

fair play

The Gender & Development Magazine of the KARAT Coalition

6/2002

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PEACE AND WAR

EMPOWERING WOMEN IN CHANGING SOCIETIES

Editorial

"But her unconscious influence was even strongly in favour of war. How else can we explain that amazing outburst in August 1914, when been educated thus rushed into hospitals, lorries, worked in fields and munition factories, of sympathy, to persuade young men that to fight was heroic, and that the wounded in battle deserved all her care and all her praise?" **Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas**



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the daughters of educated men who had some still attended by their maids, drove rics, and used all their immense stores of

War is perhaps one of the situations in which it becomes most difficult to remain true to one's convictions. Anti-imperialist activists start cheering for Slobodan Milosevic because they see him as the enemy of evil – of NATO. Feminist voices join in the choir of the mass media talking about mass rape in Bosnia. The latter's discourse, as literature theorist Susanne Kappeler points out, ignores the suffering of individual women to consolidate the imp. 2). Opponents of the known better, fall into why the aggressor is



"[Y]ou can join siveness, their of your own. folly of war. **Virginia Woolf,**

and speaks of rape as of a national humiliation. In this way, the outrage is instrumentalized age of women as the mothers of the nation (see our Hot Spot in this issue by Stasa Zajovic, war from Kosovo, Macedonia, Croatia or Serbia, among them peace activists who could have the trap of drawing on the official, national history of their respective communities to argue the Other.

the professions and yet remain uncontaminated by them; you can rid them of their possess- jealousy, their pugnacity, their greed. You can use them to have a mind of your own and a will And you can use that mind and will to abolish the inhumanity, the beastliness, the horror, the Take this guinea then and use it, not to burn the house down, but to make its windows blaze." **Three Guineas**

National histories are constructed, just like patriarchal histories are constructed. Even having this in mind, it is difficult to avoid drawing on them when speaking about war. They are all around us; we have grown up with them. To make things more complicated, histories are not just invented from scratch – they draw on actual facts and real events, on the authentic suffering of authentic people, on existing fears and intimate hopes, to build a cocktail of certainties and truths that undermine the autonomy of those same people to choose how to live their lives, and legitimize authorities.

"And if he says that he is fighting to protect England from foreign rule, she will reflect that for her there are no 'foreigners,' since by law she becomes a foreigner if she marries a foreigner. [...] But probably she will have imbibed, even from the governess, some romantic notion that Englishmen, those fathers and grandfathers whom she sees marching in the picture of history, are 'superior' to the men of other countries. This she will consider it her duty to check by comparing French historians with English; German with French; the testimony of the ruled – the Indians or the Irish, say – with the claims made by their rulers." **Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas**

A typical case of economic and social unrest being properly "reinvented" as an ethnic conflict are the wars in Yugoslavia at the beginning of the nineties. The entire social pressure, due to economic, patriarchal and inter-regional relations, disappears from view and is replaced by "age-old ethnic feuds" when Milosevic through his corporate authoritarian discourse imposes an ethnic interpretation and thus shatters the movement of protests and strikes that are endangering the government's authority and control, and potentially, in its dynamic, patriarchal authority and control. Certainties and hierarchies are reestablished in a patriarchal and nationalist discourse of war and power.

"In fact, as a woman, I have no country. As I woman world." **Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas**



I want no country. As a woman my country is the whole

Wars will not disappear simply through the critique of discourse. But without reflecting on our own use of language when speaking of war and of peace, and continuously looking at what is unconsciously implied, what involuntary associations with discourses of power are made, what authority is strengthened, we will keep helping those who legitimize war in the name of civilization.

Alain Kessi, editor-in-chief



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You are welcome to give your opinion on anything discussed in Fair Play – or to spark a new discussion. Include your name, address. Letters should be as brief as possible. The editors reserve the right to edit submissions

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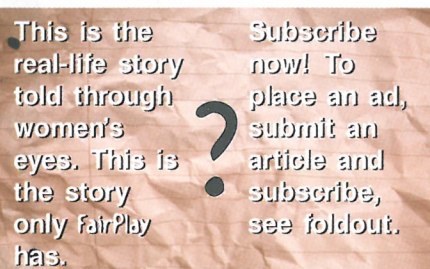
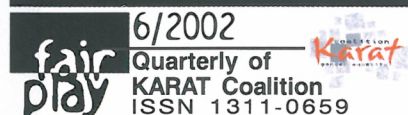
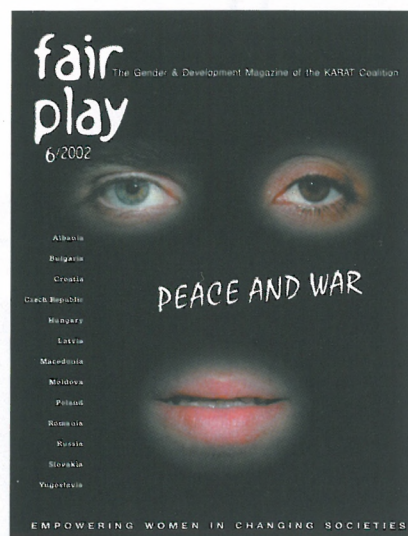
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hot spot

by Stasa Zajovic Birth,



In the late eighties, with the consolidation of nationalism as the state ideology in Serbia, the propaganda directed against women grew stronger. It is well known that **in periods of acute crisis, economic repression or marked repression, women are called upon to turn back to "home and family"; they are referred to as "the angels of the home land," as ideal mothers, as faithful wives.** Such propaganda is aimed at postponing or preventing social tensions, outbursts of social discontent caused by mass layoffs of working men and women. Women are the first to be fired; they must hand their jobs over to men. At the end of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, when over a half of the enterprises were suffering severe economic losses, preparations started for mass layoffs, mostly of employed women.

For that reason, in early 1990, demographers and physicians, wholeheartedly supported by regime-sponsored mass media and institutions, offered some "very interesting legal proposals concerning women." Although these false promises lacked any realistic basis, some of these "projects" must be singled out for their cynicism and underestimation of women.



Birth, nationalism

nationalism and war



Projects devoted to wives and mothers

In February 1990, Ivan Knajter, a physician and self-proclaimed demographic expert, proposed "legal innovations designed to help the reaffirmation of the family." He suggested imposing taxes on unmarried or divorced men and women over the age of thirty. According to the explanation of the project's author, the tax would amount to 10 percent of the salaries of these unfit persons. The goal of the project was to "prevent the disastrous decline in the birth-rate in Serbia"; it is not clear why it would be so important whether children are born within or outside marriage. Said "expert" suggests that "persons who refuse to accept voluntarily matrimonial duties should be forced to do so."

Maternal mobilization – Saving the nation from extinction

The development of this propaganda may be divided into two phases, although they are constantly intertwined. The first phase started as early as the middle of the eighties. It consists of the preparation of various projects aimed at the "suppression of the white plague." The second phase is the propaganda about childbearing for patriotic reasons, i.e., for the enhancement of national security.

At the beginning of the "first phase," demographers followed territorial principles, asserting that in central and eastern Serbia, as well as in Vojvodina, the birth rate was dropping at an alarming rate, while in Kosovo it was rising disturbingly. At this time,



Ana Stojkovic (Macedonia)
We really give a shit for each other

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Since the movement was founded on 9 October 1991, Women in Black have continuously organized public non-violent protest against war, against the Milosevic regime, against any nationalist and militarist policy in the Balkans and elsewhere. The international network of WiB, started in 1992, received the 2001 Millenium Peace Prize for Women. <<http://www.undp.org/unifem/mpprize/winblackspch.html>>

- 1) Open letter to the public from the Second Session of the Women's Parliament, June 1991.
- 2) The Warning, 30 June 1992, p. 2.
- 3) Ibid., pp. 5 and 2.
- 4) Politika, 5 March 1993.
- 5) Ibid.
- 6) Politika, 27 March 1993.
- 7) Statement by Vasilije, orthodox bishop of Zvornik and Tuzla.
- 8) S. Adasevic, on the Radio-Belgrade II Channel program Reserved for..., April 1994.
- 9) Rada Trajkovic, president of the association Homeland, July 1991.
- 10) M. Mladenovic, on the Radio-Belgrade program Reserved for..., April 1994.
- 10) Vreme, 31 May 1993.

Unabridged document at
<<http://www.wluml.org/english/publications/dossiers/dossier14-15/birthnationalism.htm>>,
WLUML Dossier 14/15
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<run@gn.apc.org>)
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demographers had not yet introduced the ethnic criterion. The imbalance in the demographic development was explained instead by economic factors or by changes in the system of values. As a solution, mostly administrative measures were offered, and the model of the "ideal family with three children" was popularized.

The demographic discourse – in accordance with the expansion of the nationalist ideology – soon acquired a repressive, racist character. Starting in January 1990 and to this day, all draft bills have resorted to the "ethnic principle." The January 1990 Resolution on the Renewal of the Population, as well as its May 1990 amendments, suggest a double population policy – pro-natality for Serbia and Vojvodina and anti-natality for Kosovo. The different demographic situations were used, on the one hand, in order to spread nationalist hatred, and on the other as another instrument of patriarchal exclusion of and discrimination against women on an ethnic basis. Feminists in Belgrade expressed their protest and indignation: "Coercive measures of population policy are applied in countries where human rights are violated on a daily basis, where the state deliberately encourages ethnic and racial intolerance. **The introduction**

of coercive management into the already poor network of gynecological facilities in Kosovo is impermissible, since the right to medical services is a civilizational, not an ideological issue. [...] If women

really enjoyed the opportunity and the right to choose, the population problem would not exist. Instead of administrative measures of population policy, the differences in demographic development should stimulate the creation of conditions under which women will win their reproductive rights." (1)

Official documents like the resolution on the Renewal of the Population started multiplying, among which "The Warning" should be singled out for its neo-Malthusian, racist character. Nine "significant" national institutions collaborated on writing this document. The ruling party, the Socialist Party of Serbia, adopted "The Warning" at its congress as one of three official documents. "The Warning" openly points to the "threat" that minority peoples pose to the majority: Since "Albanians, Moslems and Gypsies, with their higher birth-rate, deviate from national, humane reproduction, [they] threaten the rights of other peoples." (2) That is to say, the women of the above-mentioned nations (and not the men, who to this date are not known to bear children!) participate in the "general conspiracy against the Serbian people." They bear children out of separatist, fundamentalist reasons, and thus Serbian women should bear children out of patriotic and moral reasons: "The will to bear children should be mobilized." (3)

Moral condemnations: the extremely misogynous character of the propaganda

Generally speaking, this propaganda is imbued with strong moral condemnations and hatred against women. "The Warning" accuses women of not having children out of "conformism and selfishness." Marko Mladenovic, an official demographer, in one of those famous pathetic statements about the "biological death, the gangrene, the tragedy," reveals the time-old desire of men to usurp women's procreative power: "Our man does not have children because happiness for him means having fun, a car, or a summer cottage. This is egoism." (4) Then this enraged militarist joins cradles and guns together: "How to save Serbia! In 15 or 20 years there will be nobody to work, give birth and wage war." (5)

The Church enthusiastically joined in the choir: "Today many Serbian women kill their children through abortion. Feminists are in favor of killing unborn children. Fortunately,

they have nothing to do with the essence of the Serbian people." (6) Some are particularly furious because, in spite of all the obstacles, the connections between the feminists from Belgrade and Zagreb still exist, and the latter are harshly accused: These feminists from Serbia are very well connected with feminists from Zagreb, who "propagate the extinction of the Serbian people." (7)

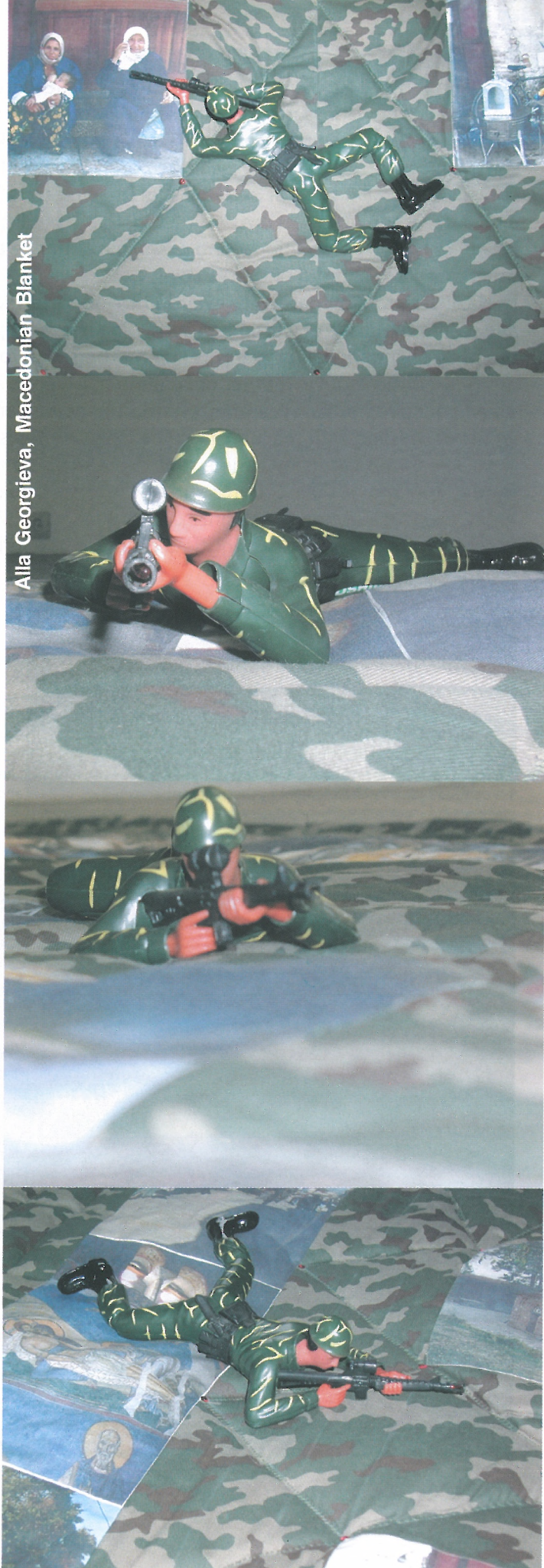
Patriotic mobilization

The father of the nation (this time embodied by the president of the Republic, Slobodan Milosevic), in his "historical speech" at Kosovo Polje in June 1989 declared: "If we are not very good at working, we are excellent at fighting." This was the beginning of the actual preparations for the war. He had chosen the right place – "the cradle of the Serbian people," but also the place of the great collective defeat. The offended honor of the fatherland will be revenged by military raids, since "we must not forget that once we used to be an army – large, brave, proud. Nowadays, six centuries later, once again we are fighting and more battles lie ahead." At the same place, and after the Battle of Kosovo, the cult of the heroic Jugovic mother was born, the mother who offers her sons to the death. War trumpets are heard all over the country, while nationalists demand that maternity hospitals become recruitment centers: "For each Serbian soldier who has fallen in Slovenia, Serbian mothers must give birth to a hundred new soldiers." (8)

It is no longer enough to bear children in order to prevent the extinction of the nation, but sons are now needed for the defense of the fatherland and the struggle with "enemy peoples." Nationalist demographers, linking childbearing to war, accurately calculate the pace of the enemy's advancement, with an unmistakable admixture of racism: "In the Balkans there are nations multiplying at rabbits' rate, with 10 or 15 children per family. In fifty years they will reach Belgrade." (9)

The propaganda is not restricted to mass media. Institutions, lavishly supported by the state, with nothing to offer but repressive measures, keep springing up every day (councils, boards, commissions, committees for the population renewal). Some of them, like the Fund for the Protection of Mothers and Offspring (founded in Belgrade in January 1993) insist mostly on financial help, i.e., a membership fee as the best means to "suppress the white plague." This makes one think that out of this fund "the entire Serbian people will arm itself so that finally all Serbs may live in the same state." (10)

The misogynous attitude of the majority of demographers, physicians and politicians even makes them forget the official opinion of the regime that "the unjust sanctions are to blame for everything": "The sanctions and the



war cannot be an excuse. Earlier, birth and marriage were the most sacred act to every woman. And nowadays mothers advise their daughters not to marry, not to have children, to be egoists. During our 35th Gynecological Week we ascertained that the reasons why women do not have children are 85 percent egoistic, 26 percent masked egoism, and only 8 percent genuine economic reasons." (11)

But this was too much for the President of the Republic, who corrected them, reminding them that in their national and misogynous trance they must not forget that "the sanctions are killing our unborn babies." (12)

In Nazi Germany, medals were awarded to "good, fertile mothers" who gave birth to and reared the castle of warriors. In Serbia, in Kosovo Polje, since June 1993, the Church has been giving medals to warriors and mothers with four or more children: "We have established the Jugovic Mother decoration in order to encourage bearing more children in our people." Last year they awarded 16 golden and 14 silver medals. Since they were not satisfied with the "performance," they admonished: "In earlier times, mothers were able to send as many as nine sons to the emperor's army, so that they could fight for the freedom of their country and of their Orthodox faith. We have such mothers today, too, but very few." (13) Since June 1994 "only" 27 medals have been awarded. Serbian women bear increasingly less children, and Serbian men are increasingly unwilling to go to war.

11) S. Adasevic, on the radio program Reserved for..., April 1994.

12) S. Milosevic, in his text pardoning Danica Draskovic and Vuk Draskovic, July 1993.

13) Borba, 30 June 1993. Statement by Artemije, orthodox bishop of Rasa and Prizren.



Alla Georgieva, Macedonian Blanket

Weapons of Peace

by Ritu Menon

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Weapons of Peace

Ritu Menon

Years ago, and long before the rest of the world woke up to the vicious extremism of the Taliban, the international women's movement called attention to their shocking and systematic assault on women in Afghanistan. We forged links with the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA – <http://www.rawa.org>), petitioned the UN and its 189 member countries, lobbied with national governments and appealed to the world community to impose sanctions on that regime for its severe curtailment of women's human rights. To no avail. **There were riches in them thar hills, and although most of the "civilised" world didn't recognise the Taliban, pipeline-politics meant they didn't want to rock their boat, either.** After all, nothing much was at stake—only women. Even the media weren't terribly interested.

That was peace-time. But women know that for them, the weapons of war are not too different from weapons in peace, that they form part of a continuum of violence that is deeply entrenched and more or less universally sanctioned. Because, as Yugoslavian feminist Rada Ivekovic says, the globalisation of patriarchy is the first of all globalisations; and because women are the first Other within a community. They embody the very principle of mixture – which is the basis of life in biological terms, and of culture in social terms. They thus represent a dangerous potential for dilution of the "pure," and ethnic purity is an article of faith for the community. They must be controlled, through violence if necessary.

These and other thoughts kept flashing through my mind like staccato machine-gun fire as we drove through Sri Lanka to Trincomalee just a couple of weeks ago. The countryside around Trinco is achingly beautiful, deserted for the most part now. For the last 90 km or so it is punctuated by military police checkpoints, sandbagged and barricaded, on either side of the road. On either side, too, up to 200 metres of land has been clear-felled, so that a barren waste stretches away almost as far as the eye can see.

Trincomalee in north-eastern Sri Lanka is one-third Sinhala, one-third Tamil and one-third Muslim, and half of it is controlled by the LTTE. Our regional meeting on women's peace activism was deliberately located in a place that has seen protracted violence and terrorism for two decades now. The tension was palpable. Less than 50 yards from where we were staying was the burnt-out husk of another



Photos from Grozny, 1999
provided by Albert Batoukaev



hotel that had failed to keep the Tigers happy. We were advised not to stray too far on our evening walks because after sundown, it was a free for all.

Trinco, in the third week of September this year, must have been one of the few places in the world where Afghanistan, the Taliban and bin Laden were not on everyone's mind. They had been displaced by the Tigers. Apprehension ran high. We didn't know whether women from Batticalao or the other districts would be able to make it – there had been a massive recruitment of children in Batticalao the week before, and an attack was imminent. If word got out that our group was discussing terrorism or human rights or violence, there could be trouble.

Sri Lankan women who are in the frontline of peace-work and war-resistance are light years ahead of the rest of us in the region in dealing with terrorism. And again, as with Afghani women, most of the "civilised" world has left them to handle it alone. Women in Batticalao and Trincomalee must report to local Tiger leaders once a month, inform them of the monies they receive for humanitarian and peace activities, give them an account of how they propose to use that money, and of the projects they initiate. Many of them are on the Tigers' hit list for daring to put up posters asking for an end to the war. Many have died because they refused to submit.

They question "peace," too. **"Each time there's a 'peace accord' between the government and the Tigers," they said, "we see even greater violence."**

Women in Pakistan fear that, post the bombing of Afghanistan, the Taliban will merely relocate to Pakistan, and then all hope of "peace" for women will vanish. "Peace" in military-and-mullah speak means: don't jeopardise national security, don't challenge religious custom, don't protest gender inequality and discrimination. Who suffers from that "peace" which is a sentimentalised suppression of resistance? Women. We're allergic to it, they said. What we want is a guarantee that women's rights will be protected and that peace will be democratic.

A resolution signed in June 2001 by NEGAR, an organisation of over 300 Afghani women in exile, said exactly the same.

Bush-men or cave-men, the idiom is the same. Both terrorism and counter-terrorism share the same

language, are part of the same masculinist discourse. It's a macho do, as someone said, a war-gasm. No room in it for non-violence. Each side decries the morally grotesque – the killing of innocents, the sanctions against children, the purveying of "evil" – then endorses the morally ambiguous. A just war. Crusade. Jihad. A fight to death. Kill the bastards. But women working for peace ask: Can there be an "acceptable" counter-terrorism if it pretends to act in self-defence? Is terrible violence justified if it is in the "national interest" or for national "security"? How is it that under-18s can't fight, but over-18s can?

Brotherhoods – whether of the Taliban, of NATO, the Northern Alliance, the IRA, or the Tigers, whether religious or ethnic – are by definition paternalistic and patriarchal. They affirm the deep comradeship of men and are rarely emancipatory for women because they are rarely genuinely democratic.

Women in Batticalao say peace for them is: a home, coconut trees, water, men without uniforms.

Women have a stake in peace not because they are mothers and nurturers, but because they know oppression, and they know violence.

They have first-hand experience of the connected forms of domestic, communal and political violence that stretches from the home to the street and into the battlefield. Their historical exclusion from structures of power, both private and public, and their experience of subjugation gives them a stake in working for peace, justice and democracy, for it is only through all three that they will be able to realise their right to equality. A feminist culture of peace fundamentally critiques structures of domination and is built on learning to live with difference, without aggression.

The Taliban are generally credited with having "imposed(!) absolute peace" on 90 per cent of the country under their control, and for ensuring that women are "safe" – such are the weapons of a peace predicated on violence.

We kindly thank the author Ritu Menon and the Women's Feature Service for permission to reprint this article.

Some comments on a court ruling

Barbara Limonowska

Executive director of the Polish national women's information center OSKA



Consultant in trafficking Barbara Limonowska writes about the November court ruling giving a group of Polish and Czech prostitutes the right to work in the Netherlands. The case involved four women who had rented 'window rooms' in Amsterdam. They went to the European Court of Justice case after the authorities denied them work permits.

It should come as no surprise that Polish and Czech prostitutes won the case in the European Court. They had a very good claim of unjust treatment. If prostitution is considered an economic activity, they, being from countries applying for accession to the European Union, have the right under the treaty with the EU to start an independent business within the EU. This applies equally to the sex industry, in countries where it is legal. Brothels were legalized in the Netherlands in the year 2000.

But it has to be remembered that the ruling applies only to self-employed women, to those who can prove that they work for themselves (determine their own place of work, hours, prices etc.), pay taxes and insurance, are registered, and have established an official business. Those who work in clubs, for example, or who are dependent on brothel owners have no chance of obtaining a work permit and will be considered illegal migrant workers. It is interesting that these women had to take their case to the courts. In examining this case, we should bear in mind two facts:

Dutch parliamentarians and legislators have been considering changes in the law on prostitution in the Netherlands for years. It was a topic of great social debate in the Netherlands in the eighties. Everybody knew that Amsterdam and other big Dutch cities had red light districts and that prostitution was tolerated.

Legalizing prostitution (or, rather, legalizing soliciting and mediating for prostitution, given that prostitution as such was not criminalized) was presented as the best solution in the face of poorly functioning legislation. Another important argument was the growth in prostitution of and traffic in women from Eastern Europe. A clear legal situation was supposed to help fight trafficking; legally employed women, with work permits and social security, would be less dependent on pimps and traffickers.

The new law was also supposed to work as an anti-migration regulation - it closed the local market for foreign prostitutes and made it much easier to deport them.

Of course, at the same time, when prostitution officially became legal, the underground market of those who couldn't register their activities, also started to develop.

The situation of foreign women - trafficked or otherwise - became more difficult. They are still tolerated in the Netherlands but can expect to be expelled.

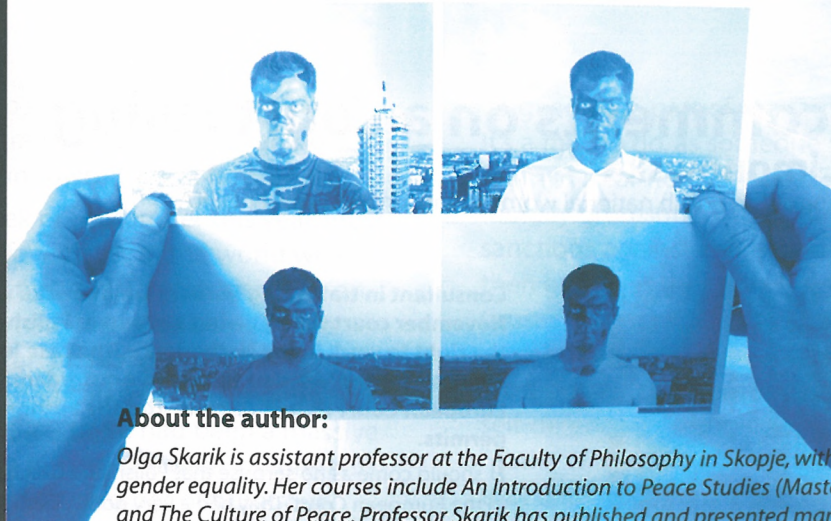
When the draft of the new law was presented, one of the arguments in its favour was that it was supposed to help foreign women. They were supposed to be able to apply for visas and work permits in their countries of origin. Of course, in reality the law does not work like that. Dutch Embassies are not issuing visas to foreign prostitutes, in the same way as they do not issue visas to other people wishing to migrate to the Netherlands and work there. And women who work illegally are becoming more dependent on traffickers and pimps.

At the same time the law concerning trafficking in women has been changed. Until recently, trafficked women who wanted to testify against a trafficker were able to await the trial in the Netherlands, and even to work in the meantime. They now have to leave the country immediately. Not because their testimonies are not needed. On the contrary - Holland does not have an impressive record of prosecution and sentencing of traffickers; they still operate with virtual impunity. But the political climate has changed and trafficked women are considered more and more as illegal migrants rather than victims of crime.

The International Community's Intervention in Macedonia

An Ambiguous Picture

Olga Murdzeva-Skarik



About the author:

Olga Skarik is assistant professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, with a PhD in the psychology of gender equality. Her courses include An Introduction to Peace Studies (Master's degrees), Peace and War, and The Culture of Peace. Professor Skarik has published and presented many articles and prepared conference and training seminar papers in the field of education and development in terms of gender equality. She is the director of the Balkan Center for Peace at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje.

Balkan Center for Peace – Skopje, Macedonia

The Center was established in 1993 in response to the changes within the Macedonian society. The disintegration of Former Yugoslavia and the outbreak of the war in Bosnia in the early 1990s led to the emergence of nationalism and chauvinism on the one hand, and a strong interest in peace and conflict resolution on the other. A unit of the University of Sts. Cyril & Methodius, the Balkan Center for Peace started a program for post-graduate specialization studies in Peace and Development in November 1997.

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Mihael Milunovic, Variations
Source: Balkan Umbrella



The character of the war in Macedonia in 2001 and its consequences

The 2001 war in Macedonia is still going on. It is a war with limited armed actions but with many victims and great damage on the economic, cultural and political level. In the view of the Macedonian side, it is unacceptable for the Macedonian state to become multi-ethnic and as such disintegrate on ethnic grounds. The Albanian side is dissatisfied because Albanian is not an official language for use in higher education. This was one of the reasons for unrest in the first half of 2001.

The foreign factors and the Albanians treat the war as an armed revolt of the Albanian minority in Macedonia, with support from Kosovo. Macedonia treats it as a terrorist act. The war started in February 2001 with an attack on the police station in the village of Tanushevci by some armed troops from Kosovo. It officially ended on 26 September with the disarmament of the Albanian rebellions, in which NATO participated through its Operation Essential Harvest. But the war did not end. The firing goes on – though with lessened intensity. Macedonian policemen are still being killed; civilians continue to be captured.

The attitude of the so-called international community is complex. At the very beginning, NATO Secretary General George Robertson called the Albanian rebels "terrorists and killers." However, he changed his stance soon after, describing the Albanian groups instead as

"armed rebels." The American diplomat Robert Frovick, representing OSCE chairman Mircea Geoana, early on made direct contact with the political leaders of the so-called ONA (National Liberation Army/NLA) in Prizren in Kosovo. This came to the attention of the Macedonian general public, and he was expelled from the country as *persona non grata*.

Diplomatic pressure was exerted also by NATO special envoy Peter Feith, US Ambassador in Skopje Michael Einik and the European Commissioner Javier Solana. Thus, Macedonia became host to some sensitive and secretive diplomatic games. In April, under diplomatic pressure, a government coalition was established, which included the four big political parties: two from the Macedonian and two from the Albanian block of parties. The aim was to find a peaceful solution acceptable not just to the Macedonians and Albanians, but also to the USA, NATO and the EU.

The leaders of the four big parties negotiated at length to stop the conflict. No representatives from the remaining minorities participated in the negotiations – a big mistake, taking into account the large number of ethnic minorities living in Macedonia. A solution was written into a framework agreement, signed in Skopje on 13 August under intense pressure from US representative James Perdue and EU representative François Léotard. Neither the Macedonian nor the Albanian side was satisfied with the terms. The number of war profiteers rises, and a peace bureaucracy is put into place, which lives on the conditions of unstable peace. The question remains – is it an agreement for peace, or an ember from which a new war could flare?

EU representative François Léotard displayed a better understanding for the Macedonian specificities than James Perdue, a personal envoy of US President George W. Bush. Perdue openly manifested pressure, threatening the use of force, should the Macedonian side not accept the framework agreement. In response to this pressure the prime minister of the Republic of Macedonia, Ljubcho Georgievski, kindly asked James Perdue to relay the following message to US President Bush: "The USA are the worst terrorists in the world." Taken by surprise, Perdue asked the translator whether she had translated the presidential statement correctly. When she confirmed, Perdue, evidently revolted, left Georgievski's office.

The most notable cease-fire was agreed on 5 July 2001. The terms were cessation of atrocities, full voluntary disarmament of the ethnic Albanian armed groups and their complete and voluntary dismissal. This is clearly stated in the framework agreement of 13 August 2001. This agreement has not been respected. The KLA has not been disarmed nor have weapons been fully collected. Neither have we seen a cessation of atrocities.

The war clearly shows features of a war for territorial aspirations. NATO has stated that its international Operation Amber Fox should be extended until March 2002. It is now being deployed as a 'buffer force' between the Macedonian security forces and the Albanian rebel forces (the KLA). The result is the introduction of a new territorial division along ethnic lines.

Open issues or how to build a culture of peace

Is it possible to find non-violent solutions to the conflicts in Macedonia? How can peace workers transform these conflicts?

The issue of participation of NGOs in the peace process is particularly complex. The number of NGOs is growing, but the membership is not large and usually has some material interest. They are mostly supporters of one side of the war in Macedonia, rather than a neutral factor. Some of them are employed and receive resources from foundations that follow their own agenda. For small fees, and under the circumstances of severe poverty, the non-governmental sector plays a role of disintegration of civic dignity. Most citizens stay away from the non-governmental organizations and do not want to play to the tune of foreign interests through foreign foundations.

New types of cooperation and relations between the political institutions, educational and NGO structures and non-organized citizens need to be developed, while taking care to maintain the autonomy of citizens from the political institutions and foundations and facilitate their self-organization and self-mobilization. Democracy as an integral part of peace culture should empower citizens for direct democratic participation and not be limited to multiparty parliamentary democracy. German sociologist Ulrich Beck's appeal: "Citizens of the world, unite!" is just beginning to be realized through the globalization of networks of universities, non-governmental and professional organizations.

Group identities based on constructions of ethnicity need to be transformed into globalized, hybrid identities through interaction between various identity groups, for example after the model of the UNESCO Movement for a Culture of Peace News Networking (CPNN <<http://www.unesco.org/cpnn/default.htm>>). Renowned peace workers should broadly transmit to civil society at large their knowledge of best practices in pro-active non-violence. Academia and NGOs can play a significant role in introducing citizens to universal (shared) civilizational values. Militant and armed groups should be retrained in civil skills, and realize that peace can be more exciting than war. New games that are not based on winners and losers should familiarize children with non-violent strategies of standing up for their rights.



by dimitrina sevova

Interview with Madina Batoukaeva



A documentary film I recently came across by accident on the Bulgarian Channel One included a commentary about the attitude of the West towards the war in Chechnya, which burned itself into my consciousness, perhaps because I already had a personal connection to the topic, being friends with a Chechen family: “It ranges from silent disapproval and complete apathy to complete disinterest and silent approbation.”

We got to know the Batoukaev family, Albert, Madina and their two children Khava and Fatima, when they were visiting Sofia in last August. Common friends from Munich had told us about their coming. Being colleagues with Albert, who is a director of documentary movies, we had many interesting discussions about art and especially about art in a political context.

At our very first meeting already, when we picked them up from the airport in Sofia, Madina produced a pile of photographs from her handbag and was painfully clutching them with her hands. Pictures of their close ones, of their families, of their house, of their friends, pictures of family celebrations, of their wedding, of birthday parties... I was left with the feeling that when Madina showed us those pictures with edges worn out from frequent holding, it was mainly for herself, a catharsis from the trauma arising from the need to remember again and again these dear images, memories, people. All this does not exist any more, all of it lies in the



past, the people have fled into different directions or have lost their lives, and their house has been destroyed. Albert was carrying a film of his, presented at a number of high-level festivals for documentary and author films, about the tragedy of both the Chechen and Russian population of Chechnya during the last war since 1999. Watching the film with Albert and Madina and discussing with them, I thought about how little we know in reality about this war, and how manipulative the media coverage about it has consistently been. I made the following interview with Madina in October 2001, during a visit I made with my husband at the new home of the Batoukaevi family in Munich.



The war seen through the eyes of a normal person, of a woman and mother. On the human insanity to separate human beings in ours and theirs. What do the political games of political and economic interests mean, which wake the lowest nationalist and religious passions, opposed to the strong desire to live normally and peacefully, to have a home, the wish to be able to propose some kind of future to your children and to sleep quietly during the night.

Madina Batoukaeva is 26 years old, is married with two children. Khava is four, Fatima two. Little Fatima was born in the midst of the bombs, at the end of September 1999. Madina has studied economics and statistics at the university in Grozny. At the moment she is living with her family in Munich, Germany.

Dimitrina Sevova: How did you experience the beginning of the war?

Madina Batoukaeva: At the beginning of August 1999 we heard about the bombings of villages from people who were fleeing into the city. But there was no official information. The Russians were hiding information and at an official level denied the bombings in the villages. But they were bombing every day, including the border and the villages near the border. Later they started bombing the city. I will never forget how a mother of two little sons lost her life during these attacks. They buried her all by themselves, even though they were really too little for this.

D.S.: How frequent were the bombings in Grozny, after the attacks on the city started?

M.B.: When the bombings of Grozny started, they happened at every time of day and night, all the time, in a chaotic rhythm, and nobody was warning us of coming attacks so that people could hide away. They started with bombing civil





and public buildings, private homes, the streets and places in which many people gather. First they bombed the television tower, and just when I was giving birth to Fatima they were starting to bomb the hospital complex. As I said, nobody was warning us about the bombings, and on the very day Fatima was born, a bomb hit the maternity ward of the hospital. Children died, nurses, physicians, mothers... One week after this three huge rockets hit the largest open-air market in Grozny, and a large number of people died, both Chechens and Russians.

It became dangerous to stay in Grozny any longer. We had to flee. On 26 September 1999, we left the city very early in the morning with our two children in the car. At the border to Ingushetia the bombings started at eight o'clock in the morning already. A long queue of people with their luggage was waiting at the border trying to seek refuge in Ingushetia, Russians were not allowed among the refugees. In the middle of the bombs it became dangerous, and so we had to leave our car with the luggage, taking with us just items of first necessity. We had to walk six, seven kilometers with a newborn child of a few days and a small child on our hands. We crossed the deep, cold and raging water of the river that makes up the border between Chechnya and Ingushetia. Two, three days after this I ended up with Fatima in a hospital in Ingushetia. Our close ones were happy to know we were in the hospital, because the situation of the others was awful. Up to twenty people, ten adults with children, were living in one small room, without running water or sanitary installations. We spent one month in Nazrane in Ingushetia, and then in the middle of the winter walked through the mountains to Georgia. In Georgia things were much better, even though we were not locals, because Albert, my husband, found work as a computer specialist, as a server administrator. Also, many people knew his work as a film director and appreciated it.



We had friends. Nevertheless, there were serious reasons for us to leave Georgia and settle somewhere else. From Georgia we traveled to Istanbul on a bus, on which most passengers were smoking, and loud music was playing throughout. It was a heavy trip for the kids, with the mosquitoes and the heat. A colleague and friend of Albert's was waiting for us in Istanbul and helped us. Then we left for Munich, for which again friends of ours, colleagues of Albert's, helped us. By now Albert has found work here, and we have a new home.

Little Fatima was born with Down syndrome, and her health is fragile. Here she will have the possibility to grow up in a much more normal environment, and she will have access to medical help appropriate to her condition.

D.S.: Are there other Chechens in Munich besides you? What happened to your close ones?

M.B.: As far as I know we are four or five families here in Munich. Most of our close ones are spread over various places all around the globe. Those who are in Russia are the victims of tremendous discrimination. Some are still in Chechnya. Even though Chechnya was depopulated. For instance, before this war, over 350 000 people were living in Grozny. Now it's a few thousand people. The city is dead and totally destroyed. I am worried about our close ones, about those who were unable to leave Chechnya. Now the borders are closed, no passports are issued, and correspondingly no tourist visas. It is almost impossible to leave Chechnya legally. And running away is no easier...

Now, the doctors at the clinic here in Munich whom we consult about Fatima's situation are assuring us that she is developing extremely well for a child with Down syndrome. This is one of the things that gives me confidence that it was worth the suffering we went

through on the way here. I don't want to imagine what would have happened to my children if we had not succeeded in leaving Chechnya. But the painful longing for our home remains here in my heart. Our home is destroyed, nothing remains of it. I am sad because before this war with its horrors started, there were no problems at all between the Russian and Chechen community in Chechnya. Until the very end, when we left Grozny, I kept in touch with my friends of Russian origin.

D.S.: So much has been written about the horrors of the war. After all that you went through, what is the war for you?

I don't know what else I can say about the war. The words are lacking to describe it, there are no words. I don't have words for all this...

In the village of Shale, the planes were flying so low and the noise they made was so loud and scary that Khava, my older daughter, who was then two years old, started to imitate the sound of the planes. She was crouching, hiding under the table and screaming sounds resembling those of the planes. This trauma continued for a very long time after this.

The war is the border beyond which starts the complete helplessness of poor people. Desperate, they leave their homes and don't know what to do. A normal person does not want to wage war. It's impossible for a normal person to want war.

The beginning of the war in 1999

On 4 September 1999, a first bomb exploded in a housing block in Dagestan, a neighbor state of Chechnya, making 64 victims. Within days, in three more explosions in two suburbs of Moscow and in Volgograd, a town in southern Russia, 235 more people lost their lives. The Russian authorities were quick to blame Chechen rebels for the acts of terrorism. A wave of repression against Chechens in Moscow and other parts of the country started, and four men were put to trial, accused of having delivered the sugar bags full of explosives that served in the bombings. The FSB, the refurbished version of the intelligence service KGB, did not provide evidence of the Chechen connection. In fact, observers remark that the bombed blocks were very quickly cleaned up and potential evidence destroyed by FSB personnel investigating the cases. Some even think that the FSB itself stands behind the bombings, pointing out that a fifth bomb was planted in the cellar of a block by three FSB agents who were caught red-handed, upon which their bosses had to explain this had been only an exercise. (John Sweeney, The Observer, 12 March 2000 <<http://www.guardianunlimited.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,3973053,00.html>>)

Vladimir Vladimirovitch Putin, then head of the KGB, certainly benefited from the official version and scored political points with his tough stand on Chechnya. His anti-Chechen election campaign literally skyrocketed him into the presidential seat.

Historical background

Chechnya has been a Russian province since the 19th century, since the Chechen elders pledged allegiance to the Russian Czar at the end of the Caucasian war (1817-1864).

In February-March 1944 the entire population of Chechnya, 400 000 men, women and children, along with the entire population of Ingushetia, another 100 000 people, were deported, most of them to Kazakhstan (the Kazakh SSR), some to Khirgizistan (the Khirgiz SSR). For more than ten years, they were not allowed to return, and many died before a decree was issued in July 1956 by the Supreme Soviet abolishing the displaced-person status of deported Chechens and Ingushs and lifting the administrative surveillance they had been subjected to. <<http://www.amina.com/article/whitebook.html>>

After Glasnost is proclaimed by Mikhail Gorbachov in the 1980s, a period of unrest follows in the Caucasus. After a struggle for power between Chechen political groups, elections are held on 27 October 1991. Jokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet Air Force general, wins claiming 90% of the votes.

The result is contested by the Chechen opposition and by Russia. In November 1991, President Boris Yeltsin declares a state of emergency in Chechnya, and sends troops to the airport near Grozny. Faced with the Chechen national guard mobilized by Dudayev, Yeltsin, failing to receive the backing of the Supreme Soviet, orders the troops to leave Chechnya.

In 1992, Dudayev refuses to sign an autonomy agreement with Russia. He will not accept less than the full independence of Chechnya. In that time, many Russians leave Chechnya.

In 1994, a civil war starts between Dudayev's people and the Provisional Chechen Council, whose troops attempt, but fail to take over Grozny on 25 November, with the support of Russian tanks and helicopters.

On 11 December 1994, 40 000 Russian troops enter Chechnya, ordered by Yeltsin. The Russian army bombs Grozny and other cities. It takes the Russian army from 31 December 1994 to 19 January 1995 to take over Grozny. The center of the city is destroyed in the course of the battles.

The Russian forces continue bombing alleged strongholds of Dudayev's. In March 1995, Russia sets up a "Government of National Revival." A peace accord is signed on 30 July. On 17 December, elections are held. A Russian-approved candidate becomes head of state and signs an autonomy deal with Russia. Dudayev's rebels reject the accord, and attack Grozny in March 1996.

General Lebed, secretary of Yeltsin's security council, negotiates the Khasavyurt Accords, signed on 31 August 1996, with Aslan Maskhadov. The accords define a five-year period, until 2001, in which the final status of Chechnya is to be defined.

The last Russian troops leave Chechnya in January 1997. Maskhadov is elected Chechnya's new president, but is unable to unite the different Chechen factions and establish law and order.

Photos: D. Sevova



Photos from Grozny, 1999, from the site <<http://www.amina.com>>



CS-GAS

A woman in a camouflage uniform is lying on her back in a field of tall green grass. She is looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression. In her right hand, she holds a small, dark spray can with a red star and the word 'NATO' on it. The background is a dense field of grass.

*DIFICULT TO DEFINE
IMPOSSIBLE TO RESIST*

*ТРУДНО Е ДА СЕ ОПРЕДЕЛИ
НЕВЪЗМОЖНО Е ДА СЕ УСТОИ*

FAIR PLAY PRESENT

"New fragrance," installation, 2 posters on laser printer, (150x80 cm, 150x70 cm), spray-cans with CS gas, advertising bags.

The widely advertised perfumes with tender and tempting names ("Dolce Vita") provoked me to create my own ads for "new fragrances" – CS gas spray-cans containing neuro-paralytic gas and made for self-defence in case of attack.

I suggest that the "new fragrances" be sold in luxurious boutiques and that their purchase become an inseparable part of the ritual feminine

AMERICAN STYLE

NATO

SUPER-PARALIZANT
CS-GAS



CS-SPRAY

ZIGSILLIARD QUALITY
4-KANAL SUPER JET
MAXIMUM KONZENTRAT

Флакон със CS-нервно-паралитичен газ е
уред за самозащита.

Натиснете надолу пръскащия винтил,
CS газа се разпръсква веднага.

Не пръскайте срещу вятъра.

При употреба по-малко от един метър
разстояние съществува опасност от
здравословно увреждане.

Съдържа 80 мг CS

(OClorbenzylidenmalononitril).

Употребата му е свързана с опасност
за ползващият го.

Флаконът е под налягане!

Пазете го от слънчево нагряване
и температура над 50 C°. Не го пръскайте
срещу пламък или върху горящи предмети.

New fragrance
Ново поколение аромати
CS-GAS



S ALLA GEORGIEVA

shopping round. The CS-gas spray-can is a perfect and indispensable gift for every modern woman!

In my posters "CS-GAS – NATO-style" and "Dolce Vita – Police action," I use real existing articles available on the Bulgarian market under the same names.

The people of Afghanistan do not accept domination of the Northern Alliance!



All photos from the site <<http://www.rawa.org>>

Now it is confirmed that the Taliban have left Kabul and the Northern Alliance has entered the city.

The world should understand that the Northern Alliance is composed of some bands who did show their real criminal and inhuman nature when they were ruling Afghanistan from 1992 to 1996. The retreat of the terrorist Taliban from Kabul is a positive development, but entering of the rapist and looter NA in the city is nothing but a dreadful and shocking news for about 2 million residents of Kabul whose wounds of the years 1992-96 have not healed yet.

Thousands of people who fled Kabul during the past two months were saying that they feared coming to power of the NA in Kabul much more than being scared by the US bombing.

The Taliban and Al-Qaeda will be eliminated, but the existence of the NA as a military force would shatter the joyful dream of the majority for an Afghanistan free from the odious chains of barbaric Taliban. The NA will horribly intensify the ethnic and religious conflicts and will never refrain to fan the fire of another brutal and endless civil war in order to retain in power. The terrible news of looting and inhuman massacre of the captured Taliban

RAWA's appeal to the UN and World community

Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) <<http://www.rawa.org>>



13 November 2001



or their foreign accomplices in Mazar-e-Sharif in past few days speaks for itself.

Though the NA has learned how to pose sometimes before the West as "democratic" and even supporter of women's rights, but in fact they have not at all changed, as a leopard cannot change its spots.

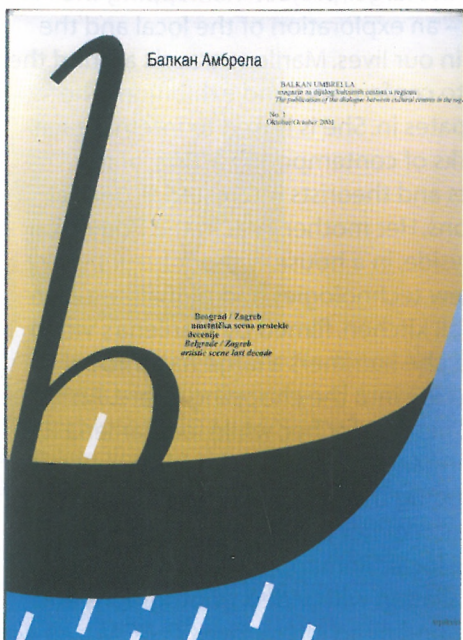
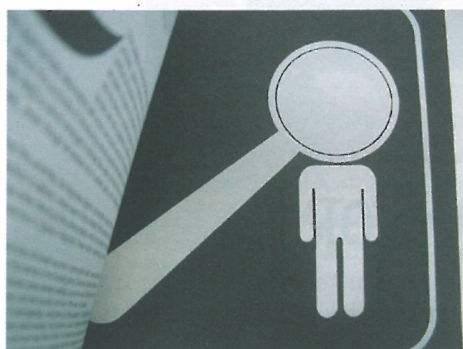
RAWA has already documented heinous crimes of the NA. Time is running out. RAWA on its own part appeals to the UN and world community as a whole to pay urgent and considerable heed to the recent developments in our ill-fated Afghanistan before it is too late.

We would like to emphatically ask the UN to send its effective peace-keeping force into the country before the NA can repeat the unforgettable crimes they committed in the said years.

The UN should withdraw its recognition to the so-called Islamic government headed by Rabbani and help the establishment of a broad-based government based on the democratic values.

RAWA's call stems from the aspirations of the vast majority of the people of Afghanistan.

The creation of the Balkan Umbrella has been a slow and laboured process... good intentions were received with doubts. This was a consequence of the political processes that marked the last decade, which left a deep scar even on the art scene." **Darka Radosavljevic**



<http://www.remont.co.yu>

Balkan Umbrella

Milosevic's reign cannot be called totalitarian, in the metaphorical sense of the word, since it was not all-inclusive in a sense in which all political activities would be monopolized by one party, and in which every human activity would necessarily be considered a state activity – but also bearing in mind that it had never established full control and domination over the entire public system, destroying all that is heterogeneous. It never even managed to organize the stable functioning of the state's repressive machinery." **Stevan Vukovic**

In any case, it was a war produced by a lack of understanding, and often by the absurd. Throughout this time personal contacts remained. When the telephone lines were cut, we spoke to each other via telecom stations based in little towns in Bosnia. We inquired about personal lives and never found time to ask what was going on in terms of the broader cultural life."

Darka Radosavljevic

At that moment, war was certainly not an abstract possibility, which members of ARK would have opposed in principle, and neither a relatively remote, alien reality. War was part of a real, everyday routine – immediate environment and concrete first-hand experience. To be a pacifist in peacetime is one thing, but to advocate pacifist beliefs in times of war is quite another thing. In war only, peacemaking is not just one among many possibilities, but rather the other option – namely, an alternative."

Boris Buden

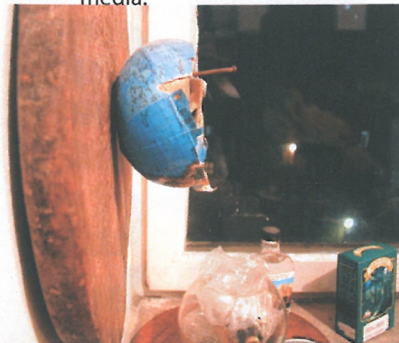


The pilot issue of the Balkan Umbrella, the "publication of the dialogue between cultural centres in the region" published in Belgrade in October 2001, is dedicated to "Belgrade/Zagreb – artistic scene last decade." Authors Milet Prodanovic, Boris Buden, Danica Minic, Stevan Vukovic, Darka Radosavljevic, Dejan Krsic, Zana Poljakov dive into the relations between culture and art circles, the development of new "channels of urban culture" in Belgrade and Zagreb over the past ten years, in a mixture of theoretical texts, historical overviews and anecdotal accounts. Balkan Umbrella gives a good impression both over subcultural tendencies and the processes and struggles for power within and on the margins of the institutionalized art systems. **FairPlay**

MARILENA PREDA SANC

Marilena Preda Sanc is a Romanian artist who lives and works in Bucharest. Her work includes classical painting and sculpture, besides video, performances and interactive installations. She defines herself as a media artist, since her focus is not on the material she uses, but on the communication achieved with the various materials, or media.

Photos from Marilena's studio



REMAPPING THE WORLD



The crushed globe on the chopping board is part of the larger project "Remapping the World" – an exploration of the local and the global in our lives. Marilena travels around the world, to conferences and exhibitions she participates in. She is linked to international networks of contemporary artists, of net activists and theorists interested in gender questions. Her mother lives in the Romanian countryside, in a house without luxury, away from new technologies and globalization. In her small kitchen, filmed by Marilena's video camera, she hammers a large nail through a small globe into the chopping board. An absurd gesture for her, while for Marilena it is a performance, part of her project "Remapping the World" and an artistic expression of her experience of the global and the local. "Remapping the World" exists as an installation with video, photographs and objects, and as an interactive CD-ROM.

"Here's the rub: America is at war against people it doesn't know, because they don't appear much on TV. Before it has properly identified or even begun to comprehend the nature of its enemy, the US government has, in a rush of publicity and embarrassing rhetoric, cobbled together an "international coalition against terror," mobilised its army, its air force, its navy and its media, and committed them to battle.

The trouble is that once America goes off to war, it can't very well return without having fought one. If it doesn't find its enemy, for the sake of the enraged folks back home, it will have to manufacture one. Once war begins, it will develop a momentum, a logic and a justification of its own, and we'll lose sight of why it's being fought in the first place.

What we're witnessing here is the spectacle of the world's most powerful country reaching reflexively, angrily, for an old instinct to fight a new kind of war. Suddenly, when it comes to defending itself, America's streamlined warships, cruise missiles and F-16 jets look like obsolete, lumbering things. As deterrence, its arsenal of nuclear bombs is no longer worth its weight in scrap. Box-cutters, penknives, and cold anger are the weapons with which the wars of the new century will be waged. Anger is the lock pick. It slips through customs unnoticed. Doesn't show up in baggage checks."

Arundhati Roy, The Guardian, 29 September 2001, <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4266289,00.html>>



"A lot of thinking needs to be done, and perhaps is being done in Washington and elsewhere, about the ineptitude of American intelligence and counter-intelligence, about options available to American foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East, and about what constitutes a smart program of military defense. But the public is not being asked to bear much of the burden of reality. The unanimously applauded, self-congratulatory bromides of a Soviet Party Congress seemed contemptible. The unanimity of the sanctimonious, reality-concealing rhetoric spouted by American officials and media commentators in recent days seems, well, unworthy of a mature democracy.

Those in public office have let us know that they consider their task to be a manipulative one: confidence-building and grief management. Politics, the politics of a democracy-which entails disagreement, which promotes candor-has been replaced by psychotherapy. Let's by all means grieve together. But let's not be stupid together."

Susan Sontag, The New Yorker <http://www.newyorker.com/THE_TALK_OF_THE_TOWN/CONTENT/?010924ta_talk_wtc>

"Wouldn't it be ideal if the Northern Alliance marched into Kabul and Kandahar and all these different groups lived peacefully? But I think we're on the verge of a civil war.

The fact is that we, as a country, have no foreign policy. What's our policy? If you don't have a policy that you believe in, with a mandate, you are always shifting. Ten years ago we thought the exact opposite: We supported the Taliban, we created Osama bin Laden, we built those bunkers! So what do we believe?

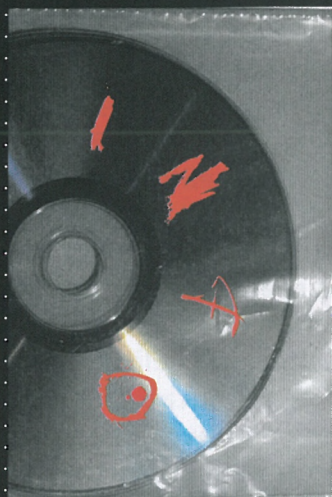
To me the most disturbing thing going on right now, second to the bombing of all the children and women and tortured people of Afghanistan, is that we haven't had a discussion about foreign policy. There's not a discussion in sight, anywhere, about what we're learning from this."

Eve Ensler, 26 November 2001 <http://www.salon.com/people/feature/2001/11/26/ensler/index_np.html?x>



Karat Coalition – First Meeting of Newly Elected Board

<<http://www.karat.org>>



The first meeting of the newly elected Board of Karat Coalition took place at the small office of the international network in Warsaw on 26-28 October 2001. Now that Karat has a legally and democratically elected its managing body, members gathered in order to decide on the priority tasks for the year 2002 – in fact Karat's fifth year of activity – to sign the Statute, voted unanimously by the General Assembly in St. Petersburg, to appoint the Executive Director, to review membership applications, to decide upon projects and partnerships.

Priorities for 2002

Karat should have a strong base in Warsaw, meaning there should be an office with sufficient staff to service the members. The main office (Secretariat) will be responsible for the Web site, communication and fundraising. The establishment of such an office is a priority of KARAT. Its staff should consist of: Director (full time), Assistant (full time), Web site communication person (full time), Fundraiser and accountant (contract).

Developing a core project to provide a grant for the institutional needs (general administration plus capacity building) of Karat. The development such a project is the responsibility of the Board. The project will aim at the development of the expertise and lobbying capability regarding issues women are facing in the region.

Membership enlargement. The goal, by the end of December 2002, is to include NGOs from 8 new countries into Karat, one organization from each country. Experts should be encouraged to become individual members. Raising Karat's visibility, e.g., through participation in common actions and campaigns (for example with WIDE <<http://www.eurosur.org/wide/home.htm>> and within the Beijing+10 process) and creation of the Web site (starting January 2002).

The General Assembly combined with the Annual conference on economic issues (e.g., economic literacy, social reforms, gender budgeting, unemployment, etc.). Fundraising for the face-to-face General Assembly (+ Annual Conference) is the responsibility of the member NGO which wishes to organize it. Recognizing how difficult this is, the Board is ready to delegate the job of organizing a GA meeting to those who volunteer to take it on. Offers will be discussed and decided by the Board.

The Executive Director of Karat is Kinga Lohmann, who has been the driving force and regional coordinator ever since the coalition was established in February 1997. Kinga will also be coordinating the project on EU accession, which was approved for grant funding by the United Nation's Women's Fund UNIFEM <<http://www.unifem.undp.org>> in November 2001.

Karat EU Accession project – see separate box.

Two new organizations were accepted as KARAT members: Women's Independent Democratic Movement from Belarus <<http://cacedu.unibel.by/widm>>; Gender Studies Warsaw University from Poland <<http://www.wgsact.net/poland/pl-irsg.html>>.

How to become a Karat member

Karat Statute §10

A regular member of KARAT COALITION is any organization, woman or man that:

1. Agrees with and supports the statutory objectives of KARAT COALITION.
2. Fills a membership registration form and writes an application to the Board.
3. Has at least one-year experience in gender equality issues.
4. Operates within the Region.
5. Is recommended in a written form, signed by two members of KARAT COALITION. To this regard the Board recommended that a letter of recommendation should include specific information on how the activities of the applying organization/individual is connected to KARAT mission and goals and what KARAT can benefit from their membership.

For registration forms please contact Karat Secretariat at:

Malgorzata Peretiatkiewicz
Karat Coalition
Franciszkanska 18/20
00-250 Warsaw
phone/fax: (48-22) 635-47-91
e-mail: <karat@zigzag.pl>

A new promising partnership with Women in Development Europe (WIDE) is about to start. During the WIDE Annual Conference held in Madrid in October 2001 three KARAT members (Katarina Farkasova - Slovakia, Malgorzata Tarasiewicz - Poland and Michaela Marksova-Tominova - Czech Republic) discussed with representatives of WIDE a possible KARAT/WIDE cooperation on the issue of economic literacy through trainings and publications. Concrete forms of such collaboration will be discussed end of November, at the Karat Secretariat.

The Board also decided on Guiding Principles for Karat projects:

- A Karat Project must be in compliance with the mission and objectives of Karat.
- A Karat Project should bring benefits for all KARAT's members.
- The Board gives authorization/approval for applying to donors and running a project under the label of Karat.
- A Karat project should involve organizations/individuals from at least 5 countries from CEE/CIS (one of them which acts as lead organization, and has to be from CEE/CIS)
- The Board signs a letter of agreement with the lead NGO, which is going to administer the project. The lead organization is responsible for settling relations, signing agreements with or sub-contracting a partner organization (if any) when this organization is not a member of Karat.
- Joint projects in partnership with non-Karat organizations are welcome, but have to be approved by the Board.
- A Karat Project is administrated by the organization which has raised the funds (Karat's Secretariat is not responsible for fundraising for such projects.)
- Depending on the donor a certain percentage of the funds should be provided for Karat's general administration.
- If appropriate projects not organized in Karat's name should also promote Karat if possible.

Project coordinators will have to organize their work in following way:

- The lead NGO/individual coordinating a Karat project is fundraising for the project and doing its financial management.
- The ownership of the project and its know-how belongs to the organi-

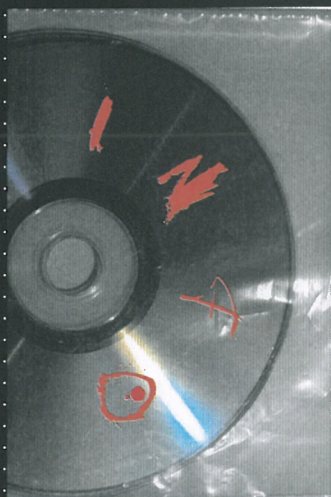


<mailto:www.karat.org>

Karat Coalition – First Meeting
to be held in Warsaw

Karat Coalition – First Meeting of Newly Elected Board

<<http://www.karat.org>>



zation that initiated the project and implements it but in the visual and in written and oral form has to have KARAT's name and logo. (e.g. acknowledgement in writing and in oral statements that the "Lead NGO with the help of KARAT"; "with support of KARAT" is the owner of the project).

- Signing the letter of agreement with the Board of Karat
- In case of a joint project with a non-Karat organization, the partner in the project signs contract with the coordinator of the project
- Some percentage of the project budget and/or in-kind contributions - depending on the possibilities - should be provided for Karat's general administration.
- Informing Karat members once a month what's going on in the project (Karat News in Karat2000 e-groups)
- Communicating with the Board and Executive Director on regular basis (at least once in four months)
- Submitting a written report on the project and its budget to the Board and the General Assembly (once a year)
- Popularizing the benefits from the project for and among Karat members.

News

* During the UNIFEM seminar "Women's Economic Empowerment in CEE/ CIS region in the context of UN Financing for Development process" in Kiev (Ukraine) on 24 November 2001, Karat has worked out a proposal of recommendations for the UN conference "Financing for Development" to be held in Mexico in March 2002.

* A Karat/WIDE (Women in Development Europe) working meeting took place in Warsaw, from 30 November – 1 December 2001.

KARAT COALITION GOVERNING BODIES

The Board

Valentina Bodrug Lungu (Moldova) 2003

Tomka Dilevska (Macedonia) 2002

Katarina Farkasova (Slovakia) 2002

Regina Indsheva (Bulgaria) 2002

Maria Muga (Romania) 2003

Sanja Sarnavka (Croatia) 2003

Lenka Simerska (Czech Rep.) 2003

The Assessment Committee

Stanimira Hadjimitova (Bulgaria) 2003

Olga Lipovskaya (Russia) 2003

Erika Papp (Yugoslavia) 2003

The Executive Director

Kinga Lohmann (Poland)

and Secretariat: Malgorzata Peretiatkowicz (project assistant)



The **new KARAT project** is a three-year program aimed at using the process of European Union accession and integration to advance gender equality and women's economic rights in CEE.

It will involve getting women of the EU and CEE to work together to influence the policy and resources of the EU to ensure gender equality. Implementation will comprise three elements: training, doing, and disseminating information.

The project will be implemented jointly by the KARAT Coalition and the Network of East-West Women/Polska. Project manager is Kinga Lohmann of KARAT, and Malgorzata Tarasiewicz (NEWW/Polska) is coordinator of information, research and publication.

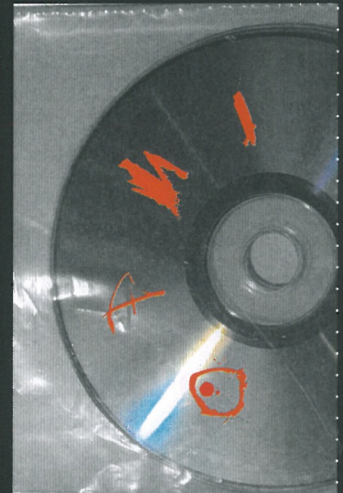
The three components:

1) Economic literacy: To increase the capacity of CEE women to advocate for economic justice through greater understanding of economic theory and policy, gender implication of laws relating to business and employment, ways to promote implementation and enforcement of legislation protecting women in the economy;

2) EU accession: To ensure that, through women's active participation, the process of EU enlargement takes account of women's needs and perspectives, and that CEE women are conscious of the consequences of EU accession;

and

3) European integration: To use European integration as a way of enhancing gender equality and resources for women in EU and CEE countries – by building new partnerships and understanding between citizens of EU and CEE and collaborating with EU women to strengthen the 'civil dialogue' about gender equality with institutions of EU.

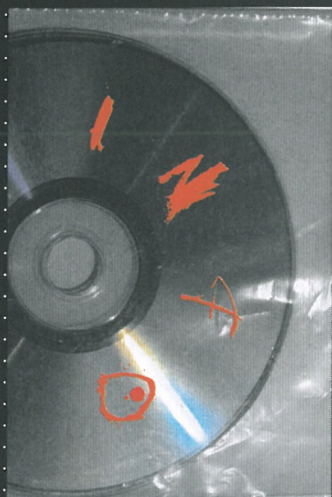


<http://www.karat.org>

Newly Elected Board
Karat Coalition – First Meeting of

KARAT presents proposals for financing development

<http://www.karat.org>



The Kiev seminar, held on 23-24 November, was supported by the Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO – <http://www.wedo.org>) and organized by the Ukrainian Liberal Society Institute.

KARAT has worked with other CEE/CIS organizations to draw up recommendations for women's economic empowerment in the context of the UN Financing for Development (FfD – <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd>) process at a UNIFEM <http://www.unifem.undp.org> seminar in Kiev. They met in Kiev in November to discuss the gender dimension of the FfD process and the recommendations will be used to lobby national governments, multilateral institutions and UN structures. The recommendations proposal also grew from the UN/ECE/UNIFEM/World Bank seminar on Gender and the Labor Markets in Transition Countries in Warsaw in January, and the Karat board and members' discussions. They are:

I. Mobilizing Domestic Resources

We recommend that governments: Recognize that private and public enterprises should respect and implement multilaterally agreed codes and standards including gender specific issues such as freedom from sexual harassment and as gender neutral job advertisements;

II. Mobilizing International Resources for FDI (Foreign Direct Investment)

We recommend that governments and international organizations:

- a) Recognize that foreign enterprises should respect and implement multilaterally agreed codes and standards including gender specific issues such as freedom from sexual harassment, gender neutral job advertisements and protection of labor rights in the host country.
- b) Develop business training projects and business technical assistance for women.

III. Systematic Issues

A. Participation: Promotion of economic understanding of legal reforms related to labor market, business, social security from gender perspective.

B. Transparency, Accountability and Policy Coordination

- 1) Promotion of regular research on the impact of the policies and practices of international financial institutions and WTO <http://www.wto.org>, on women and guarantee the involvement of women's NGOs and gender specialists into conducting this research.
- 2) Introduce mechanisms within financial institution for the participation of women's NGOs similar to those already established in many countries and establish similar mechanisms at regional level.

C. The New International Financial Architecture, Financial Stability, and the Amelioration of the Financial Crisis

- 1) The World Bank should adopt gender safeguards and establish concrete measures to incorporate them into the public expenditure review and investment project documents, especially in Country Assistance Strategy.
- 2) The multilateral financial institutions should promote participatory process of all sectors of civil society – particularly women's NGOs – in the decision of employment, social protection and health reforms.

The recommendations are supplement to WEDO's Women's Consultation recommendations from the Third Preparatory Meeting for the UN International Conference on Financing for Development in New York on 15-19 October 2001. Read them at <http://www.wedo.org/ffd/ffd.htm>.

The conference itself is being held in Mexico in March 2002 <http://www.unifem.undp.org/ffd/index.html>.

There should be more women in security and police forces to counter rape, assault and domestic violence in conflict situations, an expert meeting has declared. This is among a set of recommendations aimed at countering the effects of war on women drawn up in Bratislava between 13-15 November.

The key finding of the meeting organized by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA – <<http://www.unfpa.org>>) was that actions to protect women's rights and meet their specific needs should become a standard part of any international response in wars and post-conflict situations.

The international community must enable women to play a broader role in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peace building and post-conflict community development and nation building, Kunio Waki, UNFPA Deputy Executive Director for Programs <waki@unfpa.org>, stressed in his remarks.

Working groups focused on four topics: the impact of conflict on reproductive health; sexual and gender-based violence; the role of peacekeeping forces; and the role of local NGOs.

There were almost 50 participants from governments, UN agencies and NGOs – from countries and areas including Afghanistan, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Pakistan, as well as from the United States and Western Europe.

Their recommendations include:

- Increasing the operational capacity of NGOs by providing and funding training in all aspects of gender-sensitive program development and deployment under harsh conditions;
- Training of local police and international peacekeepers;
- Creating special police units for gender-based violence;
- Strict enforcement of regulations and codes of conduct for peacekeepers. Host populations must know that lawlessness will not be tolerated and offenders will be punished.
- NGOs should be involved at all levels of conflict resolution and community rehabilitation to ensure that the reconstruction process, health and social services are firmly rooted in the needs of women and recognize their position in the community.
- Services for victims should include counseling, health care including reproductive health, and voluntary testing for sexually transmitted infections, including HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus).

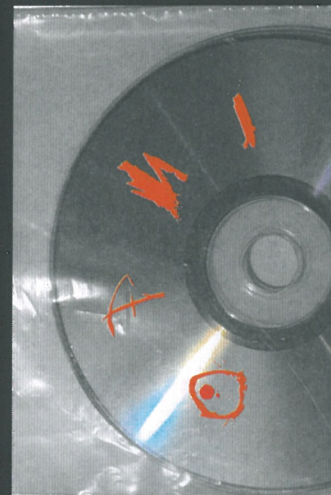
Jeanne Ward of the Reproductive Health for Refugees Consortium <<http://www.rhrc.org>> said: "Many of these recommendations are self-evident, but most are not supported in a consistent way by the international community. Gender concerns are often peripheral to United Nations agencies and international NGOs. They need to be an integral part of their structures."

The findings will contribute to a United Nations study on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Girls, commissioned in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 2000 <http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf>.

Keynote speaker Elisabeth Rehn, a United Nations advocate for women in wartime and post-war situations, said: "Everyone knows women are victims of war, but they are never represented at the peace table."

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM – <<http://www.unifem.undp.org>>) last year appointed Ms. Rehn of Finland and Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson of Liberia to study conflicts and post-conflict situations throughout the world – to define ways to enhance the role of women in peace processes.

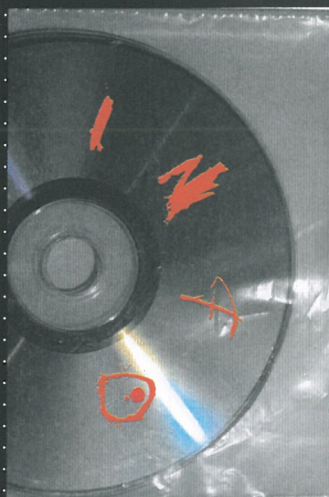
Rape and domestic violence were common in each conflict they studied. Violence against women takes various forms, including trafficking in women in the Balkans. She told of women being openly sold into prostitution "like cattle in the market." But there were positive findings as well. "All over the world, women have the strong will to take responsibility for the future of their countries," Ms. Rehn reported.



Meeting sets guidelines for easing the
impact of war on women

Women's World Summit Foundation's Prize for Women's Creativity in Rural Life

<<http://www.woman.ch/frampriz.htm>>



Peacemakers featured among the 31 laureates of the 2001 Prize for Women's Creativity in Rural Life run by the Women's World Summit Foundation in Geneva, Switzerland.

Selline Otieno Korir has for the last seven years been taking daring risks in Kenya's North Rift province (Rift Valley) to empower women and children to be active participants in building peace in an area ravaged by mostly politically instigated fighting.

Courageously working alongside hostile government officials and civic leaders, 36-year-old Selline formed a women's group network, which cut across regions and ethnic groups.

It develops intervention measures to curb violence – including refusing to assemble war equipment when asked to do so by men, and responding quickly to acts of violence, mobilizing community leaders to investigate the matter.

This interaction has strengthened relationships between ethnic groups, for example between Maasai and Kisii, and between Sabao and Bukusu. Women are urged to interact despite their differences, and appreciate each other through their diversity. Another achievement of the network is the creation of a primary school to take care of children victims of war.

Women on Rural Development WORD is an organization of rural women from South Armagh, a rugged region in north east Ireland, on the border between north and south, notorious as 'bandit country' and having suffered much political violence. In 1987, in response to seeing their young people leaving due to lack of opportunities, women of the Crossmaglen area decided to work together to improve their communities. Among projects initiated was an environmental education center, an adult education program, a craft fair and country market, an information technology training program, a community leadership course, and a women's health needs assessment. One of their most important initiatives is to encourage groups from across religions to join the movement in order to include the entire community and thus contribute to peace in the area.

From our region there was one laureate – science teacher Meimanbu Tashieva from Kyrgyzstan. As well as teaching, Meimanbu led the school's women's organization, teaching hygiene, respect for the elderly, honesty, solidarity and instilled in them a desire to learn. In 1972, Meimanbu became Deputy Director of Education and in 1976 Director of another school. In 1982, health problems forced her to quit the directorship but she continued to work as a teacher and as head of a local trade union. In 1998, Meimanbu formed a non-governmental organization "Ata-Jurt" with the aim of helping poor villagers get out of poverty through the formation of self-help groups working with micro credit within the UNDP's Participatory Poverty Alleviation Project. Her ability to mobilize the poor, provide the necessary training and assist them in the preparation of business plans and credit applications, plus following-up on credit repayments, resulted in the creation of 15 such self-help groups, including 116 members with a repayment rate of 100%.

You will find more information on the site of the Women's World Summit Foundation – <<http://www.woman.ch/frampriz.htm>>

The annual competition honors creative and courageous women and women's groups around the world for their contributions to improving the quality of life in rural communities. Each laureate receives \$500.

In response to the first air strikes in Afghanistan, a group of women's human rights activists from New York, Asia and Latin America came together to discuss ways to generate greater public discussion of alternative responses to the September 11th attacks. They formulated a powerful anti-war, justice-seeking agenda that also keeps the spotlight on women's human rights. Implementation of the 12 Points: Stop the War, Rebuild a Just Society in Afghanistan, and Support Women's Human Rights is more urgent than ever.

On October 25, in an effort to support this extremely important and welcome initiative, WHRnet posted the 12 Points in English, French and Spanish (at <http://www.whrnet.org/12points.html>) and launched an online endorsement campaign to gather support for the 12 Points from NGOs and concerned individuals worldwide.

We are pleased to report that the response to the endorsement campaign has been very strong. To date, WHRnet has recorded almost 1200 endorsements. This includes more than 400 organizational endorsements and over 700 signatures from concerned individuals. Supporters of the 12 Points are from every region of the globe, representing 56 countries! Please visit <http://www.whrnet.org/12points.html> to view the endorsement list. Among the first endorsers is B.a.b.e – Be Active, Be Emancipated, the well-known women's human rights group from Croatia (<http://www.babe.hr/eng/>) (e-mail: babe@zamir.net). Also among the endorsers are Voice of Difference, a group for the promotion of women's political rights from Belgrade, Yugoslavia (<http://www.womenngo.org.yu/sajt/english/sajt/TheVoiceOfDifference.htm>) (e-mail: glas.razlike@sezampro.yu).

Women's human rights groups are continuing to distribute the petition to media, as well as to government representatives. We urge you to do the same. There are further plans in New York to use the 12 Points to continue raising awareness about alternatives to the mainstream discourse around military action and the current global crisis. In particular, women's NGOs are planning actions on **10 December**, the 53rd anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is also significant that December 10 falls into the period of the **16 Days of Action Against Gender Violence** (25 November – 10 December), which aims to highlight all forms of violence against women as violations of human rights. (For more information visit <http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/16days01/>).

Please continue circulating the 12 Points petition, and encourage others to use the statement in whatever ways are helpful.

Also, if you are organizing any events or actions locally using the 12 Points, please let WHRnet know (at whrnet@whrnet.org) and we will be happy to post news of your actions online.

WHRnet is an international network of women's NGOs dedicated to the effective utilization of Information and Communication Technology in support of women's human rights advocacy.

Niamh Reilly

Executive Director, WHRnet

1 Parkview Drive

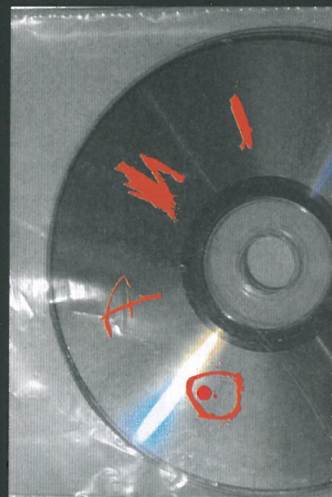
Kilkenny

Ireland

Tel +353-87-908 1663 or +353-56-64148

e-mail: whrnet@whrnet.org

Web: <http://www.whrnet.org>



**The Twelve Points Campaign Continues:
Stop the War, Rebuild a Just Society in
Afghanistan, and Support Women's
Human Rights!**

Exhibition dedicated to all refugees in the world



Elizabeta Avramovska, Disaster Relief

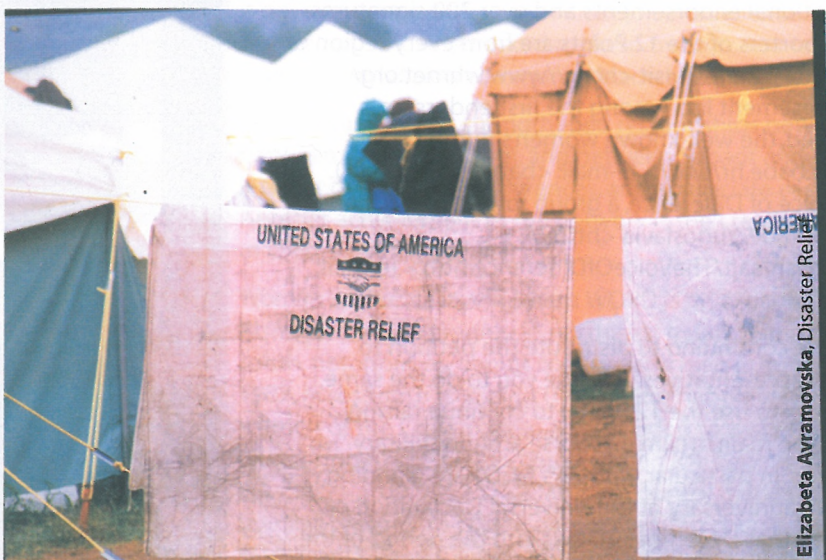
Melentie Pandilovski,

Director of the Center for Contemporary Art, Skopje
Skopje, July 1999

<<http://www.scca.org.mk/begalci>>

The idea of an exhibition on the issue of the most burdening theme in 1999 in the Republic of Macedonia, the tragedy of refugees flooding the region, and the sense of direct witnessing of human drama and suffering, has led to a prompt reply in the concepts of artists and subsequently to a

complex exhibition, unprecedented in the historic heritage and engagement of artists of the Skopje scene, covering 10 projects of artists of different cultural idioms, characteristics and generations, in the Museum of the City of Skopje. The exhibition was later shown in the City Gallery in Sofia.



Elizabeta Avramovska, Disaster Relief



Milcho Manchevski, Stenkovac, Vase - Veles

This artistic testimony to immeasurable negative processes and destruction in our region represents one of the rare times when Macedonian artists have preferred to respond to an actual situation, exploring deeply human themes, communicating the specifics of our situation and asking provocative questions to the society, rather than to fold into self-isolation. The treatment of the theme of refugees in Macedonia is an important moment in the recent development of art in Macedonia, which has so far been regarded, with few exceptions, as being formalist, non-provocative and non-political.

The project Artists & Refugees is an attempt to investigate the visual language of the theme that burdens us at the end of this millennium in the region of the Balkans. It raises questions about information and the interpretation of informa-

tion. The artists have tried to investigate the events, relations, causes, entering as deeply as possible into various levels of the Balkan conflict, while retaining their critical awareness of the context and trying to analyze the mutations of the situation on the Balkans and its particular complex routes – such as war, which constantly props up as a primitive means of solving problems in the region.

They have created a mosaic of 10 art works covering human destinies, disappointments, sufferings, tensions, passing themselves through a battlefield of emotions in which it was not possible to remain unresponsive, and ethically neutral. This process was especially important for the artists, taking into consideration that the ethic and political opinions do not necessarily converge. Some of them have investigated the influencing factors, such as politics, imprisonment with its historical particularities, and the changing values. As a result of this process, the subject of the exhibition is not alienated from its causes.

Ismet Ramicevic with his installation *Pain + Food = Souvenir*, accompanied with the video performance *Washing of dishes*, has investigated not only hunger but also the absence of the desire to live, and the sorrow of people leaving their homes. The main element of the installation are empty saucers signifying the deep spiritual pain, pointing to the senselessness of war, representing the heads of participants in wars, which convey the absence of conscience and ratio in people.

Violeta Capovska, in her installation *300,000*, has used the same number of papers, on which she has inscribed the words most commonly exploited in different media regarding the Kosovo crisis, describing the physical, emotional and mental condition of the 300,000 refugees in Macedonia.

Ljupka Deleva, in her installation *Album with Memories*, refers to the loss and deserting of the current way of life, becoming 10 years older (within a period of 20 days), the change in the meaning of "collective psychosis." [The only things inseparable from each one of us are our memories. – Deleva]

Emil Petrov and **Kristina Miljanovska** have presented the project *Labyrinth*, consisting of a CD-ROM and installation in which the visitor is led through different crossed passages limited with doors, in which it is not easy to orient yourself, a position in which it is difficult to survive, a position it is difficult to find an exit from.

Robert Jankuloski, in his photographic installation *Red Line*, consisting of 5 silver toned photo objects from the cycle *Stereographies*, does not enter into the analysis of personalities in the camps but concentrates on the general atmosphere of the refugee camps.

Zaneta Vangeli, with the complex installation *The F.Y.R.O.M. Experiment*, consisting of 5 plotter prints and one ready made object, refers to the multi-layeredness and polysignification of the current events in our region. ["The refuge" may be observed in its evident, physical form, in the spheres of the mental and in the spheres of the spiritual. It is not possible to treat the problem of the physical refugees, with all of the apocalyptic weight it carries, without treating the invisible, unmanifested in the refuge matter. – Vangeli]

Elizabeta Avramovska, in her project *Disaster Relief*, consisting of 13 plotter prints, is presenting life photographs from refugee camps in Macedonia such as Stenkovec, Nevestino, etc. The idea for this project is urged by the need to realistically present the life in the camp as well as events that refugee life brings with it.

Milcho Manchevski, in his project *Stenkovec, Vase – Veles*, uses 2 life photographs investigating the form of the medium of photography and observing children at play at different sites. [Refugees and non-refugees look alike – Manchevski]

Stefan Saskov and **Lara Taskovska**, in the project *Abandoned Eter-*

nity, consisting of a video and two plotter prints, deal with the theme of eternal refugees, from the times described in the Old Testament up to the most recent events in our region. They use images and frames covered with prayers from the Koran, narration of texts from the Bible and Church chanting. [Murmur, thud, fear, belief – infidelity, chaos, crying... PEACE. – Saskov]

Natasa Dimitrievska and **Biljana Tanurovska**, in the project *Can You Hear Me Talking*, consisting of a video film and 3 plotter prints, investigated how young people perceive the situation and how it affects their emotions. The film deals with individuals and groups, with a stress on the transmission of information and the influence of media in the everyday life of ordinary people.

It is our hope that the project **Artists & Refugees** will serve the purpose of directing the attention of our society towards the urgency of continuous research into deeply human themes, observing, detecting, and understanding the questions raised and the burdening problems, as well as conveying to others the specifics of our situation.

We also hope that the pursuit of artistic investigation into the problem of refugees in the late nineties will have a cathartic impact, assisting as much as possible the overcoming of stereotypes and the spirit of intolerance, and creating an atmosphere of reconciliation and re-building of peace in our region.



The Vagina Monologues

This is one of the monologues from Eve Ensler's "The Vagina Monologues." For more information on the political dimensions of Eve Ensler's work, see <<http://www.vday.org>>. We thank the author for her kind permission to publish this monologue in FairPlay.

My Vagina Was My Village

My vagina was green, water soft pink fields, cow mooing sun resting sweet boyfriend touching lightly with soft piece of blond straw.

There is something between my legs. I do not know what it is. I do not know where it is. I do not touch. Not now. Not anymore. Not since.

My vagina was chatty, can't wait, so much, so much saying, words talking, can't quit trying, can't quit saying, oh yes, oh yes.

Not since I dream there's a dead animal sewn in down there with thick black fishing line. And the bad dead animal smell cannot be removed. And its throat is slit and it bleeds through all my summer dresses.

My vagina singing all girl songs, all goat bell ringing songs, all wild autumn field songs, vagina songs, vagina home songs.

Not since the soldiers put a long thick rifle inside me. So cold, the steel rod cancelling my heart. Don't know whether they're going to fire it or shove it through my spinning brain. Six of them, monstrous doctors with black masks shoving bottles up me too. There were sticks, and the end of a broom.

My vagina swimming river water, clean spilling water over sun-baked stones over stone clit, clit stones over and over.

Not since I heard the skin tear and made lemon screeching sounds, not since a piece of my vagina came off in my hand, a part of the lip, now one side of the lip is completely gone.

My vagina. A live wet water village. My vagina my hometown.

Not since they took turns for seven days smelling like feces and smoked meat, they left their dirty sperm inside me. I became a river of poison and pus and all the crops died, and the fish.

My vagina a live wet water village. They invaded it. Butchered it and burned it down. I do not touch now. Do not visit. I live someplace else now. I don't know where that is.

Eve Ensler



Stefan Saskov and Lara Taskovska, Abandoned Eternity



Stefan Saskov and Lara Taskovska, Abandoned Eternity

Never before have so many and such different societies embarked all at once on changing traditional ways of life. Ten years after the fall of the Iron Curtain it's time to unveil the untold story of transformation, the challenges, the progress and the backlash.

Fair Play tells you what it means to:

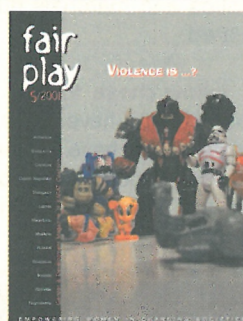
- ▷ be a fourth-generation working woman with full responsibility for a family
- ▷ learn to have a voice of your own at the age of 40
- ▷ have excellent professional qualifications and yet be unwanted on the job market
- ▷ feed a family on an extremely low income
- ▷ fight social degradation and exclusion
- ▷ be blamed for not wanting enough children
- ▷ be capable of reviving communities and social fabrics destroyed by chauvinism and intolerance
- ▷ challenge dominating rules and attitudes

This is the real life story, told through women's eyes. This is the story only FairPlay has.

Share good news
with a colleague!

if you know someone who is interested in learning about empowering women in changing societies in Central and Eastern Europe, please fill out the form below and send it to the Editor of the FairPlay magazine:
Women's Alliance for Development, 52 Neofit Rilski Str., 1000 Sofia, Bulgaria; e-mail: wad@infotel.bg, and we will send them a sample copy.

Name:.....
Organization:.....
Address:.....
City:..... State:.....
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SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

Make your voice heard! Send in your articles and artwork.

The mission of the FairPlay quarterly is to provide a forum for women in the CEE/CIS countries to exchange ideas and best practices to improve social, economic, political, and legal conditions for women, their children, their families and their countries. It also aims to be a voice that carries and interprets grassroots women's concerns to national and international policy and decision-makers.

What kind of submissions are we looking for?

Interesting, readable, personal articles with compelling headlines and sub-headings which

- x illustrate the plight of women living under certain conditions and show how conditions, cultures, laws, and financial situations can affect women's life and the life of her family.
- x show how women have overcome certain negative conditions by working individually, in groups, with decision-makers, through NGOs, and benefiting from support from funders or from changes in laws or policies.
- x present analytical views of a given topic – analyses of situations, tendencies, trends, policies, and possible solutions to concerns that affect women.

Submissions should express the views and analyses of the author on situations, tendencies, and trends. The use of statistical data is encouraged to strengthen and add credibility to the position/analyses. Please be sure to cite sources for all statistics and materials quoted. Materials providing a regional view are highly appreciated.

Please follow these format guidelines:

- x Contributions have to be written in English;
- x articles must have a clear logical structure, ideas be clearly explained;
- x art work should be accompanied by conceptual text and brief CV (descriptive, not list of exhibitions);

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- x send in a few sentences about the author;
 - x attach contact information, including Web sites, e-mail if available.
- We strongly encourage writers to contact the editor-in-chief in advance, to ensure that their submission is suitable.
- Articles will be edited. FairPlay retains the copyright for original contributions.**
- Artistic submissions should be either slides or photos. Submissions will be returned after the issue is published.**

Coming Issues

- **Globalization:** perceptions of the global and the local, global cities and headquarter economy, which globalization?, migration, old and new borders, transnational companies and international institutions, new technologies and Internet, protests against neoliberal summits and policies
- **Diversity:** disabilities, Roma, indigenous women (far North), sexual orientation, polygamy
- **Media:** gender images, advertising, Internet, legislation, ethics, pornography, women media workers, sexist language

You may also submit materials on other topics if you think there is a considerable interest in them.

Send all submissions: by e-mail to <fairplay@womenbg.org> or by post to Women's Alliance for Development, 52 Neofit Rilski, 1000 Sofia, BULGARIA.

It pays to contribute! You

- x make sure your country's activities are presented to funders and other supporters abroad,
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- x will receive two free copies of the issue in which your contribution has appeared
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Alla Georgieva graduated from the Institute for Art and Design in her hometown of Kharkov in the Ukraine at the beginning of the 1980s. Almost immediately after that she moved to live and work in Sofia, Bulgaria. Alla descended upon contemporary art at the beginning of the 1990s, after the fall of the Berlin wall, when so-called contemporary art was just one of a number of shock interventions in the Bulgarian public and cultural space, along with Soros, the stock exchange and all sorts of other markets, the idea of globalization, the International Monetary Fund, feminist and gender questions, the wars in neighboring Yugoslavia, chalgа (known in other countries as turbo-folk), the multitude of local economic and cultural crises, and thousands of other factors that hit off guard the average, as yet unsuspecting Bulgarian.

In those bygone times it was by no means easy for an artist to completely sever her ties with the language of her traditional academic education and the criteria imposed by the previous totalitarian system, and to develop critical thinking and engage in socially committed art, using means and approaches that were completely new to her environment. Perhaps her long involvement with caricature after graduation helped Alla in this – a genre that allowed greater freedom from the criteria imposed by the state on the high arts painting and sculpture.

Alla's creative energy also went into collective projects. Together with Adelina Popnedeleva, she is the initiator and founder of the group of women artists 8th of March, which attempts through its exhibitions to provoke discussions on gender and feminist questions and contemporary art.

In her photo-installations and objects, the artist mixes visual elements typical of the "new" Balkan subcultural movements and the aestheticism and elitism of high-level art. She uses the language of advertising, often draws on the gro-



tesque, the farce and the parody to dissect the everyday absurdity in the contemporary Bulgarian society in transition.

Alla Georgieva's works presented in Fair Play 6 were produced in 2001 for two projects of the group 8th March that each ended with exhibitions in Sofia: "Shop Art – Women at (on) the market," which took place in the underpass Saint Sofia in June, and "Changing of Places," Center of Contemporary Art ATA, Sofia, both curated by M. Vassileva.

Text by **Dimitrina Sevova**



PEACE AND WAR



On being asked for a War Poem

I think it better that in times like these
A poet keep his mouth shut, for in truth
We have no gift to set a statesman right;
He has had enough of meddling who can please
A young girl in the indolence of her youth,
Or an old man upon a winter's night.

William Butler Yeats (1865-1939). In: *The Wild Swans at Coole* (1919).

8/2002