Gender and the 1999 War in and Around Kosovo[1]

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Introduction

No war has taken place without being influenced by society's gender politics. In turn, each war has, as well, influenced gender relationships. But even with all the development of feminist theory,[2] gender is rarely seen as a factor influencing the shape, meaning and prosecution of wars. The 1999 war in and around Kosovo[3] was no exception to this. Political and military leaders representing Western Europe, USA, former FR of Yugoslavia[4], Serbia, Kosova Albanians, Kosovo Serbs, and other regional countries all claimed to be leading politics in the interest of their 'people' – irrespective of gender. The 1999 war in Kosovo and FR Yugoslavia was, in general, seen as gender irrelevant, except, for propaganda purposes where each side stressed out (and commodified) the suffering (torture, murder, rapes) of women.

In this article, I challenge the gender neutrality of this particular war. I also discuss how gender relationships and masculinities defined by patriarchy influenced this conflict. And lastly, I conclude by arguing that long-term changes in gender relationships and abandonment of dominant (patriarchal) worldview are crucial in building a more peaceful world.

Patriarchy

Feminism is often critiqued that by explaining everything by 'patriarchy', it, in fact, does not explain anything and that the category of patriarchy itself then loses its explicatory power. But while taking different forms among Albanians in Kosova, Serbs in former Yugoslavia or in the West, in this article I argue that patriarchy remains the major and extremely significant player: both influencing local politics and international relationships. To further this claim I next show the way patriarchy – as both a social system and a worldview – influenced a host of events and processes prior and during this conflict. What follows is an investigation of some of these events and processes. They include: decision-making processes; the existing view on history; representations of war and warring parties in general and women in particular; the use of women's bodies as a means of communication between males; and, the form even some peaceful demonstrations, such as Serbian anti-NATO protests, took.

Decision-making processes

The most obvious influence of patriarchy can be seen in the fact that all societies involved in this conflict are/were ruled by men, representing part of what Mary Daly (quoted in Tuttle, 1986, p. 243) has called "The Planetary Men's Association". Just one quick look at the 1999 NATO's "family portrait" (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation/NATO Summit, Washington, 1999) of top officials makes this clearly evident.[5] In addition, the representation of women in the armed forces of NATO countries ranges from zero (Italy) to fourteen percent (USA), totaling 12,7% (Carreiras, 2002). Although women's share of seats in national-parliaments of some NATO countries reached 30 per cent or above (e.g. Denmark, Germany, Norway, Iceland, The Netherlands) (UNIFEM, 2000, p. 76) ministries of defense and foreign affairs remain heavily male dominated. At least when NATO is concerned, war remains a man's business.

In the case of former Yugoslavia, extremely low participation of women in government was a by-product of the 'transition' from a former socialist country to the western style democracy. After former SFR Yugoslavia disintegrated and its former republics established new 'democracies', representation of women in newly formed parliaments ranged from 13% in Slovenia, 4.5% in Croatia, 4% in Montenegro, 3.3% in Macedonia, 2.9% in Bosnia and Herzegovina and only 1,6% in Serbia (Papic, 1994, pp.115-117). The rise of nationalism further suppressed the official doctrine of gender partnership/equality that was promoted during fifty years of socialism. While this official doctrine never got fully implemented on the ground, the rise of nationalism brought back 'women at home' and 'women as mothers' ideology. Patriarchal relationships that already existed got further enhanced. Nationalist ideologies in former Yugoslavia became intrinsically linked and "grounded on a purposefully constructed aggressive and violent masculinity" (ibid). They helped enhance the desire for a leader who could play the 'father of the nation' role (e.g. F.

Tudjman in Croatia, S. Milosevic in Serbia, A. Izetbegovic in Bosnia). All this later became a significant factor influencing not only the type of war, the form it was going to take, the intensity and the extent of it, but also whether the war would start at all.

Given that parallel government of Kosova Albanians functioned as an illegal body during Milosevic's regime very few figures are available on its composition. But it would be reasonable to expect that the number of women in key decision-making positions was inconsiderable. This conclusion is based on more transparent post-conflict data, for example, on the fact that no women were appointed to the Kosovo Transitional Council (the equivalent of the government cabinet) or on the fact that of the 20 government departments (the equivalent of ministries) only 2 are headed by Kosovar women (Corrin, 2000). As is usually the case in all wars, very few women fought as the soldiers of the KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army).

But the issue of patriarchal influence on decision-making processes goes beyond the mere presence of women in politics. For example, the presence and influence of women such as Madeline Albright (then the USA Secretary of State) or Mirjana Markovic (influential political figure in Serbia at that time) has shown one more time that in an environment dominated by men, women quickly adopt dominant strategies of "playing politics". Many 'ordinary' women supported nationalistic and war-promoting politics of their leaders. They gave their loyalty predominantly to the nation and 'their' men who fought, rather then to various women's groups who supported peace and all women irrespective of their ethnicity. For example, Serbian Women in Black who continually, over the years, and from the very beginning of the war, silently protested in the Belgrade main square were often abused and ridiculed by the mainstream population.[6] Patriarchy is not just a social system but also an ideology. As an ideology, patriarchy can be equally accepted, or rejected, by both women and men. So it is both the changes in social structure as well as in the worldview that are required. This includes the movement away from how we currently reinterpret history or view wars in general.

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The Use of Histories

What counts as history, what is seen as a significant event from the past that needs to be recorded for posterity? In September 1998 BBC invited an online discussion on whether the West should strike (FR Yugoslavia) over Kosovo[7]. In March 1999 another forum discussed whether NATO action was justified.[8] The responses ranged from arguing for intervention on humanitarian grounds and later saying it was justified to arguing that intervention by West would constitute an act of an aggression, resulting in an increase in suffering for all involved. But in any case, to further their claims, proponents of both perspectives focused on military and political events from the past, both traditional male activities (Yost, 2002, p. 1001). History got reinterpreted as a field in which few significant players (overwhelmingly male) decided upon the lives, deaths, and destinies of millions of people.

In former Yugoslavia, the mis/use of history meant that each side emphasised their own trauma and suffering. It was always 'them', never 'us' that were seen as cunning, violent, murderous and evil. As for the West, although 1990's wars occurred only in the former-Yugoslavia the historical invention of 'the Balkans' (Todorova, 1994) enabled similar distinction between 'us and them', wherein it is up to (superior) West to discipline (inferior) peoples of the Balkans. As argued by Todorova:

> Balkanization not only had come to denote the parcelization of large and viable political units but also had become a synonym for a reversion to the tribal, the backward, the primitive, the barbarian. In its latest hypostasis, particularly in American academe, it has been completely decontextualized and paradigmatically related to a variety of problems (Todorova, 1994, pp. 455, 453).

In such climate, it was seen as acceptable in the West that since the leader (e.g. Milosevic) has the rightful role in representing millions of people (e.g. Serbs) he also has the right to hold the whole nation hostage. That is, 'his' people could be legitimately pressured (by, for example, bombing) to force him out of power. The quarrel and the disagreement with the leader makes it legitimate to drop bombs on 'his' people, even though major-

ity of those very people were already suffering from his dictatorial regime. Measures such as military intervention, bombing, and economic sanctions, which punish entire populations, were therefore seen as justifiable.

Such binary thinking – divisions between us and them and between superior and inferior people - is considered by many feminists to be one of the main characteristics of patriarchal reasoning, based on the primary division between man as the one and woman as the other (Beauvoir, 1949). Patriarchal reasoning also focuses on history as a story of violence and domination (Eisler, 2000), which was also the main focus in both local and global media during the 1999 war.

What was thus missing from both BBC online discussion as well as to what Western and Yugoslav (Serbian, Albanian) media was reporting, was an awareness of and an emphasis on 'cultures of peace'. These cultures of peace incorporate the building of communities and relationships that support peaceful interaction and intermixing between various ethnic groups that lived in Kosovo. Most recently, these cultures of peace incorporated various NGOs, both in Yugoslavia and Europe. But while NGOs often showed comprehensive and creative peace plans, their activities were not supported and even often actively undermined (TFF, 1999). The media gave "few and short reports from the hundreds of demonstrations for peace" (ibid.) instead focusing on state government supported peace plans that were often not only "unacceptable" to most involved but also "otherwise devoid of creativity" (ibid.). In our present world order, only solutions coming from the powerful male elite (the official government) are discussed as the option. So even while the western leaders considered Milosevic to be a vicious, evil man, a "new Hitler" and a demon, they still only negotiated with him. No women's organisation, grass-root movement or NGO had the chance to participate in the official conflict resolution processes. 'Softer' approaches in general got labeled as 'unworkable'. Instead, it was mostly the military solution that was propagated. NATO leaders needed Milosevic, not only because of their opportunism and the belief that only he can stop the conflict, but also because by acknowledging him they legitimised their own positions of power.

Patriarchy remains the major and extremely significant player: both influencing local politics and international relationships

Representation of War and Women

Mainstream representation of war in general and women in particular during this conflict is yet another example of patriarchal reasoning and worldview. During the war, almost every news show started with the tremendous display of the military equipment. We were repeatedly shown the powerful planes leaving the base in Aviano, Italy. Story after story was written on the USA and the NATO killing machines such as the Stealth and the Tomahawk, on their capabilities, limitations and potential and their impact on 'military targets'. While the weapons of mass destruction were used and glorified in the West, hardly anything was done to protect Albanians in Kosovo on the ground. Not much effort was put either prior or during bombing to relieve the humanitarian crisis which occurred once the bombing started and Serbian forces stepped in their atrocities against Kosova Albanians.

In addition to glorifying and idealising weapons of mass destruction the western media has also shown sympathies towards the Kosovo Liberation Army. From its inception in the early nineties KLA conducted a guerilla warfare, attacking and killing Serb police and soldiers. Although KLA's goal was one of ethnic separatism and ethnically pure Kosova and their methods that of intimidation and violence the Western media portrayed KLA as a liberation movement fighting to free ethnic Albanians in Kosovo from the grip of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. While the (legitimate) Yugoslav military has been denounced (justifiably as they committed many atrocities) by western media, the KLA guerilla has received not only sympathies but was also glorified. The sympathy towards guerilla was obvious during pre-war coverage, where the western journalists stood by the armed KLA soldiers while condemning Serbian military actions without ever contesting KLA involvement in the conflict. KLA soldiers used appropriate rhetoric and talked peace. At the same time they were shown carrying weapons and some of their military activities had also been explained and shown. Western journalists interviewing KLA soldiers did not ask how come they were carrying weapons in the first place or who the Serbian police were retaliating against. The assumption, of course, was that the world is black and white, and that the 'bad' one is always wrong and the 'good' one is

always right.

Whether their cause and the final goal is justifiable or not the guerilla wars remain part of the patriarchal tactic of violence used to create a political change. The guerilla relies on the illegal use of force and secrecy to disrupt or change (often oppressive) government. Typically, it is conducted by the suppressed males (of particular ethnicity, religion, ideology) who need to prove their power (and also their maleness) against 'the enemy'. While doing so, the guerilla taunts the authorities it contests, and after doing so runs into the hills, usually leaving women, children and disabled or old men behind. While guerilla men prove to be 'brave', they are rarely brave enough to stay and wait and possibly protect their own families and communities from the retaliation of those they 'challenge'. Both the KLA's hiding in the hills or their activities being based from some of the houses in the village, caused or at least provided an excuse for the attacks on civilian targets and burning of Albanian villages by the Serbian police and military. In guerilla wars, women and children are the hostages, but yet, their suffering never gets glorified, only pitied. In 1999 war in and around Kosovo, it was predominantly the Serbian side who did not glorify KLA, calling it a terrorist organisation. However, many Serbs did glorify their own guerillas – including the paramilitary formations that volunteered to fight in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. It was predominantly these paramilitary units that conducted the worst cases of gang rape and other forms of torture against Muslim women in Bosnia and Albanian women in Kosova. But too often the Serbian media represented the leaders of these paramilitary units (for example, Arkan) as heroes and liberators of the oppressed Serbian minorities. In addition, the whole history of Serbian people and Serbian nation was/is constructed in terms of a 'masculinist birth' (Lake, 1992). According to Lake masculinist birth is "a mission impossible" (ibid.) wherein a 'great' nation is created through wars and through violence. Indeed, the alleged 'birth' of Serbian nation on the killing fields of Kosovo Polje (Kosovo field) in 1389 was directly related to the beginning of the Serbian nationalist renewal in the late 1980s. This rise of Serbian nationalism was coupled with KLA's politics of intimidation and violence against Serbs living in Kosovo and the reality of "the

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virtual apartheid" (Tenenbaum and Symonds, 1999) in which "Albanians and Slavs had little contact or communication with one another" (ibid.) to further propel already existing tensions. And while the Serbian government and media condemned. KLA guerilla and all previous Albanian guerilla movements it did very little to dispel the favourable stories and myths about its own. Serbian history continues to glorify its own guerilla from the past such as partisans (who fought Nazi occupation in the WWII) or *hajduks* (who fought Ottoman empire occupation from the late 16th to the early 20th C). They too used the similar tactics and their actions also caused reprisals against civilian population. Yet Serbian history remembers their bravery, cleverness and persistence and says nothing of the courage of Serbian women who had to battle from the 'home front'.

Gender politics of western media's construction of NATO and FR Yugoslavia was more covert. In general, NATO was constructed as active/civilising/male and the Balkans as passive/untamed/female. NATO was the actor dictating its solutions to others, asking them to do what it wanted them to do. The conflict itself was set up in such a way that the 'receiver' had little chance to retaliate. The missiles were launched from as far as the Adriatic sea, making it impossible for the Yugoslav army to activate its defense system. The only retaliation possible was onto an even weaker side, the fact known to the NATO before the bombardments started, and the fact openly stated by the former Yugoslav government official and ultra-nationalist, Vojislav Seselj ("If we cannot retaliate against those attacking us we are going to retaliate against those we can").

Even while bombing, the West argued to be closer to the civilization then the 'barbaric Other'. NATO was merely on a 'civilizing' mission, as it couldn't possibly allow for the barbarism to continue. Being responsible world citizens, citizens in western nations were expected to accept that they 'had to do something' and therefore had no choice but to bomb. As part of this 'civilising' mission NATO caused the destruction of the nature and the environment. The use of depleted uranium, destruction of the industry, the refineries and the chemical plants, caused huge environmental damage to all people living in former Yugoslavia, including Albanians, and to the other

people living in the region. However, NATO was unde-terred. Contrary to all evidence, its spokesman (Jamie Shea) publicly stated that more environmental damage was coming from burning of Albanian villages. But on one occasion, the level of toxic substances in Pancevo (town in Serbia), was reported to be 7 000 above the safe range. The use of 'smart' bombs was praised by Western media and NATO officials because of its pre-cision. Sporadic complains about the dangers of such weapons were dismissed as 'groundless'. More evidence has emerged since that connects the use of depleted uranium with the increase in still births, leukemia in chil-dren, kidney, stomach and lung diseases, and cancer in general.

But the NATO never significantly considered this. It continually argued that the only damage it was caus-ing was to the Milosevic military. One of the propagators of the uses of the depleted ura-nium stated: "I would risk the consequences of inhaling depleted uranium dust before I would consider facing tanks. Depleted ura-nium is wonderful stuff. It turns tanks into Swiss cheese."[9] Once again, military logis-tic won over the issues of health and futures generations' well being. Once again, prior-ity was given to immediate 'usefulness' and strategic goals over the long-term sustainability.

The maleness of NATO was thus confirmed by its connection with the civilization[10], by the strength of their militaries and weapons, but also by their emotional non-attachment to the conflict itself. It was continuously stated that the NATO soldiers and pilots were merely doing their 'jobs'. The barbaric other, on the other hand, was seen to be fighting due to unresolved grief and trauma. Following the patriarchal logic NATO contin-ued sacrificing civilians in Kosova and FR Yugoslavia while boosting about the low casualty of its 'own' sol-diers. This logic was also evident in the belief that hu-man lives could and should be sacrificed for the higher goals. After one of its many 'blunders' – the bombing of a refugee convoy in which around 64 Albanian civilians lost their lives – NATO spokesman Jamie Shea stated that "sometimes one has to risk the lives of the few to save the lives of the many".[11] In addition, he appallingly stated that the pilot who bombed a refugee convoy dropped his "bomb in a good faith, as you would expect of a trained pilot from a democratic country."[12] The 'col-lateral damage' was 'regretted' and the higher moral

ground of a 'civilising force' got preserved.

Like in most other wars representation of women followed two basic lines. Each side in the conflict used the horrific experiences of women who were victims of violence for propaganda purposes. In addition, women were often reduced to their bodies and divided into 'ours' and 'theirs'. This representation was along the lines of the ways women's bodies were used as passive recipi-ents of male violence.

Rapes of the 'enemy' women or rapes of woman the enemy?

Wars in former Yugoslavia, in Croatia, Bosnia as well as in Kosovo, reduced women to not only innocent victims but also conscious military targets. No matter what their education, level of income or socio-economic background was prior to the war, they all had their sta-tus, which could have shielded them from patriarchal oppression, removed. They be-came just 'women', and as the double 'other' they also became target for the unspeakable and horrific crimes. In wars, all the gains women had previously made towards achiev-ing equality in the society almost completely disappeared.

Prior to the 1999 war Milosevic used the rapes of Serbian women by Albanian man to fuel ethnic hatred and justify his own repressive policies in Kosovo. Once the war started Serbian military and para-military formations humiliated, tortured and raped count-less Albanian women. Those who survived testified about women being used and abused and then 'disposed' off.[13] One more time, the rape of the women was the rule of the game and a conscious military tactic aimed at the destruction of the "enemies" culture (Seifert, 1993). Refugees testified about statements such as "your daugh-ter is good to be a Serbian wife", and how young and beautiful Albanian women and girls were singled out from refugee convoys.[14] Women were not seen as being per-sons or human beings but a means of communication between males. One Albanian women, who was ex-tremely distressed when asked to remove her clothes while body searched by Serbian militia testified about being questioned about her distress in the following man-ner: "Why are you so timid, had your husband never seen you naked?" As a woman, she was not expected to have any say over how her body was used. Being 'seen' by one man she could had been seen by any other

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alike.

The connection between femininity defined by patriarchy and the treatment of women in this war was obvious. One Albanian woman testified of being given make up and asked to apply it prior to the rapes. The other one had to serve drinks to the Serbian soldiers naked. Those men were, perhaps, reliving what they probably already practiced in many strip clubs. Or, perhaps, they might have developed such fantasies with the support of pornographic movies or the stories about the places where women trafficked from other parts of Eastern Europe 'worked'. There is thus a clear connection between "cultural based despise" (Seifert, 1993) of women practiced in peaceful times (e.g. in the form of pornography) which then takes "extreme forms during extreme times" (ibid.).

Unfortunately, Kosova women who managed to cross to Albania were not necessary free from male abuse. Sadako Ogata (1999) expressed her "deep concerns with respect to the protection and security of refugees." She said that human traffickers are a serious threat, especially in Albania, as:

> They have already started smuggling refugees across the Adriatic into Italy and the European Union. Young women, often forced into prostitution, and children, are frequent victims, particularly when they are hosted in families, and are thus more vulnerable to these threats. This phenomenon will increase if it is not addressed more forcefully, and immediately. (ibid.)

Similarly, Serbian women also suffered from 'their' fellow Serbian men. SOS phone for victims of violence in Belgrade witnessed the ever-increasing cases of violence against women and children with the development of wars in former-Yugoslavia.[15] It was not unusual for returning soldiers to start raping their own wives. Many men beat their own wives after watching the news. This violence against and contempt of women by their co-patriots took various forms, from more extreme forms of physical abuse and violence to more covert forms of gendered degradation.

Gender politics of Serbian anti-NATO demonstrations

Serbian anti-NATO demonstrations provide one such example of more covert forms of gendered degradation. This degradation was part of a discourse created during peaceful demonstrations and mostly verbal protests di-rected against the NATO. In these protests and demonstrations maleness of the NATO leaders was often challenged. The assumption was that the reduction of masculinity equals insult by the default. For example, at one anti-NATO demonstration, in Brisbane, Australia, one of the banners read: "NATO pussies, go fuck yourselves." At other places this same message - reduction of masculinity equals insult - keeps on repeating:

- *"Klintoris."* ([Bill] Clintoris).
- *"Bleru, pederu."* (Blair, you faggot).

Some other messages (anti-NATO demonstrations overseas and in Belgrade) read:
- *"Klintone! Nije ti Srbija Monika Levinski da je okreces kako hoces."* (Clinton, Serbia is not your Monica Lewinski so that you can turn it around the way you want it!).
- "Bring Monica back to him."
- *"Olbrajtova, lepsa sam od tebe".* (Albright I am more beautiful then you are).

The "Patriotic Poem" circulating the Internet and being forwarded to Yugoslavs living overseas had lyrics that promised "Serbian cock" to Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and Madeline Albright (twice it was also in addition specified: orally or anally). Both Clinton and Blair were made fun as being sons "of a whore" while the Albright had the honour to be the bitch herself. The lyrics of the song also promised the same thing to other western diplomats involved and labeled again others as "faggots" who would fuck among themselves (assuming that as the "real men", Serbs are, naturally, not involved in homosexual activities).

The bringing of Monica Lewinski into the agenda, one more time, connected the degradation of women with violence. "Bring Monica back to him" implied that if the USA President was still 'doing it' to her, he would not be 'doing it' to us. That if he was able to fulfil his sexual frustrations he would not be conducting wars. "Albright I am more beautiful then you are" is the victory of a prettier woman over a powerful USA secretary of state. Even when in the positions of power women are still expected to compete among themselves in terms of their physical appearance. "Fucking their nasty mothers" is about winning of "us" over "them" as a nation, or a race. "Fucking their mother" helps spreading the seed of our people and giving birth to ourselves, through

their mothers, whose nation/ethnicity then becomes irrelevant.

Conclusion

The alternative to warfare is, of course, peaceful solutions of conflicts. Throughout the history there have been many people advocating peace by peaceful means, and women have always represented a large number in such movements. Peace advocates argued that various strategies are needed to bring more lasting peace. For example, strategies would include work towards the abolishment of 'warrior' and establishment of civil societies; the end of general mobilisation policy in nations that practice it; the higher role of NGOs in decision making processes, replacement of a bellicose model of socialization with the education for peace, etc. Another strategy needed is the replacement of dominant patriarchal view that puts high social investment in stereotypically 'masculine' traits and activities, such as the control and conquest of people and nature (Eisler, 2000, p. 11). Patriarchy is a system that relies on particular social hierarchies, wherein both the women and the other (ethnic, religious, racial) minorities are seen as inferior and in a need of control. Patriarchy is also a system which relies on institutionalization of fear, violence and abuse rather then on institutionalization of mutual honoring, respect, and peaceful conflict resolution (Eisler, 2000, p. 11).

Very few acts of direct violence in the 1999 war in and around Kosovo were committed by women. This corresponds to the situation that exists globally wherein "to say that 95% of direct violence is committed by men is probably an understatement" (Galtung, 1996, p. 41). While violence is considered to be a human trait the research on "human aggression" would mostly "reflect badly on man as male, not as species" (Galtung, 1996, p. 41). But it is difficult, if not impossible, to turn men influenced by the ideologies other then patriarchy, nationalism or racism, into the killing machines. Many men actively support peace movements while many women support nationalistic and patriarchal ideologies. The change needs to be directed at patriarchy as a system, as both a social phenomena and an ideology.

Prior to and during the wars in former Yugoslavia patriarchy influenced decision-making processes, the interpretation of history as a perpetual battlefield, the divisions created between 'us' and 'them' and the ab/use of and violence against women and the other civilians. Patriarchal reasoning was also evident among Western 'civilised' leaders and in the global (Western) media. Weapons of mass-destruction had been idealised and guerilla warfare glorified. Violence against Serbian women was downplayed and violence against Albanian women used for propaganda purposes while collateral damage was validated on the grounds of the doctrine of the just war. Both sides had been guilty of objectification of women, reducing women to their bodies and seeing them as objects rather then subjects in this war. Women were seen predominantly as victims of violence and their efforts towards peaceful resolution of the conflict through various NGOs and peaceful activities ignored.

But even peaceful protests had been not devoid of particular gender politics, as was the case in Serbian anti-NATO demonstrations. These demonstrations exhibited patriarchal reasoning through the belief that the reduction of masculinity equals insult and that, somehow, women are 'less'. Patriarchy feeds on both these hierarchical arrangements as well as on institutionalisation of violence and investment in military resolution of conflicts. To move towards societies that promote more lasting peace wee need to move both beyond social hierarchical arrangements as well as from international politics that legitimises violence. Neither is possible without abandoning patriarchy.

Even when in the positions of power women are still expected to compete among themselves in terms of their physical appearance

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Endnotes

[1] Kosovo is the term accepted in English and also in former Yugoslavia. Serbs call this area also Kosmet, or Kosovo i Metohija, while Albanians call it Kosova. In this article I have used Kosovo and Kosova interchangeably.

[2] See, for example, Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics,* Allen & Unwin and Joy Damousi & Marilyn Lake, eds., *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995; Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War,* Berkley: University of California Press.

[3] This war was, essentially, a war between FR Yugoslavia on one side and the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) and the "Kosovo Liberation Army" (KLA) on the other. NATO bombed FR Yugoslavia from 24th March 1999 to 10th of June 1999 and this is generally considered the timespan of the war. However, the conflicts between Yugoslav and Serbian military forces and KLA as well as ethnic conflict between Kosovo Albanians and Serbs occurred both before and after this time.

[4] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro, formed in 1992. Distinct from Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1943-1991), consisting of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia (with autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina), Macedonia and Montenegro.

[5] During the summit no woman represented NATO or NATO member states at the highest level of governance: NATO Secretary General (Mr. J. Solana); Prime Minister, Belgium (Mr. J.L. Dehaene); Prime Minister, Canada (Mr. J. Chretien); President, Czech Republic (Mr. V. Havel); Prime Minister, Denmark (Mr. P.N. Rasmussen); President, France (Mr. J. Chirac); Federal Chancellor, Germany (Mr. G. Schroder); Prime Minister, Greece (Mr. C. Simitis); Prime Minister, Hungary (Mr. V. Orban); Prime Minister, Iceland (Mr. D. Oddsson); President, Italy (Mr. M. D'Alema); Prime Minister, Luxembourg (Mr. J.C. Juncker); Prime Minister, The Netherlands (Mr. W. Kok); Prime Minister, Norway (Mr. K. M. Bondevik),

President, Poland (Mr. A. Kwasniewski); Prime Minister, Portugal (Mr. A. Guterres), President, Spain (Mr. J.M. Aznar); President, Turkey (Mr. S. Demirel); UK Prime Minister (Mr. T. Blair), US President (Mr. B. Clinton). NATO family portrait available at: http://www.nato.int/pictures/1999/990423b/990423-r16-

0002.jpg. Accessed May 2003.

[6] These and other reactions to the activities of Women in Black are described in "Reakcija prolaznica/prolaznika na protest Zena u crnom" (Reactions of passer-bys to Women in Black's protest), in Women in Black, *Zene za mir* (Women for Peace), Belgrade, 1994.

[7] news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/talking_point/ newsid_179000/179229.asp, Accessed on 24th September, 1998.

[8] http://news6.thdo.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/talking_point/ newsid_302000/302769.stm, Accessed on 24th March, 1999.
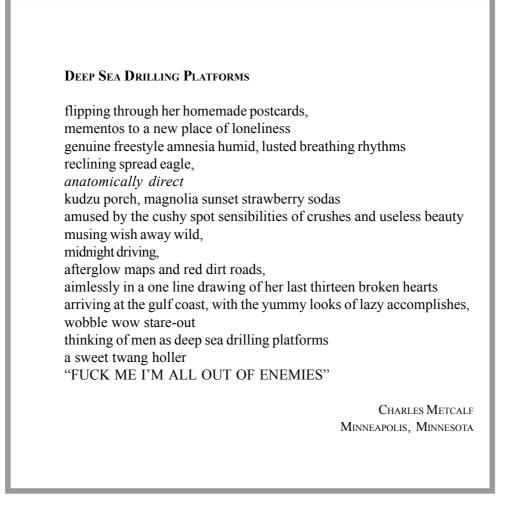
[9] The statement by Piers Wood, a senior fellow at the Center for Defense Information and a retired Army lieutenant colonel, E-mail received through Internet support group and originally written by Stephen Wechsler, Assoc.Prof. Linguistics Dept. University of Texas.

[10] See the classic article by Sherry Ortner (1974) "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" in *Woman, Culture, and Society*, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 67-87.

[11] Jamie Shea speech on the TV.

[12] Ibid.

[13] This euphemism also covers the cases of killings of women after rapes.

[14] The testimonies were shown on state television in Australia (various news and programs), simultaneously translated in English.

[15] SOS phone for women and children victims of violence publications: *SOS bilten,* No: 6-7, 1993; *Zene za zivot bez nasilja (*Women for life without violence), November 1995; *Feministicke sveske* (Feminist Notebooks), 1, 1994; 2, 1994 and 3-4 1995.

Deep Sea Drilling Platforms

flipping through her homemade postcards,
mementos to a new place of loneliness
genuine freestyle amnesia humid, lusted breathing rhythms
reclining spread eagle,
anatomically direct
kudzu porch, magnolia sunset strawberry sodas
amused by the cushy spot sensibilities of crushes and useless beauty
musing wish away wild,
midnight driving,
afterglow maps and red dirt roads,
aimlessly in a one line drawing of her last thirteen broken hearts
arriving at the gulf coast, with the yummy looks of lazy accomplishes,
wobble wow stare-out
thinking of men as deep sea drilling platforms
a sweet twang holler
"FUCK ME I'M ALL OUT OF ENEMIES"

Charles Metcalf
Minneapolis, Minnesota