at the protest: *Ive Lole Ribara Street, Boulevard of Revolution, Proletarian Brigades Street, National Front Street, Boulevard of AVNOJ, March 27th, November 29th, Sonja Marinković Street, 7th July, Sava Kovačević Street...* During the 1990s until now, and due to the growing historical revisionism and fascism, these streets were renamed, glorifying nationalist symbols, dates and personalities, which we marked with banners that only read: And today? and then we turned the anti-fascist inscriptions of streets, dates, personalities again - as a sign of preserving the anti-fascist heritage.



Also, banners were displayed: Antifascism - my pride, Antifascism is my choice.

Antifa choir Naša pjesma/Our songs performed the following songs: Naša pjesma, Oj Mosore, Mosore, Bandiera rossa (in Italian), the International (in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian).

30 activists took part in the action in Belgrade.



Belgrade, 14th May

Belgrade, 14th May "No to military service – Yes to conscientious objection!" - Women in Black held this action in Knez Mihailova Street on the occasion of May 15 - the International Day of Conscientious Objection. The action was organized against the campaign for the reintroduction of compulsory military service.



The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- NO to military service - YES to conscientious objection!
- The right to conscientious objection was recognized on August 27, 2003
- Article 45 of the Constitution of Serbia guarantees the right to conscientious objection
- Food, not weapons!
- Let's banish militarism from our lives!

About twenty (20) female and male activists took part in the protest.

Belgrade, May 18th

Belgrade, May 18th "We remember killed women" – on the occasion of May 18th, Day of remembrance of women killed in domestic violence, the Autonomous Women's Center and Women in Black organized a vigil in Republic Square in Belgrade.



The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- Women's lives matter
- Not a single woman less, not a single dead more
- Why aren't they among us?
- Let's react before it's too late
- May 18 - Day of Remembrance for Women Victims of Violence

The feminist action was performed by (15) female and male activists.



Belgrade, 27th May



Belgrade, 27th May “Stop to War!” – on the occasion of May 24th - International Day of Women’s Actions for Peace and Disarmament, Women in Black organized a vigil in black and silent, in Knez Mihailova Street in Belgrade. This anti-war action was directed against war violence in the Middle East, as well as in all parts of the world where armed conflicts are going on; we expressed our internationalist support and solidarity with all feminist-anti-militarist actions and all other non-violent initiatives.

The following banners in English, Serbian and Spanish languages were displayed during the vigil:



Stop the War in Middle East!
We support a Non-Violent Vigil, led by Arab and Israeli Feminists!
In Solidarity with Palestinian Movement against the Occupation!
Stop police violence in Colombia!
Solidarity with the Pacific Route of Colombia!
Stop the Violence against Civilians in Myanmar!
Women in Black against war

This action was performed by 15 activists.

Jagodina, 5th June

Jagodina, 5th June “Your word is your strength – you are not alone” - Women in Black participated in the feminist action of the Independent Women’s Network (network of civil society organizations, civic initiatives and individuals). In April 2021, *Dragan Markovic Palma*, President of the Assembly of the city of Jagodina, a coalition partner of the authorities in Serbia, was accused of sexual violence (pimping, prostitution, pedophilia, etc.). The action was held on the People’s Youth Square in Jagodina (central Serbia) with a request to the state to continue the investigation of sexual crimes, and primarily in support of the victims of sexual abuse and human trafficking.

During the action, activists: *Tina Piskulidis* (ASTRA) and *Tanja Ignjatović* (Autonomous Women’s Center) addressed the citizens, informing them about the legal possibilities for the protection of vulnerable girls and women, regardless of whether they want to participate in investigative actions and potential court proceedings.

Belgrade, 20th June



Belgrade, 20th June “Solidarity with the refugees” – On the occasion of the World Refugee Day, an action of solidarity with refugees was held, in which six (6) activists took part. As a sign of internationalist solidarity, the activists wore banners that read in English, BHS, Pashto and Farsi:

“Stop the war, not the refugees,”

“Stop the war, not the refugees.”

“We want open borders “, etc.



SUOČAVANJE S PROŠLOŠĆU/TRANZICIONA PRAVDA – FEMINISTIČKI PRISTUP

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).

POSEĆIVANJE MESTA ZLOČINA POČINJENIH U NAŠE IME, KAO I DRUGIH ZLOČINA PROTIV CIVILNOG STANOVNIŠTVA POČINJENIH TOKOM RATA I NAKON RATA NA PROSTORU BIVŠE JUGOSLAVIJE:

May 31st and June 1st

May 31st and June 1st, Zvornik “We Remember!” - on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the crime in Zvornik municipality, Women in Black, together with the Association of Victims of the Municipality of Zvornik, commemorated the 29th anniversary of the mass crimes committed against the Bosniak population. In the course of May and June 1992, Serb armed formations committed crimes of ethnic cleansing, robbery, torture, killing ...

Within the framework of the commemoration, activists of WiB participated in the following commemorative events:

31st May

31st May:

- *Visit to the Pilica concentration camp* (former Culture Hall, now a ruin) where 595 Bosniak men were killed; only two survived, one of whom died in 2017;
- *“Klisa Night of Fear and Uncertainty”* is a history lesson in the village of Klisa about the crime committed on May 31, 1992, when thousands of civilians from 13 villages from the Zvornik municipality were taken by the Serbian armed forces.

1st June

1st June 2021

- **Paying tribute to the victims in the Memorial Center in Bijeli potok** (still under construction)
- **Crni vrh – the largest mass grave in BH - 670** victims have been exhumed so far, of which **450** have been identified, another **250** are missing, and no mass graves have been discovered since 2003;
- **Karakaj - a visit to a former concentration camp at the High School Center in Karakaj**, where more than **700** men were deported, including juveniles and those over 80, where they were killed;
- **Burial / funeral rites at the cemetery /Memorial Center in Memići / Kalesija Gornja**, where the remains of five people were laid to rest.

11th June

11th June, Tuzla (Bosnia & Hercegovina) – WiB activists, organizers and witnesses at the Women’s Court participated in the following activities:

- **Tribute to the victims of the ‘Tuzla Gate’** - laying flowers - homage to the victims of the war crime, committed on May 25, 1995, against civilians by the Army of the Republika Srpska; in this massacre 71 people were killed, predominantly young people, and about 250 people were injured.
- **“We are looking for the missing – let us not forget Srebrenica”** - the association “Women of Srebrenica” based in Tuzla (gathers women whose family members disappeared and were killed during the Srebrenica genocide) since 1996, “Women of Srebrenica” every 11th of the month, in memory of the Srebrenica genocide, organize a peace protest, demanding the truth about their killed and missing relatives, as well as justice - punishing all perpetrators of the crimes under the slogan *“We are looking for the missing – let us not forget Srebrenica”*.

18th June

18th June, Goražde (Bosnia & Hercegovina) – A meeting with activists of the women’s association *Seka* and survivors of war crimes in the area of Eastern Bosnia was organized in the premises of the mentioned association in Gorazde.

June 19th

June 19th – An encounter with the victims' families, following the commemoration in Foča (BH), on the occasion of the 19th of June - the International Day Against Sexual Violence in War.

July 11th

July 11th, Srebrenica “Solidarity and Responsibility” - commemoration in the Memorial Center Potočari / Srebrenica. In the Potočari Memorial Center where a burial of remains of the 19 killed people was carried out. Twenty (**20**) Women in Black Network activists attended the ceremony.

August 3th

August 3th, Lučani “Solidarity with the Milivojević family from Lučani” - on July 14 and August 3, 2020, as a sign of solidarity and sympathy with the Milivojević family from Lučani (Western Serbia), Women in Black activists from Belgrade attended a commemoration at the cemetery in Lučani on the occasion of the third anniversary of the death of Milomir Milivojević. Workers Milomir Milojević and Miloško Ignjatović died in a gunpowder explosion in the factory “Milan Blagojević-Namenska” from Lučani on July 14, 2017. For more than two years now, the Milovanović family has been asking the state authorities to shed light on the circumstances of the tragedy in the factory. Criminal proceedings have been pending before the Basic Court in Ivanjica since October 2019, and WiB activists followed all the hearings.

VIDEO ACTIVISM: TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE – A FEMINIST APPROACH

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

- **We remember women raped in War! We remember women of Foča”** (3:5 min.) documentary about street action held in Belgrade June 17th
- **Srebrenica – the name of genocide (???)** – documentary about street action on 26th anniversary

ART ENGAGED 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 and violations of human rights has continued. In this reporting period we organized following

several working meetings with art collectives Škart and Dah Theater – preparation of street activities regarding 25th anniversary Srebrenica genocide.

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. Should you be interested in more information, you can find it on our website www.zeneucrnom.org and www.zenskisud.org or contact us by mail: zeneucrnombeograd@gmail.com

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

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

In continuation of the Women's Court, Women in Black, Belgrade coordinate the program and other activities, with the support of organizations: Anima, Kotor (Montenegro), Center for Women Victims of War, Zagreb (Croatia), The Foundation CURE, Sarajevo (Bosnia & Herzegovina), and some members of the former Organizing Committee of the Women's Court continue to participate sporadically (Council for Equality, Skopje, Macedonia), while the other members support the process without active participation.

During this reporting period, the following activities were organized:

I Regional Encounters, Tuzla (Bosnia & Hercegovina) – 10th and 11th June

The *thirteenth* Regional Meeting of the Women's Court was attended by **14** women – witnesses at the Women's Court from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia, as well as organizers,

therapists, and associates of the Women's Court. Unfortunately, due to epidemiological measures, the women from Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Kosovo were not able to come to this meeting. The following activities were held during this meeting:

Report on the activities of the Women's Court since the previous regional meeting (April 2019)

Justice has not been served: experience from the field

– during this session, the participants mostly talked about the verdict against war criminal Ratko Mladic at the Hague Tribunal, on June 8, when the sentence of life imprisonment was confirmed. However, the verdict did not meet the expectations of most participants:

Expectations were not met, justice was partially met, but the biggest problem is that the crimes committed in six other municipalities in BH are not qualified as genocide... 'If Ratko Mladic as a general of the RS Army had been convicted for these six municipalities, then it would have been a verdict for genocide in continuity from '92 to '95 (Midheta); "I expected that he would be convicted for those six municipalities as well." Zvornik is not there'(Suvada); "Genocide was committed in Foča: all non-Serbs were expelled, over 22,000 Muslims were expelled, camps for women and men, mass and individual graves, 1,500 missing, 3,000 killed, thousands of raped women, including girls and old women" (Halida)

The verdict created a hierarchy among the victims: 'A hierarchy was created among the victims' (Ljilja, Sabina); 'We are not recognized as victims' (Suvada, Zvornik; Midheta,) etc.

Justice unserved – a case Foča

War rape crimes in Foča continue to cause deep trauma among victims - impunity is reflected in the small number of convictions for these crimes, as well as in the aggressive nationalist attitude towards victims by the majority Serb population in Foča, with the support of the Serbian regime – "Even today, after 30 years nothing has changed. Moreover, the youths of Foča draw large murals, every second building is painted in the colors of Greater Serbia, murals from the First and Second War, as well as from the aggression on BH. Next to the Partisan Hall itself, where girls were raped in front of their mothers and grandmothers, you will see murals by Mladic and Karadžić" (Halida);

The irresponsibility of the international community - lack of support for the construction of a memorial to women victims of the war crime of rape ... ' When we arrived in front of the Partisan building (one of the places of the biggest sexual crimes against women in Foča), we found a posters (of war criminals Karadžić and Mladić) that UNDP supports the reconstruction. We complained, and they said they knew nothing' (Halida).

Justice unserved – field experiences from Montenegro and Serbia

In Montenegro, dealing with the past is rarely talked about. During the 1990s, four mass war crimes were recorded in Montenegro: the deportation of Muslim / Bosniak refugees from Herceg Novi to the Republika Srpska authorities; expulsion of Bosniaks from Bukovica near Pljevlja; the torture of Croatian prisoners in the Morinj camp and the killing of Albanian refugees fleeing the conflict in Kosovo by the JNA in Kaludjerski Laz. In 7 trials, 30 people were indicted for these war crimes, of whom 26 were acquitted, and only 4 were convicted. The accused were exclusively perpetrators of the lowest rank. The state of Montenegro paid reparations to the victims and the families of the victims and thus admitted the crimes. And they think they solved everything with that and we have supposedly faced the past! We did not even come out of the past, we did not move away from it'.
(Sabina Talović, Pljevlja).

Serbia – impunity on the state and societal level

– participants from Serbia

The regime in Serbia continues to deny crimes committed by Serbian armed formations, denies the Srebrenica genocide, continues to provide public space for convicted war criminals, and allows hate speech. Some members of Parliament continue to celebrate war criminals, deny the genocides in Srebrenica without any sanctions. As far as institutional justice is concerned, the biggest problem of war crimes prosecution is manifested through: a small number of indictments; during 2020, only 7 indictments were filed, of which 5 were transferred from BH; non-prosecution of commanders and high-ranking members of the army and police; the proceedings last even longer than ten years and this has 'catastrophic consequences' because both the accused and the victims die during the proceedings; trials are accompanied by constant obstruction and are otherwise inaccessible to the public due to the pandemic, etc.

Where is feminism going here and now?

– Among the obstacles, challenges and dangers facing the women's movement, the participants listed:

Patriarchal order at all levels; conservatism and religious institutions; Abuse of war victims, especially war victims of rape ...

Among the priorities for future activities, the participants listed:

- *Development of the feminist concept of justice - symbolic reparations/memorials, continuation of the work of the W'sC, etc.*
- *Addressing the status of women survivors of the war crime of rape;*
- *Activism - support for oneself and other women ...*
- *Education on women's rights - pressure on institutions to enforce the law; economic empowerment, etc.*

On the Covid19 pandemic:

on personal experiences, consequences of the pandemic on the economic-social, psychological level, on the impact on women; on state responsibility; about ways to overcome fear ...

During the conversation moderated by Jadranka, the following experiences and views were presented:

- *Manipulation of fear, corruption, lack of health care, lack of vaccines in BH, going to vaccination in Serbia is humiliation of victims and collecting political points ... "When vaccines were donated to us from Serbia, when our children, whose fathers were killed and mothers were raped, rushed to Serbia to get them, I felt very sad."*(Halida);
- *The brutal abuse of the pandemic in Serbia - house arrest for generation 65+, falsification of facts, the fact that the greatest burden of the pandemic was borne by women (both in Serbia and in BH);*
- *During the pandemic, domestic violence against women, sexual harassment in the workplace increased drastically...*

Courageous women

– documentary film projection

The women from Podrinje (the Drina Valley) together with the women from the region, are creating a space where the victims' voices will be heard and respected. Kadefa, Staša, Nura, Šehida, Violeta, Rejha, Jadranka and other activists believe that only the victims' voices can awaken the conscience of the tacit majority. They have been working relentlessly to this end. Author: Alema Kazazić, director: Himzo Mihaljević, cameraman: Vanja Ban, editor: Jasmin Nalo.

II Feminist ethic of care – Active women's vacations in Women's House 'Seka' Brač/Croatia from August 5th to 21st

Eleven (11) women - Women's Court witnesses, activists from:

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Reiha Avdic, Bratunac/Srebrenica; Suvada Selimović, Đulići/Zvornik, Halida Konjo-Uzunović and Midheta Kaloper Oruli, /Sarajevo;

Croatia: Marica Šeatović, Novska; Jovanka Carević and Milica Miladinović, Zagreb

Serbia: Anđelija Vučurević, Novi Sad; Milka Rosić, Leskovac, Aleksandra Jelić, Belgrade and Snežana Obrenović, Kraljevo.

Educational programs

– in addition to the aforementioned, were realized within the Network (women's peace activism, feminist discussion circles...):

Feminist discussion circles/FDC

“Where is feminism going – here and now?” – FDC

organized by Women in Black

Four FDC were held in the course of June 2021, in Serbia and in Bosnia and Hercegovina in the following places: Tuzla (10th June), Belgrade (23rd June); Đulići (25th June) and Novi Sad on 26th June.

Sixty (**60**) persons participated in this FDC, mostly women and four men. These FRTDs were attended by: witnesses and organizers of the Women’s Court - a feminist approach to justice; activists of feminist organizations: Women in Black, Women’s Studies from Belgrade and Novi Sad, Verujem (I believe) and LGS – Lesbian-Gay Solidarity from Belgrade, as well as activists of the women’s association Anima from Đulići (BH) which gathers women from a dozen villages in Eastern Bosnia. In terms of generational structure, participants were between 25 and 80 years of age; the educational level of the participants was very heterogeneous – from women with primary education to doctors of science; more than half of the participants come from urban areas, while a third of the participants are from rural areas of Bosnia. These are mostly women who suffered the most during the war in BH (1992-95) and lost almost all their male relatives in the war, were left alone and took on the greatest burden (raising children, maintaining the household and the entire community, etc.).

During these FDC participants talked about important issues related to feminism, feminist activism, etc.

Challenges, dangers and obstacles women’s movement encounter

– the participants mentioned the following challenges, dangers and obstacles:

The patriarchal order - both on a personal and social level - is manifested at all levels:

- *Strengthening of the political Right Wing – ultra-conservative policies against women, growth of pro-fascist tendencies, strengthening of fundamentalist forces and movements, nationalism, clericalism – impact of religion and religious institutions against women;*
- *Violence against women – irrespective of the educational level of women, both in the village and in the city: male violence; attacks against reproductive rights – anti-abortion propaganda;*
- *Women’s poverty – exploitation of women: ‘This region is becoming neo-colonial and women are suffering the most. Women in particular are under attack, they have been abused traditionally and today even more so, especially in this pandemic.’*

- *Disunity of the feminist movement, disputes within the feminist movement: 'Today, the feminist movement is facing disunity, lack of information, distrust of some groups towards others, and the generational breakdown or distance of young people from older feminists is especially visible'.*
- *The state has its obedient GONGs, provides them with financial assistance, undermines solidarity and mutual support: 'The state increasingly actively undermines solidarity and mutual support between NGOs, thus weakening their influence in civil society';*
- *The gap between theory and practice, academics and activists, hierarchization of various types of knowledge: Most feminist-oriented academics hide their feminist side in the academic public';*
- *Institutional co-optation of feminists provokes competition, weakens the movement, reduces knowledge to a commodity in the function of regime and neoliberal capitalism: 'Women who received high diplomas in our country at the Center for Gender Studies of Novi Sad University (or at some other faculty and university) are now participating in that race, they now control their knowledge, that is why institutions use them for their neoliberal purposes';*
- *The institutionalization of some forms of gender equality: 'In recent years institutionalization has blurred and diluted feminist work and struggle';*
- *Health insecurity caused by a pandemic – affecting the majority of women:*
- *Exhaustion of activists - 'We work on the total margin with small resources, and we exhaust ourselves';*

International aid policy: How does adjusting to project interests and donor trends undermine and destroy the elementary bonds of solidarity between us?

The mainstream policy of international aid

– produces a serious problem in civil society at several levels:

- *Abuse of victims - paternalistic-victimizing attitude towards them; marginalization of women in large projects: 'I come from Srebrenica, where we have over 70 NGOs. Only a small number do these big projects. In these organizations, our women cannot have the right to vote. When potential donors come, someone is called who will cry and say that if they are not there, the donors must move out';*

- Various UN agencies do not deal with the interests of women, they have an obligation to cooperate with state institutions, harmonize policies with state policy: 'They are not ready to participate in real change. They do not care about the results but the reporting';
- Administrative procedures are exhausting for civil society organizations (CSOs); it is becoming increasingly difficult to reconcile the struggle for survival and the struggle for autonomy; donors condition aid on cooperation with the state; many CSOs adapt to donor requirements';

**On an alternative / different international aid policy:
What would we spend our money on without anyone
conditioning us? What are your priorities? What activities
would you invest money in if someone gave it to you?**

The participants expressed their opinions in following way:

Institutional support – is necessary for maintaining and strengthening the movement, maintaining space for joint reflection and exchange, solidarity, work in the base...;

Transitional justice / dealing with the past - feminist approach – the participants expressed the need to continue and develop various initiatives and practices (WiB, W'sC witnesses):

- *Symbolic reparations* (street actions, visiting crime scenes, memorials ...);
- *Feminist ethics of care and responsibility* - women's solidarity regarding the sanctioning of war crimes, acts of mutual support, exchange and cooperation in the region in order to build a just peace;
- *War crime of rape* - the status of women survivors of the war crime of rape in BH and Serbia has not been resolved. In BH, we received compensation / reparations for a thousand women; there are more than 22,000 raped women in BH, and perhaps more. What do these women have? Do they have a monument anywhere? They have no monument.
- *Organizing the Women's Court for War Crimes of Rape in* - the place of the most massive sexual violence in the war (witnesses W'sC, WiB; Đulići).
- *Educational courses on transitional justice - dismantling / deconstruction of nationalist narratives, especially in Serbia* – 'In Serbia we have at work the continuity of the same policies and the same people from the 1990s; Here it is necessary to educate new generations;
- *Initiatives against historical revisionism* - remembering the anti-fascist actions of women – that is critically needed nowadays, when history is being revised;

Educational programs (women's peace activism, workshops, lectures...) - to 'broaden the horizons', which means to continue the educational program with WiB 'Women's Peace Activism' (Đulići, WiB and other feminist groups in Serbia);

Economic empowerment – this was especially talked about by women from rural parts of eastern Bosnia. Some suggested organizing courses of sewing, of hairdressing, but they did not agree on this, they believe that educational work is far more important.

The politics of remembering our predecessors, caring for our followers, alternative history, feminist archives – To continue systematically reminding of the share of women in each individual part of social reality (which we have done so far at the Women's Studies in Novi Sad and at WiB).

Going back to the streets, cultivating a policy of solidarity and courage – 'There was more solidarity in the 1990s, now a lot has been reduced to projects and closed groups. Of course, we street girls don't stick to that!

Sexual violence – Drastic cases of sexual violence are currently happening in Serbia and it is the potential to smooth out internal obstacles and disagreements within the feminist movement, it is the potential for action.

A gap between the younger and older generations of feminists –Not to hide the problem, but to talk about it openly - there is a big gap.

What role have the political parties played, especially women politicians, influencing the feminist movement? Are there any similarities and differences between the period prior to the coming to power of SPP? What differences and similarities are in question? Most of the participants do not attach importance to this issue because they do not have relations with women from political parties, because the attitudes of party militants are contrary to the interests and needs of women, they consider them a transmission of male patriarchal power and regime (Serbia). However, with the coming to power (2012) of the ultra-right ruling party - the Serbian Progressive Party / SPP, Serbia ranks high in the world in terms of women's participation in Parliament – it is currently in the 27th place out of 190 countries in the world. That number has grown steadily - from 1.6% (1990) to almost 40%. The SPP resorts to the most brutal political manipulations of women in fighting against the opposition, various marketing tricks within the EU integration process in gaining "legitimacy" in the eyes of the international community, etc.

*(Moderated and edited the FDC: Staša Zajović;
transcript: Miloš Urošević; integral version of FDC in English
can be accessed on the WiB website).*

In this reporting period, other FDCs were held:

May 19th

Kotor / Montenegro, May 19th –Feminist discussion circle organized by the NGO Anima, Kotor was held at the Cultural Center Kotor. During the meeting with Anima activists, they talked about sexual violence against women - the continuum of sexual crimes both in war and in peace, about the impunity of these crimes at the state and society level. *Staša Zajović* referred to the “pandemic” of sexual harassment of women in Serbia - sexual abuse, breaking the silence about sexual violence owing to brave witnesses, public support, as well as the lack of an adequate response from the state, etc. Seven (7) local activists participated in this FDC.

26th June

Novi Sad, 26th June – The Association for Women’s Studies and Research (WSR), Novi Sad and Women in Black (WiB), Belgrade, launched feminist discussion circles (FDC) in September 2020 as consultative meetings on various issues important for feminist and women’s programs and studies and five (5) feminist discussion circles have been held so far.

This FDC was held in the premises of the association FROM THE CIRCLE ... Vojvodina, with the participation of 14 people from Novi Sad, Subotica, Belgrade and Leskovac.

The FDC program was divided into two parts. In the first part, the activists discussed the topic “Where is feminism going - here and now?”, which has already been discussed in this report (in the FDC cycle on this topic).

In the second part, the publication **Neda Božinović - Continuity of the Struggle for Peace and Women’s Rights, 2021** was promoted. The WiB publication is a compilation of texts by N. Božinović, issued in commemoration of her 20th death anniversary. The publication contains six texts, which are divided into three thematic units.

FDC was concluded with agreements on joint activities in the forthcoming period.

Belgrade, 24th

Belgrade, 24th June “Are the left and the right outdated concepts?” – a discussion circle on the role of the modern left was held in the premises of the WiB; 14 people from Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Novi Pazar and Zagreb participated. In the introductory lecture, philosopher and activist Lino Veljak presented the usual explanations of the division between left and right, starting with the French Revolution, through the Italian political philosopher *Norberto Bobbio*, author of “Left and Right”, with a critical review of the dogmatic left advocating state ‘sovereignty, a return to religion and tradition’ (Diego Fusaro) and that ‘it is not an alternative to the center-left with a neoliberal agenda’ etc. Most of the discussion was dedicated to the challenges of the left - regionally and globally.

Women's Peace Activism, Đulici, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Educational program that the civic association "Anima" from Đulić and Women in Black Belgrade has been organizing since the beginning of 2016. Meetings within Women's Peace Activism are strengthening trust, mutual support and solidarity, wider areas of women's autonomy and self-confidence. This meeting is a continuation of many years of cooperation, friendship, mutual support and mutual cooperation the work of "Anima" and WiB.

In this reporting period, one meeting was organized:

25th June – the 20th

Đulići, encounter was attended by **17** women from seven places in the Zvornik area (Đulići, Sapna, Radava, Dragodan, Grbavci, Klisa, Šetići, Kučić kula, Belgrade and Leskovac.

On women's activism and women's movement – in the first part: *Why I joined the activists?* the participants from rom BH most often stated as a reason:

Emotional refuge immediately after returning from exile / exile, the need to alleviate war traumas, space to relax, and later the need for a place to work together, make new friends, learn together ... ('I was uptight all the time, and looking for something positive. I am much more relaxed now '(Ismeta);' When we returned, I was very sad at home, I wanted to relax, to rejoice '(Zarfa), etc.

The participants from Serbia (Belgrade and Leskovac) cited as basic motives for activism: resistance to war and the regime.

What affects our activism? – women said that personal circumstances (marital status, work, leisure...) do not affect activism because women are mostly war widows, that they are unemployed (farmers) and that the most important decision of women is to be active: 'I get all the housework done as soon as I can, so I can be free to go to workshops'; 'I dig until 11am and then dedicate myself to socializing') etc.

On joint group work – for most women, the 'Anima' association gives meaning to their lives: 'This organization lives in me, it is my family' (Suvada); 'This group kept me going' etc. They also agree that attending educational activities is very important because that is how we 'learn together'.

In the second part of the discussion *on the women's / feminist movement*, women from Anima said that in the first phase they were greatly supported by various women's groups from BH in the form of: *Psychosocial support* (Viva Women, Tuzla, Medica, Zenica) with whom they still maintain contacts. In that period, they formed self-help groups, but 'we don't need this anymore because we have become stronger'.

Since 2015, 'Anima' has been cooperating mostly with WiB and that includes many activities: educational work, commemorative gatherings, participation in street actions in Belgrade, at meetings of the WiB Network, etc. Among the priorities in the coming years, Anima activists are most interested in: the educational program with WiB; dealing with the past, economic empowerment, etc.

Within the *Reading Circle*, women shared their impressions of the books they had read.

International and regional news: "Celebrating women's resistance" – this part presents the anti-Nazi activity of *Sophie Scholl* on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of her birth (1921-2021), as well as an activist from Saudi Arabia who fights for women's rights.

At the final workshop, we agreed on joint activities in the coming period.

NETWORKS, COALITIONS – MUTUAL SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY

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

In this period, the following activities were realized:

7th and 17th May,

7th and 17th May, Ada/Vojvodina –visit in solidarity to local activists and preparations for the publication on the Center for Anti-War Action - Ada and on the anti-war movement and on the anti-war movement of the 1990s in general, 'We remember anti-war resistance 1991-2021.

22nd May

22nd May, Kavač near Kotor/Montenegro – A discussion circle was held in the 'House of Free Thought' '**What is to be done?**' organized by Anima, Kotor, Women in Black, Belgrade and the Academic Initiative Forum 10 from Novi Pazar. The FDC was attended by **19** persons from **10** cities: Bar, Bijelo Polje, Budva, Herceg Novi, Kotor, Podgorica, Pljevlja and Ulcinj (Montenegro) and Belgrade and Novi Pazar.

This encounter is a continuation of the practice of joint reflection on issues that concern us. The meeting took place in mutual informing and exchange of information on the socio-political situation in Montenegro and Serbia – the issues and challenges we are facing.

7th and 8th June

7th and 8th June, Preševo "Through dialogue to just peace and security" – **22** activists from Preševo, Belgrade, Leskovac, Vlasotince, Bujanovac, Subotica... participated in the Peace Meeting held in Preševo, on June 7 and 8, 2021, organized by the youth group 'Livrit', Preševo and Women in Black, Belgrade. Preševo is a municipality in southern Serbia, where over 90% of the population is Albanian.

The program consisted of workshops, screenings of documentaries:

Always disobedient (25 min.) – documentary about Women in Black produced by VICE (2017) - about dealing with the past, feminist

/ anti-militarist / anti-fascist actions of WiB. In a conversation after the screening, young people from Preševo said that they were “very interested in the fact that WiB uses art to draw attention to crucial problems...”

Coexistence in diversity and tolerance – European Railway - dynamic exercise (workshop and interactive lecture) - participants showed a high degree of openness to differences (ethnic-racial, gender, sexual, class ...).

Pillars of patriarchy – visions of feminism – dynamic workshop – participants / and expressed opposition to patriarchal roles with clear feminist views: *motherhood* is a choice, a woman should make her own decisions; *marriage* - must not be an obligation but a choice; *sexuality* - *any kind of sexual violence against women is a crime... a woman has the right to be disobedient, not to meet patriarchal expectations because 'it is nobody's property', etc.*

Meeting with the mayor of Preševo – Ardita Sinani: During the meeting, the mayor announced very disturbing facts that testify to the institutional discrimination of the Albanian community in Preševo: 70% of the unemployed, mostly young people, non-recognition of diplomas from the University of Priština / Kosovo, discrimination in employment, etc. Ardita Sinani advocates dialogue between Belgrade and the citizens of the Preševo Valley, and it was proposed that an artistic-activist meeting be organized in Preševo, organized by the Municipality of Preševo, Livrit and Women in Black.

During the evaluation, the participants felt that this meeting showed that:

Such meetings show that co-operation between the Serb and Albanian communities is possible, although there are deep-rooted prejudices between the two communities (Albanian and Serb): ‘It is known that there is some hatred between Serbs and Albanians’; ‘The problems that Serbs and Albanians have with each other are things they don’t tell us either at home or in the city; “I realized that there are people who think differently, I like the fact that you don’t have any prejudices against Albanians. I believe that each of us here in our group had some prejudices against Serbs, but I believe that they have now been dispersed; ‘We will slowly break all the taboo topics that exist between the two communities; ‘To attract as wide a circle of people from our communities as possible – for young people of Preševo to socialize with young people from the Serbian community’, etc.

New findings – on feminism, on peace policy, on WiB: ‘You have clarified to me some things related to feminism; ‘We need to be loud and strong and independent, so that we won’t be constantly told what to do; ‘What we have learned from the WiB should be passed on to the broader society, to learn from each other’;’

It is very important that activists of different generations were together: ‘Socializing with you is a special experience, not

only because you come from the Albanian community, but because you are younger than me'; "I am glad that you have expressed support and understanding, even though you are older than us," etc.

Cooperation between WiB and Livrit, socializing, solidarity:

'I have great love from here. I will never forget this friendship with you'; 'To meet and cooperate as much as possible', etc.

The final session was consecrated with agreements on joint activities.

9th June

9th June – "Europe in the XX century/La Europa del siglo XX" - online study circle for professors of history and literature from Madrid, etc. The template for the debate on the consequences of the war in the former Yugoslavia is the book "Daughter of the East / La hija del Este" by Clara Usón; An online roundtable debate in Spanish was held, in the introductory part the author of the book Clara Usón, Staša Zajović and about twenty historians from all over Spain participated.

June 14th

June 14th – On feminist antimilitarism - online interactive lecture by Staša Zajović for students of Women's Studies in Zagreb.

June 15th

June 15th, Belgrade – Solidarity for the Rights of All working meeting on the occasion of the beginning of the program of the same name - support to human rights defenders in coordination with Yukom / Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, Belgrade Center for Security Policy and the People's Parliament from Leskovac. Activists from: Belgrade, Novi Pazar, Požega, Zrenjanin, Šabac, Preševo, Kikinda, etc. participated. Staša Zajović participated on behalf of WiB.

28th - 30th

28th -30th June, Silver Lake / Eastern Serbia – at this meeting of women's groups from Serbia supported by the Swedish Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, most of the space was dedicated to the problems caused by the Covid19 epidemic (activities after the abolition of the state of emergency in Serbia, serious financial problems organizations, etc.) *Ljiljana Radovanović and Nastasja Radović* participated on behalf of WiB.

SOLIDARITY IS OUR STRENGTH

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

I Solidarity with activists during pandemic (COVID 19)

Since the pandemic started, we established various ways of mutual support and solidarity within WiB Network – as we already informed in previous reports. In this period, we organized: **Solidarity support** – distribution of modest humanitarian aid for the most socially vulnerable activists in WiB Network.

II Solidarity with the Milivojević Family from Lučani

- The Ivanjica trials

Criminal proceedings against the Director General of the Milan Blagojević-Namenska Arms Factory, Lučani - Radoš Milovanović and two executives from the same factory (Vladimir Lončarević and Toma Stojić). They have been charged with 'committing a serious crime against general security' because on July 14th, 2017, workers Milomir Milojević and Miloško Ignjatović were killed after a gunpowder explosion.

In this reporting period, two hearings were held before the Basic Court in Ivanjica:

5th May

5th May – After four delays, the trial continued with the testimony of *Marko Mitrović*, a former factory worker, who witnessed the tragic event on July 14, 2017. M. Mitrović said that the explosion was due to negligence and lack of protection, about which he testified after the accident before the police. The management of 'MB Namenska' demanded that M. Mitrović change the statement: 'Marko Mitrović was the only witness of this event and he could have also been killed, he was injured on that occasion, he immediately after that gave a written statement, which was completely correct and credible and then received a call from his superior from the factory, who said that he was under pressure from R. Milovanović', said V. Todorčić, the lawyer representing M. Mitrović.

1st July

1st July – The examination of witness Marko Mitrović, who repeated most of the allegations from the previous court hearing, continued. On this occasion, the first indictor R. Milovanović also discredited witness Mitrović. Vladimir Todorčić said that Mitrović testified that "inadequate cardboard barrels had used in the factory for a long time before the explosion, and that protective measures were introduced only after the death of two workers." Todorčić said that 'Mitrović addressed the prosecution three times and asked for protection from pressure, and also in June 2018, when he was still working in the military factory, but after his statement was identical to this and the previous hearing, he was fired.

Milovan Milivojević, the father of the deceased Milomir, pointed out the obstruction of the trial: "The trial is dragging on and, if it continues at this pace, it will not end in two years." This leads to an endless trial with the intention of acquitting director Milovanović.'

By the way, the TV N1 team was not allowed to attend the trial under the pretext that "the court did not receive the request to follow the trial on time". The WiB sent it on time, but we were not granted entry to either of them, unlike the journalist of the regime tabloid *Informer*, who was late, but still admitted. Therefore, the media that report objectively do not have access to the courtroom, the Milivojević family believes.

The next hearing is scheduled for September 2, 2021, when the interrogation of Marko Mitrović will continue.

DISCUSSION CIRCLES, LECTURES, DEBATES AT THE WOMEN IN BLACK PREMISES “WEDNESDAYS AT WIB”

The practice of regular discussions, lectures and joint reflections on important social and political issues in the country and the world, continued in this reporting period, which included ten (10) lectures, debates, book presentations, film screenings, with the participation about 150 persons.

12th May

12th May “Spinning and Weaving: The Radical Life of Mary Daly” - **Borislav Prodanović**, a theologian and feminist activist from Novi Sad, gave an introductory lecture on **Mary Daly (1928-2010)**, a radical American feminist, theologian and philosopher who, using feminist knowledge and experience, created a specific philosophical language, thus radicalizing the struggle against the language of patriarchy, etc. By **“spinning” and “weaving”** Daley referred to two central problems - the sources of her teaching, implying by them the processes of discovering and creating a new reality outside the patriarchy. Daly introduces a new epistemology with a new etymology (discovering the original meanings of words). “Mary Daly presents her understanding of patriarchy in ontological terms and thus shows *‘the power of speech and naming’* that has been taken away from women in patriarchy”, the introductory speaker stated.

The event was held within the cycle **“They dared: about famous women”** – talks, presentations, screenings of documentaries and feature films about famous women throughout history that have left their mark in art, literature, science; who went against their time, the dominant social tendencies, and who paid a sometimes very high price for it, about those who have left a mark. This program is a homage to their courage, beliefs, dedication, passion ... **10** people were present at this event.



19th May

19th May “On anomie and alienation, the connection of theoretical bases and personal experiences”– **Sonja Prodanović**, In her introductory lecture on the topic of anomie as a social phenomenon (based on her Master studies in *Urban Sociology at the University college of London*) the architect and activist of the WiB linked the

production of fear during the wars to the collapse of society in Serbia 'because the regime permanently nurtures fear', which is especially evident through the speeches and messages of Serbian President *Aleksandar Vučić*, notably during the pandemic, which generates insecurity, loss of self-esteem among citizens, normalization of violence and crime'. Seven (7) persons participated in the debate.

26th May

26th May "Hana Arendt: Truth and Politics" - about truth and lies in politics; proposal for a debate on the denial of factual truth in Serbia; keynote speaker **Stefan Milosavljević**, political scientist and WiB activist, presented some of the basic assumptions and problems posed in the text of Hannah Arendt: the relationship between truth and politics, the problems of factual truth in Serbia in connection with war and war crimes. In the continuation of the discussion, a complex debate of the topic of truth and lies in practical philosophy and political practice developed. In the current political reality in Serbia, whose regime has elements of totalitarianism, "fighting for factual truth and speaking the truth" often means risk. Twenty (20) people took part in this debate.

2nd June

2nd June "Prodana" – screening of a documentary film by **Aleksandra Nestorov**. She stated that the 20-minute film was shot in 2018, the protagonists of this documentary are **Roma women** who got married as "sold" (*prodana=sold, also a female name*), married based on the customs of their community - a promise given in advance by their parents. However, the actresses of the film set out to fight for their own emancipation, material independence, education and acquiring the qualifications needed for employment. During the conversation, personal and activist experiences were presented regarding the position of the Roma people, racist attitude towards Roma men and women, various forms of discrimination before the state institutions and life on the full social margins. Eight (8) people participated in the debate.

9th June



9th June "Like sleeping among butterflies – Woman in drama" - author **Zorica Jevremović** (published by Most Art Yugoslavia, Zemun 2021). Z. Jevremović is a playwright, video and theater director, intermedia theorist, member of alternative and informal theater and film groups etc. The book contains feminist dramas because 'plays talk about women in drama' but also about 'drama in women, about conflict with the whole world, this book is proof that artistic engagement and feminism, the artistic struggle for human rights, are not novel in our region and have not begun yesterday', stated Z. Jevremović. The places where the plays were performed were: *the Psychiatric Clinic Dr. Laza Lazarević and the Autonomous Women's Center* in Belgrade and Z. Jevremović showed that "the theater can be with people from the neighborhood", it was said at the promotion where WiB activists the publisher, theater critics, etc. spoke. This event, held as part of the cycle 'They Dare: About Famous Women', was attended by 22 people.

16th June

16th June “End of impunity: sexual violence before the Tribunal” produced by the Hague Tribunal; a documentary (shot in 2011, duration **40** min.) was shown on the occasion of June 19- International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in War; During the debate on sexual crimes in the war in the former Yugoslavia, most time was devoted to sexual crimes in Foča / Bosnia and Herzegovina, the site of the most massive sexual crimes. Ten (**10**) people were present at the screening and conversation.



23rd June

23rd June “Where is feminism going – here and now” – feminist discussion circle/FDC on the challenges and dangers feminist activism is confronting; on international aid policy; the impact of NGO-ization and institutional mechanisms of gender equality on feminism and the feminist movement; about the intergenerational gap in the feminist movement, etc. **14** people participated in the FDC - feminist activists, gay lesbian groups, etc. Within this cycle, three more FDCs were held, which has already been mentioned in this report.

30th June

30th June “Political theatre of Oliver Frlić: from empathy to sympathy” – by author Jasna Novakov Sibinović, published by Sterijino pozorje, Novi Sad, 2020). The subject of the study is the author’s projects of the theater director Oliver Frlić, his concept of political theater, the social function of the theater; ethics and aesthetics of responsibility, etc.

The event was also organized on the occasion of the second anniversary of the death of Borka Pavićević (1947-2019), a playwright, founder of the Center for Cultural Decontamination, a consistent fighter against war, nationalism / fascism, and attended by **23** people.

7th July

July 7 “Srebrenica – the name of genocide” – a working meeting in the final preparations for the celebration of the 26th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica (1995-2021); The meeting was attended by about twenty (**20**) activists of WiB, art groups, etc.

21st July

21st July “WE REMEMBER NEDA – A partisan, fighter for peace and human rights, a brave woman, a friend in solidarity”- homage to Neda Božinović (1917 - 2001), one of the founders of WiB Belgrade, the author of the book *Women’s Issue in Serbia in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (1996), as well as numerous essays on gender, nationalism, and militarism.



Two documentaries of the WiB Video Activism Group were shown:

“Neda Božinović – Continuity of the struggle for peace and Women’s Rights” (17.15 min.) - a documentary on Neda Božinović (1917–2001), one of the founders of Women in Black.

“Neda Božinović – from a partisan to an anti-militarist” (15.45 min.) - a documentary, interviews with Neda B. about her participation in the Second World War, the causes of the disintegration of the SFR Yugoslavia, etc. WiB activists spoke about Neda, about her anti-war, feminist activism, as well as about her historiographic opus.

PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES:

during this reporting period we published:

Continuity of the Struggle for Peace and Women’s Rights – Neda Božinović (1917-2001); **Neda Božinović** (1917-2001), born near Dubrovnik, graduated from the Faculty of Law in Belgrade in 1939. In the late 1930s, Neda was active in the students’ and women’s movement. During the Second World War, Neda was an anti-fascist fighter, active in the Anti-Fascist Women’s Front, as well as in the People’s Liberation Struggle. After the war, Neda was a member of the Federal Assembly, and a judge of the Constitutional Court. She retired from political life in 1974. During the war in Yugoslavia, she was an activist of the Center for Anti-War Action, an activist and one of the founders of Women in Black.

The publication (**192 pages**) contains seven texts: *Women in Modernization Processes in Yugoslavia and Serbia*, which was published in the book *Serbia in Modernization Processes of the 19th and 20th*

Centuries, edited in 1998 by Latinka Perović. Three texts published in the book *Students of the University of Belgrade in the Revolutionary Movement, 1988: Association and Students' Homes of the University of Belgrade: Women's Education in Serbia - A Brief Review* (with Slavka Morić Petrović); *Mila Dimić and Students of Belgrade University in the National Liberation War and Revolution*. Neda published two texts in the books published by Women in Black: *Do You Agree to be taken back to the Past?* published in the magazine *Women Against War No. 1*, August 1994, and *Women, Armies, Wars*, published in the book *Women for Peace*, 1998

CAMPAIGNS, APPEALS

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

NO to military service – YES to conscientious objection! – against the campaign to introduce compulsory military service in Serbia, because it 'represents meaningless and cynical propaganda: militarization, patriarchal control and fear are at work. Representatives of the regime - accomplices and actors in the wars of the 1990s - forget that a huge number of men refused to be reduced to cannon fodder and that they will not agree to that today either because of the regime's militaristic motives!'

The right to conscientious objection was recognized on 27th August 2003, owing to the civil society campaign (2001-2003), primarily of the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights (Yukom) and Women in Black, with the support of a large number of civil society organizations and citizens in throughout Serbia. The first 300 conscientious objectors in the September 2003 class applied for civil service and the number of conscientious objectors has steadily increased since then.

Article 45 of the Serbian Constitution provides for the right to conscientious objection in such a way that "a person is not obliged, contrary to his religion or beliefs, to fulfill a military or other obligation that includes the use of weapons."

The reintroduction of military service would cost the state huge funds – instead, it is essential to invest money in human security - health, education, environmental protection, protection of women from violence, etc. Conscientious objection - our right to choose, to disobedience to all forms of militarization of society, is specified in the statement.

"We remember the brave resistance of women"

– on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the protest of the citizens of Kruševac against forced mobilization in Serbia and sending men to

war in Kosovo in 1999, the Women's Association Peščanik, Women in Black Network and the Women's Network of Rasina District reminded that About 12,000 men were forcibly mobilized in the Rasina district at that time, and 52 people were killed. The conflicts in Kosovo were the culmination of the war-mongering nationalist policies of the 1990s in the Western Balkans. During the 15 days of May 1999, during the state of emergency, the main town square in Kruševac resounded with the voices of rebellious citizens, who *publicly asked the regime about the fate of their husbands, sons, fathers, friends and asked the state to return from Kosovo*. This year, the request to the city authorities in Kruševac for **declaring May 24 the Day of Women's Actions for Peace and Disarmament as a Day of Remembrance for the May protests and brave resistance of the women of Kruševac and Rasina district** was repeated.

We remember women raped in War! We remember women from Foča! – in statement in occasion of June 19 – International Day of Elimination of sexual violence in war, Women in Black and *Autonomous Women's Center* reminded that:

- During the wars in the area of the former Yugoslavia, members of Serb armed formations systematically sexually abused non-Serb women in Croatia, BH and Kosovo. Over twenty thousand women were raped in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most numerous victims were Bosniaks, while the majority of perpetrators were Bosnian Serbs.
- During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), Foča was the site of the most massive systematic sexual violence and rape in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- In its verdict against the Troika (Kunarac, Kovač, Vuković), in 2001, for the first time in the history of international humanitarian law, the Hague Tribunal determined that sexual slavery in war is a crime against humanity.

Women in Black and the *Autonomous Women's Center* continue to: express solidarity with and compassion for women victims of sexual violence, both those who were killed and those who survived; pursue a policy of remembrance as a responsibility in relation to crimes committed in our name during the war in BH; remind that in Serbia, women survivors of sexual violence in war remain invisible to the institutions - they are not recognized as civilian victims of war, nor as victims of gender-based violence against women, who deserve special rights, support and protection.

We remember the crimes in the Zvornik area! – on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the crimes in the area of Zvornik, they expressed sympathy and solidarity with the families of the victims of crimes committed on our behalf.

'In the course of May and June 1992, Serb armed formations committed crimes of ethnic cleansing, robbery, torture, killing... On 31st May 1992, thousands of Bosniak civilians from 13 villages in the Zvornik municipality were expelled, and about 700 men were then killed in Gerina slaughterhouse. We will continue, together with the families of the victims from the area of Zvornik, to advocate for the inculcation of crimes, just peace and the dignity of the victims,' it is stated in the announcement of May 31st.

Solidarity with the refugees! – on the occasion of June 20, World Refugee Day, the difficult situation of refugees / migrants around the world was emphasized. We are witnessing an open war being waged by European countries against refugees / migrants. "The countries of the region, including Serbia, contribute to the suffering of migrants." The Serbian authorities shamelessly use migrants for profit. In their eyes, these people are a commodity, which can be well cashed in. We point out that Serbia has received more than 100 million euros from the European Union since 2015 for assistance and care for refugees and migrants. These funds were spent non-transparently, and the situation in the camps shows that a large part of the silent funds did not reach those for whom they were intended, but ended up in the pockets of those close to the authorities. The Serbian authorities, through the police, are terrorizing migrants as well as those who are in solidarity with them. The best examples are Šid, Sombor and Belgrade, where the police not only do not prevent pro-fascist groups from attacking migrants, but also assist them to that end' the statement reads.

Against awarding an honorary doctorate to the President of Egypt Abdel Fatah el Sisi by the University of Belgrade –

On June 21, WiB sent a request to the competent authorities of the University of Belgrade to annul the shameful decision as a matter of urgency, since: 'Sisi's rule was marked by numerous executions and persecutions of political opponents, as well as all others who have a critical approach to the problems of the Egyptian society. This regime has been characterized by some of the most relevant organizations, including Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, as one of the most brutal present-day regimes. No reasonable explanation can be found for paying homage to the leader of such a regime.' Cases of brutal persecution and killings committed by the Egyptian regime were then cited.

We will never forget the Srebrenica genocide! – in statement (July 10th) on the occasion of 26th anniversary of Srebrenica genocide WiB reminded:

The Srebrenica genocide is the biggest war crime since World War II in Europe. The regime of S. Milošević is complicit in the genocide by providing enormous political, military and logistical-financial assistance to the Army of the Republika Srpska. On this occasion, we remind you that:

- The state of Serbia is the first and so far, the only country in the world to have been declared responsible for violating the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide by a ruling of the International Court of Justice (2007).
- The Hague Tribunal has, beyond any doubt, proven the individual criminal responsibility of a large number of members of Serbian armed formations and political institutions that acted in the spirit of the realization of the territorial project of Greater Serbia, and the genocide in Srebrenica was part of that project.
- On June 8, 2021, the Appeals Chamber of the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Courts in The Hague upheld the first instance verdict against General R. Mladić and sentenced him to life imprisonment for genocide and crimes against humanity against the non-Serb population during the war in BH.
- **The views of the regime's representatives on the verdict against R. Mladić confirm the strong link between the ideology and practice of crimes and the current Serbian authorities**, the continuity of political, moral and cultural patterns with the regime under which genocide was committed - a state organized crime.
- **With a shameful and senseless interpretation of the verdict against R. Mladić as an act directed against the 'Serbian people', the representatives of the regime led by A. Vučić conceal their political and moral responsibility for their past, when they were active participants in the criminal policy of the 90s. In this way, they turn the entire nation into a hostage of crime and criminal policy, and above all, insult the dignity of the victims of genocide.**
- **The state policy of genocide denial is still in place. This is mostly due to the persistent refusal of the President of the Republic, A. Vučić, to name the crime in Srebrenica as genocide. In that, he is followed not only by members of the ruling Coalition, but also by a significant part of the Opposition. Supporters of war criminals and genocide deniers play a key role in almost all institutions; regime media have unlimited space to celebrate criminals as heroes, and the absence of compassion for victims of genocide prevails in public discourse.**

On this occasion, we reiterate our demands that:

- **The Srebrenica genocide be recognized, primarily as a sign of respect of the victims' dignity, and not only as one of the preconditions on Serbia's path of accession to the European Union.**

- **The denial of genocide and all crimes against humanity and war crimes be qualified as a crime.**
- **The President and all other representatives of the state stop denying genocide and all other war crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond.**
- **July 11th be declared as the Day of Remembrance of the Srebrenica Genocide.**
- **The state of Serbia respect the decisions of international courts and court-established facts.**
- **The state of Serbia cooperate with the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Courts, which includes full acceptance of the decisions and rulings of this Court in The Hague.**
- **Regional cooperation be established in order to efficiently prosecute war criminals.**
- **The state of Serbia abandon the policy of fomenting regional instability - by interfering in the internal affairs of neighboring countries, primarily Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro.**

Recognition of Women in Black by the Festival of Public History for a responsible attitude towards the past and contribution to the culture of peace - in the explanation at the award ceremony on June 12th, it is stated, among other things: "On October 9, 1991, they took to the streets of Belgrade for the first time to protest against the war, nationalism and violence that was spreading throughout Yugoslavia. They were the voices of reason in the cacophony of evil that resonated in these areas in those days and whose echo is still heard today. Their actions, courage and perseverance make them an unavoidable part of history – of the brighter side of history in the dark period of the past 30 years. That is why today, in a symbolic way, with this modest recognition, we want to pay tribute to these brave women."

*Report prepared by: Staša Zajović
with the support of: Miloš Urošević,
Nastasja Radović, Nataša Milanović, and Violeta Đikanović.*

Women in Blac, Belgrade, September 2021