



*žene u crnom  
beograd*



# Report

**September, October,  
November and  
December  
2020**

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

Thank you in advance

# Report

**September, October,  
November and December  
2020**

**Street actions:**

In this reporting period we organized nine **(9)** events,  
and we also actively participated in other street actions:

– commemoration/marketing important dates of crimes committed  
in our names;

– Feminist, anti-fascist, anti-war, anti-racist, anti-militaristic 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, ON THE TERRITORY OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:**

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

**“We will never forget the crime in Topcider”**

– on the occasion of the 16 anniversary of the crime in Topcider  
– the murder of two soldiers in the military facility of the Karas  
barracks (October 5th, 2004), Women in Black organized two vigils in  
black and silence, on October 5th, 2020.

One vigil was organized at Topcider (together with families of victims)  
and the other in Knez Mihailova Street in Belgrade.

During vigil at Topčider, one of the passers-by said to an activist,  
“Fuck you motherfucker, you bitch.” Other incidents also took place  
during the protest in Topcider. From three different cars, people  
hurled various insults and curses at us and the victims’ families, as  
well as to their lawyers. “Shame on you, you take the money”, “Fuck  
your mother”, “Traitors of Serbs”, “Why did you gather, what are you  
going to do there?”.

During the protest in Knez Mihailova, we organized stage action  
“Who killed the soldiers”? and following banners were displayed  
during the protest:

*We shall never forget the Topcider crime*

*Solidarity*

*Responsibility*

*Who killed the soldiers Dragan Jakovljevic and Drazen Milovanovic?*

This action was attended by **15** activists.



**Belgrade, October 22**



**“We remember the crime in Sjeverin”**

– on the 28th anniversary of the crime in Sjeverin, when on October 22nd, 1992, 17 people of the Bosniak nationality were kidnapped and killed, Women in Black organized a protest in black and silence, in Knez Mihailova Street.

In addition to the names of the victims killed, the following banners were raised:

*We remember the crime in Sjeverin (October 22, 1992-October 22, 2020)*

– Names of victims

– October 22nd, 1992 soldiers of Serb paramilitary unit „Revenge” kidnapped and killed in bus among Priboj-Rudo, 17 people of Bosniak nationality

The protest was attended by about fifteen (15) activists of the WiB.

**Sjeverin, October 22**

– The commemoration in Sjeverin (where on October 22nd, 1992, 17 people of the Bosniak nationality were kidnapped and killed) there were five (5) activists of Women in Black from Belgrade and Prijepolje, together with the families of the killed Bosniaks, paid tribute and laid flowers in Mioče.



Belgrade, November 18

**“We will never forget the crimes in Vukovar!”**

– on the occasion of the 29 anniversary of the fall of Vukovar, Women in Black organized a vigil in silence wearing black in Knez Mihailova Street in Belgrade. This action was attended by **15** activists.



The following banners were displayed at the commemoration:

*We will never forget the crimes in Vukovar*

*Banner with a picture of the destroyed city and information about the suffering*

*Solidarity*

*Responsibility*

On that occasion, a stage action was performed: on the sidewalk it was written in salt: Vukovar (1991-2020).



One incident occurred during the protest: a man with a child in his arms poured a bottle of water over a box of salt, and then crossed his legs over the letters that were written on the sidewalk, thus scattering what was written...

*Two scenes during the commemoration*

*– Belgrade town deny and negate...*

One woman activist handed out leaflets and had two encounters with people. One of them was with a group of high school students and the other one with two older men.

When asked if they knew what this was about, one boy answered: “A lot of our people died in Vukovar.

“The activist then asked:

“Who are our people?”, To which he replied with the approval of everyone else: “Of course, Serbs. Croats were also killed, but we have nothing to do with them.”

*Zeme u crnom, 1991 →*

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

During this period, we organized the following street actions:

**Belgrade, September 9**

**– Stop violence in Belarus! Support to nonviolent protests in Belarus**

We organized a vigil in black and in silence in front of Belarus embassy in Belgrade.

On the protest following banners were held in Serbian and in Belarus languages:

*Stop violence in Belarus//Спыніце гвалт у Беларусі;*

*Support to nonviolent protests/Мы падтрымліваем мірныя пратэсты.*

*Lukasenka must go!/Лукашэнка сыходзь (уходи)*

*Support to Belarus women/Мы падтрымліваем жаночыя пратэсты ў Беларусі.*

This vigil was attended by ten **(10)** activists.

*Support to Belarus women/Мы падтрымліваем жаночыя пратэсты ў Беларусі.*

This vigil was attended by a dozen activists.



**Belgrade, 21**

**„Everything for peace, health and education  
– nothing for armament“**

On the occasion of September 21st – World Peace Day in Belgrade (Knez Mihailova Street), Women in Black organized a peace action involving about **15** activists. On this occasion, we sent messages of resistance to war policies, rising militarization, closing of borders, raising wires, persecution, deportation of refugees. Activists kept the following banners:

*Žene u crnom, 1991 →*

- Peace, Solidarity, Justice!/Mir, solidarnost, pravda
- We don't need helmets or sanctuaries – we need computers and medicines/Ne šlemove ni svetilišta – već kompjuteri i igrališta!
- We don't need tanks or churches, we need hospitals and schools/Ne tenkove, ne crkve, već bolnice i škole!
- Stop trade arms! Stop izvozu i uvozu oružja!
- 21. Septembar – World peace Day/ Svetski dan mira
- Žene u crnom/Women in Black
- Stop the war, not refugees! /Zaustavite rat a ne izbeglice!
- Stop terror against refugees and policy brutality/Stop teroru nad izbeglicama i policijskoj brutalnosti
- Solidarity with Antifa protests in USA/Solidarnost sa antifa protestima u SAD
- 
- Stop violence in Belarus/Stop nasilju u Belorusiji



## Belgrade, October 7

### „Stop war in Nagorno Karabak“

- This peace action was organized against war – armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan
- On the protest following banners were held in Serbian, Armenian, Azer and English languages:
- Stop ratu u Nagorno Karabahu!
- Դադարեցրէք պատերազմը Լեռնային Ղարաբաղում  
Dağlıq Qarabağdakı müharibə dayandırılınsın!
- Stop the war in Nagorno Karabak!
- Solidarnost sa sestrama iz Nagorno Karabaha, Jermenije i Azerbejdžana
- Համերաշխությունը Հայաստանից և Ադրբեջանից ժամանա ծ քույրերի հետ

Žene u crnom, 1991 →

Qarabağdakı, Erməni və Azərbaycanlı bacılarla həmrəylik!

– Solidarity with sisters from Nagorno Karabak, Armenia and Azerbaijan

– Podržavamo dezertere iz Nagorno Karabaha, Azerbejdžana i Jermenije!

– Մենք աջակցում ենք փախստականներին՝ Ադրբեջանում և Հայաստանում

– Qarabağdakı, Azərbaycanda və Ermənistanda hərbi vəzifədən yayınmaq istəyənləri dəstəkləyirik.

– We support deserters in Nagorno Karabak, Azerbaijan and Armenia!

– Srbija izvozi oružje Jermeniji i Azerbejdžanu. Stop!

– Սերբիան զենք է արտահանում Հայաստան և Ադրբեջան. Կանկ առեք!!!

– Serbiya Ermənistana və Azərbaycana silah ixrac edir. Müharibəyə SON!

– Serbia exports weapons to Armenia and Azerbaijan. Stop!

Beside these banners we also had our banner Women in Black and our anti-militaristic symbol of a broken rifle. This action was attended by **15** activists.



**Belgrade, October 28**

**Belgrade, October 28<sup>th</sup> "Stop the abortion ban in Poland!"**

– on the occasion of the current political situation in Poland

– the initiative to ban abortion in the case of fetal malformations, Women in Black organized a protest wearing black and in silence in front of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Belgrade.

The following banners were displayed at the protest written in Polish and Serbian:

Հոգե մ. Երևան, 1994 →



- Fascist darkness in the bud
- Solidarity with women feminists in Poland
- Stop banning abortion in Poland
- Women in black
- Screw you
- Female hell
- This is war
- Revolution is also a woman

About thirty (30) activists took part in the protest.



## Belgrade, November 9<sup>th</sup>

**“Stop fascism!”** – on the occasion of November 9

– the International Day against Fascism and Anti-Semitism, Women in Black, in cooperation with the Alliance of Anti-Fascists of Serbia, organized an – antifa action “Stop Fascism”, on November 9, 2020. The action was organized on the Republic Square in Belgrade, and about 30 people attended.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- Stop fascism!
- Women in black against fascism

*The song ‘First They Came...’ by German Pastor Martin Niemoller*

*Democracy was born in Greece – we defend democracy in Greece with anti-fascism!*

The actor of the *Dah Theater*, *Ivan Nikolić*, read: On November 9, 1938 began the great pogrom of Jews in Nazi Germany, known as ‘Crystal Night’. It was the first step in the systematic persecution and mass murder of Jewish people throughout Europe. Even today, after more than 80 years, fascism is still alive in Europe and Serbia.





On that occasion, a stage action 'Stop fascism' was performed:

Ivan was reading, while the activists were shouting and raising the stop sign which had Proud Antifa written in Serbian and English on it.



Holocaust Denial – A sign is raised in the air: with the message 'proud Antifa, proud antifa and it is pronounced: **Denounce it!**

Denial of Srebrenica genocide – **Punish it!**

The regime promotes and rehabilitates war criminals – **Condemn it!**

*Antifa, antifa antifascist I, antifa, antifa antifascist am I*

Zlatibor Lončar, Minister of Health of Serbia, insults and discriminates Montenegrins – **Penalize him!**

Ratko Dmitrović, Minister for Family Care and Demography of Serbia, gives misogynistic statements about feminists – **Penalize him!**

Aleksandar Vulin, former Minister of Defense and current Minister of Police of Serbia, calls Kosovo Albanians "Shiptars" – **Penalize him!**

*Antifa, antifa antifascist I, antifa, antifa antifascist am I*

Mass graves of the Milosevic regime – **Reveal them!**

Neo-Nazi, fascist and other ultra-right organizations are committing terror and violence in the streets, art events, Roma settlements, refugee camps – **Ban them!**

Women and men human rights defenders – **Protect them!**

*Antifa, antifa antifascist I, antifa, antifa antifascist am I*

In recent years, hundreds of workers have died in construction buildings and no one was responsible for that – **Punish the responsible ones!**

Police, parapolice, violent and hooligan formations are terrorizing peaceful protesters and political dissidents – *Punish them!*

Pro-fascist organizations spread racist hatred, organize people's patrols, terrorize refugees and migrants – **Punish them!**

*Antifa, antifa antifascist I, antifa, antifa antifascist am I*

## Belgrade, December 6

**“Stop femicide!”** – On the occasion of December 6 - the International Day Against Femicide, the Autonomous Women's Center and Women in Black from Belgrade, with the support of the Women's Association Anima from Đulići (BiH), organized a protest “Stop Femicide!” in silence and in black at the Republic Square, Belgrade.

The following banners were displayed at the protest:

- *Women's Lives Matter/Ženski životi su važni* (in Serbian and English)
- *December 6 - Day Against Femicide*
- *Stop killing women! / Stop ubijanju žena!*
- *Stop femicide! / Stop femicidu!*
- *In Serbia, men killed 22 women in domestic violence (January-December 2020)*



On this occasion, a stage action was performed. Twenty two (22) pairs of shoes were lined up on the sidewalk, in which the names of the murdered women were placed. After that the banner *This should not have happened* was displayed.

About twenty (20) activists took part in the action. The protest was not covered by the media, and it passed with police security. A group of men shouted: "Shame!", "Men are also Women in Black!"

## **DEALING WITH THE PAST / TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE**

### **– A FEMINIST APPROACH**

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

## **ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE CRIMES – THE PATH TO JUST PEACE:**

### **MONITORING THE TRIALS AT THE SPECIAL COURT**

During this reporting period, many trials were canceled due to the epidemiological situation, so we will list the trials that were held.

#### **Brcko Bosnia and Herzegovina**

##### **Brcko war crime trial (Bosnia and Herzegovina)**

–On May 28, 2019, the trial against defendant Milos Cajevic began. Deputy War Crimes Prosecutor, Miodjub Vitorovic, read the indictment alleging that the accused Miloš Čajić, a member of the Republika Srpska Army, from May to July 1992 in the town of Brčko commits the following offenses of *intimidation and terror; improper treatment and crimes of sexual violence*.

Due to the epidemiological situation (Covid-19) in this reporting period took place only one session – *November 5*: survivor of sexual crime N.A. testified against M. Čajević. The session of December 18th was canceled.

#### **Kalinovik Bosnia and Herzegovina**

##### **War Crimes Trial in Kalinovik / Bosnia and Herzegovina**

– The indictment of the War Crimes Prosecutor's Office alleges that Dalibor Krstovic, along with another unknown member of the Republika Srpska Army (VRS), came to the Miladin Radojevic Elementary School in Kalinovik in August 1992 where Bosniak civilians, mostly women and children and a small number of men, were illegally detained, and that Krstović raped a Bosniak woman. After that, she was raped by an unidentified member of the VRS who was with Krstovic. The accused Krstović denies these accusations.

In this reporting period took place only one session - *November 3th*: four witnesses were interrogated (Panjeta Tahir, Predrag Đerem,

Nenad Jokić i Nenad Ćiro. These witnesses denied any knowledge about accusations of rape committed by D. Krstović. The public was not allowed to attend the session held on December 10<sup>th</sup> due to the epidemiological situation.

*(You can find reports from these hearings on the WiB website)*

## **DEALING WITH THE PAST – JOINT REFLECTION**

(gatherings, lectures...) organized by WiB or other organizations:

**Belgrade,  
September 28 and 29**

### **‘Belgrade–Prijedor–Pristina Exchange Program’**

– School of the Humanitarian Law Center, Belgrade; participants were young activists from Serbia, BiH, Kosovo. The goal of the School was to connect young people from these countries, it was pictured to be in the form of lectures on dealing with the past, conversations, visits to places of suffering in Prijedor and Kosovo. However, due to the coronavirus epidemic, the program had to be held online. As part of this program, *Stasa Zajović* from WiB spoke on September 28 about the Women’s Court - a feminist approach to justice and about anti-war engagement in Serbia during the 1990s.

**Belgrade, 16 December**

“Amplifying Voices of Women Affected by War-Related Sexual Gender Based Violence / SGBV in the Western Balkans- For a Culture of Recognition and Reconciliation.” The working meeting on the activities within the mentioned project between the partner organizations (Autonomous Women’s Center, Youth Initiative for Human Rights and Women in Black) was held online, and six women activists and one man activist participated.

## **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 this reporting period we organized following few working meetings with art collectives: Škart and Dah theater – preparation of street actions etc.

### **Video activism: transitional justice – 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 material collected during the regular activities of the WiB,

in order to make it available to the general public in the form of short films.

During this reporting period, the group realized the following video materials:

– „**Svenka**“ – translation and title of documentary about a psycholinguist, professor emeritus Svenka Savić (45 minutes) produced by the WUC Video Activism Group; screenplay and direction by *Fahrudin Kladničanin*, cinematographer *Nedjo Gavrić*, editing by *Marija Arandjelović*.

– “**Stop fascism**” – documentary about antifa action on occasion of November 9<sup>th</sup> – International day of struggle against fascism and antisemitism; this action was performed in Belgrade November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

– “**Patriarchy Back – Feminism Forward**” (3.37 minutes) a film about street action organized by Women in Black, held on March 8, 2020, on the occasion of International Women’s Day; produced by the group for video activism, edited by *Marija Arandjelović*.

– “**Feminism forward, patriarchy back**” (3.37 minutes) – On the occasion of March 8 - International Women’s Day, Women in Black organized a street action on March 8, 2020, in Belgrade’s Republic Square, under the name Feminism Forward, Patriarchy Back.

*(You can find video materials of the Group for Video Activism on the Žene u crnom Youtube profile on youtube.com)*

## 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:

### **Women in Black Network Meeting, September 17, 18 and 19, in Vrnjačka Banja**

This meeting was attended by **43** persons from **15** towns (Bosnia and Herzegovina (5); Croatia (1), Montenegro (1); and Serbia (36).

#### **Thursday, September, 17**

After the presentation of participants, were performed ‘*They left a mark on us*’ – an homage to our friends and comrades on local, regional and global level who died in the previous period (February 2020).

## WiB Network activities in the previous period

– information and analysis. In the first part of this session were presented WiB Belgrade activities and joint activities of WiB Network; the following activists spoke about street actions and visiting places of crimes committed in our names: Miloš Urošević, Belgrade and Ramiz Berbić, Tuzla/BH.

### *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  
– spoke Violeta Đikanović i Suvada Selimović.

### *About Women's Court*

– feminist approach to Justice and Women Peace Activism informed –  
*Staša Zajović, Nela Pamuković, Mira Vilušić, Suvada Selimović.*



### *Solidarity is our strength – spoke few activists:*

– about trial against sexual harassment (Maria Lukić vs Milutin Jeličić Jutka) from May 2019 to July 2020 informed *Miloš Urošević*;

– About the trial in Court of Ivanjica (workers Milomir Milojevic and Milojko Ignjatovic died in a gunpowder explosion in the factory "Milan Blagojevic-Namenska" from Lucani on July 14, 2017. The Milivojević family has been asking the state authorities to shed light on the circumstances of the tragedy in the factory etc.) – informed *Nastasja Radović*;

– About solidarity actions during pandemic Covid 19 – spoke *Violeta Đikanović*;

– Solidarity actions with refugees – *Ramiz Berbić*.

In second part were presented **activities of groups of WiB Network**  
– important in their local community, region:

## Women's labor rights

### Women's labor rights

*Milka Rosić* spoke about women's labor rights

– about the activities of NENA - the group for peace and women's rights, Leskovac, about various types of exploitation in *foreign-owned factories* in Leskovac, primarily in "Jura" - a cable factory. The situation is similar in other factories in southern Serbia (Lebane, etc.).

As part of the support program 'Our Labor Rights', which the NENA group provides to workers, activists *in the public sector* recorded numerous testimonies of harassment of workers in the workplace, and the lack of union protection worsens their difficult position.

## Potočari, Srebrenica

### – International Youth Camp (July 10-24, 2020)

– *Vladimir Joić* from Leskovac spoke about his participation in this camp. Among the activities during this year's camp, Vladimir spoke about: the cleaning of the Memorial Center in Potocari after the commemoration of the victims of the July 11 genocide; assistance in the construction of the Center for the Elderly in Potocari; participation in the renovation of houses and yard cleaning for the local population, raspberry picking, haymaking, construction of water supply and distribution networks, cleaning and renovation of local roads, cleaning of parks, rivers and lakes; educational activities, etc.

## Founding of the Radical Left Party/PRL

Aleksandar Kraus spoke about the founding of the Radical Left Party/PRL: "The PRL was formed in early September 2020; gathers students, intellectuals, some leftist groups; young women make up half of the membership and that is encouraging", etc.

## Research on women's reproductive and labor rights in Serbia:

on the impact of growing tendencies of clericalization on women's attitudes about reproductive rights and the connection between labor legislation (labor rights) and reproductive rights. The research was led by Prof. **Ildiko Erdei** and Prof. **Lidija Radulović** (Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Department of Ethnology), and statistically processed by **Andjelija Vučurević**.

The research, as well as the publication of the same name were presented in WiB Network meeting, September 2020. by: Dr. *Lino Veljak*, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb (peer review of the publication), *Anđelija Vučurević*, statistician and *Stasa Zajović*, author of the foreword.

**Lino Veljak:** This book is a report on a research conducted in 2019 on the territory of Serbia, organized by Women in Black and led by women authors. By analyzing the empirical material, the authors came to a number of very important conclusions, some of which is worth emphasizing:

- Despite growing retraditionalization and despite all the state's efforts to align its population policy with the views of traditional religious communities (led by the Serbian Orthodox Church), most women in Serbia still believe that women's inalienable right consists in deciding whether, when, how much and with whom she would have children;
- Most women do not consider abortion a murder (and this is significantly more affirmative than in the 2008 survey) and oppose the stigmatization of women who perform it, reject the Serbian Orthodox Church's demands to ban it, but advocate restrictive use of the right to abortion, etc.

**Andjelija Vucurevic**, who dealt with statistical data processing, made some remarks about the research and the research method: "The research lasted for two and a half months, from March to mid-May 2019. Fifty interviewers took part in it and 1,050 respondents from all over Serbia answered the survey, according to a random sample. Representation by regions was determined on the basis of data from the Statistical Office of Serbia, based on the results of the 2011 Census. In relation to the representation in the general population, in the sample of this research, highly educated women are more represented, as well as employees (more than 65% of employees are in the sample, while in the general population there are about 45%). Also, younger respondents predominate in the sample - the representation of those under 50 years of age is higher than in the general population, while older women are underrepresented, especially those over 65 years of age. These sample characteristics should also be kept in mind when interpreting the results. Statistical processing of survey responses took about a month etc.

The most relevant findings:

**Stasa Zajovic:** This research builds on the research made by Women in Black on reproductive rights and retraditionalization, which was conducted in 2008. However, previous research did not talk about labor rights, so the current research allows us to see how women assess their place in the labor market and the conditions under which they work, in the time after the economic crisis and more intensive introduction of neoliberal economic measures. The integral results of the research are presented in this publication, and now we will present the most important findings from the analysis of the empirical material made by the authors of the research.

### Reproductive rights:

- **64.7%** support the right for a woman to make her own decision on whether, when, how much and with whom she will have children;
- **76.6%** of women believe that the decision to have more children should be made in accordance with the needs, interests and desires of women, and this statement is supported by a large percentage of women, regardless of religious affiliation;



- **4.8%** of respondents said that having more children is associated with nationalist fears and fantasies that ethnic groups with a high birth rate will endanger the majority of people in Serbia. The danger from other ethnic groups with higher birth rates is equally irrelevant to religious and non-religious women.

## Abortion :

- **2/3 of women** (questionees) consider abortion one of their basic rights;
- **3/4 (or 83,2%) of women who consider themselves religious do not approve of the right to abortion.** However, religious women also oppose the frequent qualifications of abortion as murder, crime and immoral and selfish act by religious officials and right-wing organizations advocating *pro-life* ideology;
- **76.4% of religious women believe that this is an unacceptable measure;** there is no doubt that the religious norms and values of the mentioned institutional and non-institutional opponents of abortion in Serbia does not significantly affect women who have declared themselves as religious, as well as that reproductive autonomy and rights are more important for them;
- **99% of questionees do not accept that abortion is characterized as a crime** – regardless of religion or level of education.

## Women's labor rights

This research showed that women are more willing to answer questions related to their reproductive choices than when asked about work and labor rights. Namely, a small number of responses was recorded to this question as well, which brings to conclusion that there may be a fear that their answers to these questions can in some way compromise them against their employers and lead to losing their job.

### The most important labor rights are:

regular payment of wages (75.6%); safe working conditions (over 50%); less than 1/3 of the respondents believe that eight-hour working hours are an important labor right; 70% of respondents believe that the state is responsible for protecting their labor rights; lack of trade union organization significantly worsens labor rights, etc.

*(Integral version of this research you can find on the WiB website, as well as the summary in English).*

### Agonistic Mourning

– **Political Dissidence and the Women in Black**, by the Greek philosopher Athena Athanasiou, (Edinburg University Press); peer reviews were made by Judiht Butler, University of California, Berkeley and Dasa Duhaček, University of Belgrade. Athena Athanasiou is a professor of Social Anthropology and Gender Theory at Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens, Greece.

The book in Serbian was published by WiB, September 2020.

translated by Ana Imširović, Lino Veljak, redaction of translation. About the the book spoke: *Lino Veljak*, from Zagreb and *Snežana Jakovljević*, Association of women 'Peščanik' from Kruševac.

**Peča** book promotion – **Fahrudin Kladnicanin**, the author of the book, presented this book published by the Academic Initiative Forum 10 from Novi Pazar. *Peča* presents a series of interviews with women from Sandzak, who witnessed the enactment of the Law on the Prohibition of Wearing Dresses and Veils, which was passed in 1951. During 15 years (since 2005), the editor talked to 40 women, and the book included conversations with 20. Of all the women interviewed, today, at the time of the book's publication, only one woman remained alive. In 2015, the author made a documentary on this topic, "Looking at the cobblestones."

**Friday, September, 18**

**"The spectre of Corona is haunting the world' – central issue of this meeting** – continuation of exchange of experiences, knowledge, joint reflection about pandemic consequences...

**I session:**

*I session: Psychopathology of mass paranoia* (Conspiracy theories, false news in the age of the corona); **Lino Veljak** spoke; moderator: **Ljiljana Spasić**, Civic Action activist, Pancevo



*Lino Veljak* commented on the context that allows 'mass paranoia – the creation of beliefs that turn into dogmatic practices of different sorts and the establishment of hardcore and irreconcilable positions (whether it's corona or national threat or something else) that are now on the agenda and which as a whole cause mental and practical chaos'.

Relativizing the notion of truth and manipulating facts is a fertile ground for conspiracy theories that supposedly lie behind today's pandemic, spreading paranoia that has two basic forms:

*First*, 'the rejection of any importance of this pandemic, its denial, the reduction of corona to a slightly stronger form of influenza, which was accompanied by the strengthening of anti-vaccination movements.'

*Second*, 'medical dogmatism, according to the advocates of such dogmas, all those who in any way question the strict measures intended to suppress the spread of the infection are the enemies of humanity, or as one Croatian epidemiologist said, they are biological terrorists. Whoever doesn't wear a mask in a public place is a biological terrorist, whoever is over 65 and leaves the house is a biological terrorist and should probably be locked up in a concentration camp.'

Veljak then commented on the actors involved in the production of paranoia: "These paranoias are produced in propaganda centers, in a wide range of interested forces, from the pharmaceutical industry to the ruling party in a certain country." The effects of both types of paranoia are aimed primarily at increasing the profits of certain types of industries, from pharmaceutical to media, and secondly, to preserve existing structures of political power, both financial and criminal, especially in those countries where there is no difference between politics and security and criminal and mafia organizations. Veljak warned of the subordination of the profession and science to the regime authorities: "In each individual case, a concrete analysis should be made as to why someone who put himself in the service of the father of the nation is acting the way he is acting." A much bigger problem is that by compromising a certain number of experts in this way, the trust in all experts is lost in the eyes of the public. And second, there is a loss of confidence in science. This then opens up space for flat earth theorists. This opens up space for a large amount of manipulation."

#### **Questions, comments:**

*Tanja Ignjatović* warned about the devaluation of education: 'Here, people got titles by plagiarizing others. This is how people became ministers here. The production of the title 'Doctor' in Serbia serves the party framing'.

*Lino Veljak*: "The inflation of diplomas and doctorates stems primarily from the privatization of higher education. With this inflation, general confidence in any titles is lost. Inflation results in a decline in the university's reputation. That is happening not only in Serbia."

*Snezana Obrenovic*: "We do not live in a society, but on the market. The corruption of intellectuals and the production of experts is supported from above. Parents loudly and violently demand that their children's educational requirements be minimized. That has been going on for thirty years.'

## II session

### *II session "Infect and rule"*

– Social (ir)responsibility in the time of pandemic

The speaker was **Ivan Sekulović**, legal expert, associate of the Center for Democracy Foundation, Belgrade

Moderated by: **Nastasja Radović**, journalist, WiB activist



In the first part of his presentation, Ivan Sekulović referred to the social challenges of the pandemic at the global level: the decline in labor and economic activity; deepening the gap between rich and poor; socio-economic measures taken by individual governments, primarily in EU countries, as well as in the Western Balkans region to mitigate the effects of the pandemic.

As for Serbia, Sekulović emphasized, "Serbia was among the most vulnerable in Europe even before the epidemic: the highest risk of poverty (24.3%). Authorities' decisions during the epidemic led to massive violations of human rights confirmed by international treaties, the right to: health, adequate living standards, protection from hunger, social assistance, fair and favorable working conditions, education." Of all the vulnerable categories of the population, women are most affected by the pandemic - in the public sphere, women are most employed in care (service, production and educational activities); in the family plan, women are mostly engaged in caring for children and the elderly.

*Questions, commentaries...*

When asked about the responsibility of international institutions, the misuse of EU funds for health by the state of Serbia, I. Sekulović answered: "The fact is that a lot of funds have come, but they are redirecting funds so that someone would profit from it."

Regarding the (ir) responsibility of the trade union, Sekulović said: "The role of the trade union in Serbia was compromised with the agreement with the Democrats/DS, when they agreed to privatizations and the abolition of the welfare state." That brought the progressives to power. There are fewer and fewer traditional working relationships and more and more precarious ones.'



*A number of alternatives are listed:*

- The Black Lives Matter and #Me too# movements have emerged from great frustration, but also from connection, they are reservoirs of subordination and no capitalism can ignore that. It is necessary to gather a broad coalition for social justice: political parties, trade unions, academia, social movements and non-governmental organizations that will offer a new social contract to change the neoliberal, patriarchal and anti-solidarity regime' (Ivan Sekulović);
- It is necessary to create a subject that will articulate individual outbursts of dissatisfaction. It would be important to talk about precarious work in particular. The precarization of labor is the crumbling of labor, the struggle for survival. We should talk about the world of work, and not only about the market (*Djokica Jovanovic*), etc.

### III session:

*III session: Reports on the field* – activists's testimonies

*I part: Solidarity is our strength* – presentation of analysis of joint reflection about impact and consequences and coronavirus and emergency state on activists of WIB Network in Serbia and in Eastern Bosnia during May, June and July, 2020) - *Staša Zajović*



*Mutual support and solidarity in WiB Network* – Since the pandemic started we established various ways of mutual support and solidarity within WiB Network: daily telephone and social networks contacts with activists in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, International WIB Network; visits and providing food for activists in Belgrade, especially those over 65 who were quarantined; distribution of modest humanitarian aid for the most socially vulnerable activists. Therapists' team of the Women's Court active in the whole region gave psychological support to activists. We continued this activity after the end of the state of emergency – May 6<sup>th</sup> 2020.



*Žene u crnom, 1991 →*

## Visits/gatherings/exchange with activists

– **collective pondering on the different aspects of the pandemic:** we organized 'mini' feminist discussion circles/FDC with participation of the core activists of WiB network, and with the activists from the area of Zvornik and Tuzla (Bosnia i Hercegovina) too.

- **Serbia:** in the period from May 10th to mid-July we visited eleven (11) places; in Belgrade we organized four workshops/FDC;
- **'The spectre of Corona is haunting the world':** in the 'extraordinary' WiB Meeting Network meeting held June 12/14 in Radmilovac near Belgrade 32 persons participated in from some ten towns in Serbia;
- **Đulići, Bosnia and Herzegovina:** within educational program 'Women's Peace Activism' (June 25th and 26th) in Đulici we discussed consequences of the pandemic with participation of 21 women from some ten places in the area of Tuzla and Zvornik in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 'mini' feminist discussion circles sixty female and five male activists participated, total of 65 and 32 participants in Radmilovac to be added. So, around hundred (100) persons were involved in discussions on pandemic and its consequences. During these encounters and discussions we got precious experiences and findings and We are listing some of them:

### About activism and its challenges in Corona times:

- *Activism is a direct communication*, a space for direct collective pondering and this can't and must not be replaced by alienated digital communication – turnout was bigger than expected;
- *Solidarity* among activists of WiB Network was alive on local, regional and global levels; mutual support and exchange strengthened both relations of trust and friendship as well as political, feminist-antimilitarist, principles etc.

### On consequences of pandemic on economic–social level:

- *Women are the most struck by pandemic* – women are the most employed in the caring professions, services, production and education, where they are exposed to exploitation and humiliation; a large number of women in precarious work, gray economy, lost their jobs, and those who did not, were exposed to the risk of losing it; many activists, freelance journalists, artists, workers... lost their regular income;

### Ethics of care – taking care of others on personal, family level:

- *Traditional gender role of taking care of others:* mostly women were occupied with taking care of members of their families, physical assistance, emotional work, material aid... thus keeping relative

emotional balance of the family; drastic measure of prohibition of movement for those over 65 was enormous physical and emotional burden; next to invisible, unpaid, unrecognized physical and emotional work in the household, women were obliged to do pedagogical work, also invisible and unrecognized and unpaid, due to online schooling; social/gender imposed sacrifice has been accompanied by serious health consequences;

- *Pandemic of violence against women during the state of emergency*
  - women reported various forms of psychological and economic violence, and during the state of emergency they were imprisoned with violent partners/family members and were scared to report violence during curfew etc.

### **Organized social resistance**

#### **– in anti-regime actions ('Noise against dictatorship')**

- most of the activists participated in the action because it represented not only release from fear but a visible collective resistance, disturbance of the regime etc.

*(The report presented in the meeting of Women in Black Network, September 2020, and the full report of Staša Zajović in Serbian and English is available on WiB website)*

Part II: On the **perception of the pandemic** (socio-economic / political / gender dimension...); Activists from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia spoke about their experiences in the field

*Andjelija Vucurevic, Novi Sad:*

As assistants to children with disabilities, we do not sign contracts, because they want to deprive us and pay us only three hours - about 8,000 dinars a month. Novi Sad has 70 children who have companions, the work contract does not know the schedule ...

*Mira Vilušić, Tuzla:*

Right at the beginning of corona, we organized ourselves within our group (on viber) for information and assistance. We found out that there was sexual harassment in the communal in Tuzla, women called for psychological support. We encouraged one woman and she sued, and that is going to court now. We encouraged each other ... In the morning we talk over coffee and start communicating. The state left all worries about supplying the elderly to non-governmental organizations. The state did nothing to help that volunteer work, they did nothing.

*Ramiz Berbić, village of Donja Obodnica near Tuzla:*

I am told that I see everyone and I can get infected. The applause at 8 o'clock in the evening awakened my hope, and especially the pounding into the pots. People shared love and solidarity.

*Suvada Selimović:*

I could not take care of myself, because I took care of others. My friends, neighbors, sisters-in-law called me and cried. I comforted them every day, telling them to do the chores around the house and work a bit in the yard.

What we survived during the war cannot be compared to this: they drove us out of our houses, killed all of our beloved ones, and now we have houses, we have what to eat, we have the Internet, what are we to cry about now?

*Šaha Hrustić:*

In the war we had to leave our houses, then we were closed, and what awaits us now? I turned off the television and didn't watch it. We felt a mental crisis. I have the impression that we no longer rule ourselves or our lives. We live in great, deep uncertainty.

*Violeta Đikanović:*

I work in a mall and we were locked up, we could only work with food, so I worked. That was my salvation. This coronavirus has helped me in some things to reconsider my relationship with some people. One has to be careful, but with some people a distance has been made for a lifetime.

*Gordana Radosavljević:*

From the beginning, I realized that there is a virus and there is a political abuse of the virus.

*Fahrudin Kladničanin:*

I haven't kneaded bread so much in my life...

*Snežana Obrenović:*

My father died two hours after the announcement of the longest curfew. Nobody came to us, nobody tried to come to express their condolences. At the same time, none of my neighbors came to the gate, neither then, nor after, nor now. I said that they do not exist for me for the rest of my life ...

#### **IV session:**

#### ***IV session, Serbia and the world – on Serbia's foreign policy orientation***

– The Belgrade Center for Security Policy / BCSP published an analysis entitled *'Masks have fallen. Serbia in the Pandemic of Geopolitics* by Marko Drajić, Maja Bjeloš and Isidora Stakić. The session was moderated by Nastasja Radović, a journalist and activist of the WiB.

The analysis was presented online by **Maja Bjeloš** from BCBP, here is the summary of the analysis:

*Maja Bjeloš* referred to the following aspects of Serbia's foreign policy: "In the field of foreign policy, Serbia has mostly made wrong decisions that could cost it current and future roles in the world." Serbia has become an ideal testing ground for geopolitical competition because Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic has used internal divisions in the



EU and the turmoil on the world stage caused by the pandemic, for his own political goals and to flatter authoritarian partners – China and Russia. A. Vučić started “anti-European and pro-Chinese campaigns in the pro-government media. Even among EU member states, he finds the closest ally in authoritarian Orban’s Hungary”. Just like the title of the analysis says, “the masks have fallen” and the interests of Serbian foreign policy were exposed during the COVID-19 pandemic. These interests are not based on the values of the common good, but on the mechanism for preservation of the existing internal order, etc.

## V session,

### *V session, Militarism and militarization in Corona times*

#### – during and after emergency state – Staša Zajović.

Short summary:

#### **Visible manifestations of militarism**

– The army at the borders, on the streets, in front of hospitals; in refugee camps; senicid - house arrest for the elderly over 65 years old (65+) lasting 42 days is the most drastic measure during the state of emergency; violence of police, parapolice, paramilitary units, party police against nonviolent citizens during peaceful action ‘Noise against dictatorship’; the police and parapolice terror in July demonstrations – at the beginning of July 2020. A. Vučić threatened by applying the police curfew again, the citizens revolted and went out on streets *en masse* on July 7. The regime infiltrated members of the police, parapolice, hooligan and beating gangs, formations that in the name of the regime carried out attacks on the police, justifying the violence against the demonstrators etc.

#### **Militarization – on the level of state and society**

– expressed in different forms of violence:

**Producing an enemy; control over media, censorship, repression** (specially who informed about abuse of pandemic; criminalization of civil society organizations; strengthening of repressive legislation; the misuse of the pandemic for pre-election purposes; demonization, stigmatization, blaming ‘disobedient’ as transmitters of corona (mostly economic emigrants or precarious workers who returned from abroad, because they lost temporary jobs there due to coronavirus); violence against the most vulnerable (women, Roma population, refugees, homeless...); the militarization of language during corona etc.

*(The report presented in the meeting of Women in Black Network, September 2020, and the full report of Staša Zajović in Serbian and English is available on WiB website)*

## About the beginnings of racism in Serbia

*The speaker was prof. Dr. Djokica Jovanovic, retired professor at BU, Nis*

**Djokica Jovanovic: Racism in Serbia** (lecture according to the author's text: **Djokica Jovanovic, On racism in our culture**, in: Mladen Lazić and Slobodan Cvejić (eds.), **Changes in the basic structures of Serbian society in the period of accelerated transformation**, edition: Institute for Sociological Research Faculty of the University of Belgrade and "Čigoja štampa", Belgrade, 2013.

Dj. Jovanovic presented the genesis of racism in Serbia, the dangers and tragic outcomes of racist / nationalist politics in Serbia - both in the past and now.

*(Integral lectures can be found in the report from the Network meeting on the WiB website).*

## Rotation – essay in motion, Bread Theater

Sanja Krsmanović Tasić told the story of her 25 years of spinning on the stage through an essay in motion, connecting and intertwining artistic, philosophical, sports, anthropological and other aspects of this skill. The texts of Darko Suvin, Octavia Paza, Džemaludin Rumija and Sanja Krsmanović Tasić were used in the play.

*Concept, text, direction and performance: Sanja Krsmanović Tasić;  
video and music: Jugoslav Hadzic*

**Subota, 19. septembar**

## The discussion corner "Where and how to proceed"

was moderated by Andjelija Vučurović

**Sabina Talović**, an activist of the Bona Fide organization from Pljevlja, spoke about the **Law on Registered Partnerships of Same-Sex Couples in Montenegro**. The law was adopted in Montenegro in June 2020: "I think it is a historic step in the fight for human rights and equality, because for the first time in its history, Montenegro regulates same-sex communities. With this Law, homosexual persons will have the same rights as heterosexual persons, except to adopt children, but the Law does not explicitly say anywhere that they will not be able to. The law stipulates that homosexual persons may enter into marriages, inherit from each other, have common property, enjoy the right to pension and social security, visit hospitals, take care of their spouse's children, if there are no close relatives, to support each other's children."

Sabina warned of obstructions regarding the implementation of the Law: "In Montenegro, the Law was passed because it was binding recommendations, within the integration process." The key to this law is its application ... From last year, until the adoption of the law, we had a very disgusting campaign, led by the then opposition, and the current and future government. There were threats, harassment; homosexuals felt quite threatened in Montenegro."



## Dragoslava Barzut

### Dragoslava Barzut, On the letter of the Prime Minister of Serbia, Ana Brnabić "Comrade, you liar"

*Dragoslava Barzut*, an activist of the association *Da se zna*, spoke about the letter "Comrade you liar", which this association sent to the Prime Minister of Serbia, Ana Brnabić. Dragoslava also spoke about the activities of the association from which she comes, that is, about the fight against hate crimes through a "long march through institutions."

Dragoslava referred to the position of the Prime Minister of Serbia, *Ana Brnabić*: "Serbia is the only country in the world that has a lesbian Prime Minister, but no one in our country responded because it endangered the life and safety of any LGBT person. When she was elected Prime Minister, they asked me "What do you want more?", as if I were in power. Ana Brnabić is a stumbling block for us. She had a chance to do something for us. Many people reduce LGBT activism to Pride, as she does. She does not see her privilege in this country. She is like a man who is not aware of the privileges with which he was born. Our task as activists was to point that out to her. There were meetings with her, although I did not attend any of them," etc.

## Youth in Serbia and (a)politics? – experiences from the July protests

Speakers at this panel were: **Martin Bežinarević**, Movement #1 of 5 million#, a student in Belgrade and **Nikola Trajković**, an activist of the Children's Roma Center, a fourth grade student at the high school in Zaječar.

*Martin* emphasized that "young people are not apolitical, because they have been organizing protests and various things for two years. However, in their political activities, young people encounter numerous obstacles and problems. "Young people are just numbers for political parties, and we are not numbers, we are people."

*Nikola* believes that politics cannot be reduced to a struggle for power and change of government, but politics is a change in the value system, quality of life, the possibility of influencing both one's

own life and society: "I am not interested in Vučić being replaced, but in what we will do afterwards. I want to know that I will have a better education. My participation in politics is qualitative, I am interested in the fight for new values and not only against them..."

*Comments, questions...*

When asked about the ideological positioning of Movement #1 of 5 million#, *Tea Vukadin* and *Martin Bežinarević* explained that the Movement "gathers people of all orientations"; that they are ideologically "center left". They agree that "the overthrow of A. Vučić is our goal, but that is not enough, but the system on which this regime is based should be destroyed." As for future plans, the activists of this movement said 'let's continue to fight - we protest every day in front of the Faculty of Philosophy, either on the bus or in the market. Every day is a struggle for us, every day we walk, either to the Government or to the Assembly'.

During the evaluation, the participants made a number of impressions:

- **Live meeting – direct communication in the age of corona and the dominant online communication, has a huge emotional, political and moral value, but also an incentive for activism** ("The most important thing for me was that we met in this period of corona and alienation through online contacts. Live contact is irreplaceable and WiB are known for that emotional care for each other, constantly thinking of how to help each other when in trouble"; etc.);
- **Nurturing space for common thinking, confronting opinions, acquiring knowledge ...** ("This here is an agora that does not exist in Serbia. People here talk by listening to each other. It means a lot to me that there are those who disagree here, because I am learning from them. It is very important that there is this kind of conversation between different generations ")
- **Continuity of struggle, values, principles, politics of friendship and closeness, good energy...** ("I am here because of the principles and values that connect you. It is important that there are such spaces, safe and supportive"; The most important thing is this decades-long continuity of WiB, the content of these gatherings, the diversity of content, from activism to analysis and education, the artistic aspect, the atmosphere of warmth and closeness");
- **Participation of a large number of young people in the meeting...** ("We had a large number of young people at this meeting and it is up to us to support them");
- **Engaged art - theater play, documentaries left a very strong impression, confirmed the importance of mutual support of activist-artistic engagement, etc.**

*(Integral report on the WiB Network meeting (52 pages)  
is available on the website)*

## Educational programs

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

### Feminist discussion circles/FDC

#### Belgrade, September 20

– On the development of the academic program of Women's Studies; organized by WiB and Women's Studies and Research from Novi Sad, was held in the premises of WiB, participated by **13** people from the following cities: Belgrade, Novi Sad, Zajecar, Subotica, Novi Pazar, Pljevlja.

*Svenka Savić* presented a brief history of alternative programs of Women's Studies (in Belgrade, Novi Sad), with occasional programs in various cities in Serbia and Montenegro); She also referred to the development of women's studies/gender studies as an academic discipline at the Universities of Belgrade and Novi Sad.

*Fahrudin Kladnicanin* (Academic Initiative Forum 10 from Novi Pazar) informed that during November 2020, a one-semester program of women's studies will be organized in Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin.

In the end, it was agreed that such meetings would be organized once a month, in Belgrade, Novi Sad and Nis, in order to expand the program of women's studies.

#### Kotor, October 25

**"What to do?"** – in Kavač near Kotor in the *"House of Free Thought"*, organized by *Anime-Kotor, Woman in Black-Belgrade and Academic Initiative 10 Novi Pazar*, a meeting was held on the occasion of changes after the parliamentary elections in Montenegro (August 30, 2020).

Fourteen (**14**) people participated in this circle: civil society activists, journalists, members of the academic community from Kotor, Herceg Novi, Podgorica, Pljevlja, Novi Pazar and Belgrade.

The meeting was organized in order to learn from activists from Montenegro information and views on the situation in Montenegro after the elections in which for the first time after 30 years the ruling party DPS/Democratic Party of Socialists led by Milo Djukanovic, otherwise the President of Montenegro, lost power.

The largest part of the meeting was dedicated to the topic *"Montenegro at the crossroads - about the current situation after the elections"*. Introductory speaker Esad Kocan, editor-in-chief of the Montenegrin weekly Monitor, commented on the "peaceful change of government, a regime that has lasted for thirty years, but we do not know what the transition will be." Other activists from Montenegro also spoke about the challenges and dilemmas of change: *Ljupka Kovačević, Ervina Dabižinović, Tea Gorjanc Prelević, Milan Popović, Sabina Talović, Verica Mirović...* with questions from participants from Serbia and Croatia.

Lino Veljak spoke about the current situation in Croatia, and the

following spoke about the situation in Serbia: *Fahrudin Kladničanin, Snežana Čongradin, Stasa Zajović, Violeta Đikanović.*

## **Beograd, 30. oktobar**

– Participants in the discussion held in the premises of the WiB were: Đokica Jovanović, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, retired; *Nada Sekulić*, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, *Lino Veljak*, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb, *Miroslav Ružica*, sociologist, *Aleksandar Kraus*, Association of Antifascists of Serbia and *Stasa Zajović*, WiB.

In this discussion circle (conceived as the beginning of a long-term exchange), some of the burning issues of today's left-wing were raised:

*How is it possible to ask the question of the presumptions of overcoming capitalism (the modern variant of patriarchy) and its inherent alienation, without it being a helpless whining over failed real socialism or a set of empty dogmatic phrases?; Are there elements in self-management experiences that would be useful for shaping a desirable future? And what is the relationship between the nation and the class and why does the convergence of the extreme right and the dogmatic left occur? It was agreed that the debate would continue in the form of regular meetings, with a larger number of participants.*

## **Novi Sad, 19. novembar**

– This feminist discussion circle organized by: associations “Women’s Studies and Research”, FROM THE CIRCLE of Vojvodina, Novi Sad and Women in Black, Belgrade; was held in the premises of the association ... This FDK was dedicated to feminist work - the theoretical and activist engagement of Professor Emeritus *Svenka Savić*, who turned 80 in June 2020. “This is an act of paying tribute to our *Svenka*, who has been constantly present in our human and feminist community - academic and activist - for decades, sharing knowledge, passion, beliefs ...”

The documentary “*Svenka*” (45 minutes) produced by the WiB Video Activism Group was shown; screenplay and direction by Fahrudin Kladničanin, cinematographer Neđo Gavrić, editing by Marija Arandelović, and after the screening, associates of *S. Savić* spoke. On this occasion, the research of the WiB on labor and reproductive rights was presented, as well as the book “*Peca*” - author Fahrudin Kladnicanin, published by the Academic Initiative Forum 10, Novi Pazar; foreword by Professor Emeritus *Svenka Savić*, Novi Sad. This event was attended by **11** people.

## **Belgrade/Radmilovac, December 14 and 15**

### **“Agonistic Mourning**

#### **– Political Dissidence and the Women in Black”**

by Athena Athanasiou, Edinburgh University Press; The translation of the book was published by Women in Black, September 2020. During the joint reflection on the book, the WiB activists who inspired this theoretical work, as well as WiB associates spoke.

The following sessions were held: *On the making of the book "Agonistic Mourning - Political Dissidence and the Women in Black" - on the research and methodology of the work of Athena Athanasiu;*



*Comments of the actresses and actors of the book with whom the author spoke; Political philosophy and ethical principles of the WiB in the analysis of Athena Athanasiu: what is the 'agonistic mourning' of the WiB in the interpretation of the author of the book? What is the policy of dissidence, disagreement, disobedience of the WiB? What does catachresis mean? What does antithetical solidarity mean?; How and where to next? The questions posed to us by Athena Athanasiu?; Aesthetics of anti-war resistance of WiB - activist-artistic engagement, symbolic, subversive, transformative potential of 'street standing' of WiB and generally engaged art of WiB and art collectives in the interpretation of the author of the book - joint commenting by activists.*



Sessions were also held at this FDK: *On the activities of the WiB in 2020 (report and analysis); on the plan of activities for the next period (challenges, problems) and evaluation.* This meeting was attended by **17** activists from Belgrade, Pancevo, Subotica, Zagreb/Croatia and Pljevlja/Montenegro.

### **Presentation of Research on women's reproductive and labor rights in Serbia:**

On the impact of growing tendencies of clericalization on women's attitudes about reproductive rights and the connection between labor legislation (labor rights) and reproductive rights. The research was led

by Prof. **Ildiko Erdei** and Prof. **Lidija Radulović** (Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Department of Ethnology), and statistically processed by **Andjelija Vučurević**. The research, as well as the publication of the same name were presented in following places:

**September 17, Vrnjačka Banja** **43** people from **15** cities (BiH, Montenegro, Croatia, Serbia) participated in the meeting of the WiB Network, which has already been discussed in this report.

**September 29, Belgrade** – at the presentation for the media in the premises of the WiB, the authors of the research spoke: Prof. Dr Lidija Radulović and Prof. Dr. Ildiko Erdei.

*Lidija Radulović* emphasized:

“The research showed us that the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) does not significantly influence women’s attitudes about reproductive rights, that even believers, although they oppose abortion in principle, do not accept being blamed for falling birth rates, nor that abortion is a ‘murder’, i.e. infanticide, as the Serbian Orthodox Church often calls it.”

*Ildiko Erdei* pointed out:

“Women are more willing to talk about their reproductive rights than about labor rights, and that indicates fear and insecurity in the workplace, especially in smaller communities, where there is a fear that their answers in the survey will somehow reach their employers.” Women are aware that both the State and employers work together to violate their rights, which are most often related to maternity and maternity leave. Research on reproductive and labor rights in Serbia is of great importance for understanding women’s attitudes and for improving public policies in these areas and women’s human rights in general.

*Stasa Zajovic*

believes that the research shows that “believers do not trust the Serbian Orthodox Church, which cultivates great hatred towards women. Neither the Serbian Orthodox Church nor right-wing organizations know women, and therefore we believe that the views of the church and right-wingers on reproductive rights are neither valid nor legitimate because they have no basis in what women think because they do not know them.”

**October 25, Kotor**

– held in Kavač near Kotor in the ‘House of Free Thought’; the research was presented by Stasa Zajovic, WiB, and was attended by **14** people.

**November 19, Novi Sad**

– within the FDK, the research, as well as the publication of the same name, was presented by Prof. Dr. *Lino Veljak*, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb (reviewer of the publication), *Andjelija Vučurević* (statistical data processing during the research), Novi Sad and *Stasa Zajović*, author of the foreword, **11** people participated.



## Women's Peace Activism, Đulici, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Educational program that the civic association "Anima" from Đulić and Women in Black Belgrade have 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:

### Đulici, December 10

– Sixteen (16) women from the following places participated in the seventeenth meeting held at the ANIMA premises: Šetići, Radava, Goduš, Donji Grbavci, Tahići, Đulici, Kučić kula, Klisa, Belgrade, Leskovac.

#### First workshop:

*How are we in the age of corona?* showed that:

*Women from rural areas have the hardest time experiencing the (mis) use of coronavirus: through media propaganda and the way the pandemic is reported as a constant war, which revives wartime trauma in women. Women from urban areas find it most difficult to experience the atmosphere of fear and social distance (participants from Belgrade and Leskovac).*

Of the strategies for overcoming that atmosphere, almost all women from rural areas said they refused to watch TV news about the pandemic; that they decided to move around their own and nearby villages, to socialize and that this helps them maintain mental balance. They believe that the measures of restricting the movement are "meaningless" and that they have the right to violate "unjust measures".

#### In the second workshop:

*'We pay tribute to each other'*, the annual report was presented – the successful joint work of the association 'Anima' and Women in Black during the previous project of the Mediterranean Women's Fund, and we also talked about the Mediterranean Women's Fund, solidarity and democracy supporting activities in accordance with 'our needs, desires and rhythms'.

#### Third workshop:

*Where do we go next?* was dedicated to strategic planning – joint activities in 2020/2021 within the MWF project: detailed plan of activities, time of program implementation...

#### Fourth workshop:

*What is new on the local, regional and international scene?* was an exchange on current issues (elections in BiH, transitional justice/ dealing with the past, the Nobel Peace Prize for 2020, etc.). In the final session, anti-war and feminist street actions of WiB from the previous period were presented.

**Mutual support** – participation in associates organizations

**Sarajevo, September 10-13:** **Fifteenth PitchWise/PW** Festival of Women's Art and Activism in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2020 (October 10-13, 9:20) under the slogan *'Strength is in Us'*. The festival was held at the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo. PW is a space for connecting and networking feminist work and culture, artists and activists from women's groups from BiH, countries in the region and abroad. Within PitchWise, many activities were held –panels, workshops, exhibitions... On the panel *"Strength is in us! We are building peace!"* from BiH participated: Suvada Poturović, Valentina Gagić, Selma Osmanović, Emsuda Mujagić and Stasa Zajović (Serbia).

**Belgrade, October 9** – presentation of the publication in the Media Center *'Recommendations for the Prevention of Labor Exploitation'* and the results of the *Labor Law campaign - now! Awareness is the first step towards protecting your rights*. The campaign aims to inform victims and potential victims of trafficking about the ways of protection and the rights and types of assistance available to them. The mentioned campaign was realized in the period July-September 2020. The presentation was attended by WiB activists: *Nastasja Radović* and *Stasa Zajović*.

**Beograd, 26. oktobar** – **conference 'Art in Challenging Contexts from Gender Equality Perspective'** – explored the status of women in the world of arts in the time of crisis; the dialogue of participants that works in different fields of activism and creativity from different contexts. In this conference participated Staša Zajović, WiB. This event was organized in the framework of Dah theater festival *'Arts and human rights, October 23 -28*.

**Vrsac, 26 -28 October** – Swedish Women's Foundation *'Kvinna till Kvinna'* organized a meeting on the problems created by the Covid-19 epidemic for civil society organizations supported by Kvinna till Kvinna (acting during and after the lifting of the state of emergency in Serbia, serious financial problems facing women organizations, etc.). *Ljiljana Radovanovic* and *Nastasja Radovic* participated on behalf of the WiB.

**Belgrade, November 13** *'Feminist concept of security – Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace, Security'* in framework of project *'Online Women's Studies'* Staša Zajović gave lecture on this issue for participants from different places of Serbia.

**Antifascist Front** –working meetings

were held in the premises of WiB (November 27) and online meeting (December 18) of organizations (WiB, Alliance of Antifascists of Serbia, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and Alliance of Antifascists of Vojvodina) to strengthen the Antifa Front and joint activities.

## 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 War Refugees in Serbia:

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

### Direct actions– solidarity assistance in the field:

– **Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina** - refugees began arriving in June 2018 in this city from the direction of Serbia and Montenegro, as a 'transit' place to Croatia. Thousands of refugees from the countries of the Middle East, but also North Africa, passed through Tuzla, where informal groups of citizens provide them with solidarity assistance. In this reporting period, several solidarity actions were organized by *Ramiz Berbić*, WiB Network activist: October 23th and November 12th.

– **Pljevlja, Montenegro (on the border between Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina) - October 22 and 23** - the visit of activists (Fahrudin, Lino, Staša, Violeta) to the open center Bona Fide, consisted of help and support to refugees. Bona Fide activists organized aid for refugees from 2017 and till now few thousands of refugees / migrants passed through this center. In this place, they can get food, clothing and shoes, and a large number remains to sleep, while some stay for a longer period of time. WiB network activists provided humanitarian aid (food and hygienic articles etc.) and WiB used to support solidarity activities to Bona Fide center.



**In addition to this, solidarity with war refugees Women in Black is expressed by other activities** statements - 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, especially during Covid 19 pandemia.

### II Solidarity with the Milivojevic Family from Lucani

#### –The Ivanjica trials

Criminal proceedings against the Director General of the Milan Blagojevic-Namenska Arms Factory, Lucani - Rados Milovanovic and two executives from the same factory (Vladimir Loncarevic and Toma Stojic). They are charged with 'committing a serious crime against

general security' because on July 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017, workers Milomir Milojevic and Miloško Ignjatovic were killed after a gunpowder explosion.

In this reporting period, only one hearing was held before the Basic Court in Ivanjica:

*November 2* – **Radoš Milovanović**, the first accused in this procedure, the general director of the **MB-Namenska factory** from **Lucani**, did not appear at the previously scheduled hearing. Milovanović's lawyer (Dragan Palibrk) told the judge at the very beginning that his protégé was "very seriously ill" and enclosed the findings of the internist. The lawyer of the Milivojević family (Vladimir Todorić) protested because he was not informed earlier that Milovanović would not attend the trial. *Milovan Milivojevic*, the father of the deceased Milomir, said that he was "in that court for the 116<sup>th</sup> time and did not see the prospect of such a trial" and that it was clear that the accused were trying to delay and obstruct the trial.

The trial scheduled for December 17 has been canceled again. Milovan Milivojevic, the father of the victim Milomir, stated: "This is a struggle of a helpless family against the state of Serbia and its legal system. It is clear that the trial is being postponed due to the testimony of Marko Mitrovic, a former worker and main witness. It is an expected and deliberate obstruction of the trial. The defendant and his lawyers are delaying the trial, using 'Covid-19' as an excuse. The next trial is set for February 1, 2021.

### **III Trial for setting journalist Milan Jovanović's house on fire**

The trial scheduled for December 15, 2020 has been postponed. Former President of the Municipality of Grocka, Gragojubić Simonović, is accused of inciting the burning of the house of journalist M. Jovanović. Žig info. 12/12/2018 somebody set a fire to this journalist's house in which his house burned down. The trial took place in April 2019 and is constantly being postponed. The next hearing is scheduled for January 11, 2021. for when the judge announced the end of the trial.

### **IV Dimitrijević trial for LGBT discrimination**

The first hearing on the private lawsuit of the association 'Da se zna' against Vladimir Dimitrijević, the president of the Political Council of Dveri due to discrimination, was held on October 12, 20. at the Palace of Justice. 'Da se zna' initiated a private lawsuit against Dimitrijević after he responded to the Commissioner for Equality's recommendation to publicly apologize to people of a different sexual orientation because he wrote a series of insults and discriminatory statements about the LGBT + community in Serbia in the text 'In Defense of the Family'. He stated that the main goal is "political homosexuality, the destruction of the natural family", as well as that "homosexual aspirations are treated with fasting and prayer". In front of the association 'Da se zna' 12.10. Dragoslava Barzut testified and the next trial is scheduled for January 26, 2021.

*(You can find integral reports from the above trials on the WiB website)*

## **V Solidarity with activists during pandemic (COVID 19)**

Since the pandemic started we established various ways of mutual support and solidarity within WiB Network: Since the beginning of pandemic WiB established different forms of mutual support and solidarity among WiB Networks activists – 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;

### **Visits/gatherings with activists**

– beside already mentioned contacts with WiB Networks activists, in this reporting period we visited activists in following places: Leskovac (*October, 21*); Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Kruševac (*December, 21*) and Pančevo i Zrenjanin (*December 29*).

## **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 nine (**13**) lectures, debates, book presentations, film screenings, with the participation of more than **180** persons.

The following events took place in this reporting period:

### **September 23**

#### **“Yugoslav New Wave in Film – Tribute to Sonja Savić**

(September 15, 1961 – September 23, 2008). In the introductory part, Dragan Jovanović, journalist and professor of philosophy, referred to the very important work of Sonja Savić, one of the most famous Yugoslav and Serbian actresses, winner of a large number of awards. “Sonja was an actress of the ‘new sensibility’, a member of the ‘post-Black Wave’, and during the 90’s she was marginalized and excluded from state institutions due to her critical social, anti-war attitudes. She was engaged in experimental theater and video art, and she was also involved in directing (films’ Supernaut-Belgrade underground, ‘The first Serbian techno vaudeville’),” stated Jovanović. Sonja Savić was also an anti-war activist, she participated in some protests of WiB - Then the documentary film ‘Sonja’ (86 min.) by Dragana Kanjevac was shown, in which colleagues, directors, professors and friends spoke about Sonja, which was attended by 14 people.

### **September 30**

#### **– conversation about the anti-war resistance in the 1990s**

– homage to rebels against the war, deserters, conscientious objectors who refused to go to war or fled the battlefield. Stasa Zajovic spoke about that, as well as about the anti-militarist engagement of WiB

in that period. Then, a documentary film by Nikola Dragović and Milutin Petrović called "I swear" was shown. This event was attended by 19 people.

### **October 7**

#### **– "Agonistic Mourning – Political Dissidence and the Women in Black",**

by Greek philosopher Athena Athanasiou (Edinburd University Press), translation of the book published by Women in Black, September 2020 The promotion was also organized on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of WiB (October 9, 1991); The book was discussed by: Lino Veljak, translator and editor, and Daša Duhaček, reviewer. WiB activists also took part in the discussion about the book; with the participation of 14 people.

### **October 14**

**"The Rise and Fall of Democracy in Serbia"**, by the author – Professor of the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade, Nebojsa Vladislavljevic, published by Arhipelago in 2019). Introductory words: Lino Veljak, Tamara Spaić and the author, and the conversation was moderated by Stefan Milosavljević. In this part, the author discusses the dynamics in the relationship between transitional justice and democratization in Serbia (on October 5 - the overthrow of the Milosevic regime, the causes of the fall of democratic institutions, the rise of authoritarianism, etc. The debate was attended by **23** people.

### **October 28**

#### **October 28 "Ten Myths About Pornography"**

– The publication of the same name, published by the Autonomous Women's Center/AWC, was presented by Sanja Pavlović, AWC and Miloš Urošević, WUC. Miloš Urošević introduced the attendees to the basic personalities, works, events and dates important for the attitude of feminism towards pornography. Sanja Pavlović focused on the analysis of the publication "Ten Myths about Pornography" formulated by the Swedish group Talita "with the aim of increasing young people's knowledge about the harmfulness of pornography". In Serbia, this short manual was issued by AWC in 2019, for use in secondary schools. The promotion and discussion were attended by **10** people.

### **October 28**

#### **"Montenegro at a crossroads – on the current situation after the elections"**

– about impressions and findings from the discussion circle held in Kotor on October 25 with civil society activists, journalists, members of the academic community. The participants of the mentioned meeting in Kotor shared their impressions: Lino Veljak, Fahrudin Kladničanin, Violeta Đikanović and Stasa Zajović, *Tea Gorjanc-Prelević*, NGO "Actions for Civil Rights" from Podgorica, who pointed out that 'electoral change, after 30 years, good news', to advocate for an expert government, etc. Vesna Pešić, Dragan Stojković, Senka Knežević, Nastasja Radović also took part in a very heated debate, and **15** people attended this event.

## November 6

### „Quo vadis, Aida?“

– A film by Bosnian-Herzegovinian director and screenwriter Jasmila Žbanić. This war drama follows the fate of Aida, who works as a translator for the UN peacekeeping force in Srebrenica. When Serb armed formations occupied the city, Aida's family and thousands of residents sought protection within the UN camp. Aida is trying to save her family from certain death ... The main roles are played by: Jasna Đuričić, Boris Isaković, Izudin Bajrović, Raymond Thirty, Emir Hadžihafizbegović, Boris Ler, etc. The premiere of the film was held at the Venice Film Festival in September 2020, and the film is also selected as a Bosnian-Herzegovinian Oscar nominee.

Thanks to the solidarity of the director Jasmila Žbanić and the production company 'Deblokada', Women in Black had the exceptional honor of showing the film in the premises of WiB, which was attended by **17** people.

## November 11

“**Into That Darkness**” – by Gita Sereni. The book was presented by prof. Dr. Janja Bech Neumann and she believes that “this book is one of the hundred most important books on the Holocaust.” The book contains interviews with *Franz Stangl* (1908-1971), commander of two euthanasia camps (*Hartheim and Benburg*) and two extermination camps (*Sobibor and Treblinka*); Stangl is, by the way, the only commander of the death camp against whom a trial was conducted, after he was reported and located in Brazil, the introductory speaker pointed out. Eight (**8**) people participated in this conversation.

## November 18

“**Peča**” – presentation of the book published by the Academic Initiative Forum 10, Novi Pazar, 2020. “Peča” is a collection of interviews with women from Novi Pazar and the surrounding area who were witnesses, directly or indirectly participated in activities organized to implement the “Law on Prohibition of Wearing veil” in 1951 in Novi Pazar. The following spoke about the book: Miloš Urošević, Cyber Vanderlast, Marko Veličković, Lino Veljak, Stasa Zajović.

Fahrudin Kladnicanin pointed out that the extensive research material is the result of fifteen years of interviewing older women from Sandzak. Twenty testimonies were published in the book, while the author has a total of forty testimonies in his archive, all the women he interviewed were born between 1918 and 1938. The promotion was attended by **14** people.

## November 25

“**Lesbian and Gay Solidarity Network/LGSM**” – presentation of LGSM, spoke about activities and values: Daša Stevović and Srđan Atanasovski, with the support of other LGSM activists. ‘Lesbian and gay solidarity network is a collective of lesbians, gays and bisexuals formed with the aim of building an LGB community and a new kind of struggle for the liberation of sexual minorities’, LGSM was founded in late September 2020, organizes public debates, publishes engaging texts, holds readers clubs and movie nights, and the most important activity in the future is the LGB Roof campaign, through which we want to provide support to LGB people who are endangered by

housing due to homophobia, relying on solidarity donations, they emphasized in the introduction. The conversation was organized within the “Campaign of 16 days of activism against violence against women” in the presence of **13** people.

## December 2

– as part of the ‘**Campaign 16 Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women**’ screened the feature film *‘Three Billboards outside Ebbing, Missouri’* (2017), directed by Martin McDonagh, starring Francis Mectormat, is the story of a mother trying to make local authorities to work on discovering her daughter’s killer. After the screening, which was attended by **8** people, violence against women was discussed.

## December 9

“**The Story of Narcissus the Abuser: Abuse and Literature**” - by **Jasmina Ahmetagić**, literary critic, essayist and researcher in the field of literary history and theory. The introductory speaker was the writer and poet *Danica Vukićević*, who explained that the book contains 14 analyzes of various literary works on the topic of abuse. “All analyzes deal with narcissistic personality disorder, which, by the way, belongs to the field of mental disorders and deals with various areas of psychology and psychiatry, but also sociology, and here we see how this “diagnosis” can be revealed as a feature of literary characters in the works of domestic and foreign writers”, the introductory speaker emphasized. WiB activists commented on previously selected essays. **16** people took part in the debate within the ‘*Campaign 16 days of activism against violence against women*’.

## December 16

– “**Abuse**” – screening of a TV drama, adaptation of the short story of the same name by Ivo Andrić, produced by RTS (2012), directed by Petar Zec; the short story and TV drama testify to brutal violence - marital hell, a seemingly happy family in the eyes of the petty bourgeois environment. This debate was also organized as part of the “Campaign 16 Days of Activism against Violence against Women”, the screening and discussion afterwards was attended by **10** people.

*(Extensive reports from these debates  
can be found on the WiB website)*

## PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES

In this reporting period we published:

**Research on women’s reproductive and labor rights in Serbia:** on the impact of growing tendencies of clericalization on women’s attitudes about reproductive rights and the connection between labor legislation (labor rights) and reproductive rights. The research was led by Prof. **Ildiko Erdei** and Prof. **Lidija Radulović** (Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Department of Ethnology), and statistically processed by **Andjelija Vučurević**, **Lino Veljak** prof. dr of Faculty of Philosophy Zagreb University- peer review. The publication consists



of the following parts: Preface, Research on Reproductive and Labor Rights of Women in Serbia, Analysis of Empirical Material and Interpretation of Results and Contextualization. The publication has 133 pages, and is printed in 300 copies, the design was done by the group Škart, while the cover was done by Studio Čavka.

### **Agonistic Mourning**

#### **– Political Dissidence and the Women in Black,**

Athena Athanasiou, Edinburg University Press); peer review was made by Judith Butler, University of California, Berkeley and Dasa Duhaček, University of Belgrade. Athena Athanasiou is Professor of Social Anthropology and Gender Theory at Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences. The book in Serbian was published by WiB, September 2020. translated by Ana Imširović, Lino Veljak, redaction of translation. Beside introduction and Epilogue has four chapters: *Mourning Otherwise; Gendered Intimacies of the Nationalist Archive; Spectral Spaces of Counter Memory; Political Languages of Responsiveness and the Disquiet of Silence*. Peer reviews were made by: Judith Butler, University of California, Berkeley and Daša Duhaček, University of Belgrade.

This book was translated into Serbian by Ana Imširović; the book has 320 pages, the design of covers made by art collective, layout by Studio Čavka, printing Artprint, 500 examples.

### **Videoteka / Žucoteka: group for video activism Woman in Black**

The publication brings a list of films made by the Group for Video Activism Women in Black from November 2009 to September 2020, 320 of which are classified into 17 thematic units. The publication has 44 pages, edited by Staša Zajović. The design was done by Djordje Balmazovic, and the layout was done by Zinaida Marjanovic.

### **Women's Peace Agenda for 2021**

– agenda is dedicated to 30 years of activities of WIB Belgrade, presenting WIB activities in very concise form; agenda for 2021 has 168 pages, layout is made by Studio Čavka.

### **Women in Black Calendar for 2021**

- Calendar made of photographs of street actions of Women in Black during 2020 (art photograph Srdjan Veljović); calendar has 26 pages.

## **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.

**“Stop the violence in Belarus!  
Support for the nonviolent protests!”**

–in statement September 8, WIB expressed full support to peaceful, nonviolent demonstrations against dictatorship in Belarus, especially solidarity with nonviolent resistance of Belarus women, condemning use of brutal force, both military and police, against people of Belarus who have different views from the ruling government etc.

**“Everything for peace, health and knowledge  
– noting for armament”**

– on the occasion of September 21 – World Peace Day, WIB denounced that “In Serbia pandemic Covid 19 became regime’s excuse to violate human rights, illegitimate arrests, repression on independent media, political persecution, growing militarization of state and society both – the state is investing in repressive apparatus instead of investing in civil needs. These police, parapoliсe, paramilitary units and hooligan and beating gangs have used brutal violence against political opponents. During emergency state the state of Serbia also has been exporting arms to countries in conflict and various dictatorial regimes: who use it to torture and kill civilians in those countries and refugees from Middle East, running away from the war, looking for some shelter Serbia, are exposed to terror and racist hatred; violence against the most vulnerable (women, Roma population, refugees, homeless, all poor...) has got dramatic dimension and the most affected by pandemic”, etc.



**“We will not forget the crime in Topčider!”**

– on the occasion of the 16<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the assassination of soldiers in Topčider (5<sup>th</sup> October 2004 – 5<sup>th</sup> October 2020), the WiB warned that the investigation is still in the pre-trial phase. In a statement, WiB demands from the state to “immediately suspend the obstruction of

the investigation of the murder of soldiers Dragan Jakovljevic and Drazen Milovanovic; to finally announce the truth about the killing of soldiers, as well as the hiding of Ratko Mladic in the facilities of the Serbian Armed Forces; that the competent institutions punish all the perpetrators of crimes in Topčider and provide justice for the victims' families".

#### **"Remember the crime in Sjeverin"**

– on the occasion of the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the abduction and murder of 17 Bosniak citizens of Serbia from the village of Sjeverin near Priboj, carried out by members of the Republika Srpska Army (VRS), WIB repeated that justice for the victims Sjeverin is not satisfied because "the courts have concealed the responsibility of the state of Serbia, even though it was established during the trial", "In the name of justice, on behalf of the dignity of the victims, we ask Serbia to arrest the perpetrators and their commanders. Until Serbia faces these and all other crimes committed on our behalf, it will continue to be a safe house for convicted war criminals and an oasis of impunity," the statement said.

#### **Stop the war in Nagorno Karabak!**

– on occasion of armed conflict WIB strongly condemned 'the shameful and criminal export of weapons produced in Serbia, from which arms exporters profit the most. We demand that the export of weapons to both Armenia and Azerbaijan be stopped IMMEDIATELY and that arms exporters be sanctioned'. In the same statement (October, 7<sup>th</sup>) WIB supported all requests for urgent cessation of hostilities and the start of negotiations, supporting 'All those in Nagorno Karabakh, Armenia and Azerbaijan who refuse to mobilize for war - conscientious objectors, deserters, anti-war activists; joint anti-war statement of young leftists from Azerbaijan and Armenia who condemn the armed conflict, nationalist hatred, militarization and instead advocate a peaceful solution to the conflict, dialogue, peace with justice, solidarity and coexistence'.

#### **The regime continues to tolerate neo-Nazi violence**

– in a statement dated on October 15 2020, on the occasion of the latest attacks by a group of masked hooligans on the comic book exhibition "New Age" in Zemun, WiB points to the "intensification of neo-Nazi outbursts aimed at spreading an atmosphere of fear and insecurity." "The fact that the police did not react indicates the regime's complicity in intimidating Serbian citizens. The passive attitude of the police in this case (as well as in a series of similar incidents such as the slandering of the play 'Srebrenica. When we the killed ones rise', the exhibition on the crime at the Tuzla Gate in CZKD) confirms the suspicion that the regime itself, which arose from the wars and criminal policies of the 1990s, is behind such attacks. The protagonists of the war politics that culminated in the genocide in Srebrenica want to turn Serbia into a habitat for submissive subjects.'

### **Stop banning abortion in Poland!**

– after the decision of the Constitutional Court of 22 October 2020 to completely ban abortion Women in Black and the Autonomous Women's Center are warning that the decision represents "the culmination of many years of misogynistic efforts by the ruling party Law and Justice to make abortion illegal in Poland", while fully supporting the general strike on October 28, 2020. and 'feminist friends who launched the protests, as well as all Polish citizens who are determined to prevent the clerical-fascist encroachment on basic human and women's rights'.

### **We will never forget the crimes in Vukovar!**

–in a statement on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the crimes in Vukovar, WIB reiterated the request to the competent institutions of the State of Serbia to "*establish the responsibility of the leadership of former Yugoslav Popular Army for the armed attack on Croatia and to initiate legal proceedings for the crime of uricide in Vukovar; establish the full truth about the missing by opening the archives of the Serbian Armed Forces and discovering the graves of Croatian victims in Serbia; initiate court proceedings for the establishment of camps and for the killing and torture of Croatian civilians and soldiers in camps in Stajicevo, Begejci, Sremska Mitrovica, Aleksinac, Nis and Belgrade; acknowledges the request of Women in Black and the Art Clinic, signed by more than 30 civil society organizations, to erect memorial plaques at camps in Stajicevo and Begajci and to support other forms of symbolic reparations to victims and their families; initiate a legal ban on glorification and rehabilitation of war crimes convicts committed in Vukovar and all other places*" (WIB statement November, 18).

### **Against the appointment of Arnaud Guillon to the position in the Government of Serbia!**

– On November 26, 2020, the Government of Serbia appointed Arnaud Guillon as the acting director of the Directorate for Cooperation with the Diaspora and Serbs in the region. Women in Black and the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia strongly condemned this shameful act and the decision of Serbian Foreign Minister Nikola Selaković because we believe that a former member of the extreme right-wing Bloc of Identities organization should not be in the Serbian government which, at least on a declarative level, advocates for European integration. Guillon is known for his anti-immigrant attitudes and readiness for brutal violence against them. Because of that, he was prosecuted in France, declared an undesirable person in several European countries, and on the contrary, Serbia provided him with hospitality, gave him citizenship and employed him as an official in the Government." WiB and the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights are asking the Government of Serbia to relieve Arnaud Guillon of all duties in an urgent procedure, it is stated in the announcement from December 1, 2020.

### **“Stop killing women!**

– in statement on occasion of December 6 – International Day against femicide, the Autonomous Women’s Center and Women in Black from Belgrade, with the support of Anima Women’s Association from Đulići (BH), warned that ‘In 2020, at least 22 women were killed by a partner or other family member in Serbia, and in 5 more cases there are suspicions that femicide was in question. According to the media, in four cases, violence was reported to the competent institutions. Seven women were killed with a knife, five with an ax, three with a gun, three were beaten to death, one was killed with an automatic rifle, one by activating a bomb, while two women were killed in other ways (by pouring gasoline on them and burning to death, and with a blunt object). Over the past decade, partners and other male family members have killed at least 330 women in Serbia. We emphasize “at least” because these statistics were recorded on the basis of media reports, and we do not know how many cases did not reach the media. There is also no information on how many women have died as a result of many years of enduring violence. Even after a decade of work in this field, it is not possible to determine the prevalence of the problem we are facing’.

### **“Stop police violence and criminalization of solidarity with migrants!”**

– ‘We strongly condemn the police violence and criminalization of solidarity with migrants that is happening in Sid (on border between Serbia and Croatia) and it has escalated with threats, violence and arrests of volunteers of the No Name Kitchen collective on December 12, 2020. On that day, during the distribution of food to the endangered migrants, three NNK volunteers were attacked by Serbian Interior Ministry officials. One activist was taken to the police station without any grounds and was threatened that criminal charges would be filed against him, while the other one was punched in the head. We remind you that this is just one in a series of attacks on volunteers of this organization and that they have been repeatedly harassed by the police in the last few years, and their property and funds that were used to help the endangered migrants are regularly destroyed. Lately, this violence has escalated, and a large number of international volunteers have been denied residence and were ordered to leave Serbia. We emphasize that the assistance they provided to migrants, such as clothing or food, was often the only assistance that migrants received. We demand from the competent state authorities of Serbia to immediately stop this practice of attacks and intimidation and to prosecute members of the police who exceeded their authority and abused their position in the last attack, as well as in previous attacks’ WIB emphasized in statement December 14<sup>th</sup>).

### **Initiative for naming a street in Belgrade after Dejan Nebrigic –**

December 29<sup>th</sup>, 2020, 21 years have passed since the death of Dejan Nebrigic (1970-1999), gay activists, pacifists and antifascists. Dejan was killed in 1999. As the declared anti-fascist, anti-nationalist and

antimilitarist, he refused a military obligation, publicly reproving him as being a homosexual, which at the time was treated as a disease for which he was permanently released from military duties. In early 1992, he joined Women in Black, and gave a very significant contribution to the anti-militarist and feminist engagement of Women in Black. He participated in launching of a network of conscientious objection. We demand that, "one of many streets in Belgrade to be named after Dejan Nebrigić, one of the first fighters for human rights of LGBT people, feminists, antifascists and antimilitarists". The relevant institutions have not yet answered on this many-year request.

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