



**HELSINŠKI ODBOR ZA LJUDSKA PRAVA U SRBIJI**  
**HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN SERBIA**

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**HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN SERBIA**  
**ACTIVITY REPORT**  
**2020-2021**

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# Making Diversity Reality: Building Inclusive Society through Education and Culture

The action aims to equip and reinforce young multipliers of intercultural competencies acquired through history education and arts and to support empowerment and networking of state and non-state actors encouraging and advancing cultural diversity and pluralism in society. It has been implemented since early 2020, with the support of the European Union.

## 1. Workshops for Historians

28 historians, social sciences researchers, and practitioners from Serbia learned how to recognize the prevailing ethnocentric narratives in historiography and history teaching, and to develop an approach that will integrate various perspectives and different ideological and value interpretations of the common Yugoslav/Balkan peoples. Workshops "About Memory and Forgetting in the History of Yugoslavia" and "Past worth Remembering" gathered participants of different ethnic and religious backgrounds from Belgrade, Novi Sad, Leskovac, Novi Pazar, Vršac, Donji Ribnik, Novi Sad, Jagodina, Niš, Prijepolje, Ub, Užice, and Vranje. Six of them employed the knowledge acquired in workshops and tested the teaching methodology by lecturing around 50 high-schoolers in Serbia.

## 2. Creation of learning materials and knowledge transfer

The multilingual web portal "[Intercultural Education](#)" promoting intercultural diversity through culture and teaching history was launched in 2020. It offers additional and alternative learning resources to be used in and outside classrooms with the purpose of strengthening the intercultural competencies of young people.

The illustrated publication "[Past Worth Remembering](#)" presents the history-related educational portal content through appealing drawings. The publication was published in e-form and presented in three local communities in Serbia.

Three digital lessons on the less-known examples of interethnic cooperation and solidarity in Serbia promoted cultural diversity and interethnic cooperation in Serbia and supplemented formal educational programs. The lessons tackled [Albanian-Serbian cooperation](#) in Kosovo in 1906-1907, the [suffering of Roma people](#) in Leskovac during WWII, and [civic resistance](#) to anti-Jew policies in Serbia in the mid-19th century. Lessons were developed in cooperation with participants in the workshop for history students held in 2020.

Three knowledge transfer events engaged 50 high-school students and 20 citizens in learning about hidden aspects of intercultural cooperation and solidarity in Serbia throughout history. The lectures were delivered by participants in the HCHR's educational programme and held in three different local communities.

## 3. Art Workshops and Exhibitions

26 young artists learned how to increase their capacities to embrace diversity and to cooperate with their peers of different backgrounds in joint production. Workshops "The Role of Art in Social Struggles" and "A Very Usable Knowledge" provided the platform for artists from Novi Pazar, Belgrade, Vršac, Niš, Leskovac, Bujanovac, and Ruma in the designing and preparing artworks calling to action in regard to important socio-political issues.

The exhibition "The Role of Art in Social Struggles" presented various perspectives of young people on issues of equality in education, domination and power relations, migrant crisis, developmental disabilities, and cultural, religious and economic disparities among communities living in Serbia. These reflections were shared through photographs, drawings, and collages. The artistic group involved young Albanians from south Serbia, Bosniaks from Sandžak, along with members of the majority Serb population from Niš, Leskovac,

Beograd, and Vršac. The communities of Leskovac, Vršac, and Novi Pazar were positively affected by this exhibition promoting diversity, cooperation, human rights, and solidarity.

#### **4. Cultural Diversity Network**

The Cultural Diversity Network was launched in 2020, to mobilise and empower independent cultural actors in the process of designing and implementing cultural policies based on pluralism and respect for diversity. Members include writers, pianists, poets, art historians, curators, professors, ballet dancers, civic activists active in the field of interculturalism, researchers in the field of audience studies, new media, cultural diversity and cultural policy and management, experts in multiculturalism, minority rights, power of personal responsibility and ethics, socio-cultural aspects of regionalization, and musicologists. The Network engages in researching and advocating for an alternative cultural approach in Serbia that will move forward to a more open and plural cultural model.

# Legacy of Yugoslavia and the Future of the Region

The action contributed to regional normalization and building of a fact-based culture of memory through spreading solid and multi-perspective historical accounts and empowering younger, educated generations in promoting reconciliation, democratization and modernization in the entire post-Yugoslav territory. Implemented in 2019-2021, with the support of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Embassy to Belgrade.

## 1. Multi-perspective and Fact-Based Historical Account of Yugoslavia

Three-year research into all relevant aspects of Yugoslavia in its final decade involved more than 50 scholars from all post-Yugoslav states. Under the guidance of the Editorial Board that consisted of historians Latinka Perović, Nenad Makuljević (Serbia), Drago Roksandić, Tvrtko Jakovina (Croatia), Husnija Kamberović (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Božo Repe, Mitja Velikonja (Slovenia), and Šerbo Rastoder (Montenegro), renowned scholars joined forces to produce the 900 pages book [“Yugoslavia: Chapter 1980-1991”](#). The book presents the topic in eleven chapters, addressing the questions of the functioning of the Federation, responses to the economic crisis, the social fabric of the time, the role of intellectuals and religious communities, and the state of play in culture and historiography. This is the second volume of the HCHR’s capital research that aims to answer the question of how to value Yugoslavia, as well as to provide a more detailed and comprehensive insight into the causes of the bloody dissolution in the 1990s (the first volume [“Yugoslavia in Historical Perspective”](#) was published in 2017).

The bilingual portal [YU History](#) offered more topic-specific studies than the book itself. In the period 2019-2021, the YU History portal was visited 38,752,530 times, with 3,087,966 unique users.

## 2. Interactive Education

40 senior and postgraduate students from post-Yugoslav states expanded their knowledge and research focus to the issues of political, ethnonational, economic and gender context in Yugoslavia, political ideas and practices, emancipatory discourses, reform initiatives, post-YU historical revisionism, political myths, and narratives of heroism and martyrdom. Schools [“Revisionism and Historical Myth”](#) and [“The Emancipatory Potential of Yugoslavia”](#) gathered students from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, and Serbia.

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*“The school is a rare example of a very successful combination of academic and socially engaged historiography that reaches out and connects young historians from the post-Yugoslav region”*  
(Milivoj Bešlin, historian and school lecturer)

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Four short videos showcased the school: [Women in Socialist Yugoslavia](#), [Yugoslavia as a Space for Cultural and Political Emancipation](#), [What Emancipation for Bosnia and Herzegovina](#), and [Yugoslavia as a Developmental Project](#).

## 3. Discussion of relevant socio-political issues

46 panellists in seven round tables held in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Priština, Podgorica, and Skopje exchanged opinions and discussed the pressing issues of revisionism in the post-Yugoslav space, bilateral relations, and foreign policy, and illuminated the social, political and economic circumstances of living in Yugoslavia in the 1980s. At least 770 people have watched these discussions in-person and online. Panelists included historians like Dubravka Stojanović, Ivo Banac, Husnija Kamberović; political scientist like NERzuk Ćurak, Dejan Jović, Dragan Đukanović; sociologists like Slavo Kukuć; former diplomats such as Ylber Hysa, Božo Kovačević, and many others.

# Srebrenica Theatre Play

The action contributed to opening Serbian society for an inclusive and fact-based dialogue on violent past, thus paving the way to a mutual understanding and reconciliation in the post-Yugoslavia region. It was supported by European Union, National Endowment for Democracy, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Canada.

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*"I am glad to have a chance to see this play in Zagreb. It was therapy for me. Thank you for that flag". (a Serbian citizen currently living in Zagreb and referring to the Serbian flag with the names of genocide victims that was presented at the end of the play)*

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The first-ever theatre play in Serbia to thematize the Srebrenica genocide was staged on September 24, 2020, in Belgrade. The theatre play reminded Serbian public of the holders of responsibility for the war crime of genocide that was committed in Srebrenica in July 1995. It went beyond the crime and the perpetrators, and shed the light on the actors who prepared the ground for atrocities to be committed. Namely, the organizers, commanders and the perpetrators have largely been prosecuted, but the inspirers remained unpunished and are still distinguished members of Serbian society. The play also went beyond the usual notion of Srebrenica being a fabricated crime, disconnected from us, and revealed the ideological, psychological, and business mechanism for denying crimes. The action was dedicated to the victims of the Srebrenica genocide and was among the rare events in Serbia commemorating the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of their suffering.

The author and director of the play was Zlatko Paković, and it was performed by renowned actors Ivan Jevtović, Milena Moravčević, Boris Milivojević, Katarina Jovanović, Vahid Džanković, and Andreja Kargačin; scenographer: Nikola Dzafo; costume designer Vesna Teodosić, composer Božidar Obradinović.

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*"The key is this conversation we had after, which is actually an integral part of the play, not to say actually discursive part of the theatre, a lot of things have now taken their place in this conversation with you and your interpretation."*

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After the premiere and replays in Belgrade, the play was staged in Zagreb (Croatia), Tuzla (BiH), and Novi Pazar (Serbia). In Zagreb, the play was staged during the Perforacije Festival, in partnership with the Documenta-Center for Dealing with the Past and the Association Domino. In Tuzla, the theatre play was staged in the Tuzla National Theatre, in cooperation with this theatre. In Novi Pazar, the high demand lead to two performances, both in the Cultural Center of Novi Pazar.

The final performance was held in Belgrade-Serbia, on July 11<sup>th</sup>, marking the 26<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. On the occasion of theatre play performances and public debate that unfolded

afterwards, the citizens discussed this issue of responsibility for war crimes, as well as the ways of expressing solidarity to victims. In addition, around 5,500 people watched the online screenings that were organized periodically.

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*„The biggest problem of literature - that has to do with theatre also - is actually a problem of nationalism and ideological readings that we, as professors, carry in classrooms. We must talk publicly about those problems."*

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The theatre play was followed by the media campaign informing and educating citizens on the hidden aspects of the genocide in Srebrenica, such as the responsibility of intellectuals for warmongering. An important public discussion on the accountability for war propaganda and the crimes had unfolded.

# Revitalizing De-radicalization and Reintegration Processes in Serbia

With the support of the Kingdom of Netherlands and the Embassy to Belgrade, the action supported state and non-state actors in Serbia in achieving the objectives of the National Strategy for the Prevention and Countering Terrorism as well as the Action Plan between the EU and WB countries.

## 1. Analysis and policy recommendation

A multidisciplinary team consisting of in-house and external experts analysed relevant national strategic frameworks and legal documents to assess how effective an approach in addressing the issues of extremism and radicalization is. The analysis revealed that there is a multi-departmental response to the challenges of terrorism and the involvement of various institutions, but also that the legal framework insufficiently recognizes the importance of a multisectoral approach and involvement of various sectors of society in all phases of strategic management in the field of prevention and fight against terrorism. The analysis lists a set of recommendations of crucial importance for developing a new, more comprehensive and consistent strategic approach to prevent and combat extremism and terrorism.

A comparative analysis of judiciary practices involved judgements in cases against fighters going to foreign battlefields. 32 judgements were analysed, including one in the case of seven foreign fighters in Syria and 31 in cases against citizens of Serbia taking part in the conflict in Ukraine. The most striking finding was the disparity in practically identical cases: judicial authorities used different criminal qualifications of Serbian foreign fighters in Syria and Ukraine, and they invested greater efforts to detect, prosecute and sanction Serbian foreign fighters in Syria than those fighting in Ukraine. Finally, foreign fighters in Syria were sentenced to multiple years in prison, while Serbian fighters in Ukraine were given far shorter sentences.

The research also included other phenomena that are contributing to radicalization, such as the unconsolidated democracy, dependent media, malign influence of religious communities, and similar.

The research resulted in a policy recommendation document "[The Rise of the Right: The Case of Serbia \(Foreign Fighters, Extremism and Terrorism\)](#)", with significant capacity to feed the formulation of the policy of reintegration and rehabilitation.

## 2. Focus groups and workshops

Seven focus groups and interview sessions encompassing more than 60 persons enabled a closer insight into the issues of radicalization and violent extremism. Family members of foreign fighters in Syria, representatives of local institutions, religious leaders, NGOs, and civic activists in south Serbia and Sandžak, war veterans, far-right group members serving prison sentences, representatives of prison administration and treatment service, inhabitants of Roma settlements in Belgrade and Novi Sad, their community and religious leaders, and representatives of Roma organisations. These interviews were the basis for recommending measures for strengthening the resilience of communities to radicalization.

## 3. Learning module for practitioners

In cooperation with YUCOM-Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, and under the leadership of renowned experts in the field of preventing violent extremism, Jarmila Bujak Stanko and Nikola Kovacevic, a learning module was created. The module is tailor-made to fit the local needs and context and is intended primarily for those working on the process of deradicalization and reintegration of returnees from foreign battlefields, as well as for judges, prosecutors and lawyers working on cases of foreign fighters.

The Learning module was firstly used at the training for 19 prosecutors and judges working on high-profile cases, as well as social workers, held in December 2021. The post-training evaluation showed that both the learning module and the training had responded directly to the needs of professionals and provided them with information and understanding of the needs of persons engaged in violent extremism during the process of deradicalization and their communities.



# Towards full integration of minorities and trustful inter-ethnic relations in Serbia

The action supported Serbian institutions to adequately respond to the European union's and the Council of Europe's recommendations on improving inter-ethnic relations in Serbia, by analysing the position of minorities and proposing measures for its improvement within the Chapter 23 of Serbia's EU negotiation process. It was supported by the Balkan Trust for Democracy, a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Belgrade.

## 1. Research on the position of Albanian and Bosniak minorities in Serbia

The desk and field research in south Serbia and Sandžak areas revealed the needs, fears, hopes, and perspectives of Albanian and Bosniak communities living in Serbia, as well as their relations with the majority population. Such thorough research was the first of its kind in many years in Serbia and enabled insights of significant importance for aligning with relevant European policies in the field of minority rights.

The final reports were presented to the public in Serbian, Albanian, and English languages. The report "[Albanian Minority on Hold](#)" depicts the political, economic, cultural, educational and religious factors influencing the position of the Albanian minority in Serbia. The research has found that this community has been subjected to structural discrimination, as well as that their actual status is closely linked to the status of Kosovo and the Serb community in Northern Kosovo. The report "[Sandžak: Region of Controlled Tensions](#)" sketches the political scene in Sandžak and relations with official Belgrade, geopolitically situates this region and then illuminates all the factors of importance for understanding the position of Bosniaks in Serbia and the perspectives for the future. Both reports offer recommendations for improving the position of Albanian and Bosniak communities in Serbia, which can also positively affect the legal, economical, political, and socio-cultural situation of other minorities.

## 2. Analysis of different models of political representation of national minorities

Expert analysis on the better political representation of minorities focused on identifying possible affirmative action measures for increasing the presence of minorities in the National Parliament of the Republic of Serbia. The initial findings were discussed with 20 representatives of Croatian, Bosniak, Roma, Hungarian, Romanian, and Albanian communities at the meeting held in April 2021 in Belgrade. Their opinions and recommendations shaped the final version of the analysis, "[Minorities: Permanent Obstruction of social and Political Integration](#)".

## 3. Recommend improvement of minority rights policies in Serbia

The research on the position and political representation of Bosniak and Albanian minorities in Serbia provided a basis for recommending the improvement of the minority rights policies within Chapter 23: Judiciary and Human Rights of Serbia's EU accession process. The recommendations aim to contribute to bridging the gap between the majority and national minorities and facilitate their substantial integration into Serbian society.

Around 30 people participated in the [meeting](#) of the Working Group on Chapter 23-Justice and Fundamental Rights of the National Convent on the EU, including members of the National Parliament, officials from line ministries, NGOs, and experts from relevant fields. At the meeting they were informed about the most recent developments in the minority rights field, factors preventing the substantial integration of minorities and the recommendations for aligning relevant policies with EU and international standards.

# Challenge History Summer School

The action contributed to regional cooperation and exchange among young people by increasing their capacities to contribute to better intercultural relations and reconciliation in the Western Balkans. It was implemented in cooperation with the Center for Peace and Tolerance in Kosovo, High School Gymnasium "Slobodan Skerović" in Podgorica, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in North Macedonia, United World College in Mostar, and Democracy Plus from Kosovo, and supported by Regional Youth Cooperation Office.

## 1. Summer School

41 high-school students from BiH, Montenegro, Kosovo, Serbia, and North Macedonia enhanced knowledge about Yugoslav history, historical revisionism, human rights, and the importance of culture of remembrance for building better and more democratic future in the post-Yugoslav region, and strengthen intercultural competences through participating in summer school "Challenge History – React for the Future". The Challenge History Summer School was based on four modules consisting of 12 sessions, two sets of workshops, and site and virtual visits to locations of importance for boosting interculturalism and a sense of solidarity with neighbours.

The [Toolkit](#) "Challenge History - React for the Future" consists of comprehensive summaries from educational workshops for challenging history, its goals, participants' remarks and potentials for future collaboration and activism, as a result of the expertise engaged, as well as a joint effort and thought-exchange during the Summer School, and it is intended to support and inspire follow-up activities for young peer educators, teachers and facilitators across the region.

## 2. Youth Actions

Five youth-led actions empowered 25 participants to take an active role in researching, learning and transferring knowledge to their peers.

High schoolers in **Montenegro** learned about tragic events in their country during the 1990s conflict, familiarized themselves with the concept and practices of post-war memorialization, and were introduced to the anti-war activists, individuals, and groups who tried to resist negative phenomena and preserve peace and unity during troubled times.

In **Serbia**, young people virtually visited the former detainee camp Stajićevo, learned about the war events from that time, and spoke with one of the former detainees and today MPs in the European Parliament, Mr Predrag Matić. He shared his experiences in this camp, and the two others in Nis and Mitrovica, as well as his life after having survived the horrors of such war crimes.

In **North Macedonia**, 4 young participants understood that history can have a more different interpretation based on ethnic or national background, i.e. more complex than it is usually presented in schools, media or public discourse in their respective communities. They were exposed to multi-perspectivity as an approach in studying history and learned the differences between intercultural and multicultural.

In **Kosovo**, high-school students explored peacebuilding between different ethnic groups living in their country through sharing personal experiences, researching the concepts of reconciliation and conflict

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*We need to discuss more about these events, and we need to commemorate them in various ways, so the future generations know to do better. I think we as the youth have the responsibility to do something, for instance, exposing the location of the concentration camp through commemorating. - Participant (17)*

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transformation, and playing a game *How would you feel* for the purpose of getting different perspectives depending of a variety of group experiences.

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*This session helped me reflect upon my own views on particular historical event, and question its veracity.*" — Participant (17)

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In **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, young people were presented with an unbiased perspective on the war history of their local community, without glorification, self-victimization and narrative distortion. They heard stories about the suffering of all war sides and understood that each crime is grave in itself,

regardless of the number, background and ethnicity of victims.

# Books and publications

## ***Value Orientations of Secondary School Students in Serbia, 2020***

This publication analyzes Serbia's secondary school students' statements and value orientations. Interviewees participating in this survey were 17–18 years of age, coming from generations born after the October 5, 2000 change of the regime in Serbia. The survey focused on students' values and statements on gender issues, abortion, homophobia, ecology, nationalism, Roma minority, as well as on the past and the 1990s wars on ex-Yugoslav territory, and analyzed how deep rooted those statements were among this population. The publication is available in [Serbian](#) and [English](#) languages.

## ***To Live with History, 2020***

The book contains interviews, presentations and texts by the famous historian Sima M. Ćirković on a number of relevant topics, which were published in magazines and anthologies in Serbia and abroad. The contributions are grouped into six chapters, including: "State, nation and culture in historical perspective", "Historical consciousness and historical heritage", "Fundamental problems of thinking about history", "Problems of historiography", "About my life path", and "About my books". The book was published in [Serbian](#) languages.

## ***Right-Wing Extremism in Serbia, 2020***

This is a guide for recognizing far-right groups in Serbia and support prevention of extreme violence. It consists of detailed research conducted by two renowned experts in prevention of radicalization and violent extremism, Marija Srdić and Aleksandra Đurić Bosnić. They analyse identity politics, map, identify, and classify far-right groups active in Serbia, and analyze right-wing symbols. The publication was prepared in [Serbian](#) language.

## ***The Fight over Freedom in 20th and 21st century International Discourse: Moments of 'self-determination' (Serbian edition), 2021***

The book addresses different concepts of self-determination, and the evolution from a concept into an international norm. It also presents concrete cases of seeking self-determination and the implications of aligning with these concepts in politics. Part of the book on the recent invoking of the concept of self-determination in the post-Yugoslav territory was of particular importance for Serbia, and especially its relations with Kosovo. It explains the emergence of self-determination calls among peoples living in Second Yugoslavia, including the reasons for resorting to that option. Finally, the book dissects the case before the International Court of Justice, after Kosovo had claimed independence from Serbia based on the right to self-determination. This is the [Serbian](#) edition of the book that was originally published as the author's PhD thesis at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences in 2020.

## ***Yugoslavia: Chapter 1989-1991, 2021***

The second book within the programme "YU-Historia" launched several years ago to gather a group of authors from all successor states of the former Yugoslavia in an attempt to study the phenomenon of the state union as comprehensively as possible. The interpretations and insights of the authors, primarily historians, but also the relevant experts in other scientific fields, presented in this book, point to the stratification and complexity of the society and the state that lasted 70 years, including its problems as well as the reasons and responsibility for its brutal disintegration. This book, like the previous one published within the same project "[Yugoslavia from a Historical Perspective](#)", has now become part of a rich collection

of books and publications by domestic and foreign authors about the country that vanished from the political map 30 years ago, but is still consequential. The book was published in [Serbian](#) and [English](#) languages.

***Minorities: Permanent Obstruction of social and Political Integration, 2021***

Publication presents the findings on the position and needs of Albanian and Bosniak minority communities in Serbia, based on the desk and field research that was conducted during Spring and Autumn 2021. It also brings expert research into the political representation of minorities in Serbia, including recommendations for improving the process. The publication was published in [Serbian](#), [English](#), and [Albanian](#) languages.

***The Past Worth Remembering, 2021***

This illustrative publication is intended for high-school students and their teachers, as an additional learning tool and resource. It presents the history-related lessons that are teaching about solidarity, inter-group cooperation, and tolerance between different peoples living in Serbia. The publication is currently available in the [Serbian](#) language, while Albanian and Hungarian versions will follow.

***Through Historical Thinking towards Understanding the Past and Modernity, 2021***

Ranko Končar, PhD (1938-2014), a longtime professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, represented the most significant historian of the contemporary history of Vojvodina and its autonomy. In addition to decades of scientific and pedagogical work at the university, Končar represented a unique phenomenon on the social and intellectual scene of Vojvodina, Serbia and the former Yugoslavia due to his involvement in the public defence of the values of anti-fascism, multiculturalism of Vojvodina, its autonomy and in general against nationalist phenomena of historical revisionism. This book was published posthumously as a comprehensive work that best represents professor Končar and his scientific and socially engaged contribution. The book contains his most significant works on the theoretical problems of historical science, research works on Yugoslav history, on the history of Vojvodina and its autonomy, as well as texts that address the issues of identity and the historical duration of Vojvodina and its autonomy.

# Periodicals

The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia is widely recognized in the domestic and international public for its periodical newsletters. Prompt analysis of a significant event or phenomenon in Serbia, with the main accents of reactions to them by relevant circles (media, politicians, intellectuals, etc.), as well as a forecast of possible development are a kind of guide on Serbia's transition journey, with all hesitations, hesitations and setbacks.

Eight newsletters were published in the last two years:

1. [Revisionism as a Factor of Regional Destabilization](#), December 2019
2. [Foreign Policy: Vacillation Freed from Forethought](#), January 2020
3. [Serbia and Pandemic: Care for Citizens as an Excuse for the Usurpation of Power](#), May 2020
4. [Election Results: The Real Picture of Serbia](#) (available in Serbian only), July 2020
5. [The Election in Montenegro from Belgrade's Perspective](#), September 2020
6. [Serbia and Great Powers](#) (available in Serbian only), October 2020
7. [Yugoslavia as an Emancipatory Project](#), December 2020
8. [Serbia: Turning Away from the EU](#), March 2021