

ŽINDOK Arhiva

feministkinja

Osmi mart: istorija jednog 'praznika'

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seksizmu - odmah! reci DA: -
aktivna. Budi
suprotstavi
mladostizmu, fizičnu
prošir
eluduj okoline. i obnovi. ne
i svesna žena. stv^{ar}aj sigurnost.
zmi noć. obnovi snagu. odmah! uživaj
aslužila si. ne služi. slavi žene koje su
araj novu istoriju. rezovi mitove, povedi,
ij: ONA - NJOJ - MI - JA ŽENA. slavi
osvoji vlast! doli svoje telo. ukrasi ga kako
seksu! zamisli savršenu kontrolu rađanja.
n, legalan i dostupan abortus. pomoz
svako dete bude voljeno i željeno. slavi neudate
odmah. budi ženski pokret. glasaj, demonstriraj,
isma vredništvima. biraj progresivne žene.
demografskoj obmani. zaustavi nasilje nad
itevoj socijalnu pravdu za sve! traži više novca.
lje, stvori pakao. sada. brini se za majčicu zemlju.
ratna. oslobodi se pritiska. misli čovekoanarhičnooo!
zločeste devojke. pomakni.
j političkoj organizaciji.
okloni novac. postani jaka,
tume. priklupljaj i
let.
i bićeš snažna žena!

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Solidarnost ili lajkovanje: Dnevnik feministkinje o feminizmu i levici u Srbiji (1978-2007)

Gordana Stojaković



ŽINDOK Arhiva

U zoni političkog: Feministički odgovori i inicijative u savremenoj Srbiji

Jelena Višnjić



DUGA I STRMA UZBRDICA

budućnost
vidljivosti i
prepoznatljivosti
ženskih
organizacija
u Srbiji

Snežana Škundrić

Adrijana Zaharijević, Katarina Lončarević
8th of March: History of a 'Holiday'

How International Women's Day was become a day feminist?

During the nineties, when feminist movement was active in Serbia for the real, Woman's Day finally acquired its feminist content, sometimes in conjunction with the socialist legacy, sometimes separated from him. Many foundations, origins, materialize initiatives, practical or theoretical, occurring precisely at this date.

How come, that from the mostly theoretical discussions on the position of women during the eighties developed a feminist vision of women which "as women have no fatherland"? In the context of the Serbian / Yugoslav feminism, the answer to that question is almost imposes itself. Dissolution of the state provided the conditions in which the homeland has become a controversial place of identity (which homeland?); in which the ideologies of equality of classes proved fragile and unsustainable under the impact of the national aspirations of the individual republics (the comrades?); in which religion once again became drivers of political groupings under the veil of tradition and returning to the original national values (such as / should be true Serbs?). When it stopped being possible to be Yugoslavian – those Yugoslavian that was not against the system, because it is precisely this system that allowed for the review of "radicalism" of Western women and "supposed" women's emancipation of the Eastern women - women are, roughly speaking, could decide only if they will take the dominant identity ("Serb"), or will take an indeterminate identity "woman".

In that spirit, one established socialist holiday whose historical dimension was worn out with countless and symbolically dead carnations and monotonous congratulations of the pioneers dedicated to mothers and teachers, at the time of the structural violence, poverty and the revival of tradition, allowed to women grouping over the identity that condemns the patriarchal state and war. Women's Day became a day when women can rightly talks as women, to women and for women.

In just one year - between the two Women's Day (1990-1991) – it was achieved "more women's initiatives than in the last thirty years": organized is the Third Yugoslav Feminist Meeting, founded are the Women's Lobby and Women's Party, launched an initiative for formation of the Ministry of Women, presented is the importance of CEDAW at the federal state level, for the first time Women's Parliament in session, on that day. On the Woman's Day 1992 symbolically beginning work of the Centre for Women's Studies, which advocates for "fundamental changes of primarily ours, women's consciousness, and one way [for it] are studies of women, about women, for women. This means above all in the interests of women and our first interest is peace." Since the beginning of wars the question of peace is becoming strongly integrated into the content of the idea of a woman, whether that idea is theoretically considered or practically performed on the streets of cities in Serbia.

Proclamation "Women against the war and violence" on March 8th 1993, where gathered together are sometimes incongruous feminist demands, perhaps most clearly demonstrates how the feminist identity was searched for women in Serbia. The rejection of nationality (the old slogan of the Women in Black "by nationality we are women" today summarized in the slogan "always disloyal / disobedient"), equalizing of policy of war and patriarchy, disappointment with socialist past (the absence of any reference to it, or some other socialist motives) and calling for solidarity among women (at first mainly those that are on the other side of new borders, in the war-affected areas of the former joint state), are the points that define feminist content of the concept of woman at the time when anti-war, pacifist and feminist activities were combined.

Understanding the present

At the beginning of XXI century in Serbia, the Women's Day in public sphere, and especially in media sphere, becomes a "holiday" of secondary importance, which "celebration" a large number of women refused. If Women's Day is accepted as Mother's Day, then celebration of that day with appropriate gifts and casual and informal talks about women as employed or unemployed mothers and wives, is something desirable and acceptable in the public and the media sphere, but only if harder issues are not included, issues related to economic and political position of women in Serbia, or in connection of women with other women and women's solidarity. On the other

hand, Women's Day is from the beginning of the first decade of the XXI century in the shadow of another, every year more and more popular holiday, Valentine's Day, which is not only for women, but for all romantic partners, and that seems to be more appropriate to the nature and needs of modern consumer society.

Same as in socialism women on every Woman's Day were "showered with flowers", now on St. Valentine's Day, every 14th February, both men and women buy to each other's chocolates, perfumes and other appropriate "lover" gifts. Although at first glance it seems that these two "holidays" are very different because there are from different ideological terms, both "share the characteristic of the ideological masking of reality", whether it is "masking the inequalities in socialist societies" or "denying the existence of certain forms of inequality and 'non-romantic' interest in a partner".

Valentine's Day, as "non-political" holiday, today has much wider support in the consumer society than the International Women's Day, which is also in the public sphere and the media sphere presented as the day without any political dimension. Even if it is celebrated, the Women's Day is modest continuation of the celebration of Valentine's Day or celebration of traditional role of women. In the Serbian public is, therefore, at the beginning of XXI century, Women's Day made trivial, while the connection between the celebration of the eighth of March and the history of women's and feminist struggles for political and economic rights are generally not lit, as the political symbolism of that day in today's context stays unclear.

Although in media generally there is no feminist content belonging to the Women's Day, which becomes easy after it's mixing with other declarative apolitical "holidays", the feminists prevent their unambiguous overlap. Žarana Papić said: „Women's Day can make be problems of women trivial, what happens to women who receive a flower and a call to exit. This holiday can also be used by the official ideology. But on the other hand, this day can be useful as a day when we talks about the activities of women's groups, and when we talk about problems of women knowingly and specifically. Then we get a different meaning for the celebration of Women's Day, which is an international holiday, and does not belong to any state or a group of women."

After the fall of Slobodan Milošević's regime in October 2000, Serbia begins political comeback in the European political scene with the hope of quick democratization and the "European

integration", which includes the citizens of Serbia. Period since 2000 until today is also a period of economic and political transformation in which beside approximation and harmonization with EU standards, privatization happened, which has resulted in more than a million unemployed citizens of Serbia, of which more than half are women. Although is often presented that transition strikes women and men on similar way, analysis of feminist economists and political scientists, shows that the transition is not gender-blind process and that it is necessary to point out the economic and political status and problems of women in societies that goes through transformation from socialism to capitalism.

At the symbolic level, Women's Day is occasion to discuss on the feminist rallies, demonstrations and marches about the economic position of women in general and particularly about the position and discrimination of workers, and violations of women and/or human rights of women employed in the industry. One of the innovations in celebration of Women's Day in Serbia after 2000, is that besides issues presented since the nineties, such as violence against women, domestic violence, solidarity and connection with women above all state, ethnic and religious boundaries and divisions, comes out new important issues regarding exploitation of women labor, neoliberal economics, discrimination against women in employment and at the workplace, the feminization of poverty. With that in mind, not surprisingly, Women in Black, along with the Center for Women's Studies and Association of students of philosophy FILONUS, organized, as a part of celebration of Women's Day 2003, The International Conference on "Globalization of peace, solidarity and social justice." In the invitation for participation in the conference, among other things, stands the following: "Globalization has its gender dimension: number and impact of the global women's networks are increasing, and on the other hand, reality shows feminization of poverty. Policy of privatization in transition countries affects primarily women."

Economic status, discrimination against women at work, and the question of class are the new themes that preoccupy feminist movement in Serbia today, so that on the traditional feminist march on 8th March 2011, the feminists of different generations, social and economic status, expressed support for workers in Serbia with words that marked this year's conference: "Workers are not alone!" In this way, full circle is made: from the Women's Day in the early twentieth century celebrated by early Serbian social-democrats, through Day of Women - comrades

transformed in the socialist tradition in Mother's Day, and through Day of Women without a homeland which opposes to war and reveals the violence against women - without surrendering to commercial attack of Valentine's Day, to the Women's Day 2011 which sums up in itself the spirit of the time of its proclamation. Women's Day is decidedly awakened feminist day when solidarity to include all women is required.

Women's Day, in Serbia in the XXI century, is a day when the most diverse and apparently sometimes disparate feminist demands and interests are formulated together in one place (in demonstrations, marches and political rallies), demonstrating the complexity of the feminist movement which cannot be reached any different way, but through the current social and political moment, while the motto of feminist activism today can perhaps be presented on the best way by words of Slavica Stojanovic, which are also the motto of the campaign on Women's Day 2011: "... we run, we do, we think, we share ..."

Jelena Višnjić

In the Zone of Political: Feminist Responds and Initiatives in Modern Serbia

Technology of the feminist resistance

Creating of democratic society means continuous creation of political culture that supports active participation and influence of male and female citizens. Overall retraditionalization during nineties has been reflected in rehabilitation of traditional, patriarchal stereotypes of roles and obligations of women in the field of *public*. This process was engage in the reality of women (and women's public), whose bodies and identities became political expression of the "the function of community cohesion" (Iveković, 2000: 10). One group of women were no able to silently and passively watched war, male and structural state violence (Čičkarić, 2010: 124), so they create new political space, different kind of policy, *a women policy*.

The first multi-party parliamentary elections in Serbia were conducted on December 9th 1990. During that period it was formed several feminist groups which aim was affirmation of women human rights. It was founded Woman's Party (Serbian acronym ŽEST – stands for women, ethic, solidarity, tolerance) and was activated Belgrade Women Lobby. Lobby, altogether with ŽEST and feminist group Woman and Society, helped to establish Women's Parliament that powering initiatives related to women's issues, legislative initiatives and monitored the work of *male's parliament*. Belgrade Women's Lobby work was focused on coordination and connection of women in political parties, organization of actions in election campaigns, representations and advocacy for women rights and interests in policy. During the period from September 1993 until July 1997, Lobby addresses the public fifty nine times, defending individual and collective human rights of women, reproductive rights, protesting against male violence, and much of the

activity was related to anti-war activities.¹ The effects of the impact of these actions in public are not measurable, but certainly opened up a space for different political culture. On the other hand, although a number of political parties at that time had female deputies in the executive bodies, their representation in parliament was low. Discrimination against women had happened in all areas, including the area of policy, and it made “sexual difference equal to political difference and the reason for the exclusion of women from the domain of political power” (Pateman, 2000). Militant, nationalist discourse of official policy and overall retraditionalization on the beginning of nineties, draw boundaries of woman’s body that is supposed to re-confirm reproductive potential, helped strengthening of national identity and revitalization of traditional community. The bill on population policy from 1990, repressive measures in the republic legislation and resolutions, aggressive public approach of Serbian Orthodox Church and Sinod regarding abortion issue, launched a series of protests among feminist groups organization, collecting signatures and writing petitions supported by numerous women in Serbia.

The first anti-war demonstrations were conducted in front of Serbian Parliament and were organized by three women’s organization altogether: Women’s Parliament, Belgrade Women Lobby and Woman’s Party. Women that stood in front of Serbian Parliament on that day, established foundations for anti-war movement in Serbia that was spontaneously develop after the war began in former SFRJ. “Situation was similar in other Yugoslavian Republics in which women were play vanguard role in peace movements.” (Liht, Drakulić 1996).² In parallel with crisis, wars, military-political changes and formation of national movements in Serbia, number of women organizations that stood against the war increased, clearly demands “demilitarization, disarming of police and paramilitary formations, stopping of propaganda and forced removal of populations, registrations of war crimes and processing of war criminals” (Čičkarić, 2010: 124). Women groups during that period have focused most of their activities on anti-war actions and projects. One of them was *Lighting the Candles Ceremony* in front of Serbian Parliament every evening from October the 8th 1991 until February the 8th 1992 for all casualties of war. This action was begun by two women: Nataša Kandić and Biljana Jovanović, and presents of women

¹ Even before beginning of conflict in Slovenia, members of Belgrade Women Lobby and women’s fraction of SDP party in Slovenia are jointly issued and signed appeal “Women for peace”.

² <http://www.filg.uj.edu.pl/~wwwip/postjugo/files/212/ratirod.pdf>, accessed 28.06.2011.

were dominant during those four months that action was last. Immediately after disintegrations of SFRJ and the beginning of war, Women in Black and Women's Center for Helping the Casualties of War (focused on women and children) were established. "Women in Black movement was pacific and feminist group and was answer to disintegrations of SFRJ supported by national parties present in all republics" (Tešanović, 1999).³ The first *standing* of Women in Black took place on October the 9th 1991 in front of Student Cultural Center and since then they are present on the streets and actively promoting policy of peace and non-violence, based on opposing to violence, war, militarism, fundamentalism and nationalism.

Breaking the regime of Slobodan Milošević happened as a product of continuous acting of opposition and active civil resistance and movement. Representatives of women's groups were actively participated in this process all the time. One of the mechanisms of resistance was huge civil and students protests against the regime that last throughout Serbia from November 1996 until February 1997. After the electoral fraud, oppositional coalition *Together* organized massive daily protests of citizens in all major cities in Serbia. Parallel with citizen protest, protest of students begun⁴. Whistles and walk characterized protests and women groups (Autonomous Women's Center, SOS, Feminist 94 and Belgrade Women Lobby) use it and start campaign **Women whistle**. In a letter supporting protests on the streets of Belgrade and throughout Serbia women said: *when I'm whistling I can hear myself, when I'm whistling others can hear me, when I'm whistling I'm protecting myself, when I'm whistle I am stronger!* Intensive engagement of women's groups in reconstruction of Serbian reality was and still is confirmation of continuity of feminist action in this region. At the same time it opens new fields of action through dialog and initiative of feminists with a different history.

During the 1997, "feminist group Woman and Society registered itself under the name 'Association for Woman's Initiative' (acronym – AŽIN) and continue to spread their basic ideas (*improving quality of life of women – by strengthening of woman's activism*) through creation of

³ http://rwfund.org/sites/default/files/Zen_u_crn_Beog.pdf, accessed 28.06.2011.

⁴ „Aproximety, the half of the organizers of the student protests in 1996/1997 were women.“ (Blagojević, 1998: 359).

new groups and organizing women”.⁵ *Voice of the Differences* was established on 1999, gathering together activists from various NGOs with an idea to promote political participation of women in Serbia and the region. Thanks to enormous efforts of members, activists and volunteers *Voice of the Differences* soon after their foundation develop recognizable image and was aimed to promote political rights of women and there more significant participation in public/political life, as a prerequisite of participative democracy. Political engagement of women’s groups got stronger a year before election in September 2000, and women had direct participation on political changes that took place that year. During May and June 2000, a network Women Can (initiated by AŽIN together with working group for equality of gender of Pact for Southeast Europe Stability) performed a program “Knowledge for Democracy” in forty three cities in Vojvodina and Serbia, with a mission to educate members of political parties with democratic orientation, activists of local NGOs and syndicates. In the same year during the pre-election period, conference “Political Perspective of Women” took place in Palić, organized by UNIFEMA and Woman Political Action, where women members of parties, representatives of NGOs, media and syndicates, clearly asked for equality of women in policy. Women organized four pre-election campaigns at the national level, six at the regional and numerous at the local level. *Voice of the Differences* organized campaign “**Your voice, voice of differences**” designed for women’s voting population, followed with campaign “From door to door” during which 45000 women were interviewed. After the victory of DOS coalition (Democratic Opposition of Serbia) in the federal parliamentary elections on September 2000, which Slobodan Milošević refused to accept, huge demonstrations took place on October the 5th, in front of Federal Parliament in Belgrade. During that period, from September 24th until “peaceful democratic revolution”, women were present on the streets. Nevertheless, efficiency of their knowledge, policy and energy in mobilization of citizens and breaking of the regime, wasn’t visible in the Parliament. After the election in September 2000, women had only 8 out of 178 seats in the Federal Parliament. In the Federal Government neither one woman was a minister. Therefore, Women’s groups continued to transform political and public space in Serbia and participation of women in it, even after the change of regime, 2000. One of used methods was creation of electoral and economic campaigns and campaign against gender based violence. Campaign

⁵ <http://www.awin.org.rs/istorija>, accessed 30.06.2011.

against violence against women 2001-2010, initiated by Autonomous Women's Center is the only one campaign on the national level (in recent years, State's Institutions are partially involved in campaign) that involves numerous number of women's NGOs and activists from whole Serbia. Campaign was public exclamation (informing the general public on the issue of their rights) and lobbying (making influence on the decision makers) and was successful in putting the issue of violence in political agenda. Voice of the Differences initiated before the election in Serbia on December 2000, action "**Choose, so you can make choices**", women's pre-electoral campaign from door to door in 40 cities in Serbia. In cooperation with Association for Woman Initiative (AŽIN), Women at Work and Woman from Vojvodina (regional women's initiative from Novi Sad), supported by work group for gender equality of Pact for stability of Southeastern Europe, OSCE mission in SRJ and STAR Network of World Learning, launched a campaign "**Economically equal**". In the year 2003, parliamentary and presidential elections were conducted in Serbia and Voice for the Difference in cooperation with women's NGOs from thirty nine cities in Serbia organized campaign "**Go out and over-vote**". Women's independent groups also start citizen initiatives. One of them was "**Not in our name**" (2004) against Law on the Rights of the accused in custody of the International Criminal Tribunal and members of his family (18200 signatures against this law were collected), and after that "**Initiative for boycott of Referendum for the new Serbian Constitution**" (2006). Women's groups continued their actions against militarism, nationalism and clericalism; they asked for investigation of war crime responsibilities and committed war crimes; they submitted declarations – **Declaration about Srebrenica** (2005) and **Declaration Women, Peace, Safety** (based on UN Resolution 1325, 2006) – for example. Women in Black during 2005 and 2006 launched several campaigns and legislation initiatives for abolition of military service, against growing anti-Semitism in Serbia, for punishment of war crimes and cooperation with the Hague Tribunal, for implementation of Resolution 1325/2000 SB UN, for adoption of Resolution "Women, Peace, Safety" and against the Law on Churches and Religious Communities.

Representatives of women's groups participates in writing of comments and amendments to laws, analyzes compliance of laws with EU standards, comment on and monitors state strategies and implementation of laws, organizes trainings (for education of women politicians, institutional mechanisms for gender equality, for representatives of state's services), organizes conferences and public debates, connects NVOs representatives,

*syndicates, political parties and media; creates guidebooks, trainer guides and publications on political participation of women (Branković, 2007).*⁶

Constant political changes, uncertainty and deep division of public, makes space for acting of women's groups unstable and makes changing possibilities and improving of women's positions harder to realize. Women's groups also played significant role in alternative, they intervened in state policy, produced guidelines for policy of gender equality (through investigations, comparative analyzes, trainings), promoted adoptions and/or changes of legislations, but even today in Serbia, in state's and social's institutions, dominates gender segregated participation and representation.

The institutionalization of the feminist politics: traps and misconceptions

Feminist groups in Serbia after 2000 are intensively engaged in process of sensitization of public space for policy of gender equality, and in the same time, they are active in making of legislation frames through intensive lobbying,⁷ formatting their work through documents and institutions of United Nations, first of all CEDAW, Beijing Declaration and Platform for action from 1995.

After the changes on September 2000 elections, the basic conditions were established for the beginning of process of buildings of institutional mechanisms for gender equality and improving women positions, and for transformations of methods of women political acting. New method was *gender mainstreaming* (as a one of feminist strategies) and it helps, altogether with policy of equal possibilities and positive discrimination, for gender equality to became real. Basic function of *mainstreaming* is reconstruction of state institutions that will implements gender perspective in its structure and in strategies and action plans at all levels.

On the national level, Republic of Serbia established following mechanism of gender equality: The Parliamentary Committee for Gender Equality (2003), Gender Equality Council of the Government of Republic of Serbia (2003 and 2004), and Deputy Ombudsman for Gender

⁶ http://www.womenngo.org.rs/images/CEDAW/srbija_alternativni_izvestaj-kombinovano.pdf, accessed 02.07.2011.

⁷ 2002 for the first time Criminal legislation of RS states domestic violence as a criminal act, and the principle of equal payment as a protective mechanism in working process, was implemented in the Law on Labor 2001

Equality (2008), the Directorate of Gender Equality (2008). At the level of AP Vojvodina works: Gender Equality Committee of the Assembly of AP Vojvodina (2003), Regional Bureau for Gender Equality (2004), Provincial Deputy Ombudsman for Gender Equality (2006), and the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality (2010). The gender equality bodies have been formed at the fifty municipalities by 2005 within the project of the OSCE, but there is no data on their activities, neither on the effects of their work, or whether they survived after the change of local government. In the last ten years the Government of the Republic of Serbia adopted a set of laws⁸, action plans, strategies, where the presence of women has formal decorative character, and it is result of pressure, not a reflection of the dominant system of values and policies.

Institutional mechanisms for the protection and promotion of the principles of gender equality in Serbia do not have a mandate to make binding decisions, thus their role in decision-making remains marginal and dependent on the executive, legislative, or local authorities, often making them "cosmetic addition to non-efficient state" (Knežević, 2006).⁹ On the other hand, continuously presented is, "the tendency of marginalization and ignoring the independent women's NGOs" (Branković, 2007)¹⁰, in which institutions „bypass" and do not use the deposition of knowledge and experience of women's groups.

The first in a series of disagreements between the mechanisms for gender equality and the autonomous women's groups, took place in the process of drafting a Law on gender equality (2004) preparing by the expert working group of six law school professors. Disagreement occurred because of "consultation process which has remained closed between representatives of mechanisms (Gender Equality Committee of the National Assembly, Council for Gender Equality) and international organizations (OSCE, UNDP) and the absence of a public hearing

⁸ Law on Local Elections, Law on Election of Deputies, Law on Local Self-Government, Labor Law, Law on Pension and Disability Insurance Act, the Criminal Code (Official Gazette of RS, 85/2005 and 88/2005 - correction), Family Law, Law on the Ombudsman, the Provincial Ombudsman Decision, Decision on the election of deputies to the Assembly of APV, Decision on the Establishment of the Provincial Bureau for Gender equality, the Gender Declaration, Constitution, Anti-discrimination law, the Law on Gender equality

⁹ <http://www.zamirzine.net/spip.php?article3135>, accessed 03. 07. 2011.

¹⁰ http://www.womenngo.org.rs/images/CEDAW/srbija_alternativni_izvestaj-kombinovano.pdf, accessed 04.07.2011.

aimed to argued amendments¹¹ and proposals of women's NGOs "(Branković, 2007)¹². The next major *joint project* was developing a National Action Plan for improvement of women positions and promotion of gender equality (NPA), which joined the Council for Gender Equality, together with representatives of thirty-three women's NGOs and the independent experts appointed by the same council. Misunderstandings were happened around the issues of transparency and inclusiveness of the process, publicity of work, participation of women's groups and the possibility of exercising real influence. This document, which was subsequently transformed into a Strategy for improvement of women positions and promotions of gender equality, was adopted February 2009. "The Report on the work of the Department for Gender Equality for the period January - June 2008 highlights the importance of the 'democratic, participatory and transparent process' in order to establish continuity between the activities initiated by the Government Council for Gender Equality, and activities undertaken by the Department, and later Bureau for Gender Equality, though they differs in all key aspects of stated characteristics, and to the detriment of the latter process "(Jovanović, Višnjić, Ignjatović, Macanović 2009: 30).

Gender Equality Law was accepted in 2010. In it, as well as in the Strategy for the improvement of women positions and promotions of gender equality, women's groups work is almost invisible. In order for women's organizations, in cooperation with representatives of the institutions, could function in accordance with the principles of autonomy, responsibility, quality and efficiency, it is necessary to "ensure good procedures and mechanisms: a clearly defined positions of responsibility (power), the precise authorizations of each structural level/body , decision rules, rules for harmonization of differences in attitudes and opinions, transparency and availability of all information, open (possibly encouraged) channels of communication, especially between different structural levels" (Ignjatović, Višnjić, 2006: 11).

Feminist policy involves constant examination of gained and lost positions, with the consciousness of the continuity of action. That kind of action that includes constant review and

¹¹ http://www.womenngo.org.rs/images/CEDAW/srbija_alternativni_izvestaj-kombinovano.pdf, accessed 04.07.2011.

¹² http://www.womenngo.org.rs/images/CEDAW/srbija_alternativni_izvestaj-kombinovano.pdf, accessed 04.07.2011.

reflection of reality, but also criticism of the all established ways of thinking, even feminists, is one of the key principles of feminist theory and policy, and the lesson that institutions must understand while "integrating part of feminist demands in their structures and converting them the state policy" (V. Kesić, 2007: 14).

The legal framework as well as the existence of gender equality mechanisms, failed to secure a real equality between women and men in contemporary Serbian society. What remains in the process of re/construction of social reality is visibility of feminist political engagement and action, which is possible to achieve by continuous appearance in public, by insisting in public for adoption and/or modifications of laws and government policies, by civil courage, as well as opening the key and sensitive social issues such as poverty, dealing with the past, war crimes, corruption, homophobia, etc..

Gordana Stojaković

Solidarity or Likening: Feminist Diary about Feminism and Left Movement in Serbia (1978-2007)

3.0. Analyze

3.1. Is there an alternative to capitalism or not?

3.1.1. Feminism

At the Third Yugoslav Feminist Meeting held in Belgrade in 1990, feminists named main topics of theoretical and activist engagement in the following order: feminist theories of social science, violence against women, women's alphabet, women's mental health, women and power, and feminism and lesbianism. In the chapter "Women and Power" is written that feminists do not accept the "dogma of traditional left-wing about subordination of woman's issue to class issue, feminist groups will articulate their own programs of action in all spheres of public and private life, work, politics, reproductive values: anti-patriarchy, anti-authoritativeness, nonviolence, solidarity with those on the margins of social power "(Women for Women 1993: 12). Feminist group Women and Society had a section "Women and capitalism - social transformation" about the possible the implications of the introduction of capitalism to the status of women in society (Marina Blagojević, 1998: 50). Coordinating board of the Women's Parliament was established six commissions of which one is devoted to working women's rights, lead by Neda Bozinovic (Women for Women 1993: 38).

Belgrade Women's Lobby has asked from the parties and movements that all calls (professions) should be available to women, that the criteria for employment should be based on professional standards and that the dismissal should be made on the percentage of men and women, and not according to some other criteria. A special request was related to six hour long work time "in order to enable men and women performing household chores" (Women for Women 1993: 14).

Belgrade Women's Lobby has formed a project Woman and work in order to investigate the status of women in the world of work: employment, dismissal, redundancy problem, the burden of women with "domestic work", the analysis of the strike legislation, collective contracts... in

order to establish an "Independent association of women." It was decided that on this occasion they should "contact the Workers' Party." For this project were directly involved Sonja Drljević and Neda Bozinović (Belgrade Women's Lobby 1990: D-171/1990).

The student demonstrations in Terazije 10-13 March 1991 were the occasion for feminists, members of the same and different organizations, to give their opinion about that event, but considering economic demands. Sonja Drljević and Nadežda Četković compared this event with protests on 1968, foregrounding the relationship to social demands and social justice:

Great impressions for me were protest words from students of final year of faculty of mining. She wanted freedom of speech and she requested to be able to live from her work and knowledge, to open pits and work in Kopaonik, Stara Planina, Kosovo, and not in a Canada and Australia. Utopia of social justice that I cherish as a protester since 68 echoed with her voice (Nadežda Četković in feminist newspaper, 1991: 3).

Sonja Drljević saw the same event differently. She felt "a slight taste of the national" and that social element cannot reach the legacy of 68:

Students have played a best role between the two sides of which one is institutionalized and quite violent and the other one is disorganized and disunited. In any case, I thought that the students are the voice of reason, although from my point of view there were excesses, but it is characteristic of youth. Sixty-eight was more turned to a social moment, to authentic ideas of socialism, and this was diverse and with a mild taste of the national - I think only the students (Sonja Drljević in feminist newspaper, 1991: 3).

After 2000 during the transition period AŽIN (formerly known as Feminist group Women and Society) organized activities related to gender budgeting, the Labor Law and the Law on Privatization. More significant are activities of designing and implementation of the project "Women's Cooperatives - challenges and opportunity" aimed to employ women especially in rural areas. Among the priorities are the production of organic and healthy food, craft workshops (traditional crafts), but also services, savings and credits cooperatives and others. The advantages are that this is an economic model that can be relatively easily adapted to current business conditions:

Because cooperatives, according to their identity, supports the principles of equality, democracy and independence, project of the AŽIN a "Women's Cooperatives - a challenges and an opportunity" emphasize that they could be, in the context of our transition, one of the better ways

to solve the unemployment problem. In this project, women are also seen as initiators of reaffirmation of the cooperative movement in general in our country, and as the founders (or members) of new cooperatives. Considering this, important are some women characteristics, such as extra energy, faith, enthusiasm and courage (Jacqueline Stojanović, "Women's Cooperatives - challenges and opportunity." Available at: [www.awin.org.rs / cooperatives](http://www.awin.org.rs/cooperatives))

Without prejudice system of transition that has produced unemployment and poverty, projects of AŽIN deals with the consequences. On the other hand, these are rare feminist projects related to the sphere of work.

3.1.2. Left

For the Left it is important not to be only the reaction (protest) on neo-liberalism as an ideology and a system (economic, cultural, value) but to give the answers to the question, what after capitalism? An alternative system must:

Promote alternatives that will occupy the human imagination and move them from transitional apathy and depression (Anarchy in the Balkans: Andrej Grubačić in conversation with Freedom Fight, 2007).

Aggravating circumstance in Serbia Andrej Grubačić called "consensus of Belgrade". The political argument is composed of three parts: neo-liberalism, nationalism, policy of so called civil society (civilize non-civilized). The protagonists of this unusual consensus of elites suggest that there is no alternative to interdependent discourses of nationalism and neo-liberalism.

In such conditions is quite logical that will occur the crisis for political activism, depoliticization and receptivity to radical solutions from the arsenal of the extreme right. In Serbia currently is actual torture of parties, which operates on the principle of medieval fiefdom. The point is that the mass of bureaucrats employed only thanks to membership of a particular option (De Mone, 2010: 9-19).

What's new Left has to offer? Andrej Grubačić introduces the concept of participatory economics, which he defined as the right to proportional participation in making decisions that affects the lives of all of us. This concept must be separated from the concept of self-

management, which, according to Grubačić even better than the present, however, is a model that is controlled by one political bureaucracy, and which, in a form that we remember, must remain behind us. Participatory economics is a process that relies on social movements, and it is alternative that can fill the space created because a loss of confidence in representative democracy, but that has yet to be defined in practice (Anarchy in the Balkans: Andrej Grubačić in conversation with Freedom Fight, 2007) .

Initiative for Economic Democracy suggests creativity in the construction of alternative systems as a possible response to a system that Andrej Grubačić called neo-liberalism and the Initiative for Economic Democracy - the capitalist economic model. In essence, the system we are talking about destroying the rights, living conditions and livelihoods for people lives... destroying nature, dishonors the work and creates growing hatred among people. Replies of Initiative for Economic Democracy are grouped into the system of responses that begin with FOR: for social cooperation, solidarity and self-organization, for job security, social security and health insurance, for alternative economic models (cooperation and fair distribution of goods), for the free movement of people and not only the free movement of capital, for the abolition of foreign debt and the protection of nature...

Without waiting for theoretical explanation, running from political elites and syndicates, revolted workers and small shareholders from Jugoremedija, Šinovoza and BEK-a (Zrenjanin), and Srbolek Trudbenik (Belgrade), Zastava elektro (Rača) and Ravanice (Ćuprija) established the Coordinating Committee for Workers Protests in Serbia. For the rebellious workers the economic crisis was the excuse for the failure of the Serbian economy. Basically, massive destruction of Serbian industry was caused by corruption of government, money laundering and lawlessness. The goal of workers' rebellion was to protect production process and preserve jobs. Coordination Committee for Workers Protests in Serbia called on all other workers on strike to join them in a "joint quest to preserve jobs" (de-industrialization and labor resistance - struggle and initiatives for preserving of jobs in the transition period, 2011: 18). Thanks to the solidarity and determination workers from Jugoremedija, Ravanica and Zastava first managed to save their factories, which do not mean that they have entered into a secure area. In capitalism there is no security for those who have no power. However, they showed that alternative exists:

Worker-shareholders from Jugoremedija showed that the solidarity of small owners can be effective not only in the fight against corruption and lawlessness, but also in preservations and consolidations of the results of this struggle - the responsible managing with business entity. Moreover, while the thousands of jobs were losing, the administration under the control of the workers-shareholders proved to be more efficient than model that was imposed since 2000 as a "salvation" for the troubled Serbian economy, the model in which workers are with no rights, even those rights that are guaranteed with laws and collective agreements, forced to unquestioningly obey to the arbitrary will of the employer (de-industrialization and labor resistance - struggle and initiatives for preserving of jobs in the transition period, 2011: 7-8).

In the neo-liberal, capitalist system, process of education is now becoming a commercial category. Movement for Freedom and Coordination Committee for Workers Protests in Serbia supported the protest of students of Belgrade University (2009), aware that joint operation against "individuals and corporations who have a monopoly in the market and in the political decision-making" is coming (de-industrialization and labor resistance - struggle and initiatives for preserving of jobs in the transition period, 2011: 21).

The common pursuit, as they called the fight for survival, was strongly based on the right to work and the right of employees to decide not only about the fate of "their" factories of which their family lived, but also local community. Although one of the leaders of the Movement for Freedom Milenko Srećković claimed that "they are not connected to any ideology, neither left nor right" (Djordjevic S, 2009) actions and statements of the organization were based in the foundations and values upon which the new left is based.

3.2. The identities

3.2.1. Feminisms

Feminist groups and organizations are in the focus of activist-theoretical work had the defense of women's human rights - individual rights or women's groups rights. The issue of identity, particularly relation to national, as the problem has not stayed away from the feminist groups. In the article "Separation, guilt and identity crisis" (Women for Women 1993: 125-127) we can

found out that the relation to national has divided feminist corpus. Groups that have decided against nationalism, taking a "non-nationalist attitude" were the Women in Black and Belgrade Women's Lobby. There were those who froze their work (Women's Party), and some activists of SOS telephone have left the organization. Feminists who are not identified themselves with the dominant national identity, "who felt the reduction of women's rights, with the advent of nationalism," regardless of the ad hoc or formal affiliation to a group or organization, clearly determined against nationalism, and for respecting differences: gender, races, nations, sexual orientation (Women for Women 1993: 126-127). It could be said that, based on material that I analyzed, which is part of the archive ŽINDOK-a, anti-nationalism and respect for diversity is one of the most important and most visible features of feminist involvement in the reporting period:

We are asking for a constitution of different political concept of community in which we live that does not rely on the nation, but on the free citizens and will have respect for gender, ethnic, religious, educational, age differences and differences in sexual orientation, ideological and other beliefs that will not be trimmed for life (Women Parliament 1992 archive ŽINDOK no. D-339/1992).

The focus of feminist observations is always women and various minority identities and orientations, even when it comes to platforms that have been mostly politically acceptable for feminists. It is politically very important achievements of feminist thoughts and actions because it does not allow making of alliance with ideological opponents. Speaking of student demonstrations in March 1991 Lepa Mladenovic, not denying the legitimate foundation of student protests in the world of social justice and against the Milosevic regime, talks about diversity, about the absence - about identities that are "missing" ("women, gypsies, lesbians and lunatics"):

I went to meet female students for the first night. I was happy, I was there every day; I agreed with all the requirements, but nowhere could I not identify. Again I felt that distribution in which on one hand I feel the joy for the common cause, but without me in it. I hadn't the impression that my diversity could meet sensitivity of others. It looked like that women, gypsies, lesbians and lunatics will have to wait for a major revolution to happen (Lepa Mladenovic in: Feminist newspaper 1991: 3).

3.2.2. Left

Initiative for Economic Democracy is first defined through multiple identities: "We are different ... women and men ... every religion, skin color and sexual orientation ... the expression of this diversity is our strength and foundation of our unity. "¹⁷

Are the meanings of identity mutated together with mutations of power and capital? What do we mean when we said multiculturalism? Andrej Grubačić explains the concept of global culture and the imposition of "north-American particularism" as a process that circles Earth, and comes down to "promote the same ideas" through various promoters: the World Bank, European Commission, OSCE, OSI, Hayek Society, LSE London... and "Army of cultural producers and neo-liberal managers":

... Take for example an instructive example of "multiculturalism" as a primarily American - particular experience, that with the mechanisms of cultural imperialism, torn out of context and misinterpreted, imposed itself as a universal cultural value (Andrej Grubačić, 2002).

I was particularly interested in the identity marked as "normal people" (to live like normal people). This means that the "we" are abnormal people that should hold out (how much and for how long?) sacrifice of transition, and after that, we are waiting for - what? I cannot avoid repeating here the claim of Andrew Grubačić that to lives like normal people is part of the neoliberal ideology, which the International Monetary Fund (IMF) implemented in all countries of the former socialist bloc as a system of Prokrust's bed. Always the same economic measures IMF imposed to all countries, and Serbia has even additional for entry into the European Union. And here, the circle closes:

In fact, nothing depends on the election results. No matter who comes to power will continue the processes of privatization, transition and European integration. Most of the desperate people who vote against those processes, votes for the Serbian Radical Party... but in fact this party is nationalist pro-capitalist organization with false populism... Neo-liberalism and nationalism are two sides of same coin (Anarchy in the Balkans: Andrej Grubačić in conversation with Freedom Fight, 2007).

Workers' protests gathered men and women, people of different ethnicities, sexual orientations. The question is whether those differences are seen inside the groups that protested or inside labor

organizations in general. This question is answered by Srećković Milenko, a leader of the Movement for Freedom:

There is no exclusion of anyone based on gender or ethnicity. Every well-intentioned is welcome to join the labor movement, regardless of whether is woman or man or member of an ethnic minority. If I may notice, the workers' collectives in which women dominated are much more persistent in the struggle in Jugoremedija' and in Zastava elektro, over 70% of employees are women (de-industrialization and labor resistance - struggle and initiatives for preserving of jobs in the transition period, 2011: 29).

Why women dominate in the rebelled labor collectives? Vladimir Unkovski - Korica correctly notes that woman in the world of work is never in the same position with men because she must proved herself constantly and because work at home is waiting for her and because she "is always under the suspicion that she is loyal to her family, not to capital" (Vladimir Unkovski - Korica 2001: 12).

3.3. Everyday Life

3.3.1. Feminisms

Violence against women and children became visible in political and everyday life thanks to feminist groups and movements, especially after the establishment of SOS telephone line for Women and Children Victims of Violence (1990). In the first annual report of the SOS telephone for women and children victims of violence represented are following indicators:

Every fourth woman who called stated that her partner is threatening to kill her, and one in ten was sexually abused. The torturer of women and children is most commonly (80%): a husband, ex-husband, common-law husband, or father of the children ... torturers are of all professions and social structure: intellectuals, students, workers, military personals and well-established citizens (SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence 1991: D-328/1991).

In December 1992 SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence formed a special group of women raped during the war.

Thousands of women were raped in Croatia and Bosnia for one year of war. Many of them were raped repeatedly, many killed: all ages, all nationalities, but without records in war statistics (Lepa Mladenović in: *Women for Women* 1993: 108)

Women's Parliament is in the period 1993-1998 77 times publicly acted in defense of women's rights (*Women's political perspective*, 1998: 10). This includes activities in defense of women's reproductive rights, activities against male violence against women and children, activities against any kind of discrimination of women and against the new law on abortion.¹⁸ Women's Parliament in an open letter to the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, the Serbian government, members clubs in Serbia NSR, parties and movements of associations, presented the results of aggressive and patriarchal suppression of women in the social margins, and violence against women:

This government and the rulers, who are responsible for the degradation of humanity and the usurpation of human rights, are made completely worthless lives of women and pushed them into a time of hopelessness, fear, war (Women's Parliament, Archives ŽINDOK no D-339/1992). The problem of quality of daily life in relation to the preservation of bare life has become irrelevant. Violence against women and children has been multiplied:

The experiences of women's groups and initiatives with incest, rape and beaten women, whose main victims are women and children, clearly proof that power can rule over any relationship even one that is most masked by the veil "we"... Victims of violence are refugees of different nationalities, religions, ages, young men putted in uniforms (Women's Parliament, Archives ŽINDOK no D-339/1992).

After 2000, the focus of political activity regarding women's agenda has shifts¹⁹ within the women's political networks. The influence of feminist on public policies regarding the problem of violence against women is undeniable. Several key laws relating to women's human rights were adopted: since 2002, domestic violence has to be punish (Articles 118a of the Criminal Law of the Republic of Serbia), and by amending the Criminal Code criminalized is, for the first time, marital rape; 2010, the Law on Gender Equality was adopted. However, the process of monitoring²⁰ of institutional practices that feminist groups are recorded in relation to the

legislation regarding women's human rights, have found a range of defects from the absence of state policies to the lack of legislations or inability of using effective legal procedures.

Anti-war actions were one of the characteristics of feminist practical and theoretical activities. Belgrade Women's Lobby in 1991 signed an appeal for peace (signed also by the members of the Slovenian SDP) and started and supported the anti-war activities: anti-war protests, requests of mothers for their sons to return from JNA, the right to conscientious objection, the requirements for demilitarization... In July 1991 mothers of soldiers broke into the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia seeking termination of war conflicts. Women's Parliament, Belgrade Women's Lobby and Women's Party supported the demands of mothers who asked termination of all war conflicts, warning of growing militarism and nationalism (Women for Women 1993: 56-62). Members of the Democratic Movement of Serbian women based in Kragujevac joined to protests of mothers. They have called for a continuous demonstration of all the women of Yugoslavia.

This is the time when the future is making. So we say to all those who resurrect fascism and genocide... stop degrades our shared youth and the future (Statement of the Democratic women's movement, Archive ŽINDOK no D-311/1991).

If those who are responsible don't do it²¹, continuous demonstration in Kragujevac will begin, with a call to all women of Yugoslavia to join us. Demonstrations will not end until responsible persons not resign, because women will not vote for hem, which is 50% of the votes (Statement of the Democratic women's movement, Archive ŽINDOK no D-312/1991).

...we do not have our sons to kill each other... (Democratic Movement of Serbian women, for world Šumarice are enough, Archive ŽINDOK-no D-316/1990).

Part of the anti-war activities was a discourse against war crimes. Women in Black in their anti-war statements, appeals, public protests have left evidence of the horrors of war:

For a year they constantly kill, torture and rape. They disperse more than three million people from their lives. They manipulate with women, blackmail men. They spread the hate, destruction and death – we do not have any more words to express dismay and anger (Women for Women 1993: 104).

Activities of Women in Black and networks of Women in the black, lasts continuously until today. The basic ethical and political principles that are members of the organization adopted are recognizable even outside of Serbia:

Not in our name: public and non-violent resistance to militarist regime because of the wars in our name, reducing, making relative, or the glorifying crimes committed in our name. We condemn the crimes committed in our name and asking questions about responsibility for crimes... They cannot deceive us: a feminist ethic of responsibility always requires from us to confront nationalists at the first place, militarists, all forms of patriarchal in a state where we live, and then to all the others... Always rebellious: - 20 Years of Women in Black <http://www.zeneucnom.org>

Based on the experiences of Women in Black, Staša Zajović justice added a new dimension to the concept of transitional justice, based on the principles of feminist ethics of responsibility:

Members of public resistance, disobedience and rejection of all forms of patriarchy as the root cause of war. Thus allowing the visibility of women in the resistance to war and their participation not only as victims, but as active in the resistance to patriarchy and war... In this context, visiting the crime scene becomes an opportunity to "respect the dignity of victims, seeking forgiveness for the crimes committed in our name, building a fair peace, politics of friendship and trust" (Staša Zajović, Transitional justice - a feminist approach. Available at: <http://www.zeneucnom.org>)

3.3.2. Left

New left critically examines the rule of Slobodan Milosevic, but also the results of political elite which came to power after October 5th 2000. The fiercest criticism of the new government comes precisely from the position of the left. Andrej Grubačić in interview to *Post-Yugoslavia & the Exceptional State of Serbia-Montenegro* (2003), questions the dominant representation of state of emergency, established 2003 after the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjić, as a progressive opportunity for the installation of true democracy. In this context, he observed prohibition of strikes of workers dissatisfied with the transition process. Andrej Grubačić also questions the lack of reaction of the NGO sector for the abolition of basic human rights. He

believes that problematic absence of reactions of NGOs that are in the era of Milosevic's "rigorous" reacted even regarding "the smallest incident" connecting with the violation of basic individual human rights, a remain in silent on 2003 when they violate the rights of the people of the whole society.

The transition process in Serbia and neo-liberalism Andrej Grubačić defined as "the ideology of the corporate economy" which removes and destroys all achievements of the social state, which means, according to Grubačić, „returning to barbarism“:

In other words, it is establishing of a system in which will rule people, technocrats, who are essentially isolated from the real actions and the needs of society. In this sense, neo-liberalism appears to be very specific restriction of democracy. New kind of political model is born, a kind that can be called market democracy. The representatives of transnational corporations have the right on veto for decisions of local governments (Grubačić Andrew, 2002).

Respond to neo-liberalism and something that is opposed to it, Grubačić defined as the movement for global solidarity and social justice, and not as anti-global movement, because the term “anti-globalism“ is associated with right-wing ideology that is essentially global-phobic. Anti-globalism "that feeds on a variety of energy" and where "pluralism of ideology" exist, is, according to Grubačić, answer to the challenges of neo-liberalism.

Initiative for Economic Democracy, emphasizes that all resistance to neo-liberalism must be an integral part of the "global movement of solidarity" that must bear the idea of peace and opposing war. An integral part of this struggle must be a struggle for the freedom of choice, freedom from violence, exploitation and poverty and for gender equality.²²

Supporting the appeal of the Movement for Freedom and shareholder-employees of Šinovož, Noam Čomski in a letter to Boris Tadic, Mirko Cvetković and Ivica Dačić, in March 2009, warned that is not possible to speak about human rights and freedoms when government tolerates exploitation of workers and endangering of the existence of more than 600 working families:

... State which respects the interests of the rich only and not the rights of other citizens, cannot become a free state, but only a country of slaves (de-industrialization and labor resistance - struggle and initiatives for preserving of jobs in the transition period, 2011: 64).

Ivan Zlatic, a leader of the Movement for Freedom, talked with Milena Prstojević, a woman who led protest of meat industry workers in Zrenjanin BEK. That interview provides new insight into the gender aspect of workers' revolt. Like all leaders of workers' rebellion whose testimony about strikes is recorded in the book "De-industrialization and labor resistance - struggle and initiatives for preserving of jobs in the transition period", Milena Prstojević talks about the causes and reasons for the strike (privatization, crime, corruption), but she is only one that talk about herself, her family and suffering during the war in Bosnia. Personal discourse here is in the function of affirmation of ability and determination, which was not required from men who were leaders of the strikes. Her testimony shows where a majority of the workers was when feminists demonstrate in the streets and squares against the war and crime:

To be honest, when they went into it, I was and I am a strong opponent of the wars and conflict in general. For me, it was just chaos, all that was happening. When it started, we were all sitting in front of TV and waited to see that it ends. (De-industrialization and labor resistance - struggle and initiatives for preserving of jobs in the transition period, 2001: 263).

4.1 Jasmina Tešanović and Slavica Stojanović: Clara and Rosa would be feminists today

Jasmina Tesanović is a writer, feminist, political activist, translator, peace activist and author of the movies. She was one of the organizers of the first international feminist conference Drug-ca Woman. Women's issue. New Approach, held in Belgrade in 1978. With Slavica Stojanović she founded the feminist publishing company "Feminist 94". Her experience is priceless in writing the history of feminism in Serbia.

Although I was only 14 years old when I was together with students protesting in '68, chased and beaten by police... I immediately knew it was my place and vocation. Street's activism, Fantasia al potere, La donna e 'bello. All this was happening in Milan, where I used to live for years. Those were long-time left-wing oriented protests that began in college and ended up in mass demonstrations, and even violence and bombs of right-wingers and kidnappings of Red Brigades. Feminism was part of the student protests, but not in the foreground. We women, few years later, begin the individuation of women's role in left-winged activism. Somehow, all this was

understandable, but really very little practiced. It was typical for the communist left-wing ideology, where class issue goes ahead of gender issue. But I think I became a feminist before I became left-winger. As a child, I notice a gender differences and discrimination, among other things that drove me crazy and forced to revolt: why I cannot wear pants, why my dad called me son, why do I have to wear ribbons in long hair instead of short hair and leather jacket... For me, the wave of liberation on seventies arrived in one piece: *fantasia al potere* and *la donna e bello*. I could never understand or separate the left-wing and feminism. In Italy, it seems to me that it was almost impossible. The right-wing was always clearly representing traditional Catholic values, a society in which women as a pillar of the family: the house, church and kitchen. Woman is mother-saint who has no right to abortion or divorce. Otherwise it becomes a whore, degenerate.

Although I later noticed that the so-called women's platform of different parties, namely the left-wing and right-wing can often have a common ground, especially regarding labor and discrimination, I still think that feminism cannot be really subversive or effective or if it is not part of a wider leftist or anarchist ideology. In that sense, I think that the real problem is how feminism has to deal with the left, and will women get gender perspective in each further prospective change. Today it is widely known story about inappropriate democracy without gender prospective and mainstream feminism and activism in the women platform. Today the word feminism is no longer good, nice or clever word. Many former feminists, especially from the world of art, do not want to use that word because for them it is ghettoization, outdated and inadequate category. Today to be hippie does not mean to be progressive and broadminded person but silly category of people who have lost the war with the capital and the history by holding hands and singing to flowers. Similar, today term left-wing is no longer crystal clear and opposed to the right-wing, except when some crucial human rights are mentioned, and for me, those are always and in the first place women's human rights that talks about state of a society in the best way. Any society that restricted women's rights to choose and complete control *habeus corpus* of their bodies cannot be considered as progressive or left-wing. Similar, any feminists who concedes themselves as fighters for women's rights and do not accept that absolute option of freedom of choice, do not have a right to use that word.

Jasmina Tesanović

Slavica Stojanovic is a feminist, translator, peace activist who was building a feminist agenda during the 90s in Serbia. In our feminist knowledge she has introduced Christine de Pizana and Virginia Woolf.

Žarana Papić in December 2000 interview said: "There are a few things that are important. In the feminist initiatives in the former Yugoslavia, there was an extremely important political potential, which is that feminists have not been deceived and could not be deceived by the three following points. They were not deceived by nationalism, because it was clearly a vertical patriarchal structure. They were not communist nostalgic to think that everything is broke when the Berlin Wall fell, despite some positive results of a socialist movement. They were not deceived by euphoria with parliamentary democracy, because it was clear that the women will not be present again. Fall of the Berlin Wall and the wars in former Yugoslavia showed to us feminists and other activists how much actually has yet to be done and how much political mobilization is needed and that actually they have to work against the wind, against exclusion, against racism, against ethnic cleansing and against putting itself in its own limits, in fact the principle was to always exceed the limits, and women's groups have consistently did it, even when others did not, the constant cooperation. There is continuity here. "

A precious testimony is this Žaranin diagnosis. Explicitly feminist platform (written in the first statutes of female groups) in the early 90-ies was to fight against war, nationalism, racism, against all forms of discrimination and violence against women. That complex platform strengthens responsible feminist space which couldn't be deceived, to continue on Žarana and Women in Black. If the platform is torn apart, there is no feminist or left. Confirmation of indivisibility of issues that I'm talking about, you will find in "Three guineas," by Virginia Woolf. The wars are forced us to confront militarism and nationalism, and you say that about these topics (in Serbia) is created dominant feminist discourse. Look, it is, including anti-fascism, not different from the reasoning and actions of Rosa Luxemburg, and if someone is real representative of left-wing, she is. If today in Serbia walks in Roza hand and Clare together, they will join to feminists, anti-nationalist, anti-militants and anti-fascists.

Slavica Stojanović

4.2. Sonja Drljević: I am feminist, and because of that, I am leftist

Sonja Drljević has started a feminist engagement in socialist Yugoslavia as head of the construction sites throughout Yugoslavia. She built the bridges, worked with young engineers (which no one else wanted), organized everyday life on construction sites (food, education ...). Sonja rose up many feminist beginners and always helped them lately. As in the construction sites in distant areas she continues to build bridges. At the most active feminist times, she was among the founders and the helper of all organizations and groups that are mentioned herein.

I am an anarcho-communist, which means – a leftist. The question of relations to capitalism (the issues of ownership and distribution in society), the question of social justice and the question of personal freedom is a key issue to me.

I am a feminist. Because of that, I am lefties. My feminism grew out of my political affiliation. The goal of is elimination of the unequal position of women in human society, the position which was created 8000 years ago with the introduction of private property. This fits with the goals of the left as I understand them.

But there are a variety of different left-wings and various feminisms (e.g., some Serbian parties claim that they are left-wing but they supports liberal capitalism, as the LDP, etc.). Not all leftist are feminists and not all feminists are leftist. I think that in our south-feminism we have two phases. Until the breakup of Yugoslavia it was understandable that we are close to so called The New Left (Praksis, etc.). After 90 feminist with liberal views are dominant, or those who consider themselves close to the social-democratic ideas. But a clear view of capitalism, free markets, property, privatization, transposition from self-managing socialism to capitalism (which is called transition), position of workers (i.e., all those who are employed, permanent or temporary) is lost and turned only into human rights issues that allegedly includes all mentioned issues. But discussions and supports for human rights, democracy, rule of law, procedures, etc. do not include the issue of fighting for the ending of existing neoliberal capitalism.

We should struggle for human rights (individual, minority, etc.) but the main goal of left-wing is fight for social justice and the ending of capitalism as a social system. Capitalism has an alternative.

Sonja Drljević

5.0. Feminisms and leftist movements did not recognize each other

Analysis of feminist and leftist voices is history text. Writing it, I had a strong belief that it is about history feminist's groups and organizations and about history in the making, when it comes to leftist movements. Feminisms culminated during 90s of the 20th century, during the reign of Slobodan Milosevic. Basically, it was a revolt against war, militarism, crime, clericalism, nationalism, violence against women, discrimination of minorities. By that time, women were moved to a position of interest groups, facing "the gains and losses" (Catharine MacKinnon 2009: 56). Fundamental activism-theoretical topics of feminisms were peace, anti-patriarchy, anti-authority, non-violence, solidarity with all those on the margins of social power. Feminists are the most visible and strongest grouped together in the fight against nationalism, war, violence against women and discrimination against minority groups. Feminisms never confronted openly and continuously transitional capitalism.

Feminists have made a deviation in relation to the traditional left-wing doctrine of female subordination to any other issues as well as class. The sphere of work is to be the focus of their theoretical and activist work, but never as a general and a major goal, but rather the plans to where we first recognize the voices of Neda Božinović and Sonja Drljević. Their activism is a kind of positive relationship with the experiences of women's position in society that can be transferred from the socialist period. Activities that feminists undertake the field work were the comments and lobbying regarding laws on labor rights of women. The only project that is coming out of the box was the Swallow - Women's from Krajina. After 2000, women were promoted cooperatives as economic models that can be relatively easily adapted to existing conditions in areas of transition.

Left to right sculpts on the basis of workers' discontent "unconstitutional confiscation of assets of the State" which was started and is still going on without much impact the current economic crisis, passing the Law on Privatization (2001). (Milenko Srećković, 2010: 26). Similar to the rise of feminisms that are now, when the Left is concerned, witnessed the emergence of parallel flows teoriskog and activist. Theoretical considerations about the applicable alternative to capitalism

occur simultaneously with the direct conquest of space that define the rebel workers. It is the focus of events shifted from Belgrade, it is diffuse, atomized as Kancerski molekuralizovana neoliberalnog power in the system of capitalism.

Feminisms have made in the theoretical consideration of the coup since touched every area of daily life and attacked almost every niche of power. Theoretical feminist discourse has been associated with activism. Experience the theoretical aspect of the struggle for the transformation of society, without which the condition cannot be left today is most needed. It is therefore important to feminism and the new left does not touch only on the field values to be adopted (peace, nonviolence, non-discrimination, solidarity, alterglobalism , gender equality, promotion of labor, freedom of choice, poverty and exploitation, against nationalism) but also in the field of experiential . Left in Serbia has not recognized the crucial importance of gender and minority activist point of view within the Corps. But feminisms have recognized the importance of connecting with the workers inside of the strikers collective.

Solidarity so often invoked and reiterated the value of the left and feminism discourse is becoming a less common activity or intervention in the protest or strike. In memory of generations who spent most of his life under socialism was an example of solidarity shown by the International Brigades during the fighters of the common struggle against fascism in Spain. What today is solidarity? Like for the student protest at the Faculty of Philosophy, the expectation that "once told that it was the end of" the same thing and wait for someone else, and we do not take responsibility for our lives.

Make meaningful changes in everyday life are only possible by introducing a new socio-economic system that will track changes in gender relations, the transformation of aesthetics, emotions, both families and the workplace. This change implies that the subject of the revolution can not only be the proletariat, but it must be social groups and political movements of different potentials.

Snežana Škundrić

The Long and Steep Uphill

The future of visibility and recognition of women's groups in Serbia

I'd be running up the hill,

It doesn't hurt me.

Kate Bush

In San Francisco 2006 enjoying the role of tourist, I found myself in one of more dynamic squares of the city. Although San Francisco has something to attract attention at every step, in this square, I had to stop, so I could realize everything that happens around me.

The group of very loud but well-trained employees of the consumer giant's "Macy" protested in front of their employer by harmonious, fan-funny chorus demanding better conditions for employees. The concept was simple. They walked in a circle, giving with their fists rhythm to a song that rhymed and which I repeated with them very soon and, long afterwards, remembered. Soon, I'll find that chorus and walking in a circle does not stop for a long time because a person in the circle rotates, when gets tired. The effect of the endless repetition of simple rhythm, which may associate many with the "mantra", was very satisfactory, in my opinion.

From the nearby, extremely steep street, a group of people of various ages goes down on rollerblades, high speed, raising both hands in the air every time they reach the intersection (in the style of football fan in the stands when a goal is scored) and choral pronounced a sentence that promoted environmental values. For all those who are familiar with the specific infrastructure and geography of San Francisco, the choice of such a action slightly taking a breath, and certainly attracts attention and makes an impression. More to say, they repeated everything several times in an hour, and my admiration has increased dramatically, after taking

into consideration that each long and steep downhill is also a long and steep uphill, at the same time.

My attention, in this square full of civil activist endeavor, does not miss a group of about thirty women, who stood quietly in the central part, conspicuously breaking the noise with the silence. Those were Women in Black, with paroles in their hands with clear slogans written by hand on a white surface. Symbols of peace, resistance to war and violence, dominated the entire area, both because of its appropriateness and strong impression that they left on all present people.

This afternoon experience in San Francisco seems to be a good illustration for the text that I write that refers to the visual identities of women's organizations in Serbia. First of all, this looks as a good example of diverse, effective communication of organization with target groups on several levels. All the three activist groups that I mentioned have had a scenario of performance, slogan and visual recognition, whether it is a long-term strategy (Women in Black) or a single concept (the workers of Macy).

Women in Black I met on three continents. It is impossible not to notice them in Belgrade, Tel Aviv or San Francisco, whether you are a casual passerby or well informed activists, male or female. Created in the aesthetics of anti-war movement and feminist anti-militarist movement, their strong visual identity sends clear messages, referring to the consistency and seriousness of the purposes for which they stand for. The basis of the aesthetics of the Women in Black around the world is standing still in the public spaces in absolute silence, the dominant color is black. The political messages are written by hand (freehand writing) on the banners with white background, there are almost never printed. Social-political issues are different (yet similar) in countries where the network Women in Black is active, so, consequently, their actions are different. Women in Black in Serbia have certainly put their unique mark to this global network, using the aesthetics of the anti-war resistance in the most effective ways. Street performances in collaboration with Dah Theatre, symbolic tribute to the victims of war in this region, disturbing parole and printing of many publications exclusively on recycled paper, is a complete, very sharp and impressive identity. After all, if we assume that one of the goals of creating a visual identity is the visibility / recognition in the public and communication with the community, Women in Black are example that confirms the success of the ways in which they represent themselves and act, including the fact that they are often recognized and treated as a criticism and a threat to the

value system that supports the dominant, national, militant, patriarchal patterns in the state in which we live.

If we assume a general and structural invisibility of women in general in Serbia, poor visibility and recognition of women's groups and organizations in such a social context is also not surprise. On the other hand, the women's groups and organizations occasionally show poor tendency (the assumption is that this happens because of the process of self-exclusion and some kind of ghettoisation) that are not doing enough on the expressions and recognitions of their visual and identity in general, and does not communicate with the community which they send their messages.

In any case, once again the question is how to improve the image of feminist activists (as well as other marginalized groups). The issue is primarily related to changing the stereotypical image of aggressive women nostalgically connected with the feminist origins that are somewhat similar to those against whom they fight, and while they still remain outside the mainstream, in other words, to continue to maintain their subversive role that primarily concerns the permanent challenging of power and resistance? Today the question is more topical and brings exciting new possibilities regarding new challenges in the so-called "virtual or post-corporate" media world, since feminism and visual culture shape each other.

In the seventies and eighties, feminist activists have used the strategies and tactics in formulating their demands, which characterized almost all kinds of protests. Then the nineties brought a change of tactics, so we could see a slightly different approach with more humor and parody. The messages are, however, basically remained the same: the fight against violence, support for the visibility of women, their equal treatment in society and greater representation in state institutions. Twenty-first centuries is marked by the presence and adoption of new technologies, which led to a new possibilities of representations, new practices within the digital environment, and not least important, the new criticism in the sense of new possibilities of interpretation of visual culture and its institutions.

Finally, it seems that to women's groups today, in order to achieving their visual or any other kind of recognitions and therefore the effectiveness, requirements are imposed to "open" themselves for a broader social context, to work on a strategy of provocation and communication

with the community and thus make their messages more effective. In this sense, the inner and outer aspects of women's groups cannot remain apart as before, especially when it comes to the often-used and proven practices such as strategic separation (e.g. events organized just for women, etc...). It may make sense and bring positive effects (e.g., in the online environment in terms of focus groups, workshops, groups for self-help, various types of training, etc...), but must not become the rule; groups should be more mobile, flexible, communicative, willing to networking, connectivity and transformation in line with modern trends and demands of society in which they operate.

Let us recall once again those skaters from the streets of San Francisco, and let a lowering down their long and steep downhill serve as a metaphor for the experience of women groups so far: road to a activism, road to conquer the identity and integrity, was a long and unstoppable road in terms of its necessity. However, the job is not finished: it remains to pass equally long road that involves hard work to opening, connecting and networking, the communication and not to forget - all that has to be designed successful.