



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Taking a stand in times of violent societal changes: Belgrade and Zagreb feminists' positionings on the (post-)Yugoslav wars and each other (1991-2000)

Miškovska Kajevska, A.

#### Publication date

2014

[Link to publication](#)

#### Citation for published version (APA):

Miškovska Kajevska, A. (2014). *Taking a stand in times of violent societal changes: Belgrade and Zagreb feminists' positionings on the (post-)Yugoslav wars and each other (1991-2000)*. [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

#### General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

#### Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

## Bibliography

- Aarts, P. and Mulders, M. (2005). "Allies: Interview with Febe Deug". In: Mulders, M. (ed.). *Speaking of War: War Rape and Domestic Violence in the Former Yugoslavia. Trainers about their Work for Care*. Utrecht: Pharos.
- Ackerly, B. and True, J. (2008). "Reflexivity in Practice: Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations". In: *International Studies Review*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 693–707.
- Aguilar, D.D. (1998). *Towards a Nationalist Feminism*. Quezon City: Giraffe Books.
- Albanese, P. (2001). "Nationalism, War, and Archaization of Gender Relations in the Balkans". In: *Violence Against Women*, vol. 7, no. 9, pp. 999–1023.
- Allen, B. (1996). *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Alleva, L. (2006). "Taking time to savour the rewards of slow science". In: *Nature*, vol. 443, 21.09.2006, p. 271.
- Andreas, P. (2008). *Blue Helmets And Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Armanda, A. (1992). *Frauenbewegung, Feminismus und Definition des Krieges*. Paper presented at the Bremer Frauenwoche, Bremen, 06–11.09.1992 (manuscript).
- Bagić, A. (2004). "Women's Organizing in Post-Yugoslav Countries: Talking about 'Donors'". In: Gould, J. and Marcussen, H.S. (eds.). *Ethnographies of Aid*. Occasional Paper Series, no. 24. Roskilde: Roskilde University.
- Barada, V., Janušić, J., Kašić, B. and Pešut, J. (2003). *Institucionalizacija ženskih studija u Hrvatskoj. Akcijsko istraživanje*. Zagreb: Centar za ženske studije.
- Barilar, V. (ed.). (2000). *Aktivistkinje: Kako 'opismeniti' teoriju*. Zagreb: Centar za ženske studije.
- Batinić, J. (2001). "Feminism, Nationalism, and War: The 'Yugoslav Case' in Feminist Texts". In: *Journal of International Women's Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 2–24.
- Becker, H.S. (1963). *Outsiders. Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York etc: The Free Press.
- Becker, H.S. (1998). *Tricks of the Trade. How to Think about Your Research While You're Doing It*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Belamarić, J. and Mamula, M. (eds.). (2000). *Grupe samopomoći: priručnik za voditeljice*. Zagreb: Centar za žene žrtve rata.
- Belić, M. (ed.). (2004). *B.a.B.e. Deset godina 1994–2004*. Zagreb: B.a.B.e.
- Belić, M., Borić, R. and Kesić, V. (eds.). (1994). *Zbornik*. Zagreb: Centar za žene žrtve rata.
- Benard, C. (1994). "Rape as terror: The case of Bosnia". In: *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 29–43.
- Benderly, J. (1994). *Women's Movements in Yugoslavia, 1978–1992*. MA Thesis, George Washington University.
- Benderly, J. (1997a). "Rape, Feminism, and Nationalism in the War in Yugoslav Successor States". In: West, L.A. (ed.). *Feminist Nationalism*. London and New York: Routledge.

## Bibliography

- Benderly, J. (1997b). "Feminist Movements in Yugoslavia, 1978–1992". In: Bokovoy, M.K., Irvine, J.A. and Lilly, C.S. (eds.). *State–Society Relations in Yugoslavia 1945–1992*. Houndmills and London: Macmillan Press.
- Bilandžić, D. (1985). *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije: Glavni procesi 1918–1985*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- Bilić, B. (2011a). "In a Crevice Between Gender and Nation: Croatian and Serbian Women in 1990s Anti-War Activism". In: *Slovo*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 95–113.
- Bilić, B. (2011b). "A Concept That is Everything and Nothing: Why Not to Study (Post-) Yugoslav Anti-War and Peace Activism From a Civil Society Perspective". In: *Sociologija*, vol. 53, no. 3, pp. 297–322.
- Biserko, S. (2006). "Reč urednika". In: Biserko, S. (ed.). *Dubrovnik: "Rat za mir"*. Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji.
- Bjelajac, M. and Žunec, O. (2009). "The War in Croatia, 1991–1995". In: Ingrao, C. and Emmert, T.A. (eds.). *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press and West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Blagojević, M. (1994). "War and Everyday Life: Deconstruction of Self/Sacrifice". In: *Sociologija*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 468–482.
- Blagojević, M. (1996). "Motherhood in Serbia: Self/Sacrificing paradox". In: *Sociologija*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 625–648.
- Blagojević, M. (ed.). (1998a). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Blagojević, M. (1998b). "Projekat kao deo projekta: osnovne koordinate". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Blagojević, M. (1998c). "Ženske studije na Beogradskom univerzitetu". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Blagojević, M. (1999a). "Gender and Survival: Serbia in the 1990s". In: Petö, A. and Rásky, B. (eds.). *Construction. Reconstruction. Women, Family & Politics in Central Europe 1945–1988. Wieder. Aufbau. Frauen, Familie und Politik in Mitteleuropa 1945–1988*. New York and Budapest: OSI Network Women's Program etc.
- Blagojević, M. (1999b). "Rat na Kosovu: pobeda medija?". In: *Temida*, vol. 2, no. 3–4, pp. 31–40.
- Blagojević, M. (2010). "Feminist Knowledge and the Women's Movement in Serbia: A Strategic Alliance". In: *Aspasia*, vol. 4, pp. 184–197.
- Blagojević, M., Duhaček, D. and Lukić, J. (eds.). (1995). *What Can We Do for Ourselves? East European Feminist Conference*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Bogosavljević, S. (1996). "Nerasvetljeni genocid". In: Popov, N. (ed.). *Srpska strana rata: Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*. Beograd: Republika, Novi Beograd: Vikom grafik and Zrenjanin: Građanska čitaonica.
- Bonfiglioli, C. (forthcoming) *Representing the victim: transnational feminist interventions on mass rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina*.

- Bonfiglioli, C. (2008). *Belgrade, 1978. Remembering the conference "Drugarica žena. Žensko pitanje - Novi pristup?" / "Comrade Women. The Women's Question: A New Approach?" thirty years after*. MA Thesis, Universiteit Utrecht.
- Bonfiglioli, C. (2009). "Povratak u Beograd 1978. godine: istraživanje feminističkog sjećanja / Back to Belgrade, 1978: An exploration in memories". In: Jambrešić Kirin, R. and Prlenda, S. (eds.). *Glasom do feminističkih promjena / Voicing Feminist Concerns*. Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku and Centar za ženske studije [multilingual publication].
- Borić, R. (1997). "Against the War: Women Organizing across the National Divide in the Countries of the Former Yugoslavia". In: Lentin, R. (ed.). *Gender & Catastrophe*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Borić, R. and Mladineo Desnica, M. (1996). "Croatia: Three Years After". In: Corrin, C. (ed.). *Women in a Violent World: Feminists Analyses and Resistance Across 'Europe'*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bos, P.R. (2006). "Feminists Interpreting the Politics of Wartime Rape: Berlin, 1945; Yugoslavia, 1992–1993". In: *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 995–1025.
- Bosto, S., Cipek, T. and Milosavljević, O. (eds.). (2008). *Kultura sjećanja: 1941. Povijesni lomovi i svladavanje prošlosti*. Zagreb: Disput.
- Bosto, S. and Cipek, T. (eds.). (2009). *Kultura sjećanja: 1945. Povijesni lomovi i svladavanje prošlosti*. Zagreb: Disput.
- Bougarel, X. (1996). "Bosnia and Herzegovina – State and Communitarianism". In: Dyker, D.A. and Vejvoda, I. (eds.). *Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth*. London and New York: Longman.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). "The Forms of Capital". In: Richardson, J.G. (ed.). *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York etc: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *Sociology in Question*. London etc: Sage Publications.
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Božinović, N. (n.d.). *Nekoliko osnovnih podataka o Ženskom pokretu u Jugoslaviji*.
- Božinović, N. (1996). *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*. Beograd: Pink Press.
- Božinović, N. (1998). "Žene u crnom". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Božinović, N. (1999). "The Circle is Closed". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Women for Peace*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Božinović, N., Zajović, S. and Žarković, R. (eds.) (1998). *Žene za mir*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Bracewell, W. (2000). "Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism". In: *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6. no. 4, pp. 563–590.

## Bibliography

- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Brownmiller, S. (1995). *Protiv naše volje*. Zagreb: Zagorka.
- Broz, S. (2005). *Dobri ljudi u vremenu zla*. Sarajevo: Grafičar promet.
- Calic, M.-J. (2009). "Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes, 1991–1995". In: Ingrao, C. and Emmert, T.A. (eds.). *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press and West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Candau, J. (2010). *Pour un mouvement Slow Science*. Available at: <http://slowscience.fr/> [16/09/2013].
- Cigar, N., Magaš, B. and Žanić, I. (2001). "Introduction". In: Magaš, B. and Žanić, I. (eds.). *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina 1991–1995*. London and Portland: Frank Cass.
- Cipek, T. (ed.). (2011). *Kultura sjećanja: 1991. Povijesni lomovi i svladavanje prošlosti*. Zagreb: Disput.
- Clark, H. (2000). *Civil Resistance in Kosovo*. London and Sterling: Pluto Press.
- Cockburn, C. (1991). "A Women's Political Party for Yugoslavia: Introduction to the Serbian Feminist Manifesto". In: *Feminist Review*, no. 39, pp. 155–160.
- Cockburn, C. (1998). *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Cockburn, C. (2000a). "The Anti-Essentialist Choice: Nationalism and Feminism in the Interaction between Two Women's Projects". In: *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 611–629.
- Cockburn, C. (2000b). "Women in Black: Being Able to Say Neither/Nor". In: *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 7–11.
- Cockburn, C. (2001). *Women Organizing for Change: A Study of Women's Local Integrative Organizations and the Pursuit of Democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Zenica: Medica Infoteka.
- Cockburn, C. (2007). *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Copelon, R. (2000). "Gender Crimes as War Crimes: Integrating Crimes against Women into International Criminal Law". In: *McGill Law Journal*, no. 46, pp. 217–240.
- Couwenberg, S.W. (1994). *Nationaliteit & Nationalisme: Bron van integratie en desintegratie*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgeverij Koninkinnegracht.
- Czegledy, N. (1995). "Bread and Roses in Zagreb". In: *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la femme*, vol. 16, no. 1, p. 98–101.
- Čale Feldman, L., Prica I. and Senjković, R. (eds.). (1993). *Fear, Death and Resistance. An Ethnography of War: Croatia 1991–1992*. Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Matrix Croatica and X-press.
- Četković, N. (1998a). "Beogradski ženski lobi". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Četković, N. (1998b). "SOS za žene i decu žrtve nasilja". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

- Ćetković, N. (1998c). *U traganju za ženskim sigurnim mestom*. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja and Sigurne ženske kuće.
- Ćetković, N. (1998d). *Ženska politička perspektiva: 77 apela, zahteva, protesta, informacija, parola Beogradskog ženskog lobija*. Beograd: Beogradski ženski lobi and Ženske studije i komunikacija - INDOK centar.
- Ćetković, N. (1999). *Epistolae*. Praha and Berlin: Gender Studies, ProFem and Owen [multilingual publication].
- Ćetković, N. (2000). *Možeš ti to, Vesna, možeš! Životne impresije Vesne Pešić, sociološkinje i političarke*. Beograd: Medijska knjižara Krug.
- Ćetković, N., Jarić, I. and Stojanović, S. (eds.). (1993a). *Žene za žene: protesti, apeli, izjave, informacije autonomnih ženskih inicijativa. Vanredni bilten SOS-a*, no. 5. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja.
- Ćetković, N., Jeremić, K., Litričin, V., Marković, I., Mršević, Z., Obretković, M., Otašević, S. and Stojanović, S. (eds.). (1993b). *Bilten SOS telefona za žene i decu žrtve nasilja*, no. 6–7. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja.
- Ćetković, N., Mršević, Z., Stojanović, S. and Vuletić, Lj. (eds.). (1994). *Feminističke sveske*, no. 1. Beograd: Ženski centar.
- Ćetković, N., Mršević, Z., Stojanović, S. and Vuletić, Lj. (eds.). (1995). *Feminističke sveske*, no. 3–4. Beograd: Autonomni ženski centar.
- Ćetković, N., Mršević, Z., Stojanović, S., Vuletić, Lj., Mladenović, L. and Tešanović, J. (eds.). (1997). *Feminističke sveske*, no. 9–10. Beograd: Autonomni ženski centar.
- Ćupić, M. (1993). "... 19. rujna 1992.". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Žene za mir 1991–1992. Zbornik*. Beograd and Pančevo: Žene u crnom.
- Daly, M. (1978). *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- De Boer, A. (1992). "De integratie van Europa; hoe verder? Na de oorlog in Joegoslavië". In: *Politiek & Cultuur: maandschrift CPN*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 13–16.
- Delap, L., Ryan, L. and Zackodnik, T. (2006). "Self-determination, race, and empire: Feminist nationalists in Britain, Ireland and the United States, 1830s to World War One". In: *Women's Studies International Forum*, no. 29, pp. 241–254.
- Dević, A. (1997a). "Anti-War Initiatives and the Un-Making of Civic Identities in the Former Yugoslav Republics". In: *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 127–156.
- Dević, A. (1997b). "Redefining the Public-Private Boundary: Nationalism and Women's Activism in Former Yugoslavia". In: *The Anthropology of East Europe Review*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 45–61.
- Dijanić, D. (ed.). (2004). *Ženski biografski leksikon. Sjećanje žena na život u socijalizmu*. Zagreb: Centar za ženske studije.
- Dixon, R. (2002). "Rape as a Crime in International Humanitarian Law: Where to from Here?". In: *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 697–719.
- Dobnikar, M. (2000). "Wars, Discourses, Women – What about Us?". In: Slapšak, S. (ed.). *War Discourse Women's Discourse: Essays and Case-Studies from Yugoslavia and Russia*. Ljubljana: Topos.

## Bibliography

- Dobnikar, M. and Jalušič, V. (2002). "Intervju". In: Jalušič, V. *Kako smo hodile v feministično gimnazijo*. Ljubljana: Založba/\*cf.
- Dobrović, Z. and Bosanac, G. (eds.). (2007). *Usmena povijest homoseksualnosti u Hrvatskoj: Dokumentiranje svjedočanstava o privatnom i javnom djelovanju seksualnih i rodnih manjina – preteča LGBT pokreta u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Domino.
- Dojčinović-Nešić, B. (1998). "Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Dojčinović-Nešić, B. and Popović, D. (2002). "Kako smo počinjale / The Beginnings". In: Dojčinović-Nešić, B. and Popović, D. (eds.). *Centar za ženske studije Beograd 1992/2002 / Belgrade Women's Studies Center 1992/2002*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije [multilingual publication].
- Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Praeger.
- Dragović-Soso, J. (2002). 'Saviours of the Nation': Serbia's Intellectual Opposition and the Revival of Nationalism. London: Hurst & Company.
- Drakulić, Sla. (1993). "Women and the New Democracy in the Former Yugoslavia". In: Funk, N. and Mueller, M. (eds.). *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Drakulić, Sla. (1999). "How I Became A Witch: Nationalism, Sexism and Postcommunist Journalism in Croatia". In: *Media Studies Journal*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 134–139.
- Drakulić, Sla. (2005a). "Smrtni grijesi feminizma" [1982]. In: Drakulić, Sla. *Sabrani eseji*. Zagreb: Profil.
- Drakulić, Sla. (2005b). "Sezona silovanja" [1982]. In: Drakulić, Sla. *Sabrani eseji*. Zagreb: Profil.
- Drakulić-Ilić, S. (1985). "'Six Mortal Sins' of Yugoslav Feminism". In: Morgan, R. (ed.). *Sisterhood is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology*. Harmondsworth etc: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Duhaček, D. (1993). "Women's Time in the Former Yugoslavia". In: Funk, N. and Mueller, M. (eds.). *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Duhaček, D. (1995). "Travel On, Europe". In: Blagojević, M., Duhaček, D. and Lukić, J. (eds.). *What Can We Do for Ourselves? East European Feminist Conference*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Duhaček, D. (1998). "State of the Art: The Belgrade Women's Studies Centre". In: *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3–4, pp. 489–497.
- Duhaček, D. (2010). *Breme našeg doba. Odgovornost i rasuđivanje u delu Hane Arent*. Beograd: Beogradski krug i Centar za ženske studije i istraživanje roda.
- Đerić, G. (ed.). (2008). *Intima javnosti. Okviri predstavljanja, narativni obrasci, strategije i stereotipi konstruisanja Drugosti u upečatljivim događajima tokom razgradnje bivše Jugoslavije: štampa, TV, film*. Beograd: Fabrika knjiga and Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju.

- Dilas, A. (1990). *Osporavana zemlja: Jugoslovenstvo i revolucija*. Beograd: Književne novine.
- Dokić, D. (2010). *Nedostižni kompromis. Srpsko-hrvatsko pitanje u međuratnoj Jugoslaviji*. Beograd: Fabrika knjiga.
- Durić-Kuzmanović, T., Drezgić, R. and Žarkov, D. (2008). "Gendered War, Gendered Peace: Violent Conflicts in the Balkans and Their Consequences". In: Pankhurst, D. (ed.). *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Edelman, Ma. (2001). "Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics". In: *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 30, pp. 285–317.
- Edelman, Mu. (1971). *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence*. New York etc: Academic Press.
- Engle, K. (2005). "Feminism and Its (Dis)Contents: Criminalizing Wartime Rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina". In: *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 99, no. 4, pp. 778–816.
- Ericson, R.V. (1975). *Criminal Reactions. The Labelling Perspective*. Westmead: Saxon House and Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Ewing, K.P. (1990). "The Illusion of Wholeness: Culture, Self, and the Experience of Inconsistency". In: *Ethos*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 251–278.
- Farnsworth, N. (ed.). (2008). *History is Herstory Too: The History of Women in Civil Society in Kosovo: 1980–2004*. Prishtina: Kosovar Gender Studies Centre.
- Feldman, A. (1984). "Eine alternative Frauengruppe in Zagreb: Zwischen Activismus und Frauenforschung". In: Bechtel, B. et al. (eds.). *Die ungeschriebene Geschichte: Historische Frauenforschung. Dokumentation des 5. Historikerinnentreffens in Wien, 16. bis 19. April 1984*. Himberg bei Wien: Wiener Frauenverlag.
- Fischer, E. (1993). "Vergewaltigung als Kriegswaffe". In: *beiträge zur feministischen theorie und praxis*, vol. 34, pp. 137–145.
- Fischer, E. (1997). *Am Anfang war die Wut: Monika Hauser und Medica mondiale – Ein Frauenprojekt im Krieg*. Köln: Kiepenheuer and Witsch.
- Fischer, J., Ritchie, E.G. and Hanspach, J. (2012). "Academia's obsession with quantity". In: *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, vol. 27, no. 9, pp. 473–474.
- Freyberg-Inan, A. (2006). "World System Theory: A Bird's-Eye View of the World Capitalist Order". In: Sterling-Folker, J. (ed.) *Making Sense of International Relations Theory*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Fridman, O. (2006a). "Alternative Voices in Public Urban Space: Serbia's Women in Black". In: *Ethnologia Balkanica. Journal of Balkan Ethnology*, vol. 10, pp. 291–303.
- Fridman, O. (2006b). *Alternative Voices: Serbia's Anti-War Activists, 1991–2004*. PhD Thesis, George Mason University.
- Gagnon, V.P.Jr. (2004). *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Garfield, R. (2001). *Economic Sanctions, Health, and Welfare in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 1990–2000*. Belgrade: OCHA and UNICEF.
- Gattin, K. (1992). *Where Have All the Feminists Gone*. Paper presented at the Bremer Frauenwoche, Bremen, 06–11.09.1992 (manuscript).



## Bibliography

- Giles, W., De Alwis, M., Klein, E., Silva, N., Korać, M., Knežević, Đ. and Papić, Ž. (eds.). (2003). *Feminists Under Fire: Exchanges across War Zones*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Gjurgjan, Lj. (1992). "Nationalism and Women in Croatia". In: *Journal of Gender Studies: an International Forum for the Debate on Gender in All Fields of Study*, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 521–526.
- Glenny, M. (1993). *The Fall of Yugoslavia*. London etc: Penguin Books.
- Goati, V. (2001). *Izbori u SRJ od 1990. do 1998. Volja građana ili izborna manipulacija*. Beograd: Centar za slobodne izbore i demokratiju.
- Goldstein, S. and Goldstein, I. (2011). *Jasenovac i Bleiburg nisu isto*. Zagreb: Novi Liber.
- Gouda, F. (2007). "The Unbearable Lightness of Memory: Fragmentations of Cultural Memory and Recycling the Dutch Colonial Past". In: *Groniek, Historisch Tijdschrift*, vol. 40, no. 174, pp. 9–27.
- Gow, J. (2009). "The War in Kosovo, 1998–1999". In: Ingrao, C. and Emmert, T.A. (eds.). *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press and West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Grele, R.J. (1998). "Movement without Aim. Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History". In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (eds.). *The Oral History Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Grenfell, M. (ed.). (2008). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Stocksfield: Acumen.
- Greverus, I.-M. (2009). "Die bleiernen Zeichen der Zeugnisse" [1995]. In: Greverus, I.-M. *Über die Poesie und die Prosa der Räume. Gedanken zu einer Anthropologie des Raums*. Münster: Lit Verlag.
- Gudac-Dodić, V. (2006). "Položaj žene u Srbiji (1945–2000)". In: Perović, L. (ed.). *Žene i deca: 4. Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima XIX i XX veka*. Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji.
- Hadžić, M. (2002). *The Yugoslav People's Agony: The Role of the Yugoslav People's Army*. Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Hadži-Vidanović, V. and Đurić, B. (2007). *Country specific report: Conflict settlement agreement Serbia*. Bolzano: European Academy.
- Hall, B. (1995). *The Impossible Country: A Journey Through the Last Days of Yugoslavia*. New York etc: Penguin Books.
- Hall, C. (1993). "Gender, Nationalisms and National Identities: Bellagio Symposium, July 1992". In: *Feminist Review*, no. 44, pp. 97–103.
- Hanisch, C. (2006). *Introduction to "Personal is Political"*. Available at: [www.carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html](http://www.carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html) [16/09/2013].
- Hansen, L. (2001). "Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security". In: *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 55–75.
- Haraway, D. (1988). "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective". In: *Feminist Studies*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 575–599.
- Harding, S. (2004). "Introduction: Standpoint Theory as a Site of Political, Philosophic, and Scientific Debate". In: Harding, S. (ed.). *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual & Political Controversies*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Hechter, M. (2000). *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Helms, E. (1998). *Representations of Wartime Rape in the former Yugoslavia: Nationalism, Feminism, and International Law*. MA Thesis, University of Pittsburgh.
- Helms, E. (2003a). *Gendered Visions of the Bosnian Future: Women's Activism and Representation in Post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina*. PhD Thesis, University of Pittsburgh.
- Helms, E. (2003b). "Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women's NGOs and International Intervention in Post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina". In: *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 15–33.
- Heumann, S.G. (2010). *Sexual Politics and Regime Transition: Understanding the Struggle Around Gender and Sexuality in Post-revolutionary Nicaragua*. PhD Thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam.
- Hipsher, P.L. (2007). "Heretical Social Movement Organizations and Their Framing Strategies". In: *Sociological Inquiry*, vol. 77, no. 2, pp. 241–263.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1997). *On History*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Höpken, W. (1996). "History Education and Yugoslav (Dis-)Integration". In: Höpken, W. (ed.). *Öl ins Feuer? Schulbücher, ethnische Stereotypen und Gewalt in Südosteuropa / Oil on Fire? Textbooks, Ethnic Stereotypes and Violence in South-Eastern Europe*. Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung [multilingual publication].
- Hughes, D.M. and Mladenović, L. (1995). "Feminist Organizing in Belgrade, Serbia: 1990–1994". In: *Canadian Women's Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 95–97.
- Hughes, D.M., Mladenović, L. and Mršević, Z. (1995). "Feminist Resistance in Serbia". In: *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 509–532.
- Hvala, I. (ed.). (1979). *Društveni položaj žene i razvoj porodice u socijalističkom samoupravnom društvu*. Ljubljana: Komunist.
- Ignatieff, M. (1994). *Blood & Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*. London: Vintage.
- Imširović, J. (1998). "Ženski parlament 1991–1993". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Ingrao, C. (2009). "Safe Areas". In: Ingrao, C. and Emmert, T.A. (eds.). *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press and West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Ingrao, C. and Emmert, T.A. (eds.). (2009). *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press and West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Irvine, J. (2007). "From Civil Society to Civil Servants: Women's Organizations and Critical Elections in Croatia". In: *Politics & Gender*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 7–32.
- Iveković, I. (2000). *Ethnic and Regional Conflicts in Yugoslavia and Transcaucasia: A Political Economy of Contemporary Ethnonational Mobilization*. Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- Iveković, R. (1981). "Studije o ženi i ženski pokret". In: *Marksizam u svetu*, vol. 8, no. 8–9, pp. 5–48.

## Bibliography

- Iveković, R. (1985). "Yugoslav Neofeminism". In: Morgan, R. (ed.). *Sisterhood is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology*. Harmondsworth etc: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Iveković, R. (1993). "Women, Nationalism and War: 'Make Love Not War'". In: *Hypatia*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 113–126.
- Iveković, R. (1994). "L'opposition démocratique et non-nationaliste en Croatie". In: Iveković, R. (ed.). *La Croatie depuis l'effondrement de la Yougoslavie: L'opposition non-nationaliste*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan.
- Iveković, R. (1995). "Women, Democracy & Nationalism". In: *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 10–13.
- Iveković, R. (1996). "Pravo na razliku? Paritet, kvote, da ili ne? Naputak o metodi". In: *Ženske studije: Časopis za feminističku teoriju*, no. 5–6, no pagination. Available at: <http://zenskestudie.edu.rs/izdavastvo/elektronska-izdanja/casopis-zenske-studije/zenske-studije-br-5-6/239-pravo-na-razliku-paritet-kvota-da-ili-ne> [16/09/2013].
- Jalušič, V. (1994). "Troubles with Democracy: Women and Slovene Independence". In: Benderly, J. and Kraft, E. (eds.). *Independent Slovenia*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Jalušič, V. (1999). "Women in Post-Socialist Slovenia: Socially Adapted, Politically Marginalised". In: Ramet, S.P. (ed.). *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Jalušič, V. (2002a). *Kako smo hodile v feministično gimnazijo*. Ljubljana: Založba/\*cf.
- Jalušič, V. (2002b). "Prispevek k razkrivanju novega feminizma v Sloveniji". In: Jalušič, V. *Kako smo hodile v feministično gimnazijo*. Ljubljana: Založba/\*cf.
- Jančar, B. (1985). "The New Feminism in Yugoslavia". In: Ramet, P. (ed.). *Yugoslavia in the 1980s*. Boulder and London: Westview Press.
- Jančar-Webster, B. (1999). "Women in the Yugoslav National Liberation Movement". In: Ramet, S.P. (ed.). *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Janić, D., Lalaj, A. and Pula, B. (2009). "Kosovo Under the Milošević Regime". In: Ingrao, C. and Emmert, T.A. (eds.). *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press and West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Janković, V. (2009). "Cyberfeminizam između teorije i pokreta: Osvrt na Hrvatsku". In: *Socijalna ekologija: časopis za ekološku misao i sociološka istraživanja okoline*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 5–27.
- Janković, V. and Mokrović, N. (eds.). (2011). *Antiratna kampanja 1991.–2011. Neispričana povijest*. Zagreb: Documenta – Centar za suočavanje s prošlošću and Antiratna kampanja.
- Janoff-Bulman R. and Hanson Frieze, I. (1983). "A Theoretical Perspective for Understanding Reactions to Victimization". In: *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 1–17.

- Jansen, S. (1995). *Antinacionalizam: Etnografija otpora u Beogradu i Zagrebu*. Beograd: XX vek.
- Jayawardena, K. (1986). *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.
- Jones, A. (1994). "Gender and Ethnic Conflict in ex-Yugoslavia". In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 115–134.
- Jovanović, B. (1997). "The International Tribunal in the Hague and Rapes of Serbian Women". In: Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (ed.). *Women's Rights and Social Transition in FR Yugoslavia*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju.
- Jovanović, D. (2007). "Koj sum sega? Skica za avtobiografiju". In: Mazova, L. (ed.). *Osloboduvanje na Skopje: antologija – igra i sudbina*. Skopje: Matica.
- Jovičić, N. (ed.). (1995). *Peti kvadrant / The Fifth Quadrant*. Zagreb: Multimedijски ženski centar Nona [multilingual publication].
- Jovičić, N. (ed.). (2002). *Koje sve oblike netrpeljivosti sadrže novi školski udžbenici ili Na kojima se vrijednostima odgajaju i obrazuju nove generacije? Analiza udžbenika osnovnih škola u Republici Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung.
- Jović, D. (2009). *Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Judt, T. (2005). *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. London: Penguin Books.
- Kadić, N. (1993). "Izvešće". In: Šeparović, Z. (ed.). *Masovna silovanja kao ratni zločin*. Zagreb: Documenta Croatica.
- Kaldor, M. (2006). *New & Old Wars*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity.
- Kamberović, H. (ed.). (2006). *60 godina od završetka Drugog svjetskog rata: kako se sjećati 1945. godine*. Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju.
- Kaplan, R.D. (1993). *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kašić, B. (1994a). "Feminisme et pacifisme: Mon propre choix ou celui des femmes?". In: Iveković, R. (ed.). *La Croatie depuis l'effondrement de la Yougoslavie: L'opposition non-nationaliste*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan.
- Kašić, B. (1994b). "Prelazeći liniju". In: Četković, N., Mršević, Z., Stojanović, S. and Vuletić, Lj. (eds.). *Feminističke sveske*, no. 1. Beograd: Ženski centar.
- Kašić, B. (1994c). "Umjesto predgovora. Prosinački dani 1992. – Početak". In: Belić, M., Borić, R. and Kesić, V. (eds.). *Zbornik*. Zagreb: Centar za žene žrtve rata.
- Kašić, B. (1994d). "The Ongoing War in Croatia and How Women Survive by Supporting Each Other". In: *Mediterranean Women's Conference Militarism in the Mediterranean*, Malta 1994, Conference Series #1.
- Kašić, B. (ed.). (1997). *Žene i politika mira: prilozi ženskoj kulturi otpora / Women and the Politics of Peace: Contributions to a Culture of Women's Resistance*. Zagreb: Centar za ženske studije [multilingual publication].
- Kašić, B. (2002). "The Dynamic of Identifications within Nationalistic Discourse: from Archetypes to Promising Female Roles". In: Iveković, R. and Mostov, J. (eds.). *From Gender to Nation*. Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- Kašić, B. (2006). "Feminist Moments, Time-Lags, Innovations: A Case-study of Feminism(s) in Croatia". In: Saurer, E., Lanzinger, M. and Frysak, E. (eds.). *Women's Movements: Networks and Debates in Post-communist Countries in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Köln etc: Böhlau Verlag.

## Bibliography

- Kecman, J. (1978). *Žene Jugoslavije u radničkom pokretu i ženskim organizacijama 1918–1941*. Beograd: Narodna knjiga and Institut za savremenu istoriju.
- Kesić, V. (1993). "The High Price of Free Speech". In: *The Women's Review of Books*, vol. 10, no. 10–11, pp. 16–17.
- Kesić, V. (1994). "A Response to Catharine MacKinnon's Article 'Turning Rape Into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide'". In: *Hastings Women's Law Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 267–280.
- Kesić, V. (2002a). "Muslim Women, Croatian Women, Serbian Women, Albanian Women...". In: Bjelić, D.I. and Savić, O. (eds.). *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press.
- Kesić, V. (2002b). "Gender and Ethnic Identities in Transition: The Former Yugoslavia – Croatia". In: Iveković, R. and Mostov, J. (eds.). *From Gender to Nation*. Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- Kesić, V. (2002c). "Kamo s rodom?". In: Mežnarić, S. (ed.). *Etničnost i stabilnost Europe u 21. stoljeću: položaj i uloga Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk.
- Kesić, V. (2003). "Žene obnavljaju sjećanja. Predgovor novom izdanju" / "Women Reconstructing Memories. Foreword to the Second Edition". In: Kesić, V., Janković, V. and Bijelić, B. (eds.). *Žene obnavljaju sjećanja: Centar za žene žrtve rata deset godina poslije / Women Recollecting Memories: The Center for Women War Victims Ten Years Later*. Zagreb: Centar za žene žrtve rata [multilingual publication].
- Kesić, V. (2004). "Kako smo stvarale B.a.B.e?". In: Belić, M. (ed.). *B.a.B.e. Deset godina 1994–2004*. Zagreb: B.a.B.e.
- Kesić, V. (2005). "Establishing Rape as a War Crime". In: Buchwald, E., Fletcher, P.R. and Roth, M. (eds.). *Transforming a Rape Culture*. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions.
- Kesić, V. (2007). *Feminizam i država*. Zagreb: Centar za edukaciju, savjetovanje i istraživanje.
- Kesić, V., Janković, V. and Bijelić, B. (eds.). (2003). *Žene obnavljaju sjećanja: Centar za žene žrtve rata deset godina poslije / Women Recollecting Memories: The Center for Women War Victims Ten Years Later*. Zagreb: Centar za žene žrtve rata [multilingual publication].
- Kipp, J.W. and Sanz, T.L. (1991). "The Yugoslav People's Army: Between Civil War and Disintegration". In: *Military Review*, vol. 71, no. 12, pp. 36–45.
- Klaić, D. (1998). "The Post-Yugoslav Exile: An Interim Account". In: Austen, S. (ed.). *The Time is Out of Joint: Perceptions of Europe*. Felix Meritis Papers, no. 8. Amsterdam: Felix Meritis.
- Knežević, Đ. (1994). "Frauen aus dem ehemaligen Jugoslawien – drei Jahre danach". In: *Über den Umgang mit Leidenden: Frauen als Opfer des Krieges in Ex-Jugoslawien*, epd-Dokumentation, no. 42/94, 10. Oktober 1994, pp. 1–6.
- Knežević, Đ. (1995). "'We' versus 'I' in Feminism: Problem of Political Identity in Croatia". In: Jasser, G., Verloo, M. and Van der Steen, M. (eds.). *Travelling Through European Feminisms: Cultural and Political Practices*. Contributions to a WISE Workshop, Paris 8–10 October 1993. Utrecht: Women's International Studies Europe (WISE).

- Knežević, Đ. (1997). "Affective Nationalism". In: Scott, J.W., Kaplan, C. and Keates, D. (eds.). *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminism in International Politics*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Knežević, Đ. (2000). "Women's Voices against the War: the Internet in the Fight for Human Rights during the War in the Former Yugoslavia". In: Hick, S., Halpin, E.F. and Hoskins, E. (eds.). *Human Rights and the Internet*. Houndmills etc: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Knežević, Đ. (2003). "Gender and Nationalism in the Croatian Media War". In: Giles, W., De Alwis, M., Klein, E., Silva, N., Korać, M., Knežević, Đ. and Papić, Ž. (eds.). *Feminists Under Fire: Exchanges across War Zones*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Knežević, Đ. (2004). "Kraj ili novi početak? Feminizam od šesdesetih do danas u Jugoslaviji/Hrvatskoj". In: Feldman, A. (ed.). *Žene u Hrvatskoj: Ženska i kulturna povijest*. Zagreb: Institut "Vlado Gotovac" and Ženska infoteka.
- Knežević, Đ. and Damjanović, S. (eds.). (1998). *Vodič ženskih grupa u Hrvatskoj / Directory of Women's Groups in Croatia*. Zagreb: Ženska infoteka [multilingual publication].
- Knežević, Đ. and Zaborski-Čunović, K. (2000). *Izbori u Hrvatskoj 2000. 20 posto (ni) je dovoljno / Elections in Croatia. 20 percent is (not) enough*. Zagreb: Ženska infoteka [multilingual publication].
- Kodrnja, J. (2008). "Skica za ginelogiju destruktivnosti (usporedba društvene i obiteljske agresije)" [1991]. In: Kodrnja, J. *Žene zmiје – rodna dekonstrukcija*. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja.
- Kodrnja, J. and Vidović, K. (1988). "SOS telefon za žene i djecu žrtve nasilja: Jedan od oblika samoorganizirane pomoći žena". In: *Žena: Znanstveni časopis za društvena i kulturna pitanja žene i porodice*, vol. 46, no. 5, pp. 68–77.
- Korać, M. (1994). "Representation of Mass Rape in Ethnic Conflicts in What Was Yugoslavia: Discussion With C. MacKinnon's Concept of 'Genocidal' Rape in This Conflict". In: *Sociologija*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 495–514.
- Korać, M. (1996). "Understanding Ethnic-National Identity and Its Meaning: Questions From a Woman's Experience". In: *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 19, no. 1/2, pp. 133–143.
- Korać, M. (1998). *Linking Arms: War and Women's Organizing in Post-Yugoslav States*. Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.
- Korać, M. (2003). "Women Organizing against Ethnic Nationalism and War in the Post-Yugoslav States". In: Giles, W., De Alwis, M., Klein, E., Silva, N., Korać, M., Knežević, Đ. and Papić, Ž. (eds.). *Feminists Under Fire: Exchanges across War Zones*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Krasniqi, V. (2011). "Feminism and Nationalism". In: *ProFemina*, specijalni broj 2, pp. 53–59.
- Kurspahić, K. (2003). *Zločin u 19:30. Balkanski mediji u ratu i miru*. Sarajevo: Media centar.
- Leigh-Phippard, H. (1998). "The Contact Group on (And in) Bosnia: An Exercise in Conflict Mediation?". In: *International Journal*, vol. 53, no. 2, pp. 306–324.

## Bibliography

- Letica, S. (1997). "Labeling Theory and the Wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina". In: Meštrović, S.G. (ed.). *The Conceit of Innocence: Losing the Conscience of the West in the War against Bosnia*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Lewis Herman, J. (1996). *Trauma i oporavak*. Zagreb: Ženska infoteka.
- Leydesdorff, S. (2008). *De leegte achter ons laten: Een geschiedenis van de vrouwen van Srebrenica*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Leydesdorff, S., Passerini, L. and Thompson, P. (1996). "Introduction". In: Leydesdorff, S., Passerini, L. and Thompson, P. (eds.). *International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Stories, Volume IV, Gender and Memory*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Licht, S. and Drakulić, Slo. (1996). "When the Word for Peacemaker Was Women: War and Gender in the Former Yugoslavia". In: *Research on Russia and Eastern Europe*, vol. 2, pp. 111–139. Available at: <http://zenskestudie.edu.rs/izdavastvo/elektronska-izdanja/casopis-zenske-studije/zenske-studije-br-7/229-kada-je-ime-za-mirovnjaka-bilo-zena-rat-i-rod-u-bivsoj-jugoslaviji> [16/09/2013].
- Lilly, C.S. and Irvine, J.A. (2002). "Negotiating Interests: Women and Nationalism in Serbia and Croatia, 1990–1997". In: *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 109–144.
- Linde, C. (1993). *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lindsey, R. (2002). "From Atrocity to Data: Historiographies of Rape in Former Yugoslavia and the Gendering of Genocide". In: *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 59–78.
- Lipparini, F. (2005). *Per altre vie. Cordova, Bruxelles, Rijeka, Sarajevo. Donne fra guerre e nazionalismi / Drugim putovima. Cordova, Bruxelles, Rijeka, Sarajevo. Žene, ratovi, nacionalizmi*. Opatija: Shura d.o.o. [multilingual publication].
- Liversage, T. and Shou, A.-J. (2001). *Neda: Une vie en Yougoslavie*. Genève: Editions Mamamélis.
- Lokar, S. (2004). *A Short History of Quotas in Slovenia*. Paper for the conference "The Implementation of Quotas: European Experiences", Budapest, 22–23.10.2004. Available at: [www.quotaproject.org/CS/Slovenia.pdf](http://www.quotaproject.org/CS/Slovenia.pdf) [16/09/2013].
- Lukić, J. (1996). "East European Feminist Conference: "What Can We Do For Ourselves," Belgrade, 3–5 June 1994". In: *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 19, no. 1–2, pp. 179–180.
- Lukić, J. (2011). "Protected by Friendship and Caring: Women and Peace in the Former Yugoslav Countries". In: *Signs*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 532–541.
- Lummis, T. (1998). "Structure and Validity in Oral Evidence". In: Perks, R. and Thompson, A. (eds.). *The Oral History Reader*. London: Routledge.
- MacDonald, D.B. (2002). *Balkan Holocausts? Serbian and Croatian Victim Centred Propaganda and the War in Yugoslavia*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- MacKinnon, C.A. (1993). "Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace". In: *UCLA Women's Law Journal*, vol. 4, pp. 59–86.

- MacKinnon, C.A. (1994). "Rape, Genocide, and Women's Human Rights". In: *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, vol. 17, pp. 5–16.
- MacKinnon, C.A. (2006). *Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues*. Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Magelssen, C. and Sarnavka, S. (eds.). (1998). *Žene i mediji*. Zagreb: B.a.B.e.
- Mahmood, S. (2001). "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival". In: *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 202–236.
- Mahmood, S. (2005). *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Malcolm, N. (1996). *Bosnia: A Short History*. London etc: Macmillan.
- Malcolm, N. (1999). *Kosovo: A Short History*. New York: New York University Press.
- Maleski, D. (2012). *Bebeto od katran: Makedonija vo megjunarodnite odnosi (1991–1993)*. Skopje: Kultura.
- Mamula, M. and Pamuković, N. (2003). "Od Šumetlice do Broadwaya" / "From Šumetlica To Broadway". In: Kesić, V., Janković, V. and Bijelić, B. (eds.). *Žene obnavljaju sjećanja: Centar za žene žrtve rata deset godina poslije / Women Recollecting Memories: The Center for Women War Victims Ten Years Later*. Zagreb: Centar za žene žrtve rata [multilingual publication].
- Mamula, M. and Kolarec, Đ. (2001). *Seksualno nasilje*. Zagreb: Centar za žene žrtve rata.
- Marijan, D. (2006). "Jugoslavenska narodna armija – važnija obilježja". In: *Polemos: časopis za interdisciplinarna istraživanja rata i mira*, vol. 9, no. 17, pp. 25–43.
- Marković, Z.M. (1996). "Nacija – žrtva i osveta". In: Popov, N. (ed.). *Srpska strana rata: Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*. Beograd: Republika, Novi Beograd: Vikom grafik and Zrenjanin: Građanska čitaonica.
- Mason, G. (2006). "The Book at a Glance". In: *Hypatia*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 174–177.
- Matijević-Vrsaljko, Lj. (2000). *Ženska prava: pravni vodič za zlostavljane žene*. Zagreb: Autonomna ženska kuća.
- Maton, K. (2008). "Habitus". In: Grenfell, M. (ed.). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Stocksfield: Acumen.
- McNay, L. (2000). *Gender and Agency: Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mežnarić, S. (1994). "Gender as an Ethno-Marker: Rape, War, and Identity Politics in the Former Yugoslavia". In: Moghadam, V.M. (ed.). *Identity Politics and Women: Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*. Boulder, etc: Westview Press.
- Mihailović, K. and Krestić, V. (1995). *Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Answers to Criticisms*. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.
- Miklaužić, Đ. (ed.). (1994). *Kalendar za žene*. Zagreb: Multimedijiski ženski centar Nona.
- Miklaužić, Đ. (ed.). (1995). *Pismo iz rasapa / Writing from the Turmoil*. Zagreb: Multimedijiski ženski centar Nona [multilingual publication].



## Bibliography

- Mikula, M. (2005). "Embrace or Resist: Women and Collective Identification in Croatia and Former Yugoslavia since WWII". In: Mikula, M. (ed.). *Women, Activism and Social Change*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Milić, A. (1993). "Women and Nationalism in the Former Yugoslavia". In: Funk, N. and Mueller, M. (eds.). *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Milić, A. (1994a). "Women, Technology and Societal Failure in Former Yugoslavia". In: Cockburn, C. and Fürst Dilić, R. (eds.). *Bringing Technology Home: Gender and Technology in a Changing Europe*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Milić, A. (1994b). *Žene, politika, porodica*. Beograd: Institut za političke studije.
- Milić, A. (1996). "Nationalism and Sexism: Eastern Europe in Transition". In: Caplan, R. and Feffer, J. (eds.). *Europe's New Nationalism: States and Minorities in Conflict*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Milić, A. (1998). "Nastanak i kratak drugi život Ženske stranke (ŽEST) 1990–1991". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Milić, A. (1999). *O predhodnim identitetima, predhodnoj državi i sadašnjem [sic] feminističkoj aktivnosti*. Paper submitted to the Women in Conflict Zones Meeting, Budapest, 27–31.10.1999 (manuscript).
- Milić, A. (2002). *Ženski pokret na raskršću milenijuma: Izveštaj o empirijskom istraživanju u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori, 2002*. Beograd: Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu.
- Milić, A. (2004). "The Women's Movement in Serbia and Montenegro at the Turn of the Millennium: a Sociological Study of Women's groups". In: *Feminist Review*, no. 76, pp. 65–82.
- Mills, C.W. (1978). *The Sociological Imagination*. Harmondsworth etc: Penguin Books.
- Milosavljević, O. (1996). "Zloupotreba autoriteta nauke". In: Popov, N. (ed.). *Srpska strana rata: Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*. Beograd: Republika, Novi Beograd: Vikom grafik and Zrenjanin: Građanska čitaonica.
- Miočinović, M. (1997). *Nemoć očiglednog*. Beograd: Beogradski krug and AKAPIT.
- Mladenović, L. (1994). "Testimony". In: Reilly, N. (ed.). *Testimonies of the Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights Vienna, June 1993*. New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership.
- Mladenović, L. (1995). "Pet godina SOS-a". In: Mladenović, L. and Protić, L. (eds.). *Žene za život bez nasilja: priručnik za volonterke SOS telefona*. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja.
- Mladenović, L. (1997). "Susrele smo se u Zagrebu". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Žene za mir*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Mladenović, L. (1998). "Autonomni ženski centar protiv seksualnog nasilja". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

- Mladenović, L. (2001). "Caring at the Same Time: On Feminist Politics during the NATO Bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Ethnic Cleansing of Albanians in Kosovo, 1999". In: Meintjes, S., Pillay, A. and Turshen, M. (eds.). *The Aftermath. Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Mladenović, L. (2002). "Ženske studije i rat / Women's Studies and War". In: Dojčinović-Nešić, B. and Popović, D. (eds.). *Centar za ženske studije Beograd 1992/2002 / Belgrade Women's Studies Center 1992/2002*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije [multilingual publication].
- Mladenović, L. (2003). "Feminist Politics in the Anti-war Movement in Belgrade: *To Shoot or Not To Shoot?*". In: Giles, W., De Alwis, M., Klein, E., Silva, N., Korać, M., Knežević, Đ. and Papić, Ž. (eds.). *Feminists Under Fire: Exchanges across War Zones*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Mladenović, L. and Hughes, D.M. (2000). "Feminist Resistance to War and Violence in Serbia". In: Waller, M.R. and Rycenga, J. (eds.). *Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.
- Mladenović, L. and Kesić, V. (1996). "Smijeh, suze i politika: Dijalog – kako to rade žene". In: Četković, N., Mršević, Z., Stojanović, S., Vuletić, Lj. and Mladenović, L. (eds.). *Feminističke sveske*, no. 5–6. Beograd: Autonomni ženski centar.
- Mladenović, L. and Litričin, V. (1993). "Belgrade Feminists 1992: Separation, Guilt and Identity Crisis". In: *Feminist Review*, no. 45, pp. 113–119.
- Mladenović, L. and Litričin, V. (1998). "Belgrade Feminists: Separation, Guilt, and Identity Crisis". In: Renne, T. (ed.). *Ana's Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*. Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press.
- Mladenović, L. and Matijašević, D. (1996). "SOS Belgrade July 1993–1995: Dirty Streets". In: Corrin, C. (ed.). *Women in a Violent World: Feminists Analyses and Resistance Across 'Europe'*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Mladenović, L. and Miličević, J. (1996). "Pamtimo". In: Četković, N., Mršević, Z., Stojanović, S., Vuletić, Lj. and Mladenović, L. (eds.). *Feminističke sveske*, no. 5–6. Beograd: Autonomni ženski centar.
- Mladenović, L. and Protić, L. (1995a). "SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja, tel/ fax 011-645-798". In: Mladenović, L. and Protić, L. (eds.). *Žene za život bez nasilja: priručnik za volonterke SOS telefona*. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja.
- Mladenović, L. and Protić, L. (eds.). (1995b). *Žene za život bez nasilja: priručnik za volonterke SOS telefona*. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja.
- Mol, A., Moser, I. and Pols, J. (2010). "Care: Putting Practice into Theory". In: Mol, A., Moser, I. and Pols, J. (eds.). *Care in Practice: On Tinkering in Clinics, Homes and Farms*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.
- Molyneux, M. (1981). "Socialist Societies Old and New: Progress Towards Women's Emancipation?". In: *Feminist Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 1–34.
- Morgan, R. (1985). "Yugoslavia: Preface". In: Morgan, R. (ed.). *Sisterhood is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology*. Harmondsworth etc: Penguin Books Ltd.

## Bibliography

- Mostov, J. (1995). "Our Women/'Their Women': Symbolic Boundaries, Territorial Markers, and Violence in the Balkans". In: *Peace & Change*, vol. 20, no. 4. pp. 515–529.
- Mrđen, S. (2002). "Narodnost u popisima. Promenljiva i nestalna kategorija". In: *Stanovništvo*, vol. 39, no 1–4, pp. 77–103.
- Mrkić, Ž. (1993). "Discussion". In: Šeparović, Z. (ed.). *Masovna silovanja kao ratni zločin*. Zagreb: Documenta Croatica.
- Mrkić, Ž. (1995). "Uvod". In: Brownmiller, S. *Protiv naše volje*. Zagreb: Zagorka.
- Mršević, Z. (1994). *Ženska prava su ljudska prava*. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja, Autonomni ženski centar protiv seksualnog nasilja and Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju.
- Mueller, J. (2000). "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'". In: *International Security*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 42–70.
- Nation, R.C. (2003). *War in the Balkans 1991–2002*. Carlisle Barracks: US Army War College Strategic Studies Institute. Available at: [www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB123.pdf](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB123.pdf) [16/09/2013].
- Nenadic, N. (1996). "Femicide: A Framework for Understanding Genocide". In: Bell, D. and Klein, R. (eds.). *Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed*. London: Zed Books.
- Nenadic, N. (2010). "Feminist Philosophical Intervention in Genocide". In: Watson, J.R. (ed.). *Metacide: In the Pursuit of Excellence*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.
- Nevins, A. (1996). "How and Why It was Born". In: Dunaway, D.K. and Baum, W.K. (eds.). *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*. Walnut Creek etc: Alta Mira Press.
- Niarchos, C.N. (1995). "Women, War and Rape: Challenges Facing the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia". In: *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 649–690.
- Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (1994). "War and Criminality in Yugoslavia". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Women for Peace*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (ed.). (1997). *Women's Rights and Social Transition in FR Yugoslavia*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju.
- Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (1999). "NATO Aggression of Yugoslavia: Structure, Causes and Consequences of the Victimisation". In: *Temida*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 19–24.
- Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2000). "Victimization by War Rape: The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia". In: *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 28–35.
- Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2001). "From Sisterhood to Non-Recognition: Instrumentalization of Women's Suffering in the War in Former Yugoslavia". In: *Sociologija*, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 213–226.
- Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2003). "Refugee Women in Serbia. Invisible Victims of War in the Former Yugoslavia". In: *Feminist Review*, no. 73, pp. 104–113.
- Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2008). "Razvoj ideje trećeg puta u okviru Zajedničke akcije ZA istinu i pomirenje". In: Nikolić-Ristanović, V. and Srna, J. (ed.). *Mogući put ka pomirenju u Srbiji: Zajednička akcija za istinu i pomirenje*. Beograd: Viktimološko društvo Srbije and Prometej.

- Nikolić-Ristanović, V., Konstantinović-Vilić, S., Mrvić-Petrović, N. and Stevanović, I. (1995). *Žene, nasilje i rat*. Beograd: Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja.
- Nikolić-Ristanović, V., Konstantinović-Vilić, S., Mrvić-Petrović, N., Stevanović, I. and Knežić, B. (1996). *Žene Krajine: Rat, egzodus i izbeglištvo*. Beograd: Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja.
- Noiriel, G. (2007). *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France (XIXe – XXe siècle): Discours publics, humiliations privées*. Paris: Fayard.
- Nordstrom, C. (1992). "The Backyard Front". In: Nordstrom, C. and Martin, J.A. (eds.). *The Paths to Domination, Resistance, and Terror*. Berkley etc: University of California Press.
- Obradović-Dragišić, G. (2004). *War, Feminist Activism and Identity in Croatia (1990–1995)*. Research paper, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.
- Okey, R. (1999). "The Legacy of Massacre: The 'Jasenovac Myth' and the Breakdown of Communist Yugoslavia". In: Levene, M. and Roberts, P. (eds.). *The Massacre in History*. New York: Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Oklobdžija, M. (1993). "The Creation of Active Xenophobia in What Was Yugoslavia". In: *Journal of Area Studies*, no. 3, pp. 91–101.
- Olujić, M.B. (1998). "Embodiment of Terror: Gendered Violence in Peacetime and Wartime in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina". In: *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 31–50.
- Owen, D. (1995). *Balkan Odyssey*. London: Victor Gollanz.
- Papić, Ž. (1992). "Women as Ex-Citizens in Ex-Yugoslavia". In: Pellikaan-Engel, M. (ed.). *Against Patriarchal Thinking: A Future Without Discrimination*. Amsterdam: VU University Press.
- Papić, Ž. (1994). "From State Socialism to State Nationalism: The Case of Serbia in Gender Perspective". In: *Refuge. Canada's periodical on refugees*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 10–14.
- Papić, Ž. (1999a). "Women in Serbia: Post-communism, War, and Nationalist Mutations". In: Ramet, S.P. (ed.). *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press.
- Papić, Ž. (1999b). "War in Kosov@, Feminist Politics and Fascism in Serbia". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Women for Peace*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Papić, Ž. (2002). "Europe After 1989: Ethnic Wars, the Fascistization of Civil Society and Body Politics in Serbia". In: Griffin, G. and Braidotti, R. (eds.). *Thinking Differently: A Reader in European Women's Studies*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Pavlović, T. (1999). "Women in Croatia: Feminists, Nationalists, and Homosexuals". In: Ramet, S.P. (ed.). *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press.
- Perović, L. (2008). "Jugoslavija je bila naša prva Evropa". In: Biserko, S. (ed.). *Snaga lične odgovornosti*. Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji.

## Bibliography

- Pešić, V. (1996). "Rat za nacionalne države". In: Popov, N. (ed.). *Srpska strana rata: Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*. Beograd: Republika, Novi Beograd: Vikom grafik and Zrenjanin: Građanska čitaonica.
- Pettman, J.J. (1996). *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Pipa, A. (1989). "The Political Situation of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, With Particular Attention to the Kosovo Problem: A Critical Approach". In: *East European Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 159–191.
- Polletta, F. (2006). "Mobilization Forum: Awkward Movements". In: *Mobilization: An International Journal*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 475–478.
- Pollmann, T., Kok, R., Smulders, M.-J. and Eimers, D. (1993). *Internationale Vrouwen Solidariteitsbijeenkost [sic] Zagreb 7 februari 1993: Verslag van de Nederlandse niet-gouvernementele organisaties*. Rotterdam: WEP International.
- Ponoš, T. (2007). *Na rubu revolucije. Studenti '71*. Zagreb: Profil.
- Popov, N. (1996). *Srpska strana rata: Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*. Beograd: Republika, Novi Beograd: Vikom grafik and Zrenjanin: Građanska čitaonica.
- Popović, D. (2010). "Youth Labor Action (Omladinska radna akcija, ORA) as Ideological Holiday-Making". In: Grandits, H. and Taylor, K. (eds.). *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Portelli, A. (1992). *The Death of Luigi Trastulli: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Potkonjak, S., Arsenijević, D., Demiragić, A. and Petrović, J. (2008). "Između politike pokreta i politike znanja – feminizam i ženski/rodni studiji u Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini i Sloveniji". In: *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 57–96.
- Prešeren, M. (2009). *Tožilska in sodna praksa v Republiki Sloveniji glede kršitev mednarodnega prava oboroženih spopadov leta 1991*. BA Thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani.
- Primorac, I. (2004a). "Patriotism: Mundane and Ethical". In: *Croatian Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 4, no. 10, pp. 81–98.
- Primorac, I. (2004b). "Patriotizam kao etičko stajalište". In: *Filozofska istraživanja*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 27–37.
- Protić, L. (ed.). (1999). *Žene za život bez nasilja: priručnik za volonterke SOS telefona*. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja.
- Pula, B. (2004). "The Emergence of the Kosovo "Parallel State," 1988–1992". In: *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 797–826.
- Pusić, V. (1995). "Uses of Nationalism and the Politics of Recognition". In: *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 43–61.
- Radović, N. (2002). *Maske i plaševi od krep papira*. Beograd: Medijska knjižara Krug.
- Ramet, P. (1983). "Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter, Parteipolitik und Feminismus in Jugoslawien". In: *Osteuropa. Zeitschrift für Gegenwartsvragen des Ostens*, vol. 33, no. 7, pp. 539–546.
- Ramet, S.P. (ed.). (1999). *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press.

- Ramet, S.P. (2002). *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević*. Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press.
- Ramet, S.P. (2005). *Thinking about Yugoslavia: Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Breakup and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo*. Cambridge etc: Cambridge University Press.
- Ramet, S.P. (2006). *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005*. Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Rejali, D.M. (1996). “After Feminist Analyses of Bosnian Violence”. In: *Peace Review*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 365–371.
- Renne, T. (1997a). “The Center for Women War Survivors: An Interview with Martina Belic”. In: Renne, T. (ed.). *Ana’s Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*. Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press.
- Renne, T. (1997b). “For Women, About Women, by Women. An Interview with Neva Tolle”. In: Renne, T. (ed.). *Ana’s Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*. Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press.
- Rich, A. (1985). “Notes Toward A Politics of Location”. In: Diaz-Diocrates, M. and Zavala, I. (eds.). *Women, Feminist Identity and Society in the 1980s: Selected Papers*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Richardson, D. and Robinson, V. (1994). “Theorizing Women’s Studies, Gender Studies and Masculinity: The Politics of Naming”. In: *European Journal of Women’s Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 11–27.
- Ristić, S. and Leposavić, R. (eds.). (1999). *Šta ste radili u ratu: glasovi iz crne rupe*. Beograd: K.V.S.
- Roberts, B. (2002) *Biographical Research*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Rusinow, D. (1978). *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948–1974*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Salo, P. and Heikkinen, H.L.T. (2011). *Slow Science: An Alternative to MacDonaldisation of the Academic Lifestyle*. Available at: <http://slowscience.fr/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Slow-Science-English-2011.pdf> [16/09/2013].
- Salzman, T.A. (1998). “Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia”. In: *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 348–378.
- Sarkar, T. and Butalia, U. (eds.). (1995). *Women and Right-Wing Movements: Indian Experiences*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books.
- Savić, Sv. (1995). “Konferencija žena o bivšoj Jugoslaviji”. In: Četković, N., Mršević, Z., Stojanović, S., Vuletić, Lj. and Mladenović, L. (eds.). *Feminističke sveske*, no. 3–4. Beograd: Autonomni ženski centar.
- Savić, Sv., Mitro, V., Savić, Sa. and Čanak, M. (2008). „A što ću ti ja jedna pričat...”. Novi Sad: Futura publikacije, Zavod za ravnopravnost polova and Ženske studije i istraživanja.
- Schierup, C.U. (1993). “Prelude to the Inferno: Economic Disintegration and the Political Fragmentation of Yugoslavia”. In: *Balkan Forum: An International Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 89–120.

## Bibliography

- Seale, C. (2000). "Qualitative interviewing". In: Seale, C. (ed.). *Researching Society and Culture*. London etc: Sage Publications.
- Secor, L. (1999). "Testaments Betrayed: Yugoslavian Intellectuals and the Road to War". In: *Lingua Franca*, vol. 9, no. 6, pp. 26–42.
- Seidman, G. (2001). "Guerrillas in Their Midst: Armed Struggle in the South African Anti-Apartheid Movement". In: *Mobilization: An International Journal*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 111–127.
- Seifert, R. (1996). "The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars". In: *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 19, no. 1–2, pp. 35–43.
- Sekulić, D., Massey, G. and Hodson, R. (1994). "Who Were the Yugoslavs? Failed Sources of a Common Identity in the Former Yugoslavia". In: *American Sociological Review*, vol. 59, no. 1, pp. 83–97.
- Sharoni, S. (2001). "Rethinking Women's Struggles in Israel-Palestine and in the North of Ireland". In: Moser, C.O.N. and Clark, F.C. (eds.). *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Sikavica, S. (2000). "The Army's Collapse". In: Udovički, J. and Ridgeway, J. (eds.). *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Sindbaek, T. (2006). "Masakri i genocid počinjeni u Drugom svjetskom ratu i ponovno otkrivanje žrtava (Razvoji unutar historiografije socijalističke Jugoslavije iz međunarodne perspektive)". In: Kamberović, H. (ed.). *60 godina od završetka Drugog svjetskog rata: kako se sjećati 1945. godine*. Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju.
- Singer, M. (ed.). (1989). *Žena: Znanstveni časopis za društvena i kulturna pitanja žene i porodice*, vol. 47, no. 1–2, pp. 54–83.
- Sklevicky, L. (1984). "Emanzipatorische und integrative Tendenzen in der Frauenbewegung Jugoslawiens, 1918–1953". In: Bechtel, B. et al. (eds.). *Die ungeschriebene Geschichte: Historische Frauenforschung. Dokumentation des 5. Historikerinnentreffens in Wien, 16. bis 19. April 1984*. Hemberg bei Wien: Wiener Frauenverlag.
- Sklevicky, L. (1989). "More Horses Than Women: On the Difficulties of Founding Women's History in Yugoslavia". In: *Gender & History*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 68–75.
- Sklevicky, L. (1996). *Konji, žene, ratovi*. Zagreb: Ženska Infoteka.
- Slapšak, S. (ed.). (2000a). *War Discourse Women's Discourse: Essays and Case-Studies from Yugoslavia and Russia*. Ljubljana: Topos.
- Slapšak, S. (2000b). "Yugoslav War: A Case of/for Gendered History". In: Slapšak, S. (ed.). *War Discourse Women's Discourse: Essays and Case-Studies from Yugoslavia and Russia*. Ljubljana: Topos.
- Slapšak, S. (2008). "The After-War War of Genders: Misogyny, Feminist Ghettoization, and the Discourse of Responsibility in Post-Yugoslav Societies". In: Bahun-Radunović, S. and Rajan, V.G.J. (eds.). *Violence and Gender in the Globalized World: The Intimate and the Extimate*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Slišković, M. (ed.). (2005). *Žene u Domovinskom ratu. Snaga ljubavi: činiti dobro*. Knjiga prva. Zagreb: Parvus.

- Slišković, M. (ed.). (2011). *Sunčica / Sunny*. Zagreb: Parvus [multilingual publication].
- Smiljanic, N. (1997). "Law, War and the Female Body". In: Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (ed.). *Women's Rights and Social Transition in FR Yugoslavia*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju.
- Snitow, A. (1994). "Feminist Futures in the Former East Bloc". In: *What Can We Do For Ourselves? East European Feminist Conference*. Belgrade: Center for Women's Studies, Research and Communication.
- Snyder, C.S., Gabbard, W.J., Dean May, J. and Zulcic, N. (2006). "On the Battleground of Women's Bodies: Mass Rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina". In: *Affilia*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 184–195.
- Spariosu, L. and Savić, Sv. (eds.). (2011). *Životne priče žena u Vojvodini: Rumunke (1921–1974)*. Novi Sad: Futura publikacije and Ženske studije i istraživanja.
- Stanojević, V. (1993). "Šta čujemo... šta vidimo... šta radimo". In: Četković, N. et al. (eds.). *Bilten SOS telefona za žene i decu žrtve nasilja*, no. 6–7. Beograd: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja.
- Stasiulis, D.K. (1999). "Relational Positionalities of Nationalisms, Racisms, and Feminisms". In: Kaplan, C., Alarcón, N. and Moallem, M. (eds.). *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Stengers, I. (2011). "Another Science is Possible!" A Plea for Slow Science. Inauguration lecture Chair Willy Calewaert 2011–2012 (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), 13.12.2011. Available at: [http://threerottenpotatoes.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/stengers2011\\_pleaslowscience.pdf](http://threerottenpotatoes.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/stengers2011_pleaslowscience.pdf) [16/09/2013].
- Stevanović, I. (1997). "Women's Rights and Exile". In: Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (ed.). *Women's Rights and Social Transition in FR Yugoslavia*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju.
- Stiglmayer, A. (1994a). "The Rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina". In: Stiglmayer, A. (ed.). *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Stiglmayer, A. (1994b). "The War in the Former Yugoslavia". In: Stiglmayer, A. (ed.). *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Stojaković, G. (2002). *Neda. Jedna biografija*. Novi Sad: Futura Publikacije.
- Stojanović, D. (2010). *Ulje na vodi: Ogledi iz istorije sadašnjosti Srbije*. Beograd: Peščanik.
- Stojsavljević, J. (1995). "Women, Conflict and Culture in Former Yugoslavia". In: *Gender and Development*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 36–41.
- Stokes, G. (1997). *Three Eras of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stokes, G. (2009). "Independence and the Fate of the Minorities, 1991–1992". In: Ingrao, C. and Emmert, T.A. (eds.). *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press and West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.



## Bibliography

- Stubbs, P. (1998). "Conflict and Co-Operation in the Virtual Community: eMail and the Wars of the Yugoslav Succession". In: *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 3, no. 3. Available at: [www.socresonline.org.uk/3/3/7.html](http://www.socresonline.org.uk/3/3/7.html) [16/09/2013].
- Stubbs, P. (2004). "The ZaMir (For Peace) Network: From Transnational Social Movement to Croatian NGO". In: Brooksbank Jones, A. and Cross, M. (eds.). *Papers given at the 'Internet Identities in Europe', international conference, 6-7 September 2004*. Sheffield: ESCUS. Available at: [www.shef.ac.uk/content/1/c6/04/88/28/stubbs.pdf](http://www.shef.ac.uk/content/1/c6/04/88/28/stubbs.pdf) [16/09/2013].
- Sultana, F. (2007). "Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research". In: *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 374-385.
- Sunseri, L. (2000). "Moving Beyond the Feminism versus Nationalism Dichotomy: An Anti-Colonial Feminist Perspective on Aboriginal Liberation Struggles". In: *Canadian Women's Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 143-148.
- Swaneveld, D. (1984). *Vrouwenprobleem – geen probleem!?: De positie van de vrouw in Joegoslavië in de jaren '70*. MA Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.
- Swartz, D. (1996). "Bridging the Study of Culture and Religion: Pierre Bourdieu's Political Economy of Symbolic Power". In: *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 71-85.
- Swartz, D. (1997). *Culture & Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Šeparović, Z. (ed.). (1993). *Masovna silovanja kao ratni zločin*. Zagreb: Documenta Croatica.
- Štitkovic, E. (2000). "Croatia: The First War". In: Udovički, J. and Ridgeway, J. (eds.). *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Šurc, M. and Zgaga, B. (2012). *V imenu države. Trilogija*. Ljubljana: Sanje.
- Ten Cate, A. (2007). *Sterven voor Bosnië?: een historische analyse van het interventiedebat in Nederland, 1992-1995*. PhD Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.
- Tepavac, M. (2000). "Tito: 1945-1980". In: Udovički, J. and Ridgeway, J. (eds.). *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Tešanović, J. (1999). *O normalnosti: moralna opera jednog političkog idiota*. Beograd: Samizdat B92 and Feministička '94.
- Thomas, R. (1999). *Serbia Under Milošević: Politics in the 1990s*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Thompson, M. (1999). *Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Luton: University of Luton Press.
- Tokača, M. (ed.). (2010). *Signali srca / The Signals of Heart*. Sarajevo: Istraživačko dokumentacioni centar and Arka Press [multilingual publication].
- Tomasevich, J. (2001). *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: Occupation and Collaboration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Tomšič, V. (1980). *Woman in the Development of Socialist Self-Managing Yugoslavia*. Beograd: Jugoslovenski pregled.
- Tomšič, V. (1987). *Ženata i opštествoto*. Skopje: Mislá.

- Tromp-Vrkić, N. (1995). "Stereotypes in the Yugoslav Civil War". In: Gerrits, A. and Adler, N. (eds.). *Vampires Unstaked: National Images, Stereotypes and Myths in East Central Europe*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
- Turnipseed, K. (1996). "Electronic Witches: Women Activists Using E-Mail in the Former Yugoslavia". In: *Feminist Collections*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 22–23.
- Udovički, J. (2000a). "Neither War Nor Peace". In: Udovički, J. and Ridgeway, J. (eds.). *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Udovički, J. (2000b). "Kosovo". In: Udovički, J. and Ridgeway, J. (eds.). *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Udovički, J. and Torov, I. (2000). *The Interlude: 1980–1990*. In: Udovički, J. and Ridgeway, J. (eds.). *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Ueno, C. (2004). *Nationalism and Gender*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.
- Ugrešić, D. (1996). *Kultura laži (Antipolitički eseji)*. Zagreb: Arkzin d.o.o.
- Van de Port, M. (2008). "Over de noodzaak van dagdromen: Oorlogsbewustzijn en vredesfantasieën". In: *In de Marge. Genocide special*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 4–16.
- Vasić, M. (1996). "The Yugoslav Army and the Post-Yugoslav Armies". In: Dyker, D.A. and Vejvoda, I. (eds.). *Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth*. London and New York: Longman.
- Vasiljević, J. (2008). "Kultura sećanja i medijska narativizacija sukoba u Hrvatskoj". In: *Etnoantropološki problemi*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 243–273.
- Vidović, K. and Radić, I. (2000). *Jednakost ženama sada. Prijedlog promjene zakonskog tretmana nasilja prema ženama*. Zagreb: O-zona and MMP.
- Vranić, S. (1996). *Pred zidom šutnje*. Zagreb: Antibarbarus.
- Vučetić, R. (2004). "The Emancipation of Women in Interwar Belgrade and the "Cvijeta Zuzorić" Society". In: Jovanovic, M. and Naumovic, S. (eds.). *Gender Relations in South Eastern Europe: Historical Perspectives on Womanhood and Manhood in 19th and 20th Century*. Münster: Lit Verlag.
- Vušković, L. and Trivunac, S. (1998). "Feministička grupa Žena i društvo". In: Blagojević, M. (ed.). *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Wachtel, A. and Bennett, C. (2009). "The Dissolution of Yugoslavia". In: Ingrao, C. and Emmert, T.A. (eds.). *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press and West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- Ward, M. (1983). *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Wareham, R. (2000). *No Safe Place: An Assessment on Violence against Women in Kosovo*. Prishtina: UNIFEM.
- Wekker, G. (1995). "After the Last Sky, Where do the Birds Fly? What Can European Women Learn from the Anti-Racist Struggles in the United States?". In: Lutz, H., Phoenix, A. and Yuval-Davis, N. (eds.). *Crossfires: Nationalism, Racism and Gender in Europe*. London and East Haven: Pluto Press.

## Bibliography

- Weller, M. (1999). "The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo". In: *International Affairs*, vol. 75, no. 2, pp. 211–251.
- West, L.A. (ed.). (1997). *Feminist Nationalism*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Withuis, J. (1990). *Opoffering en heroiek. De mentale wereld van een communistische vrouwenorganisatie in naorlogs Nederland, 1946–1976*. Amsterdam: Boom Meppel.
- Woodward, S.L. (1995). *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*. Washington: The Brookings Institution.
- Wolf, V. (1938). *Three Guineas*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Yanow, D. (2000). *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*. Thousand Oaks etc: Sage.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). *Gender & Nation*. London etc: Sage Publications.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (1999). "What is 'Transversal Politics'?" In: *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, no. 12, pp. 94–98.
- Yuval-Davis, N. and Anthias, F. (eds.). (1989). *Woman–Nation–State*. London: Macmillan.
- Zaharijević, A. (2007). "Feminizam i pacifizam u Srbiji: pitanje odgovornosti". In: Zajović, S., Perković, M. and Urošević, M. (eds.). *Žene za mir*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (1993a). "Militarizam i žene u Srbiji" [1991]. In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Žene za mir 1991–1992. Zbornik*. Beograd and Pančevo: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (ed.). (1993b). *Žene za mir 1991–1992. Zbornik*. Beograd and Pančevo: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (1993c) "Pravo nacije na samoopredeljenje. Pravo žene na samoopredeljenje". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Žene za mir 1991–1992. Zbornik*. Beograd and Pančevo: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (ed.). (1993d). *Women for Peace 1991–1992. Anthology*. Beograd and Pančevo: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (1993e) "Autodetermination of the Nation / Autodetermination of Women". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Women for Peace 1991–1992. Anthology*. Beograd and Pančevo: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (1995). "I Am Disloyal". In: Blagojević, M., Duhaček, D. and Lukić, J. (eds.). *What Can We Do for Ourselves? East European Feminist Conference*. Beograd: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.
- Zajović, S. (ed.). (1996). *Žene za mir*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (1997). "Being a Woman". In: Renne, T. (ed.). *Ana's Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*. Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press.
- Zajović, S. (ed.). (1999a). *Women for Peace*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (1999b). "NATO in the Sky and Milosevic on the Ground". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Women for Peace*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (2007). "Dis/kontinuitet represije nad Ženama u crnom". In: Zajović, S., Perković, M. and Urošević, M. (eds.). *Žene za mir*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (ed.). (2009a). *Žene za mir*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S. (2009b). "Mreža Žena u crnom Srbije posle proglašenja nezavisnosti Kosova". In: Zajović, S. (ed.). *Žene za mir*. Beograd: Žene u crnom.
- Zajović, S., Morgantini, L., Žarković, R. and Nebrigić, D. (eds.). (1994). *Žene protiv rata*, no. 1. Beograd: Žene u crnom.

- Zirojević, O. (1996). "Kosovo u kolektivnom pamćenju". In: Popov, N. (ed.). *Srpska strana rata: Trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*. Beograd: Republika, Novi Beograd: Vikom grafik and Zrenjanin: Građanska čitaonica.
- Zlatar, A. (2005). "Povijest svakodnevice, Povijest sadašnjosti". In: Drakulić, Sla. *Sabrani eseji*. Zagreb: Profil.
- Zukin, S. (1985). "Self-Management and Socialization". In: Ramet, P. (ed.). *Yugoslavia in the 1980s*. Boulder and London: Westview Press.
- Zwaan, T. and De Graaff, B. (2005). *Genocide en de crisis van Joegoslavië 1985–2005: Nationalisme, staatsmacht en massamoord*. Amsterdam and Antwerpen: Contact.
- Žarkov, D. (1997). "War Rapes in Bosnia: On Masculinity, Femininity and Power of the Rape Victim Identity". In: *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 140–151.
- Žarkov, D. (1999). *From 'Media' War to 'Ethnic' War: The Female Body and the Production of Ethnicity in Former Yugoslavia (1986–1994)*. PhD Thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Žarkov, D. (2000). "Feminist Self/Ethnic Self: Theory and Politics of Women's Activism". In: Slapšak, S. (ed.). *War Discourse Women's Discourse: Essays and Case-Studies from Yugoslavia and Russia*. Ljubljana: Topos.
- Žarkov, D. (2002). "Feminism and the Disintegration of Yugoslavia: On the Politics of Gender and Ethnicity". In: *Social Development Issues*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 59–68.
- Žarkov, D. (2005). "Autonomous Women's Centre Belgrade, Serbia". In: Žarkov, D. *Working Through the War*. Utrecht: Pharos.
- Žarkov, D. (2006). "Towards a New Theorizing of Women, Gender, and War". In: Davis, K., Evans, M. and Lorber, J. (eds.). *Handbook of Gender and Women's Studies*. London etc: Sage Publications.
- Žarkov, D. (2007). *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-Up of Yugoslavia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Žunec, O. (2007). *Goli život: socijetalne dimenzije pobune Srba u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Demetra.

## News agency, newspaper, magazine and web articles

- Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13.11.1991, "Die streitzüchtige Minderheit isolieren" by ko.
- Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.11.1991, "Pazifistinnen hoffen auf Stimmungsumschwung" by tk.
- ANP [*Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau*], 07.02.1993, "Vrouwentribunaal in Zagreb wordt strijdtoneel" (unsigned).
- Arkzin*, 01.04.1993a, "Vještice iz Zagreba" by Zagrebački ženski lobby.
- Arkzin*, 01.04.1993b, "Na granici ludila" by Martina Belić.
- Arkzin*, 01.11.1993a, "Utočište od muškog nasilja" by Katarina Dobrović.
- Arkzin*, 01.11.1993b, "Nagrada za mir" by A. B.
- Arkzin*, December 1993, "Informacijom i dokumentom protiv antiženstva" by Katarina Dobrović.

## Bibliography

- Arkzin*, February 1994, “Kršenje ženskih ljudskih prava u Hrvatskoj” by Zagrebačka grupa za ljudska prava žena, Zagrebački ženski lobby, Centar za žene žrtve rata, Žene Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske, Autonomna ženska kuća and Ženska infoteka (press release).
- Arkzin*, 10.02.1994, “Apel žena protiv rata u povodu 8. Marta” by Medica – Zenica (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Ženski lobby – Zagreb, Zagrebačka grupa za ljudska prava žena, Ženska infoteka – Zagreb, Centar za žene žrtve rata – Zagreb, Žene Antiratne kampanje – Zagreb and Autonomna ženska kuća – Zagreb (Croatia) (advert).
- Arkzin*, 06.05.1994, “Muškarcima ulaz – zabranjen” by Nataša Lalić.
- Arkzin*, 22.07.1994, “Pravni vodič za zlostavljane žene” by Suzana Kunac.
- Arkzin*, 05.08.1994, “Žene – Idemo u Beijing!” (advert).
- Arkzin*, 10.02.1995, “Osobno putovanje u sebe” by Andrea Grubiša.
- Arkzin*, 02.06.1995, “Pecivo za aktivistice” by arkzinova natalitetna stožerica (anonymous).
- Arkzin*, 01.09.1995, “Komunicir@m, dakle postojim” (interview with Wam Kat) by Igor Marković.
- Arkzin*, 12.04.1996, “Internet ne funkcionira bez ljudi” (interview with Eric Bachman) by Igor Marković.
- Arkzin*, 08.11.1996, “Kakav ćemo mir osmisliti?” by Martina Stažnik.
- Arkzin*, 20.12.1996, “Remetilački faktor” (interview with Staša Zajović) by Vesna Janković.
- Arkzin*, 11.04.1997, “Žene su manjina od 51,5%!” (interview with Rada Borić) by Igor Marković.
- B92*, 24.04.2009, “Modernizaciju Srbije stopira elita” (interview with Dubravka Stojanović) by Jugoslav Čosić.
- B92*, 10.07.2009, “NVO traže dan sećanja na Srebrenicu” by Beta and Tanjug.
- BBC News*, 15.05.1999, “Montenegrin president condemns Milosevic” (unsigned).
- BBC News*, 17.02.2008, “Kosovo MPs proclaim independence” (unsigned).
- Berliner Morgenpost*, 23.11.1991, “Berliner Initiative ruft zu Spenden für Jugoslawien auf” by Christoph Lang.
- BH Dani*, 20.09.2002, “Između Scheveningena i trona” by Bojan Tončić.
- BIRN Justice Report*, 21.12.2011, “Sarajevo – lišeno duše i morala” by Eldin Hadžović.
- Borba*, 10.03.1990, “Pre podne cveće, popodne – batine” by B. Stepanović.
- Borba*, 02.10.1991, “Računi kolektivnog pamćenja” by Slobodan Šnajder.
- Borba*, 05–06.10.1991, “Prikupljanje razorene nade” by Sonja Liht.
- Borba*, 09.10.1991, “Pučisti neće proći” by V. P. M.
- Borba*, 12–13.10.1991, “Koliko košta jedan tenk” by Janja Beč.
- Borba*, 23–24.11.1991, “Alibi za naručeno ubistvo” by Vesna Radivojević and Milica Kovačić.
- Borba*, 28.11.1991, “Sirene se leče psovkom” (interview with Aida Bagić and Biljana Kašić) by Nenad Briski.
- Borba*, 29–30.05.1993, “Bosanke u mojim grudima. Pismo iz okoline Bronksa” by Lepa Mladenović.
- Borba*, 14–15.08.1993a, “Poslastičarnice iz Vase Miskina” by Lepa Mladenović.

- Borba*, 14–15.08.1993b, “Molitva za smrt metkom” (testimony of a war victim) by Lepa Mladenović (transcriber).
- Chronique Fèministe*, June/July 1993, “CAF, Manif, Convoi et Contacts” by Fanny Filosof.
- Conexxions*, no. 34, 1990, “Where Wives are Never Battered...” by Sanja Milošević.
- Danas* [Belgrade daily], 23–24.02.2002, “Rehabilitacija pet jakih žena” (interview with Vesna Kesić) by Nadežda Radović.
- Danas* [Belgrade daily], 08.02.2013, “Sada sam neka druga, meni draža osoba” (interview with Nataša Kandić) by Rade Radovanović.
- Danas* [Zagreb weekly], 28.02.1989, “Život za sklonište” by Rajka Rusan.
- Danas* [Zagreb weekly], 20.03.1990, “Demokracija ima pišu” by Slavenka Drakulić.
- Danas* [Zagreb weekly], 25.12.1990, “Muška vlast, žensko pravo” by Đurđica Klancir.
- Danas* [Zagreb weekly], 16.07.1991, “Svoga tijela gospodarica” by Slavenka Drakulić.
- Danas* [Zagreb weekly], 30.07.1991, “Mit za smrti” by Nataša Petrinjak.
- Danas* [Zagreb weekly], 01.10.1991, “Karavana mimo rata” by Alemka Lisinski.
- Danas* [Zagreb weekly], 29.01.1993, “Ispod praga ljudskosti” by Olga Ramljak.
- Danas* [Zagreb weekly], 18.06.1993, “Spriječit ćemo neki budući rat” by Edvard Popović.
- Dani Sarajeva 2009 bilten*, no. 1, May 2009, “Baš me briga za granice” (interview with Borka Pavičević) by Želimir Bojović.
- Der Tagesspiegel*, 23.11.1991, “Mit Gesprächen neue Brücken schaffen” by Bi.
- Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, 07.08.1993, “Das ist nicht unser Krieg” (interview with Slavica Stojanović) by Anne-Kathrin Koppetsch.
- de Volkskrant*, 08.02.1993, “Servische mag praten over verkrachtingen” by Ewoud Nysingh.
- die tageszeitung*, 05.11.1992, “Der Krieg trennt auch die Feministinnen” by Dorothee Winden.
- die tageszeitung*, 11.12.1992, “Der Krieg gegen die Frauen von Bosnien” by aku.
- die tageszeitung*, 25.01.1993a, “Wenn es Schwestern zu gut meinen” by Karin Flothmann.
- die tageszeitung*, 25.01.1993b, “Frauenkongreß in Zagreb umstritten” by Karin Flothmann.
- die tageszeitung*, 28.01.1993, “Nun erst recht nach Zagreb” by Lea Rosh.
- die tageszeitung*, 05.02.1993, “Einen Präzedenzfall schaffen” (interview with Catharine A. MacKinnon) by Andrea Böhm.
- die tageszeitung*, 06.07.1995, “Datenverkehr mit Häckern und Häcksen” by Jochen Wegner.
- Die Zeit*, 09.12.1994, “Computer für den Frieden” by Martin Virtel.
- Dnevni avaz*, 07.03.2007, “Želio sam pjesnički istražiti fenomen epidemijskog umiranja u Sarajevu” (interview with Abdulah Sidran) by A. Gajević.
- Duga*, 27.02.–12.03.1993, “Ozloglašena i slobodna” (interview with Isidora Bjelica) by Mirjana Bobić-Mojsilović.
- EIDHR Newsletter*, Winter 1999, “Centre for Women War Victims” by Rada Borić.
- E-novine*, 18.11.2010, “U Vukovaru su stasavali propagandni novinari” (interview with Jovan Dulović) by Žarka Radoja.

## Bibliography

- E-novine*, 16.04.2011, "Thompson od tuge ne pjeva, Kerum se tuče" (editorial).
- E-novine*, 22.11.2011, "Tuđman ostavio Vukovar na cedilu" (editorial).
- E-novine*, 24.03.2012, "Krvnici i žrtve u betonu sramote" (editorial).
- European Voice*, 24.02.2012, "Serbia and Kosovo strike name deal" by Toby Vogel.
- Emma*, September 1992, "Krieg gegen Frauen" by Ursula Ott.
- Emma*, March/April 1993, "Hilflose Helferinnen" by Maria von Welser.
- Everywoman*, July/August 1991, "How Do You Get Rid of the Guns?" by Natalie Nenadic.
- Feral Tribune*, 12.09.1999, "Ubit ću te, ljubavi!" by Iva Karabaić.
- Feral Tribune*, 23.01.2004, "Daleko nam ženska kuća" by Boris Rašeta.
- Forum entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsgruppen*, no. 191, 1995, "Frauen und Bewegungen im ehemaligen Jugoslawien" by Olga Uremović.
- Frankfurter Rundschau*, 12.11.1992, "Das Entsetzen hat den Frauen auch noch die Sprache geraubt" by Roman Arens.
- Freitag*, 29.11.1991, "Der Nein-Virus in Jugoslawien" by Marina Achenbach.
- Freitag*, 23.04.1993, "Als Verräterinnen angeprangert" (interview with Neva Tölle) by Claudia Fregiehn.
- Globus*, 03.05.1991, "Kada pukne vještiji gnjev" by Zorica Radaković.
- Globus*, 11.12.1992, "Hrvatske feministice siluju Hrvatsku!" by Globusov investigativni tim.
- Globus*, 22.01.1993, "Srbi siluju i muškarce!" by Davor Butković.
- Globus*, 29.01.1993, "Nismo zle i pohlepne feministice" by Zagrebački ženski lobby.
- Globus*, 26.05.1995, "Otkrila sam da humanitarne organizacije nemilice troše novac namijenjen silovanim Hrvatima i Muslimankama za velike plaće svojih službenika i reprezentaciju" (interview with Željka Mrkić) by Jasna Babić.
- Globus*, 15.11.1996, "80 posto silovanih bile su Muslimanke i Hrvatice" (interview with Seada Vranić) by René Bakalović.
- Globus*, 09.06.2010, "Ugovor s đavlom" by Boris Dežulović.
- Gong*, Autumn/Winter 2000, "Mjesečno imamo i do 400 poziva zlostavljanih žena" (interview with Neva Tölle) by Igor Marković.
- H-alter*, 03.03.2011, "Važno je nećim se isticati" by Toni Gabrić. Available at: [www.h-alter.org/vijesti/mediji/vazno-je-necim-se-isticati](http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/mediji/vazno-je-necim-se-isticati) [16/09/2013].
- Hamburger Abendblatt*, 18–19.05.1996, "Das Netz für den Frieden" (interview with Đurđa Knežević) by Doris Schneyink.
- Identitet*, 24.01.2012, "Ako je ovako dobro onda pardon!" by Đurđa Knežević.
- il manifesto*, 12.01.1992, "Io, Stasa, donna di Belgrado" by Stasa [Staša Zajović].
- Institute for War and Peace Reporting*, 26.04.2011, "Civil Actions Offer Some Closure for Bosnia Victims" by Rachel Irwin. Available at: <http://iwpr.net/report-news/civil-actions-offer-some-closure-bosnia-victims> [16/09/2013].
- International Defense Review*, April 1991, "The Armed Forces in the Yugoslav Conflict" by Anton Bebler.
- Intervju*, 23.11.1990, "Da li je žena čovek?" (interview with Nadežda Četković and Sonja Drljević) by Milica Josimović-Knežević.
- Intervju*, 19.02.1993, "Kao prodavačica ljubičica" (interview with Isidora Bjelica) by Simo Živković.
- Jutarnji list*, 09.09.2000, "Članice Ozona [sic] istupile protiv obiteljskog nasilja" by S. Č.

- Kareta feministički časopis*, March 1991a, "Prvi sabor žena Hrvatske" by Katarina [Vidović].
- Kareta feministički časopis*, March 1991b, the whole issue.
- Kruh & Ruže*, Autumn 1993, "Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb" (unsigned).
- Kruh & Ruže*, Spring 1994a, "Od štovanja do silovanja" by Vesna Kesić.
- Kruh & Ruže*, Spring 1994b, "B.a.B.e. Grupa za ženska ljudska prava" by Vesna Kesić and Sarah Woodhouse.
- Kruh & Ruže*, Summer 1998, "Uvijek sam bila samosvojna" (interview with Mira Bastić) by Marija Jurić.
- Kruh & Ruže*, no. 19, 2003, "Seminar regionalna mreža ženskih INDOC centara" by Ines Jemrić.
- Kruh & Ruže*, no. 22, 2004, "Rodna ravnopravnost i hrvatsko društvo u zakonodavstvu i stranačkim političkim programima: kritike i perspektive" (transcript of the roundtable meeting held on 13.11.2003 in Zagreb).
- Kulturpunkt.hr*, 14.02.2010, "Džepovi otpora" (interview with Vesna Janković) by Dea Vidović.
- Lol@ Press*, no. 11, July–October 1999, "Don't ask the Impossible" by 23 signatory groups.
- Lol@ Press*, no. 3, 2002, "The Annual International Seminar on 'Women and Politics' in Dubrovnik, Croatia – An overview" by Đurđa Knežević.
- Los Angeles Times*, 30.11.1992, "RAPE: Balkan Victims Largely Ignored" by Carol J. Williams.
- Los Angeles Times*, 28.03.1999, "Tense Montenegro Fears Civil War if Attacks Bring Civilian Casualties" by David Holley.
- Mainzer Rhein-Zeitung*, 12.11.1991, "Weg von der Schwarzweißmalerei" by Thomas K. Slotwinski.
- Merric Life*, 08.04.1993, "Mother Courage II brings war-torn women together" by Lisa Pulitzer.
- Ms.*, July/August 1993, "Turning Rape Into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide" by Catharine A. MacKinnon.
- Ms.*, November/December 1993, untitled letter to the editor concerning MacKinnon's article "Turning Rape Into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide" by Vesna Kesić.
- Münstersche Zeitung*, 11.11.1991, "Gegen den Krieg in Kroatien" by MUE.
- Nacional*, 28.07.2008, "Karadžić mi duguje 35 mil. USD" by Plamenko Cvitić.
- Narod*, 01.06.1995, "Cijena tuđega života" by Ana Lučić.
- Naša borba*, 13.08.1997, "Poželjne i nepoželjne majke" (interview with Staša Zajović) by Jan Briza.
- Naša borba*, 07.10.1998, "Fašizacija i otpori" by Staša Zajović.
- Nedjeljna Dalmacija*, 23.12.1990a, "'Feministice' i 'rasturačice'" by Renato Baretić.
- Nedjeljna Dalmacija*, 23.12.1990b, "Ženski sabor pred Saborom" by Jasmina Kuzmanović.
- Nedjeljna Dalmacija*, 03.03.1993, "Na sudu branim silovatelje" (interview with Dafinka Večerina) by Vedran Matošić.
- Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 27–28.03.1993, "Krieg als Krieg gegen den Frauenkörper" by M. D.



## Bibliography

- New Directions for Women*, September/October 1990, "Yugoslavian Women Pull Together" by Jill Benderly.
- New Directions for Women*, March/April 1993, "Nationalism & War Break Feminist Hearts & Solidarity" by Laura Flanders.
- Newsday*, 23.08.1992, "Mass Rape: Muslims recall Serb attacks" by Roy Gutman.
- Newsweek*, 04.01.1993, "Making Female Bodies the Battlefield" by Susan Brownmiller.
- Nezavisne novine*, 10.02.2010, "Ubi nas prejaki veznik" by Boris Dežulović.
- NIN*, 12.03.1993, "Čuvari na rampi" by Dragan Čičić.
- Northwest Ethnic News*, November 1994, "Activists warn do not be fooled by genocide/rape revisionists" by Asja Armanda and Natalie Nenadic.
- Nova Makedonija*, 27.03.2012, "JNA ni gi ostavi samo dzidovite od kasarnite" by Aleksandar Srbinovski.
- Nove omladinske novine*, 20.05.1990, "U susret velikoj braći" by Ivana Balen.
- Novi list*, 07.03.1998, "Potpora žrtvama obiteljskog nasilja" by Ž. Bilandžija.
- Novi list*, 22.12.1998, "Želimo stvarati drukčiju Hrvatsku" by Centar za žene žrtve rata and Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb (press release).
- Novi list*, 21.04.2000, "Stvaranje uzajamnog povjerenja" by D. Prša.
- Novi list*, 21.10.2004, "Podrška Jadranki Kosor rasparala Žensku mrežu" by M. Hrgović.
- Novi list*, 31.10.2004, "Mesić pridonio mačističkom folkloru" by Rade Dragojević.
- Novi list*, 14.02.2009, "Ženskim udrugama 740 tisuća kuna" by L. Tomičić.
- Novi list*, 03.05.2009, "Statisti neofašizma" by Drago Pilsel.
- Novi list*, 03.10.2009, "Babo na službenom putu" (unsigned).
- Novi list*, 19.11.2009, "Obljetnica Vukovara, obljetnica Herceg-Bosne" by Boris Pavelić.
- Novi list*, 16.04.2010, "Ujedinjeni kažemo: nikada više!" by Boris Pavelić.
- Novi list*, 26.05.2010, "Tuđman i Milošević "nudili" si Bošnjake, ali ih nitko nije htio" by Denis Romac.
- Novi list*, 30.01.2011, "Josipović bi antifašiste izjednačio s braniteljima" by Lj. Bratonja Martinović.
- Novi list*, 07.04.2011, "Štednja zatvara skloništa za žene" by Ljerka Bratonja Martinović.
- Novi list*, 24.06.2011, "Rat koji, zapravo, uopće nije bio pravi rat" by Denis Romac.
- Novi list*, 24.11.2011, "Dajmo novu šansu Miru!" by Predrag Lučić.
- Novi list*, 16.03.2012, "Fusnota prouzročila napuštanje skupova" by Bojana Oprijan Ilić.
- Novi list*, 03.04.2012, "Josip Jurčević: Bleiburg nije komemoracija ustaškoj vojsci" by Tihomir Ponoš.
- Novi Vjesnik*, 14.12.1992, "'Globusova' tjeratica" by Zagrebački ženski lobby (press release).
- Obzor*, 22.05.1995, "Posljednu riječ ima žena" by Diana Glavina.
- off our backs*, July 1991, "Yugoslav Feminists Found Newspaper" by Natalie Nenadic, based on information from Kareta: Asja Armanda, Katarina Vidović, Đurđa Miklaužić, Katja Gattin and Zorica Špoljar.
- off our backs*, November 1991, "Croatia: one woman's view" by Natalie Nenadic.
- off our backs*, February 1993a, "Word from feminists in Serbia" by Kaća Jeremić (letter to the editor).
- off our backs*, February 1993b, "Catharine A. MacKinnon to represent Croatian, Muslim wartime rape survivors" by Amy Hamilton.
- off our backs*, March 1993, "Universal Soldier: rape is war by a feminist in Serbia" [1992] by Lepa Mladenović.

*off our backs*, May 1993a, "How to address the issue?" by Amy Hamilton.

*off our backs*, May 1993b, "More on MADRE" by Aimee Wielchowski, Susan Soric and Sahar Taman.

*off our backs*, May 1993c, "Croatian feminist reply" by Vesna Kesić and Đurđa Knežević (letter to the editor).

*off our backs*, May 1993d, "Voices from a war: an Interview" (interview with Kadra Fazlich, Vesna Kesić and Lepa Mladenović) by Carol Anne Douglas.

*off our backs*, May 1993e, "Mother Courage II: Rape in War" by Barbara Krause and Carol Anne Douglas.

*off our backs*, January 1994, "Response To "Turning Rape Into Pornography"" by Vesna Kesić.

*off our backs*, October 1995, "Women in Black against War Meet" by Elizabeth Carola.

*off our backs*, May 1999, "Letter from Belgrade" by Lepa Mladenović.

*On the Issues*, Winter 1991, "'We Don't Want a Country of Invalids and Fresh Graves.' Yugoslav Women Against War" by Jill Benderly.

*On the Issues*, Summer 1993, "Bosnia: no place to hide: The Balkanization of Women's Bodies" by Jill Benderly.

*opet Feminističke novine*, March 1991a, "Rat u Zalivu" by Staša Zajović and Lepa Mladenović.

*opet Feminističke novine*, March 1991b, "Muški Ustav Hrvatske" by Rada Iveković.

*opet Feminističke novine*, March 1991c, "Ženski sabor" by Vanda Krajinović.

*Oslobođenje*, 26.03.–01.04.1993, "Silovatelji nisu ljudi!" (interview with Dafinka Večerina) by Amra Kebo.

*Peščanik*, 23.03.2012, transcript of the radio programme.

*Politika*, 13.12.1992, "Švajcarkinje u Beogradu" by Gordana Popović.

*Politika*, n.d. (probably 08. or 09.02.1993), "Skandal na Međunarodnoj konferenciji žena" by Tanjug.

*Praktična žena*, 10.03.1990, "Žena pomaže ženi" by L. M.

*Radio 101*, 24.01.2009, "U Oluji je počinjeno etničko čišćenje" (unsigned).

*Radio Slobodna Evropa*, 25.02.2012, "Sporazum Prištine i Beograda o regionalnom predstavljanju i saradnji" (reprinted document).

*Radio Slobodna Evropa*, 25.03.2012, "Rehabilitacije kvislinga: Odriče li se Srbija antifašizma" by Ljudmila Cvetković.

*Republika*, 01–15.09.1991, "Samoorganizovanje mirotvoraca" by M. M. L.

*Republika*, 01–31.08.1994, "Šta možemo da učinimo same za sebe?" by Marina Blagojević.

*Republika*, 01–15.11.1995, "Iseljavanje Srba sa Kosova: Trauma i/ili katarza" by Marina Blagojević.

*Republika*, 01–15.04.2000, "Beogradski ženski lobi" by Nadežda Četković and Jelka Kljaić Imširović.

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 21.12.1992, "Bosnian Victims Tell About Sexual Terror; Women Describe Barbarism, Rape, Torture" by Sherry Ricchiardi.

*Scheherazade newsletter*, September 1992, "Frauen im Krieg. Ein Bericht aus Zagreb" by Erica Fischer.

*Scheherazade newsletter*, July 1993, "Der Stempel der Nationalität – Muslimische Flüchtlinge in Kroatien" by Biljana Kašić.

## Bibliography

- Slobodna Bosna*, 27.06.1998, "Amerikanke u izbjegličkom kampu" by Dženana Aladžuz.
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13.12.1992, "Liste žena za odstrel" by Zagrebački ženski lobby (press release).
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 08.02.1993, "Summit žena traži pravdu" by Sanja Modrić.
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 11.02.1993, "Silovanje žena – i principa?!" by Sanja Modrić.
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 15.02.1993, "Evo kako izgleda 'pristojni' letak" by Dafinka Večerina (letter to the editor).
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 18.03.1994, "Tužila sam Karadžića zbog silovanja" (interview with Catharine A. MacKinnon) by Olga Ramljak.
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 29.03.1995, "Zakon o pobačaju nije Staljinov zakon" by Dafinka Večerina.
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 29.10.1996, "Pomoć ženama i djeci" by M. Petrovska.
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 17.01.1997, "Zabrana pobačaja – kontraproduktivna" by M. Brnić.
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13.04.1999, "O-zona – 24 sata telefona" by M. Ks.
- Slobodna Dalmacija*, 21.03.2001, "Nisam Claudia Schiffer, četnikuša niti antižena..." by I. Došen.
- Start*, 25.11.1989, "Dome, slatki dome" by Jasenka Kodrnja.
- Stern*, 26.11.1992, "Krieg gegen die Frauen: Vergewaltigung als Waffe" by Alexandra Stiglmayer.
- Svijet*, 07.10.1988, "Silovanja na Kosovu" by Lydia Sklevicky.
- Svijet*, 09.12.1989, "Ustav je muškog roda" by Jasenka Kodrnja.
- Tages-Anzeiger*, 29.03.1993, "Schweizerinnen helfen Frauen in Ex-Jugoslawien" by Bettina Büsser.
- The ACTivist*, March 1993, "Manufactured hatred: the Women's Tribunal in Zagreb" by Ivana Balen.
- The ACTivist*, May 1993, "Refusing the reduction of values" (interview with Vesna Kesić and Lepa Mladenović) by Maggie Helwig.
- The Gazette*, 09.08.1992, "Serbian prison guards cited in tales of rape" by Roy Gutman.
- The Guardian*, 05.08.1992, "Survivors tell of thousands killed in Serbian camps" by Roy Gutman.
- The Guardian*, 22.10.2010, "Kosovo's independence is legal, UN court rules" by Peter Beaumont.
- The Humanist*, March/April 1995, "Voices from a war zone – a writer's experiences in Croatia" by Fred Pelka.
- The Independent*, 06.01.1993, "Serbs raped 20,000 as a 'weapon of war'" by Leonard Doyle.
- The Lumberjack*, 31.03.1993, "Women's conference sparks anger, hope" by Dawn Hobbs.
- The Nation*, 09.08.1993, "C. MacKinnon in The City of Freud" by Laura Flanders.
- The New York Times*, 13.10.1996, "Benefits" (unsigned).
- The New Yorker*, 11.03.2002, "War stories; Revisiting the ruins of Bosnia" by Nancy Franklin.
- The Washington Post*, 11.08.2000, "Karadzic Told to Pay Victims \$745 Million; Civil Trial in N.Y. Ends With Judgment for 12 Women Who Survived Rape, Torture" by Christine Haughney and Bill Miller.

*TV Novosti*, 15.12.1993, "S.O.S. za silovane žene" by M. Gaj.  
 [unknown magazine], 09.07.1990, "Pravo na nejednakost" by Katarina Vidović.  
*Večernje novosti*, 24.09.1986, "Ponuda beznađa" by Aleksandar Đukanović.  
*Večernje novosti*, 25.09.1986, "I AVNOJ je 'lažiran'" by Aleksandar Đukanović.  
*Večernje novosti*, 24.02.1990, "S.O.S. Telefon za pretučene" by Sl. Milosavljević.  
*Večernji list*, 28.11.1990, "Ženski sabor" by V. Š.  
*Večernji list*, 27.12.1990, "Drama telefona 428-222" by M. Ambruš-Kiš.  
*Večernji list*, 05.12.1992, "Lobistice promukla glasa" (unsigned).  
*Večernji list*, 16.01.1993, "Koje je zlo gore?" by Diana Glavina and Davor Ivanković.  
*Večernji list*, 15.02.1993, "Tempiranje ekscesa" by Dunja Ujević.  
*Večernji list*, 02.03.1993, "Uklete Holandanke' siluju Hrvatsku!" by Dunja Ujević.  
*Večernji list*, 15.03.1993, "Proizvodnja neprijatelja" by Zagrebački ženski lobby.  
*Večernji list*, 28.03.1993, "Reproduktivna prava su ženska prava. Ženska prava su ljudska prava" by Zagrebački ženski lobby (advert).  
*Večernji list*, n.d. (late 1993), "Karavane prolaze, a srce ostaje" by Dražen Ilinčić.  
*Večernji list*, 31.01.1995, "Da se zločin ne zaboravi" by A. L.  
*Večernji list*, 16.02.1995, "Ginekološki pregledi u kampu" by S. Vukelić.  
*Večernji list*, 26.05.1995, "Peticija Vladi i Saboru Republike Hrvatske" (advert).  
*Večernji list*, 29.07.1998, "Nužne mete' u Sarajevu" by Z. Ra.  
*Večernji list*, 09.04.1999, "Ženska linija protiv nasilja" by H.  
*Večernji list*, 27.12.2000, "Svaka druga žena u braku pretučena ili silovana" by Gordana Rebić.  
*Večernji list*, 04.06.2001, "Nasilje u obitelji kazneno djelo" by V. Š.  
*Večernji list*, 22.09.2006, "Nagrada udruzi za pomoć ženama žrtvama nasilja" by S.Ve.  
*Village Voice*, 13.07.1993, "Battle Scars. Feminism and Nationalism Clash in the Balkans" by C. Carr.  
*Village Voice*, n.d. (between 21.09.1993 and 03.11.1993), "Refugee Road" by Emsuda Mujagić (letter to the editor).  
*Vjesnik*, 28.02.1990, "Užasavamo se budućnosti, ako pobijedi HDZ" by M. D.  
*Vjesnik*, 26.11.1990, "Ženom se – postaje" (interview with Dafinka Večerina) by Mirjana Dugandžija.  
*Vjesnik*, 27.11.1990, "Nacrt Ustava Republike Hrvatske" (reprinted document).  
*Vjesnik*, 13.12.1990, "Ustav, kako to muški zvuči" by Mirjana Dugandžija.  
*Vjesnik*, 22.12.1990, "Obavijest" by Ženska pomoć sada.  
*Vjesnik*, 24.07.1991, "Mirotvorstvo i mediji" by Savez žena Hrvatske, Nezavisni savez žena i Ženska sekcija Samostalnih sindikata Hrvatske.  
*Vjesnik*, 01.12.1993, "Zagrljaji čekani godinu i pol" by Margareta Zouhar.  
*Vjesnik*, 19.12.1993, "NONA – Tamo gdje su same žene" by Nataša Vlašić.  
*Vjesnik*, 07.04.1994, "Ženska linija" by N. Ma.  
*Vjesnik*, 03.03.1995, "Dom ženskoga pisma i slikarstva" by Nada Bušelić.  
*Vjesnik*, 06.06.1995, "Zlostavljanje se može dogoditi svakomu" by Tanja Tolić.  
*Vjesnik*, 09.03.1996, "Protest žena osmoga ožujka" by S. Carić.  
*Vjesnik*, 26.11.1998, "Mintas Hodak: Vlada će se i dalje boriti protiv nasilja u obitelji" by Hina.  
*Vjesnik*, 19.09.2004, "Žene žrtve nasilnika i nakaradnih zakona koje su skrojile – političarke" by Jasminka Filipas.

## Bibliography

- Vjesnik*, 22.10.2004a, "Genov: Kosor preslobodno protumačila naše zalaganje" by Ivana Bajt.
- Vjesnik*, 22.10.2004b, "B.a.b.e. i službeno izašle iz Mreže" by Nataša Zečević.
- Vjesnik*, 25.09.2006, "Zagreb je isplatio 850.000 eura za dom "Duga", a ne za AŽKZ" (unsigned).
- VNVA-krant*, May 1994, "Vrouwenprojecten in ex-Joegoslavië" (interview with Gunilla Kleiverda and Adriënnne van Melle) by Akke Botzen.
- Vreme*, 12.11.1990, "Žene dolaze" by S.A.
- Vreme*, 14.01.1991, "Muška skupština – ženski parlament" by Nadežda Četković.
- Vreme*, 28.10.1991, "Za kim gore sveće" by Biljana Jovanović.
- Vreme*, 02.12.1991, "Vukovar je u Evropi" by Rada Iveković (letter to the editor).
- Vreme*, 23.12.1991, "Potpisivanje mira" by Tanja Topić.
- Vreme*, 18.12.1999, "Izveštaj o pojačanoj represiji u Srbiji" by Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji (supplement).
- Vreme*, 17.10.2002, "Apel" by 27 signatories.
- Vreme*, 25.06.2009, "Proboj na tri fronta" (interview with Vuk Jeremić) by Andrej Ivanji.
- Vrouw & Gezondheidszorg*, March/April 1993, "Wij protesteren tegen manipulatie met slachtoffers" by Gunilla Kleiverda.
- War Report*, September 1995, "The Guardians of 'National Values' and Biological Reproduction" by Staša Zajović.
- Windy City Times*, 16.12.1993, "Hope in the Midst of Horror" by Kelly Harmon.
- Wired*, November 1995, "Balkans Online" by Masha Gessen.
- ZamirZine*, 28.02.2007, "Reagiranje povodom filma 'Vragovi crveni, žuti, zeleni'" by Katarina Vidović, O-zona. Available at: [www.zamirzine.net/spip.php?article4366](http://www.zamirzine.net/spip.php?article4366) [15/08/2011].
- ZamirZine*, 30.09.2011, "Povijesni revizionizam u 'feminističkoj' verziji" by Đurđa Knežević. Available at: [www.zamirzine.net/spip.php?article11036](http://www.zamirzine.net/spip.php?article11036) [01/10/2011].
- Zaposlena*, no. 25, 1997, "Žene utječu na izbore" (unsigned).
- Zaposlena*, July 1998, "Radim sa ženama i za žene" (interview with Neva Tölle) by Igor Marković.
- Zarez*, 09.07.1999, "Ženski dnevnik iz Tirane" by Rada Borić.
- Zarez*, 11.05.2000, "Kako se kalila shizofrenija" (interview with Žarana Papić) by Nataša Govedić.
- Zarez*, 06.07.2000, "Moje privatno nasilje" by Ivana Vukelić.
- Zarez*, 10.11.2011, "Kad utopijske oaze presuše" by Nada Ler Sofronić.

## Original documents

- 7 godina Žena u crnom. I dalje smo na ulicama* by Žene u crnom, 09.10.1998.
- 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence* by Cathrine Magelssen, B.a.B.e., January 1998.
- Action Alert* by Ivana Nana Radić (Mreža multikulturalne pomoći) and Katarina Vidović (O-zona), n.d. (between 24.03.1999 and 09.06.1999). Available at: [www.alb-net.com/kcc/let-2prill.htm](http://www.alb-net.com/kcc/let-2prill.htm) [16/09/2013].

- Activity report during the war time from 25th of March – 24th of April 1999* by Biljana Maletin, Bobana Macanović, Bosiljka Janjušević, Lepa Mladenović and Sandra Tvitić, n.d. (distributed per email on 20.05.1999).
- Amandmani na Prijedlog zakona o izmjenama i dopunama Kaznenog zakona Vlade Republike Hrvatske* by Katarina Vidović, O-Zona, 26.06.2000.
- Amnesty International report Bosnia-Herzegovina: Rape and Sexual Abuse by Armed Forces*, EUR 63/01/93, January 1993.
- Amnesty International report ‘Whose Justice?’ The Women of Bosnia and Herzegovina Are Still Waiting*, EUR 63/006/2009, September 2009.
- Amnesty International statement FRY: Bojan Aleksov and Women in Black – Human Rights Defenders at Risk*, EUR 70/039/2000, 18.08.2000.
- An Appeal to Governments of the NATO Members* by Žene u crnom, 20.04.1999 [in: Zajović (1999a)].
- Announcement of the opening* by Autonomous Women’s Center against Sexual Violence, n.d. (probably late November or early December 1993).
- Annual Report 2000* by Centre for Women’s Studies, n.d. (probably 2001).
- Answer to the letter signed by four Croatian women or feminist organizations* by Vesna Kesić and Đurđa Knežević, 21.04.1993.
- Apel demokratskoj javnosti* by Feministička grupa Žena i društvo, August 1990.
- Apel građankama i građanima Jugoslavije* by Ženska stranka, 31.01.1991.
- Appeal by Sarajevo Women’s Groups* by Kareta and BISER, 30.05.1994.
- Appeal by the Yugoslav Action Group of Yugoslav NGOs and Trade Union Confederation “Nezavisnost”*, 06.04.1999. Available at: [www.greekhelsinki.gr/english/reports/bchr6-4-1999.html](http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/english/reports/bchr6-4-1999.html) [16/09/2013].
- Balkan trail of tears revisited: living with the nightmare* by Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, April 1993.
- Basic information on Antiwar Campaign Council Croatia* by Odbor Antiratne kampanje/Hrvatska, February 1992.
- Bassiouni report (Final Report of the Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992))* by M. Cherif Bassiouni, UN Doc. S/1994/674 (May 27, 1994). Available at: [www.law.depaul.edu/centers\\_institutes/ihrli/downloads/Secretary\\_General\\_letter.pdf](http://www.law.depaul.edu/centers_institutes/ihrli/downloads/Secretary_General_letter.pdf) [16/09/2013].
- Better Pact than War* by Žene u crnom, 23.02.1999 [in: Zajović (1999a)].
- Bilten Mreže protiv muškog nasilja nad ženama* by SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja, April 1997.
- Brief report March ‘95 – March ‘96* by Autonomous Women’s Center Against Sexual Violence, n.d. (probably March or April 1996).
- Call for Solidarity with the Women of Croatia-Yugoslavia* by Feminist Group Trešnjevka, May 1991.
- Croatia Landmine Monitor 2003* by The Landmine and Cluster Munition Monitor, n.d. (probably 2004). Available at: [www.the-monitor.org/index.php/publications/display?url=lm/2003/croatia.html](http://www.the-monitor.org/index.php/publications/display?url=lm/2003/croatia.html) [16/09/2013].
- CŽŽR Opis* by Martina Belić, n.d. (probably 1993).
- Declaration of the First Women’s Assembly of the Republic of Croatia*, 16.12.1990.

## Bibliography

- Declaration of the Network of Multicultural Help in Support of Kadić Plaintiffs' Motion* by Ivana Radić, March 1999.
- Deklaracija žena iz Beograda međunarodnom ženskom tribunalu i konferenciji solidarnosti, u Zagrebu, 7. februar 1993.* by Žene u crnom, Grupa za žene silovane u ratu and Ženski lobi, 04.02.1993 [in: Zajović (1993b)].
- Deset godina Autonomnog ženskog centra* by Autonomni ženski centar, 2003.
- Einladung Deutcher Bundestag* by Edith Niehuis, 27.11.1992.
- Einladung Internationale Feministische Tagung "Frauen im Krieg"* by Women's Help Now and Kareta, 10.07.1992.
- Feministkinje Beograda govore* by Žene u crnom, SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja and other feminists and pacifists, 26.12.1992 [in: Zajović (1993b)].
- Feministkinje protiv nasilja nad ženama* by Feministička grupa Žena i društvo, n.d. (between September 1989 and March 1990).
- Final report Pakrac project Women to Women* by Gordana Obradović-Dragišić and Danijela Babić, CZŽŽR, August 1997.
- Gradskom sekretarijatu za pravosuđe* by SOS Telefon, Ženska stranka and Ženski parlament, 14.06.1991.
- Grant proposal Nona – From Woman's Creativity to Woman's Reception: Healing Through the Arts* by Nataša Jovičić and Đurđa Miklaužić, 1995.
- Hronologija 1991–2002* by Žene u crnom, February 2002.
- Human Rights Watch report Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Kosovo: Rape As a Weapon of "Ethnic Cleansing"* by Martina E. Vandenberg, 01.03.2000. Available at: [www.hrw.org/reports/2000/03/01/kosovo-rape-weapon-ethnic-cleansing](http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/03/01/kosovo-rape-weapon-ethnic-cleansing) [16/09/2013].
- ICJ Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo*, 22.07.2010. Available at: [www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/141/15987.pdf](http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/141/15987.pdf) [16/09/2013].
- ICTY Čelebići Camp (IT-96-21) case information sheet*, n.d. Available at: [www.icty.org/x/cases/mucic/cis/en/cis\\_mucic\\_al\\_en.pdf](http://www.icty.org/x/cases/mucic/cis/en/cis_mucic_al_en.pdf) [16/09/2013].
- Informacija o toku organizacije, početka rada SOS telefona i planu daljnjih aktivnosti* by Trešnjevka Zagreb, 19.04.1988.
- Informacija SOS Beograd*, 08.03.1991.
- Informacija SOS Ljubljana*, n.d. [in: *SOS bilten*, no. 2, August 1990, by SOS telefon Beograd].
- Information from Hunger in Bihać International Women Action* by Nina Kadić, n.d. (late March – early April 1993).
- Information package "Mother Courage II"* by MADRE, March/April 1993.
- Interim Report December 1992 – August 1993* by Martina Belić and Vesna Kesić, CZŽŽR, 23.08.1993.
- Interim Report January – August 1994* by CZŽŽR, September 1994.
- Invitation Women's Peace Meeting in Oberhausen 11–15 November 1992* by Ellen Diederich, n.d. (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1992, before 11.11.1992).
- Ispravak Zagrebačkog ženskog lobbyja glavnom i odgovornom uredniku Denisu Kuljišu*, 25.01.1993.
- Izjava povodom zračnih napada na Jugoslaviju* by B.a.B.e., n.d. (between 24.03.1999 and 09.06.1999).

- Izjava Ženske mreže Hrvatske povodom Međunarodnog dana ženskih akcija za mir i razoružanje (24. svibanj)*, n.d. (probably May 1999).
- Izveštaj o radu u 2009. godini* by Autonomni ženski centar, n.d. (distributed per email on 17.03.2010).
- Izveštaj sa inicijativnog sastanka "Odbora za antiratnu kampanju"* by Vesna Teršelić and Dražen Nikolić, n.d. (end of August or September 1991).
- Izveštaj za 1995 godinu* by Mreža multikulturalne pomoći, 25.01.1996.
- Ja, ti, one... Za nas ili Plesale smo samo jedno ljeto* by Mojca Dobnikar, n.d. (October 1992).
- Javni apel ženama* by Ženska grupa Trešnjevka, Savez žena Hrvatske, Nezavisni savez žena, Radikalna ženska grupa "Kareta" and Ženska pomoć sada, n.d. (late 1990, before 16.12.1990).
- Judgement ICTY Case No. IT-96-23-T & IT-96-23/1-T*, 22.02.2001. Available at: [www.icty.org/x/cases/kunarac/tjug/en/kun-tj010222e.pdf](http://www.icty.org/x/cases/kunarac/tjug/en/kun-tj010222e.pdf) [16/09/2013].
- Kareta description* by Zorica Špoljar, 23.08.1994.
- Kareta izvještaj za 1995.*, n.d. (post-1995).
- Kareta statut*, 08.11.1990.
- Kazneni zakon Republike Hrvatske*, Narodne novine 110/97, 27.10.1997. Available at: <http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/> [16/09/2013].
- Klic k razumu* by Trešnjevka Zagreb, Ženska in družba Zagreb, Ženska in družba Beograd, Svarun Zagreb and Lilit Ljubljana, November 1987.
- Kriteriji ponašanja članica ŽPS u predstojećim izborima* by Slavica Jakobović and Ivana Radić, 13.03.1990.
- Leaflet Curriculum for the School Year 1995/96* by Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju, n.d. (probably Autumn 1995).
- Leaflet Network of Multicultural Help*, n.d. (between June 1993 and April 1996).
- Leaflet Nona*, n.d. (post-1993).
- Letak 8. Mart 1996* by Ad hoc koalicija ženskih grupa Zagreba: Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb, B.a.B.e. – grupa za ženska ljudska prava, Centar za žene žrtve rata, Kuća Rosa, Ženska pomoć sada – SOS telefon and Ženska infoteka, n.d. (March 1996).
- Letak AŽKZ*, n.d.
- Letak B.a.B.e.*, n.d. (1997 or later).
- Letak Mreža multikulturalne pomoći*, n.d. (probably 1999).
- Letter from Nina Kadić to Ellen Diederich*, 11.08.1993.
- Letter from WomenAid International to Ellen Diederich* by Pida Ripley, 29.10.1993.
- Letter of Intentions* by Independent Alliance of Women of Croatia, Autonomous Women's House, Informative-Documentary Center for Women and Anti-war Campaign Croatia, 21.12.1992.
- Letter on the split of Trešnjevka* by Željka Mrkić and Sylvia Kučera, 29.07.1993.
- Letter to Albanian friends from nongovernment [sic] organizations* by 23 signatory groups, 30.04.1999.
- Letter to Austcare* by Nina Kadić, Women's Group Trešnjevka, 14.07.1993.
- Letter to Beverly Allen* by Natalie Nenadic and Asja Armanda, 14.06.1994.
- Letter to Ellen Diederich* by Nina Kadić, n.d. (late March – early April 1993).



## Bibliography

- Letter to Internationales Frauenfriedensarchiv* by Nina Kadić and Željka Mrkić, n.d. (probably February 1993).
- Letter to Julie A. Mertus* by Katarina Vidović, 21.06.1993.
- Letter to Ms. Magazine* by Katarina Vidović, 21.12.1993.
- Letter to The New York Times* by Asja Armanda and Natalie Nenadic, 29.12.1993.
- Letter to Serbian non-governmental organizations* by Aaron Rhodes, 18.05.1999. Available at: [balkanwitness.glypx.com/ihf.htm](http://balkanwitness.glypx.com/ihf.htm) [16/09/2013].
- Letter to Susan Brownmiller* by Kareta, Žene BiH, Bedem ljubavi, BISER, SOS and Trešnjevka, 15.08.1993.
- Letter to the women's meeting in Amsterdam on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1993* by Women in Black Against War and Group for Women Raped in War, 25.02.1993.
- Lista potraživanja za prostor*, n.d. (between 04.12.1990 and 12.12.1990).
- MADRE: Mother Courage II, Toronto, Ontario, Canada*, 25.03.1993. Transcription of the talk by K. Mihalec. Available at: [k.mihalec.tripod.com/madre.htm](http://k.mihalec.tripod.com/madre.htm) [16/09/2013].
- Mazowiecki report (Report on the Situation of Human rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia. Report to the UN Commission on Human Rights)* by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UN Doc. A/47/666-S/24809, 17.11.1992.
- Mazowiecki report (Report on the Situation of Human rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia. Report to the UN Commission on Human Rights)* by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1993/50, 10.02.1993.
- Molba za dodjelu poslovnog prostora* by Dafinka Večerina and Jasenka Kodrnja, Ženska pomoć sada, 1991 (late 1991).
- Mother Courage II Information pack* by MADRE, March/April 1993.
- Nacrt programa za školsku 1993/94* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. [in: Četković et al. (1993b)].
- Narodnoj skupštini Republike Srbije* by Ženska stranka, Beogradski ženski lobi and Feministička grupa "Žena i društvo", 21.01.1991.
- Narodnoj skupštini Republike Srbije* by Ženska stranka, Beogradski ženski lobi and Feministička grupa "Žena i društvo", 18.02.1991.
- NATO in the Sky and Milosevic on the Ground. A Letter from Belgrade* by Staša Zajović, 28.03.1999 [in: Zajović (1999a)].
- Newsletter – Women's Group Trešnjevka* by Željka Mrkić and Nihada Kadić, 25.10.1993.
- Niko nas nije pitao! Žene protiv rata i nasilja nad ženama* by Žene u crnom, SOS telefon, Grupa za žene silovane u ratu, Ženski lobi and Ženske studije, 01.03.1993.
- Oblaci i plavetnilo* by Tiziana Plebani, n.d. (1992 or 1993) [in: Zajović (1993b)].
- Odakle Dunji Ujević uopće obraz da piše* by Zagrebački ženski lobby, 09.03.1993.
- Odgovor na otvoreno pismo O-zone* by Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb, Centar za žene žrtve rata and Kontra, 08.03.2001.
- Odluka Drugog zasjedanja AVNOJ-a*, 29.11.1943.
- Open letter from the Co-ordination Centre of the International Women Action "Hunger in Bihać"* by Nina Kadić and Ellen Diederich, 27.03.1995.
- Opis* by Ženska grupa Trešnjevka, n.d. (between the summer of 1992 and 05.01.1993).
- Organizacija fem. skupa – prvi sastanak*, 23.02.1992 (list of participants).
- Osnivači Nezavisnog saveza žena*, n.d. (probably April 1990).

- Osnivački dokument Mreže protiv muškog nasilja nad ženama* by Stanislava Otašević and Violeta Krasnić, June 1997 [in: Četković et al. (1997)].
- PAŽ letak* by Škola narodnog zdravlja “Andrija Štampar” and Ženska pomoć sada – SOS telefon, n.d. (1994 or later).
- Peticija* by Ženska pomoć sada, November 1990.
- Peticija povodom donošenja zakona o planiranju porodice* by Beogradski ženski lobi, Socijal-demokratski savez, Zeleni, UJDI and Feministička grupa Beograd, June 1990 [in: Četković et al. (1993a)].
- Peticija povodom Rezolucije o osnovama jedinstvene politike obnavljanja stanovništva u SR Srbiji* by Beogradski ženski lobi, UJDI, Zeleni, Socijal-demokratski savez and Feministička grupa Beograd, June 1990 [in: Četković et al. (1993a)].
- Peticija Svjetskoj konferenciji o ljudskim pravima UN 1993.* by Ženski lobby Zagreb, Žene Antiratne kampanje, Ženski informacijsko-dokumentacijski centar, Žene Suncokreta, Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb and Nezavisni savez žena, 10.12.1992.
- Peticija Vladi i Saboru Republike Hrvatske* by 23 signatory groups, 1995 (first half of 1995).
- Petition Boutros Boutros-Ghali* by Medica – Zenica (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Women’s Lobby, Women’s Infoteka, Center for Women Victims of War, Zagreb Women’s Human Rights Group, Women of the Anti-War Campaign and the Autonomous Women’s House, Zagreb (Croatia), n.d. (early 1994).
- Pismo Hrvatskom humanitarnom forumu* by Martina Belić and Nela Pamuković, 07.06.1993.
- Pismo namjera* by Ženski lobby Zagreb, Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb, Nezavisni savez žena Hrvatske, Ženski informativno-dokumentacijski centar Hrvatske and Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske, 21.12.1992 [in: Belić, Borić and Kesić (1994)].
- Pismo o namjerama* by Ženski lobby Zagreb, Nezavisni savez žena Hrvatske, Ženski informativno-dokumentacijski centar Hrvatske, Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb and Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske, 14.01.1993.
- Pismo o namjerama* by Ženski lobby Zagreb, Autonomni savez žena Hrvatske, Ženski informativno-dokumentarni centar Hrvatske, Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb and Antiratna kampanja Hrvatske, 15.01.1993.
- Pismo predsjedniku Skupštine grada* by SOS telefon Beograd, 09.08.1990.
- Pismo skupštinama* by Ženska stranka, 05.07.1991.
- Pismo volonterkama* by Željka Mrkić, 13.04.1989.
- Pomoć ženama žrtvama ratnog nasilja* by Jasenka Kodrnja, 12.07.1993.
- Poruka dr. Franje Tuđmana hrvatskim građanima srpske nacionalnosti*, 04.08.1995.  
Available at:  
[www.hic.hr/domov-rat-Oluja-vijesti-03-04-kolovoza-1995.htm#poruka](http://www.hic.hr/domov-rat-Oluja-vijesti-03-04-kolovoza-1995.htm#poruka) [16/09/2013].
- Poslanicama Skupštine Srbije* by Ženska stranka, 31.10.1991.
- Povelja Antiratne kampanje*, n.d. (July 1991).
- Povelja o namerama* by Ženska stranka, n.d. (probably late October or early November 1990).
- Poziv* by Mreža multikulturalne pomoći, n.d.

## Bibliography

- Poziv by Žene u crnom*, 10.06.1992.
- Poziv na forum o priznavanju ženskog rada* by Ženska stranka, 10.04.1991.
- Poziv na osnivački sastanak* by Ženska stranka, Beogradski ženski lobi i Feministička grupa "Žena i društvo", 02.02.1991.
- Poziv na učešće u akciji "Oružje zbogom"* by Umetničko-poslovni centar "Vuk Karadžić" and Ženska stranka, n.d. (early March 1991).
- Pozivno pismo za osnivačku skupštinu Ženske pomoći sada* by Neva Tölle and Katarina Vidović, n.d. (late 1990, before 03.11.1990).
- Pozivno pismo za Ženski sabor Hrvatske* [draft] by Ženska grupa Trešnjevka, Savez žena Hrvatske, Feministička grupa Kareta, Nezavisni savez žena and Ženska pomoć sada, n.d. (late 1990, before 16.12.1990).
- Predsjedniku Republike Srbije* by Neda Božinović, Vera Litričin and Nadežda Četković (Beogradski ženski lobi), May 1994 [in: Četković et al. (1995)].
- Preliminary schedule Basel* by Ursula Glück, 14.03.1993.
- Presseerklärung* by Ellen Diederich (Nachbarinnen in Not and Internationales Frauenfriedensarchiv) and Barbara Volhard (Frauen helfen Frauen im Krieg), 30.01.1993.
- Prijedlozi izmjena Obiteljskog zakona* by O-Zona, 22.02.2001.
- Primjedbe na nacrt prijedloga zakona o prekidu trudnoće* by B.a.B.e., 01.09.1995.
- Priopćenje o društvenoj organizaciji Ženska pomoć sada* by Dafinka Večerina, n.d. (probably mid-December 1990).
- Priopćenje za javnost* by Ivana Radić (Mreža multikulturalne pomoći), Katarina Vidović (O-zona) and Đurđa Miklaužić (Nona), 02.04.1999. Available at: [www.alb-net.com/kcc/let-2prill.htm](http://www.alb-net.com/kcc/let-2prill.htm) [16/09/2013].
- Priznanje povodom Nacionalnog dana borbe protiv nasilja nad ženama* 22.09. by Ženska mreža Hrvatske, 21.09.2006.
- Program konferencije Žene i politika mira / Conference Programme Women and the Politics of Peace* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (October 1996).
- Program nastave za školsku 1994/95* by Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju, n.d. (probably Autumn 1994) [in: Četković et al. (1995)].
- Program održavanja Ženskog sabora Hrvatske*, n.d. (late 1990, before 16.12.1990).
- Program u letnjem semestru 1993* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (probably early 1993) [in: Četković et al. (1993a)].
- Program u zimskom semestru 1992* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (probably Autumn 1992) [in: Četković et al. (1993a)].
- Program za letnji semestar 1992* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (probably early 1992) [in: Četković et al. (1993a)].
- Program Ženskih studija za školsku 1996/97* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (probably Autumn 1996) [in: Dojčinović-Nešić (1998)].
- Programska deklaracija Nezavisnog saveza žena*, Spring 1990.
- Programska deklaracija Saveza žena Hrvatske*, April 1990.
- Project description Help for the Women – Victims of the War Violence* by Ivana Radić and Mirjana Čupić, March 1993.
- Project proposal for research on family violence* by Željka Mrkić, Women's Group Trešnjevka, 18.12.1991.

*Project proposal Save the Raped Women and Children of Bosnia & Herzegovina* by Željka Mrkić and Nihada Kadić, Women's Group Trešnjevka, 03.03.1993.

*Prosvjedi u povodu istupa Vladimira Šeksa* by Centar za žene žrtve rata, 10.06.1993.

*Protest against the text published in "Globus" on the 10<sup>th</sup> December under the title "Croatian Feminists Rape Croatia"* by Zagreb Women's Lobby, 12.12.1992.

*Protest on the occasion of 25<sup>th</sup> December – the International day against the sexual abuse of women* by Independent Women's House Zagreb and Women-members of the Anti-war Campaign of Croatia, 24.11.1992.

*Prvi skvoterski dani* by Ženska pomoć sada, December 1990.

*Public Hearing on the Rape of Women in Former Yugoslavia* by the Committee on Women's Rights of the European Parliament, 17–18.02.1993.

*Quarterly report of WomenAid International office in Zagreb* by Željka Mrkić, 19.10.1993.

*Rad u ratno doba* by Slavica Stojanović and Lepa Mladenović (Autonomni ženski centar protiv seksualnog nasilja), May/June 1994.

*Rape/Genocide Legal Project leaflet*, 1993.

*Rasprava*, 22.02.1992 (meeting minutes, unsigned) [in: Zajović (1993b)].

*Rat na Kosovu – logika patrijarhata* by Žene u crnom, Autonomni ženski centar protiv seksualnog nasilja and Beogradski ženski lobi, May 1998 [in: Božinović et al. (1998)].

*Razgovor. Učesnice skupa iz ex-Jugoslavije; želje i očekivanja istog*, n.d. (probably 21.02.1992), (meeting minutes, unsigned) [in: Zajović (1993b)].

*Razvoj ženskih grupa u Zagrebu* by unknown author, n.d. (probably December 1992).

*Reaction to the MADRE tour (March 1993 U.S. 'Tour' on Rape in the Former Yugoslavia)* by Kareta, BISER, Žene BiH and Bedem ljubavi, 18.03.1993.

*Reakcija na Appeal by Sarajevo Women's Groups* by Zagrebački ženski lobby, Ženska infoteka, B.a.B.e., Autonomna ženska kuća Zagreb, Žene Antiratne kampanje and Centar za žene žrtve rata, 05.07.1994.

*REDaktura knjiga* by Centar za ženske studije Zagreb, October 2011. Available at: [www.zenstud.hr/images/docs/REDknjiga\\_web.pdf](http://www.zenstud.hr/images/docs/REDknjiga_web.pdf) [16/09/2013].

*REDaktura program* by Centar za ženske studije Zagreb, n.d. Available at: [www.zenstud.hr/images/docs/REDaktura\\_program\\_A4.pdf](http://www.zenstud.hr/images/docs/REDaktura_program_A4.pdf) [16/09/2013].

*Report* by Nina Kadić, Women's Group Trešnjevka, 28.09.1992.

*Report from December 1992 to December 1993* by SOS Telefon, January 1994.

*Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Paragraph 2 of Security Council Resolution 808 (1993)*, S25704, 03.05.1993.

*Report on the Impact Assessment of STAR Network (Phase I – Pilot Phase)* by MAP Consulting Zagreb, 20.11.2006.

*Report on the status of the project: Center for women war-victims* by Martina Belić, 03.03.1993.

*Report "The Referendum on Independence in Bosnia-Herzegovina February 29 – March 1, 1992"* by Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, n.d. Available at: <http://csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=UserGroups.Home&ContentRecordId=250&ContentType=G&ContentRecordType=G&UserGroupId=5&Subaction=ByDate> [16/09/2013].

## Bibliography

- Rezolucija* by Centar za žene žrtve rata – u osnivanju, Autonomna ženska kuća – Zagreb and Žene Antiratne kampanje Hrvatske, 17.01.1993.
- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, UN Doc. A/CONF.183/9*, 17.07.1998.
- Sachbericht Internationales Seminar zum Thema "Frauen im Krieg. Feministische Erfahrung und Reflexion"* by FrauenAnstiftung, n.d. (after 04.10.1992).
- Silovanje kao oružje* by Ženski lobby Zagreb, 05.12.1992.
- Skup ženske solidarnosti u Veneciji 21–23 februar 1992.*, n.d. (unsigned) [in: Zajović (1993b)].
- SOS Hotline for women and children victims of violence opens a center for women raped in war* by Lepa Mladenović and Nadežda Četković, 08.03.1993.
- SOS bilten no. 2* by SOS telefon Beograd, August 1990.
- Statment [sic] Regarding Mass Rapes* by B.a.B.e., 29.04.1999.
- Statement of a Bosnian Survivor Group*. Submitted by Kareta to the Vienna World Conference of Human Rights, 26.05.1993.
- Statement on Treatment of Kosovo Refugees* by B.a.B.e., 07.05.1999.
- Statement to the Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights* by Slavica Kušić, Centar za žene žrtve rata, 16.06.1993.
- Statement to the meeting by Zagreb Women's Lobby*, 07.02.1993.
- Status ženskih prava u Republici Hrvatskoj* by B.a.B.e., Autumn/Winter 2000.
- Statut Nezavisnog saveza žena*, n.d. (probably Spring 1990).
- Školska 1997/98. godina* by Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju, n.d. (probably Autumn 1997) [in: Dojčinović-Nešić and Popović (2002)].
- Tko je feministička grupa Kareta i što radi*, 02.04.1993.
- To the governments of the FRY, Serbia and Montenegro* by 24 signatory groups, 10.05.1999. Available at: <http://wri-irg.org/de/node/5934> [16/09/2013].
- Učesnice Trećeg jugoslovenskog feminističkog skupa u Beogradu od 30 marta do 1 aprila 1990*, n.d. (Spring 1990).
- UN Fact Sheet Unite to End Violence Against Women* by the United Nations Department of Public Information, DPI/2498, February 2008. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/women/endviolence/pdf/VAW.pdf> [16/09/2013].
- UN Security Council Resolution 757 (1992)*, 30.05.1992. Available at: [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/757%281992%29](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/757%281992%29) [16/09/2013].
- UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999)*, 10.06.1999. Available at: [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1244%281999%29](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1244%281999%29) [16/09/2013].
- UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*, 31.10.2000. Available at: [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325%282000%29](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325%282000%29) [16/09/2013].
- UN Security Council Resolution 1820 (2008)*, 19.06.2008. Available at: [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1820%282008%29](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1820%282008%29) [16/09/2013].
- Ustav Republike Hrvatske*, Narodne Novine 56/90, 22.12.1990. Available at: [http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1990\\_12\\_56\\_1092.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1990_12_56_1092.html) [16/09/2013].

- Ustav Republike Srbije*, Službeni glasnik 1/90, 28.09.1990. Available at: <http://www.e-glasnik.rs/SIGlasnikPortal/pages/home.xhtml> [16/09/2013].
- Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*, A/CONF. 157/23, 12 July 1993. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/development/devagenda/humanrights.shtml> [16/09/2013].
- Warburton report (EC Investigative mission into the treatment of Muslim women in the former Yugoslavia)* by Dame Ann Warburton, 03.02.1993.
- Who are we? Where are we?* by Women's Help Now and Kareta, 10.07.1992.
- Why International Feminist Meeting "Women in War"?* by Women's Help Now and Kareta, 10.07.1992.
- Witness Protection Program leaflet* by Natalie Nenadic and Asja Armanda, April 1994.
- Women in Black statement* by Staša Zajović, 09.06.2000.
- Women's Ad Hoc Coalition 1999 Members*, n.d. (between 1999 and 24.01.2000).
- Women's Consultation on Peace in Former Yugoslavia* by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1994.
- Women's Studies Project* by Ženska infoteka, n.d. (late Summer 1994).
- Zagreb Women's Lobby leaflet*, n.d. (post-1992).
- Zahtjev* by Biljana Kašić and Katarina Vidović, Ženska pomoć sada, 21.02.1990.
- Zahtjevi sa sastanka* by Kareta, Mreža multikulturalne pomoći, Nona, O-zona and Ženska pomoć sada – SOS Telefon, 15.05.1996.
- Zaključci Trećeg jugoslovenskog feminističkog skupa*, 01.04.1990.
- Zapisnik osnivačke sjednice Ženskog informacijsko-dokumentacijskog centra* by Vanja Nikolić, 05.11.1992.
- Zašto nema mirovnih demonstracija Žena u crnom. Jedan lični odgovor* by Lepa Mladenović, 01.06.1999.
- Zašto smo odlučile da NEĆEMO bojkotirati ovaj skup* by Ivana Balen, Martina Belić, Barbara Berce, Nives Brzič, Mojca Dobnikar, Snežana Jovanović, Biljana Kašić, Lea Lenček, Nela Pamuković, Smilja Pipuš, Dragana Rajković, Erika Schaur, Mirjana Tozon and Neva Tölle, n.d. (October 1992).
- Zur Tagung "Frauen im Krieg" vom 2.10.–4.10.1992 in Zagreb* by Heidi Burmeister and Olga Prunk, n.d. [in: *Mitteilungsblatt Bereich Europa der Frauen-Anstiftung*, no. 1, 30.09.1992].
- Žene u crnom – Beograd* by Žene u crnom, n.d. [in: Četković et al. (1993a)].
- Žene u crnom protiv rata* by Žene u crnom, 09.10.1991.
- Žene u crnom (rad u kampovima)* by Jadranka Miličević, 21.03.1994.
- Žene za mir* by Beogradski ženski lobi, Feministička grupa "Žena i društvo" and Ženska frakcija SDP, March 1991.
- Žene za mir* by Jasenka Kodrnja, Dafinka Večerina, Inge Perko and Ivana Radić, 05.07.1991.
- Ženska izborna platforma* by Ad hoc koalicija za praćenje i utjecanje na Izbore '95 u Republici Hrvatskoj, n.d. (1995).
- Ženska izborna platforma* by Ad hoc koalicija za praćenje i utjecanje na Izbore '97 u Republici Hrvatskoj, February 1997.
- Ženska izborna platforma* by Ad hoc koalicija za praćenje i utjecanje na Izbore '99 u Republici Hrvatskoj, 17.04.1999.
- Ženska lista – Program neposrednih akcija*, n.d. (early 1990).

## Bibliography

- Ženska pomoć sada izvještaj za 1993* by Jasenka Kodrnja, n.d. (post-1993).  
*Ženski studiji '95* by Centar za ženske studije n.d. (early 1995).  
*Ženski studiji 1995–1996* by Jasminka Pešut, Centar za ženske studije, 05.09.2001.  
*Ženski studiji 1996–1997* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (early Autumn 1996).  
*Ženski studiji 1997–1998* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (early Autumn 1997).  
*Ženski studiji 1998–1999* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (early Autumn 1998).  
*Ženski studiji 1999–2000* by Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (early Autumn 1999).  
*Ženskostudijski spomenar 1995–2005* by Biljana Kašić and Susan Jakopec, Centar za ženske studije, n.d. (2005).

## Films and TV programmes

- I bi svjetlost.* (NOR/BIH, 2007). Documentary film by Džemal Sokolović. Produced by University of Bergen (Bergen) and Institut za demokratiju (Konjic).  
*Let the people speak! Shpansko Refugee Camp.* (USA, 1993). Documentary film by Trella Laughlin. Produced by Foundation for Compassionate Society (Austin).  
*ML Mona Lisa.* (DEU, 1992). Weekly TV Programme of Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (Mainz). Edition aired on 15.11.1992.  
*Pad Krajine.* (SRB, 2007). Documentary film by Filip Švarm. Produced by Radiotelevizija Srbije (Belgrade) and Vreme film (Belgrade).  
*Slika na sliku.* (HRV, 1993). TV programme of Hrvatska radiotelevizija (Zagreb). Edition aired in early June 1993 (precise date unknown). Available at: [www.slobodanpraljakk.com/RATNI\\_VIDEO-2.html](http://www.slobodanpraljakk.com/RATNI_VIDEO-2.html) (DVD 55) [16/09/2013].  
*Vragovi crveni, žuti i zeleni.* (HRV, 2007). Documentary film by Martina Globočnik. Produced by Fade In (Zagreb).  
*Why Don't Women Make War? Memories of Women in the Balkans War 1991–1999.* (ITA, 2004). Documentary film by Nicola Nannavecchia and Manuela Pecorari. Produced by Doc/film (Carpi) and Maus and Muttley (Reggio Emilia).

## Websites

- Asocijacija autonomnih ženskih inicijativa*, [www.awin.org.rs](http://www.awin.org.rs) [16/09/2013].  
*Autonomni ženski centar*, [www.womenngo.org.rs](http://www.womenngo.org.rs) [16/09/2013].  
*Centar za žene žrtve rata*, [www.czzzr.hr](http://www.czzzr.hr) [16/09/2013].  
*Centar za ženske studije Zagreb*, [www.zenstud.hr](http://www.zenstud.hr) [16/09/2013].  
*Centar za ženske studije Beograd*, [www.zenskestudie.edu.rs/](http://www.zenskestudie.edu.rs/) [16/09/2013].  
*Centar za ženske studije Beograd*, “Naš rad su pomogli”, [www.zenskestudie.edu.rs/o-nama/nas-rad-su-pomogli](http://www.zenskestudie.edu.rs/o-nama/nas-rad-su-pomogli) [16/09/2013].  
*Inicijativa za REKOM*, [www.zarekom.org/In-The-News.en.html](http://www.zarekom.org/In-The-News.en.html) [16/09/2013].  
*Joint History Project*, [www.cdsee.org/projects/jhp](http://www.cdsee.org/projects/jhp) [16/09/2013].  
*Memorial per la pau*, [www.memorialpau.org/Econcedits.htm](http://www.memorialpau.org/Econcedits.htm) [16/09/2013].  
*SOS telefon Beograd*, [www.sostelefon.org.rs/onama/istorijat.html](http://www.sostelefon.org.rs/onama/istorijat.html) [16/09/2013].

*Women War Memory*, “Nezavisni savez žena”,  
[www.women-war-memory.org/index.php/hr/povijest/raskol-zenske-scene/66-nezavisni-savez-zena](http://www.women-war-memory.org/index.php/hr/povijest/raskol-zenske-scene/66-nezavisni-savez-zena) [16/09/2013].

*Žene u crnom*, [www.zeneucrnom.org](http://www.zeneucrnom.org) [16/09/2013].

*Ženska mreža Hrvatske*, [www.zenska-mreza.hr/](http://www.zenska-mreza.hr/) [16/09/2013].