

***WINNING THE PEACE: A GATHERING, READING, A PUBLIC EVENT OF NEW YORKERS  
READING LETTERS, JOURNALS, POEMS, EMAILS FROM THE PEOPLE OF KOSOVA AND SERBIA***

ORGANIZED, EDITED, DIRECTED and SCRIPTED BY MARTY POTTENGER

*Winning the Peace owes its deepest gratitude and thanks to all the people from around the world who sent emails, reported for newspapers, made journal entries and wrote letters throughout the war and from whom this performance is possible*

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On June 30, 1999 at St. Peter's Church 619 Lexington from 6 to 8:30PM, New Yorkers from labor, theater, dance, religion, visual arts, military, law, education and business will gather to read the stories of the people of Kosova and Serbia - refugees, citizens and exiles - about the war. The evening's writings have been collected and assembled by Artistic Director and Executive Producer Marty Pottenger with the help of Eve Ensler and Kathleen Chalfant and reflect the first-hand experience of people from many different perspectives and experiences.

*Winning the Peace* conceived and organized by Pottenger as a response to the war and NATO's/US decision to bomb in the spring of 1999. Pottenger – "As I asked New Yorkers what they thought about the war in the Balkans I learned that one friend had quit buying the NYTimes for the last several weeks. When we spoke we both learned that it was because he couldn't face news of yet another war. He'd been telling himself that he was just too busy. My upstairs neighbor started crying when I asked her and said, 'How can I answer my children's' questions when I can't even pronounce Milosevic's name properly or the names of the cities where this is all happening?' To better understand, I convened several gatherings at my apartment, that filled with stories of Yugoslavian childhood penpals, co-workers, in-laws, distant cousins, former babysitters, books, elementary schoolmates and memories of the Holocaust.

It was clear that we needed opportunities to come together, to meet as New Yorkers, as citizens of the United States, as people who care, but are also confused, certain, scared and impassioned. We needed a place to simply listen to our neighbors from Yugoslavia, both in response and respect, to hear their stories and turn our minds towards war and peace - not just for this war, but for the next one, and the one after that. War is a time when *relationship* and *community* can keep open the door through which we can all move forward to real peace. So I turned to my community here in New York and asked if they would be willing to read short excerpts from original writings by people like themselves. The response was tremendous."

From Obie-winning actors to labor leaders, professors, B-52 Bomber pilots, Local 3 electricians, leaders of NYC's religious institutions, lawyers and leaders in the field of visual arts -- the readers tonight represent some of the diverse communities in New York City. They have diverse and dissenting opinions about the war. Their participation comes from a desire to gather with others to share the stories of our neighbors in Yugoslavia and to understand the realities of this war more deeply. Thank you for coming. Your presence makes a difference.

*Readers: Kathleen Chalfant, Robbie McCauley, Yoshiko Chuma, Henry Foner, Arthur French, Katherine Acey, Jane LaTour, Caron Atlas, Simin Farkondeh, Mary McLaughlin, Linda Mancini, Brad Stokes, David White, J. L. Pottenger Jr., Alvan Colon Lespier, David Cale, Rabbi Daniel Brenner, George Drance, Chris Suggs, Carla Peterson, Ellie Covan, Cydele Berlin, Evan Ruderman, Martha Baker, Rev. David Dyson, Annie Lanzillotto, Matthew Maguire, Ronete Levenson, Sam Delgado, Linda Earle, Rebecca Nelson, Rev. Peter Laarman, Elaine Harger, Joyce Kozloff, Patrick O'Flaherty, Mary Beth Edelson, Freddi Brown-Carter and Ted Hannan.*

*Music improvised and played by Terry Dame*

Executive Producer: Marty Pottenger, Co-Producers Mark Plesent, The Working Theater, Dorothy Fennell, Cornell University Special Projects with Unions. Stage Manager: James McDaniel. Additional Assistance from Eve Ensler, Eileen Phelan, Laura Flanders, Vesna Todorovich, Simin Farkondeh

*Tiny Bios about the New Yorkers reading tonight and how they are a part of my community:*

Terry Dame - virtuoso clarinetist, composer, Monkey on a Rail Band, old WOW friend  
Kathleen Chalfant - Actor, currently starring in 'Wit', friend from 1996 Obies  
Robbie McCauley - Writer, Performer, Educator, friend & neighbor, we live in the same building  
Yoshiko Chuma - Choreographer, School of Hard Knocks, down the street neighbor  
Henry Foner - former President Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union, political activist  
Arthur French - Actor, Director & Citizen, we became friends during my play DIRT  
Katherine Acey - Exec. Director Astrea: Nat'l Lesbian Foundation, colleague lesbian liberation  
Jane LaTour - NY Labor Archives, Editor of Hardhat, trades activist friend  
Caron Atlas - Cultural Worker, Arts Activist and Consultant, colleague arts activism  
Simin Farkondeh - Exec. Director Labor at the Crossroads, labor & activism buddy  
Mary McLaughlin - a Founder of Working Mothers Magazine, construction client  
Linda Mancini - Writer and Performance Artist, neighbor, friend and colleague  
Brad Stokes - Set Designer, Painter and Linda's husband, construction buddy

David White - Exec. Director Dance Theater Workshop, co-produced my last three performances  
J. L.Pottenger Jr. - Exec. Director Yale Law School Legal Clinic, my big brother and friend  
Alvan Colon Lespier - Exec. Director Pregones Puerto Rican Theater, friend and colleague  
David Cale - Writer, Actor, Performance Artist, neighbor & friend  
Rabbi Daniel Brenner - JCC, friend of Rabbi Julie Shonfeld a supporter of my work  
George Drance - Actor, Professor Fordham University, friend from *Marching To Union Square*  
Ronete Levenson - Actor, member of Nitestar Theater Project for AIDS/HIV Education  
Sam Delgado - Actor, member of Nitestar Theater Project for AIDS/HIV Education  
Carla Peterson - Arts Worker and Consultant, friend and also one of my Dating Coaches  
Ellie Covan - Exec. Director Dixon Place where I had my first show “back” 1987 and friend  
Evan Ruderman - Electrician Local 3, Aids survivor/activist, long-time friend, trades activist pal  
Cydelle Berlin - Exec. Director Nightstar Theater Project for AIDS education, Evan’s mom.  
Martha Baker - Exec. Dir. Nontraditional Employment for Women, my old boss & sister activist  
Rev. David Dyson - Lafayette Ave. Presb. Church, activist, supporter of The Working Theater  
Annie Lanzalotto - Writer, Performance Artist, Literary Manager The Kitchen and friend.  
Matthew Maguire – Writer/Director, Professor at Fordham, friend *Marching To Union Square*  
Linda Earle - Director Theater Department NYSCA, new Ex.Dir.Skowhegan, arts colleague  
Rebecca Nelson - Actress, Mother, my upstairs neighbor and friend  
Bill Henning - Vice President Local 1180, C.W.A., The Working Theater Board, good guy.  
Rev. Peter Laarman - Judson Memorial Church, political activist, big arts supporter  
Chris Suggs - former Air Force B52 pilot in Vietnam, Professor of Literature, political activist  
Joyce Kozloff - Visual Artist, 23 years ago we helped found Heresies magazine.  
Patrick O’Flaherty - Carpenter Local 157, we had to have another carpenter besides me here  
Mary Beth Edelson - Visual Artist, 23 years ago we helped found Heresies magazine.  
Freddi Brown-Carter - Headhunter, Sullivan and Company, friend  
Ted Hannan - Actor, Mass T ransit Theater Company, friend of The Working Theater  
Marty Pottenger - Writer, Performer, Activist, retired Carpenter, City Water Tunnel #3

*Readers will be seated in chairs in front of Sanctuary, with three readers sitting together among audience in pews. Four deep blue 6' lengths of silk will be placed over four empty chairs among readers. When Kathy and Peter need to leave, they will drape another cloth over their seat. If someone arrives late, they will remove one of the cloths and sit there. Reading will be in natural light. As day turns to dusk and then to darkness through the clear glass Sanctuary windows, readers will read using flashlights held by their seatmates.*

## **WINNING THE PEACE**

**Welcome** - Marty on war, winning the peace, describing how this evening came to be

*Kathy Chalfant* -----

### **Janine di Giovanni Vanity Fair**

1. "Who's bombing us? Who's bombing us?" one of the younger soldiers yells to an older soldier. No one knows, but someone says that four soldiers who died earlier, hit as they lay in their tents, were victims of NATO. There is confusion about how many people are dead, how many are wounded. For two nights, we have slept in ditches on muddy slopes covered in soldiers' excrement, surrounded by wounded soldiers whose flesh has been ripped away by hot pieces of shrapnel. There are people around me dying on dirty stretchers, and they are young.

I am with Dardan, an Albanian born in Kosovo, 25 years old, handsome, wearing a Polo Ralph Lauren hat under his helmet. He was voted the fifth best bartender in Britain and proud that he paid for his own plane to arrive here at this front line to fight with the K.L.A.

"Split up! Split up! Fifty meters apart! Move down the canyon! Split up - if one of you gets hit, all of you won't die! I need all of you alive!" the commander barks. A young soldier is crying. Another soldier, his body and face torn up by shrapnel, is squatting in the mud motioning me to bring him water. He is weeping with fear and pain. He is shitting himself. I wipe his forehead, and then throw myself back on the ground as another rocket lands. I am face down in the mud. Then I run down a ravine, stumbling on rocks until I find a tree. I sit against it, leaning uphill.

The battle continues as day breaks. During a lull in the fighting I wander over some hills and find the wreckage of a Serb plane that has (allegedly) been shot down by NATO. Near the river bordering our camp I find the tents of the four soldiers who were supposedly hit by friendly fire. It may also have been the Serbs, no one really knows.

I see a cow with its hind legs blown off, covered in flies. Then a white horse, startled by the bombs, apparently dead of a heart attack, lying on the side of the hill. And everywhere I look are the craters of mortar fire and bombs. In the middle of it all is a small, white, idyllic farmhouse - untouched. Someone has left washing outside, hanging on the clothesline. The next day, around 7 AM, I wake for good, thanks to the *thud* of a shell landing nearby. Dardan is smoking a cigarette. I can see only his silhouette. He looks like a soldier from World War II with his old helmet and his kalashnikov slung over his shoulder. He is staring at the sky in amazement, his mind far away from this place, this time, this war. He is shouting, to no one in particular, "Look! Look at that beautiful light! Look at that light!"

Then he sees that I am awake and he turns to me: "Janine! Look at that sky! We're still alive! Isn't it wonderful -- we're still alive!" -- Janine di Giovanni Vanity Fair

Rev. Peter Laarman -----

**2. P.R. Adzic VINCA Institute of Nuclear Sciences**

**Subject: Re:HITNO!!!URGENT!!!**

**Date: Thursday, 29 April, 1999**

Dear friends,

Something which we feared that might happen, seems very likely. I can confirm now we expect that NATO planes will bomb VINCA Institute. In the passed several days we received this warning, but today we got this information as serious threat from the highest authorities.

Our reactor is not working for more than 15 years, but the significant amount of 235-U enriched and unused fuel is still in its interior. Highly radioactive material for everyday activities is also located in several research laboratories.

I fear that a big disaster may occur. In the worst case, no Balkan and even European country would be safe. Not to mention ecological catastrophe. I still hope that this disaster could be avoided, unless we are already late.

I would appreciate if you succeed in informing as many people as possible on the eventual tragedy. God bless you.

Matthew Maguire -----

**3. Veran Matic, Editor-in-Chief of Belgrade's banned Radio B92 and leading peace activist.**

Analysts are already asking whether the air strikes are still really about saving Kosovo Albanians.

This question crowded my mind as I sat in a Belgrade prison on the first day of the NATO attack on my country. Whiling away the hours in the cell I share with a murder suspect, I asked myself what the West's aim was for "the morning after". The image of NATO taking its finger off the trigger kept coming to mind." My friends in the West keep asking me why there is no rebellion. Where are the people who poured onto the streets every day for three months in 1996 to demand democracy and human rights? Zoran Zivkovic, the opposition mayor of the city of Nis answered that last week: "Twenty minutes ago my city was bombed. The people who live here are the same people who voted for democracy in 1996, the same people who protested for a hundred days after the authorities tried to deny them their victory in the elections. They voted for the same democracy that exists in Europe and the U.S. Today my city was bombed by the democratic states of the USA, Britain, France, Germany and Canada! Is there any sense in this?"

Ronete Levenson -----

**4. From Kosova April 2**

I want you to know that no one is left in my village. Most of the houses no longer are here. The tanks surrounded the houses and the ground shakes when they come. People don't cry. They say it's OK to die for Kosova. But when they took my brother and my father and three of my uncles, I cried so much and my mom yelled at me, she said I should be ashamed to cry.

Their faces are scary. They laugh when they catch the people. They make men like nothing, pushing snipers on their heads.

My father was silent. I watched from the window. His eyes looked straight to the house. I never saw him like that. He said good-bye with eyes. And I couldn't say good-bye.

Now I don't know why they didn't take me. I want to die. I know I am never going to see them again because I have this rock in my heart.

I hope this will end soon. I don't know what are we going to do.

Do you think my father and brother will come back?

Is anybody going to help us?

Write to me please write to me...Because tomorrow we maybe will not be here.

Evan Ruderman -----

### **5. Women in Black Against War Belgrade Yugoslavia January 15 1999 two months before the Serbians masive "ethnic cleansing" and NATO bombing began**

Poverty is spreading: except for a small number of extremely rich people, poverty affects all social layers in Serbia, all generations, and all professions. At present there are 2.2 million people who are formally employed in the social sector in Serbia and over 300,000 are employed in the private sector. Unemployment has reached 770,000 despite 58% of the unemployed having a higher education. The rate of unemployment in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the highest in Europe and labor is the cheapest in Europe. In 1998 unemployment in the age group 15 to 27 was 59%. The so-called informal sector (the black market) involves 1,200,000 people of whom almost half are between 15 and 35 years of age. These people are not provided with any rights, labor laws, or trade union backing. They have no health or social insurance and no right to strike.

Yoshiko Chuma -----

### **6. Emails from Branka, 83 years old to her sister Vera in Philadelphia**

March 30 Robika was mobilized yesterday. They say he is somewhere in the vicinity of Zrenjanin. We are all hoping that they are in reserve, and that they won't be sent south. There is no gasoline at the pumps. We will be getting coupons for monthly rations of 40 liters.

April 20 Vera, I am wearing your purple winter skirt. I call it "my war skirt". I sleep in it, too. It is saving me, these days! It is warm and does not wrinkle.

April 30 I have just spoken with Ljuba in Belgrade. Dara went out with her grand children for a walk. They won't be having much of a walk because the sirens were sounded again (the second time today). Franya is recovering well from his surgery, all of his tests are fine. I took some cookies to Boba to take to Robika and his guys [drafted by the army and stationed two hours north towards Hungary]. These are some simple cookies I could make with what I have here. I can't remember if I wrote about the earthquake. There was another one yesterday while I was at the dentist. I am really concerned whether Rade [the dentist] will be able to finish all the work with the materials he has on hand.

I am so glad you are sending me news by Internet. They knocked down the relays so we do not know what is going on. All we can see is the stuff off our satellite dish Sky News and CNN, and you know what that is like. Our guys do manage to eventually restore the signal somehow, so we get to see things but not shortly after they happen.

April 30 It is quiet here in Novi Sad] today . Except for the thick black cloud from the refinery which has been bellowing since last night. Boba said that the Danube was all lit by fire. We could not see it from this side. We seem to be lucky with the wind this time. It is not blowing the smoke this way. It is sad to say we are lucky, it means that it is choking people living down the wind from there. I'll write tomorrow.

May 2 Today I went with Marica to the Danube to see how that misfortunate refinery is burning and which way the smoke is blowing. We ran into each other by chance, and then we went to the church, so I got even more tired, because I was already tired when I went out. The smoke from the refinery is enormous. When you look down the Danube, where the railway bridge used to be - huge as it was, no trace left of it, the entire horizon is obscured by a thick black cloud, luckily moving away from the city going towards Karlovci and Srem. It appears to be pretty high up, so maybe it will go away, which we are all hoping it will. The Danube is all black from that cloud reflecting in it from the above. I don't dare imagine what the river is like down the stream from the city. It must be dead from the oil. I look forward to sleeping, as long or short it may be. Maybe they will leave us alone tonight without bombs to choke in the lungs.

Love, Branka

Jane LaTour -----

### **7. Caring Economist -- Central Europe**

Again, just like during the last war in post Yugoslavia a few years ago, many families, friendships break under the pressure of the war and the propaganda. I am amazed by how our peace group refuses to give in. We have worked more than four years to build it. It was worth it. their stuff. Asked my friend what she needed most from me. Being listened to and clothing she said.

Arthur French -----

### **8. Serbian Milic**

Whether or not it was a capitulation doesn't matter. Our leaders don't feel any responsibility to explain. And nobody is going to make them.

Cydelle Berlin -----

### **9. Duca Knevic -Exiled Serbian Professor Dramaturgy in California**

Dear Marty I was very sick. Got up yesterday. My parents are bad. Had to move out of the city (as they lived beside the main post office which is the target), so now they live in a garden shed, without phone, bathroom, electricity or hot water. Fun. Think this is changing. There is a march in Washington DC June 5th I believe. I just do not know who's going to stay alive by June 5th.

Alvan Colon Lespier -----

**10. Stevan Raickovic - Serbian Poet, translated by his grandson Milo Yelesiyevich. This open letter appeared in Japan's largest daily newspaper.**

*"Belgrade is Alive/Greetings from Hiroshima"*

The black telephone began ringing in my apartment the day after the bombardment of Yugoslavia and Belgrade began. A couple of moments passed before I succeeded in figuring out who had called me, and especially what kind of message I was being given.

"Stevan, good?" - was as much as I could make out...and I sensed in the accented, un-Serbian pronunciation that the speaker was obviously upset...it was a Japanese variant of our language...which is not entirely unknown to me.

"Good!" I replied. We repeated the same question and answer several times. It was a woman's voice from Hiroshima, on the other side of the world, a woman whose last name is Nakajima...the sole surviving grandmother of my grandchildren, Adam and Ana...my son's mother-in-law. My son Milos who lives in Brooklyn married Miwako.

Mrs. Nakajima learned this single Serbian word, dobro (good) from her daughter Miwako. This word had a variety of meanings for her. ..and it did not literally have reference to only disposition or health...but also to life, raw life.

And the next day, exactly at noon, my black telephone rang again. It was the same voice from Hiroshima. "Stevan, dobro?" ""Dobro!" This time Mrs. Nakajima's voice was even more upset, and she kept repeating herself but added a new expression: "Belgrade dobro? Belgrade dobro?" "Good! Good!" - I repeated several times.

Now, as I am writing all this down... I recall the one Japanese word that I do know, which my son, Milos, drilled into my head a couple of years ago: "Arigato...thank you."

Caron Atlas -----

**11. Dijana Milosevic - Serbian Leading Democracy and Peace Activist**

"Dear Friends, we just heard that America wants to put Yugoslavia off the Internet. If that happens, the main way for communication between us will be cut. On the lists of crimes that America did till now to all people from Yugoslavia, Serbs and Albanian people as well, this is the newest one. In that way all progressive and democratic people will remain without their voice! It reminds one of the making of some kind of new ghetto or concentration camp in the middle of the Europe. Please, protest against it. We can be in touch through phone as long as this is possible. For those who do not have my number, it is 633-817. yours, Dijana

Martha Baker -----

**12. Miljenko, Serbian woman activist via Women in Black**

*Letter to our Albanian Friends from Nongovernmental Organizations*

*Dear Friends, I am sending you the latest document from our still active NGO group. Please distribute it as much as possible. We are getting used to wait for the air raids at night. So one may say that night life in Belgrade is wild, noisy and you never know what might hit you. Sincerely, Miljenko*

Dear Friends, We are writing to you in these difficult moments of our shared suffering. Convoys of Albanians and other citizens of Kosovo, among whom many of you, were forced to leave their homes. The killings and expulsions, homes destroyed and burnt, bridges, roads and industrial buildings demolished - paint a somber and painful picture of Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro, as in indicating that life together is no longer possible. We, however, believe that it is necessary and possible.

Our first step of distancing from hatred, ethnic conflict and bloody retaliations is a public expression of our deepest compassion and sincere condemnation of everything that you and your fellow citizens are experiencing. As citizens of Serbia, we today suffer destruction and casualties as a result of NATO bombing, armed conflict in Kosovo and long lasting economic and social tumbles under the burden of the dictatorship's deadly policies.

We are convinced that together, we will find strength and courage to step on the road of peace, democracy, respect of human rights, mutual reconciliation and respect. Dialogue, political negotiations and peace process have no alternative. For all of us, it is the only way out of the war conflict. We are convinced that by joining forces we can contribute to the reaching of a just and rational political solution to the status of Kosovo and build confidence and cooperation between Serbs and Albanians.

*(each reader stands one by one, without mikes, calls out their group. Then all sit down together)*

(HF) Association of Citizens for Democracy

(P O'F) Social Justice and Support to Trade Unions

(CB) United Branch Trade Unions NEZAVISNOST

((BS) European Movement in Serbia

(YC) Civic Initiatives

(CS) Forum for Ethnic Relations

(LE) Center for Transition to Democracy

(RDB) Center for Democracy and Free Elections

(DC) Distrikt 0230 (Kikinda)

(SG) Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia

KC) Women in Black

(AL) Belgrade Center for Human Rights

- (RL) Students Union of Serbia
  - (CP) VIN - Weekly Video News
  - (DW) Group 484
  - (JP) Yugoslavian Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
  - (TH) Foundation for Peace and Crisis Management
  - (RDD) Urban Inn (Novi Pazar)
  - (JLT) Belgrade Circle
  - (MF) Union for Truth about Antifacist Resistance
  - (RPL) Sombor's Peace Group
  - (RMC) Society for Peace and Tolerance
  - (KA) Alternative Academic Educational Network
- (say in unison)* -- Belgrade, April 30, 1999

Arthur French -----

### **13. London Times May 23**

The father emerged slowly from Kukes hospital into the sunlight carrying a tiny, tapered coffin. Inside lay Ahmet Sadiku's eight-day-old daughter, wrapped in a white shawl. His family, who had been waiting under the shade of a tree, clambered into the makeshift hearse, a blue rusting Mercedes van, and drove to the cemetery north of the town in northeastern Albania, past roadside fires and crumbling buildings with patches of blistered paint.

Local Albanian children, who have made a new business out of digging Kosovan graves for £10 a week, stopped work as the grieving family of refugees arrived, and watched as Sadiku buried his daughter. One of the gravediggers walked over to the family to offer them two flat pieces of wood and a dissected plastic bottle to mark the grave. No clergyman was present and even the unshaven morgue attendant drove off before the six-minute burial was over on Friday morning.

Kathy Chalfant -----

### **14. Janine di Giovanni Vanity Fair Podgorica April 7, 1999**

It is two days before Serb Good Friday, the day after the anniversary of the devastating German air attack on Belgrade in 1941 (when, ironically, Serbia was aligned with the Western Powers). Milosevic asks for a cease--fire to respect the upcoming Orthodox Easter. It is a joke: cease-fire in the Balkans means playing for more time.

I meet an 80 year old man who cannot give his name, a general under Tito, who drove all night from Belgrade to Podgorica when he heard the rumors that a coup d'état was imminent here. "I am old, but I can offer some advice," he says earnestly. He tells me old war stories: In December 1941, when he was 21, he led a partisan battalion of 431 men in guerrilla warfare against the Germans and the Italians. During one battle, he remembers, "Fighting from early morning to early night." They ambushed Italian tanks, They fought hand to hand. In the morning, it was his job to count the casualties: 180 wounded, 82 dead. "And that was the saddest morning of my life."

After the liberation of Belgrade, he became a general at 26, and later a respected diplomat.

The next day, I find him drinking coffee in an outdoor cafe. NATO bombs have fallen on Montenegro, hitting Serb-army targets. Belgrade, where his family is, is in flames. The Pentagon has found evidence of mass graves in Kosovo. The general is distraught. His hand trembles as he holds the coffee cup. He has lived through the destruction of his country by German warplanes, then the renaissance of "brotherhood and unity" for all Yugoslavs under Tito. He watched the war in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia. Now, aged 80, he has come to offer his services to the Montenegrin separatists who may have to fight against Milosevic.

"Everything is ruined," he is saying in a shaky voice. "Everything is ruined. There is no more fraternity and unity. The last 10 years, everything is ruined." He pauses and puts down his cup. "I lost so many friends during World War II, so many young people trying to create a new country. Now everything is falling down because of ideas. Who are these people? Are they insane? Why are they cleaning out Kosovo?"

Simin Farkondeh -----

### **15. An Albanian woman, living in the U.S.**

I ring the phones again and all of a sudden someone answers in Prishtina. Finally I reach a friend whose voice has almost disappeared from fear. "How are you?" I ask her. Ashamed that I am alive watching this massacre and genocide and not being able to get up and do anything." She cries and admits that she is afraid. "We don't know how long we are going to last like this. Last night they killed 70 more in the downtown block of Prishtina," she says. "Bodies rot in the streets. Today I went out in the morning to buy bread but they wouldn't sell bread to any Albanians. 'Only Serbs can buy food' they said. we stay all night in the balcony waiting to see what streets they are going to cleanse next. Tell me please tell me, is anyone going to stop this madness?"

In my voice there is silence. What can I say to my friend who has lost everyone, whose phone will probably be silenced tomorrow? How am I going to tell her that I don't know anything about the solution? Because somehow the world is late again. Albanians are being slaughtered and even though NATO is trying to help, their strategy is not fast enough to save the lives of my people.

Last time I heard from a friend in Peja, she told me her 21 year old son was killed in front of the door, then they dug out his eyes and threw them at his mother. She no longer answers her phone.

I have nothing to say to Mr. Milosevic except to ask him a question, how can he live with so many dead people on his soul? EVIL has no other face but the face of Mr. Milosevic. And he will not win this war because no evil has ever won.

And for me nothing else is left but to cry and hope that my people will have the strength to bury their dead, while I continue ringing the silent phones hoping they can answer them again. I plead to everyone to say a prayer for our living and the dead. While we try to gain strength and tell the world that we will make it and we did not deserve this destiny.

Mary McLaughlin -----

**16. Lynn@aol.com**

I have sent today refugee package for a family which contains blankets, clothing, a little food, flashlight and a teddy bear.

Evan Ruderman -----

**17. Today we, the Women in Black, received a message from our friend in Nicaragua.**

For the last week I've been watching the international news. And with every report of the bombings in Kosovo, I'm reminded of the bombs in Managua, Matagalpa, Puerto Cabeza, Waspam, ocotal. I remember that the message that came with the bombs was the U.S. was bombing to ease the violence. But the bombs did not diminish the violence. With every bomb there were more dead people. There were more people having to flee their homes, there were more elderly mourning their children. And I worry about the people in Kosovo. Will the bombs really lessen the violence there? Where is the UN to stop the genocide?

Kathy Chalfant -----

**18. MAY-1999 "Vida" leader of the anti-Milosevic movement, head of the national theater, she opened the building to the demonstrators**  
**Subj: Ritual of Surviving**

It's Thursday, 14 of April 99. Three weeks since this country has been besieged from above. Three weeks of sirens howling, of people seeking refuge in all sorts of subterranean space, three weeks of funerals, bad news and miles of footage of refugees and horrifying consequences of the air raids. Three weeks since our conversation got polluted by the ear-to-ear missiles, depleted uranium, F-12s, FA-6Bs, rocket launchers, stealth fighters and alike words of frightening meaning.

What we have now as a civil life here is actually a kind of ritual of surviving. During the air raids, I remain in the apartment. I turn the light off as required and either sit in front of my computer till my eyes can't stand it, or in the bathroom, where the light is not visible from the outside. I rearrange the bathtub into an armchair by piling up the pillows, bring a pile of books, a radio and the phone and there I sit and read often to the dawn.

Tonight I am preparing for the rehearsal which I have tomorrow. Two days ago, Cvele, a friend and manager of the Atelier 212 theater called saying that we should consider the idea of going

on with rehearsing the play which we were scheduled to open in early April and have stopped rehearsing for the obvious reasons. When we first gathered in the empty theater, after almost a month long break, we felt like coming home from a nightmarish journey. We kept on hugging, kissing and crying. One could not say if it was a typically Slavic or a typically theater gang reaction. Could not start rehearsal for almost an hour. We felt so frustrated to go back to doing something so translucent, mild and vulnerable amidst this horror situation. I wonder if we should do this, asked the leading actress. Who would give a damn now for what we have to say. Yes we all now feel like Alice in the Thunderland, said I, but lets try to rehearse, if it works, fine, if not we go back to our shelters and remain silent so not to attract any bombs.

Joyce Kozloff -----

**19.** Then I told them how much strength I gained from the sculptor Vida Jovic's sculpture exhibition which I have seen the other day in Pavilion Veljkovic, in Belgrade and how deeply grateful I was to the people who arranged that exhibition of the sculpture memories of the concentration camp. I know at least three reasons to go back rehearsing all three of them being equally heroic: 1. Not to go crazy, 2. Not to go crazy, 3. Not to go crazy. Or more correctly not to go more crazy than we already are, which is a lot.

And we went on, and the rehearsal was as if there have not been any break at all, and we do it now regularly, in spite of everything that we have to put up with. Other than that, I go almost every day to the gallery CHAOS to have a deep look at Dusan Otasevic paintings which are full of meanings and symbols of this fear that we feel now. Then I often go to the Bookstore of Stubovi Kulture to meet my colleagues and fellows.

Maybe I did not go crazy yet. Only sometimes we all do like my friend who the other day went down first thing in the morning, bought a pile of newspapers and read them through over his coffee. On his way back from his work in the afternoon, he bought the same papers and half read them through again over his dinner before realizing that he was reading something that he already knew.

*Saturday 24 of April.*

A month of the bombing exactly. Then came the horrifying, after midnight of April 23. A sleepless night for the whole city. They bombed the TV station downtown Belgrade. Many people killed and we came to the theater Friday morning all in tears and horror, devastated by what had happened. Could not concentrate for the preview that was scheduled for the early afternoon. Thought of canceling everything. There was a ghostly eerie silence for a preview in the theater. We all moved around as being mute. Then we decided to dedicate our show to the innocent victims of this war and to all suffering people in the world. We agreed to do this show as our contribution to peace on behalf of those who play theater not war. Did not announce our dedication because we thought it could sound almost indecent. We simply did it.

Kathy Chalfant -----

**20.** The play is " The Canary-Bird Soup" a fine Chekovian piece. We tried to pretend that it was a regular opening. We exchanged little gifts and there were a lot of bouquets and a huge crowd in front of the theater, but we all were nervous and distressed until the siren howling came out. Then everything changed. It simply provoked a contrary effect.

The theater was packed. People sitting on the stairs, and on the edge of the stage circle, more than thirty standing. Somehow we did not make the usual opening night's jokes. It seems that we do not understand puns any more, for so many things that we only yesterday took as absurd just overnight have turned to a bit to real facts.

OK, said I to the cast, let us make them laugh their hair off, so to help them not to scream and cry their hair off. And they really did so. They received a ten minute long standing ovation, and I am sure some of it was for the commitment as well. I did not stay for the party. Too nervous for that at my best, let alone this time.

Joyce Kozloff

**21.** Walking home down the street I have heard the siren's announcing the break of the air raids danger. Well, I thought, at least, I could enjoy my lemonade with my friend in my living room, would not have to drink it in the darkness. I stopped by the little food store across the street to buy milk. I wish I could be at your opening, said the shopkeeper, pointing at the picture in newspaper that he was reading, and I wish to God it brought us peace. Thank you, I said, trying to remember what it was that I wanted to buy.

At home I found several e-mail messages from my friends, with whose help I did not yet completely go to pieces. Thank you, my dear friends I murmured. Than I finally remembered that it was milk that I needed for my coffee and rushed down to the store.

No hope any more, I am afraid. They want us all dead. And close they are to fulfill that. I love you all, Vida.

Cydelle Berlin

**22. From: Gordana April 8, 1999 Belgrade**

I would like to remind those with short memories that during the 1996-1997 winter protests against Milosevic, in which I was happy to participate, western leaders were insisting on winding up the protest declaring that he is the factor of stability in the region. In the last weeks they were a bit impatient with us, the stubborn protesters asking for democratic institutions. Of course, Milosevic used this to his advantage.

In the meantime our economy went from bad to worse. The university graduates earned their living as street peddlers, whilst aged members of the middle class patiently searched garbage containers for food and clothes. The rightists-fascists together with the false leftists gained the upper hand vilifying the western values and democracy...suppressing media, destroying economy, branding any liberal as fifth column, and amassing fortunes. They are now triumphant: "We have told you that the West is bad". These air strikes are just the thing they require in order to rule as they wish indefinitely.

Chris Suggs -----

**23. London Times 5/23 Captain "Foghorn" A-10 Thunderbolt II pilot**

I generally fly four or five times a week, and missions last between three and five hours. I've come under enemy fire - I can't say how many times but the enemy tried to shoot me down with anti-aircraft fire. I made sure he couldn't hit me and tried to look for him so that I could hit

him, but I didn't find him. My motivation for being here is simply that I've been over a lot of buildings and towns that have been burnt down and destroyed by the Serbs. I see the refugee lines at the borders and I see these homes burning. Not factories, not businesses, but homes. I want to make sure people aren't pulled out in the middle of the night and taken away with their husbands and brothers and sons and shot. For me, being here is a moral imperative. What can I do to stop civilians getting hit by us? Every time I go out there, I positively make sure that I have my eyes on the target, that I can make sure it is a military target. We have a lot of training, and I use the naked eye and binoculars. I can see what kinds of vehicles they are, not just red or green, but what kind of truck. I make sure that when I go home at night I'm not lying awake wondering what kind of truck I hit. My mood is the same as it was at the start. I want to see Milosevic capitulate, taken out of a position where he can use his power over these people to destroy their lives. We got conditioned in Desert Storm to expect a very quick military victory. I don't think this is the same kind of war. It's already lasted longer than Desert Storm, and like everything else, air power has its limitations.

Ellie Covan -----

**24. Kosova March 18, 10 days before the bombing began**

Dear Friend,

I ordered myself not to write to you for two days and let you rest from me. But I couldn't keep my promise. You are my only link to the world and to myself. So I couldn't keep my promise. Don't answer if you wish, I just need to talk to someone.

Here is what can I tell you. We have a little hope now that Americans took things in their hands, maybe something good will finally happen.

As for NATO, as much as it makes us happy, not to lie to you, we are very afraid. Because if NATO attacks these wild creatures, I am afraid that they are going to come in and slaughter us one by one, all our people. I am afraid, where will people go? What will happen to all of them, to each one of us?

I am worried about the children, I don't want them to witness this massacre.

It is a tragedy what is happening to us. Do you think they have planned to defend the civilians? All the civilians in the cities are completely unprotected, unarmed. I don't know, God help us.

After the massacres in Podujeve and Mitrovice, I don't let my children go out at all, not even on the balcony.

Two days ago I had my 14th anniversary. So we decided to pretend everything was all right and try to go out for dinner and celebrate our marriage. Because we thought we might not be alive to celebrate the next one. Big celebration! I almost choked from fear and the food stuck in my throat each time I saw soldiers passing by with snipers. I thought a bomb could explode right now. So in our anniversary we didn't talk.

It is very cold here with lots of snow. We are really great loving people, there are no homes that do not have refugees. We do not want to let our people freeze.

unsigned, from Kosova

Chris Sugss -----

**25. New York Times May 24, 1999**

BELGRADE, Serbia -- Residents of Belgrade, convinced that they are right to be fighting for Kosovo but weary of war, are telling jokes that capture their general mood of helplessness, irony and pessimism.

One features an American F-16 pilot, shot down, who is unable to find the right cord for his parachute. He sees another person flying through the air and shouts, "Which one do I pull?"

"I don't know," shouts the man, a Serb. "I'm from the refinery."

Matthew Maguire -----

**26. Dan L.L.Bean shoemaker in Freeport Maine USA**

I went to an encouraging meeting last night at a nearby college. Most interesting was a man from Bulgaria, now living nearby here, who had assisted in the privatization of Telcom in Kosovo - a sale involving a bank in England. This was a sale typical of what has been going on in Central Europe and the Balkans since the break up of the Soviet Union. One result of this sale, our speaker said, was to put \$2 billion dollars in Milosevic's pocket. And I think his voice caught as he said "and this is what has made his continued activities possible".

It was interesting to have someone speak directly to the economic influences as opposed to the widespread description of this situation as an "ethnic conflict". He also talked about the widespread privatization in Albania leading to an explosion of pyramid schemes, investments promising 100% or more interest rates, and how the inevitable collapse of these schemes led to conflict which became violent and then involving arms sales and trade where arms then found their way into Kosovo from Albania.

Caron Atlas -----

**27. Dijana Milosevic - leading Serbian peace and democracy activist**

"Dear Marty, sorry for not responding to you before, but events here were too dark and too fast, so I was involved in them. I try to survive, to find my way through this madness, insanity, irresponsibility. It is hard and I am so angry and full of rage. My country is destroyed by your country, future for people is destroyed which is the worst. This is something you will have to face coming here. And unfortunately this is the fact that Americans will have to face in the future if they do not think about their Government seriously -- fact that they will be not wanted in many countries. If you want to come here, with true motives, if you really want to come here in order to understand something, then you should come with a risk that you might understand nothing.

Kathy Acey -----

**28. Thu, Apr. 8 1999 From: caring economist Hungary**

Dear List-ers, I'm looking down at my city from a park on a top of a hill a few bus stops from where I live. Below are houses of the wealthy, farther down are small streets like mine with apartment buildings from the beginning of the century with 20-30 flats in them, like mine.

There are houses just like in my street which have not been completely fixed since WWII and the '56 revolution and so are full of bullet holes still. Further down the old town Centre with

remains of buildings from times since 3000 years ago and more. Then the Danube with the bridges then government and business buildings and more houses in every direction as far as I can see. It could be Novi sad, it could be Beograd. They look alike and are just somewhat further south along the Danube and the Sava. But I see nothing burning, the sky is quiet, it can't be Novi sad, it can't be Beograd. It's bright and warm here as I'm writing this on paper, t-shirt time I used to say. These days I say: perfect weather for more bombing, in other words: NATO-time. It makes people laugh and talk.

I have no way of knowing if there was any direct communication between the business world and the governments and the military people before the decision was made about starting the bombings. Even if there was none formally, I believe that the general climate of competition and greed was pushing for a rapid spectacular action. They no longer have to do business with and within Yugoslavia, from now on they do business with the European union, with governments, with the United Nations etc. Which tend to pay their bills more than individual players of unstable markets. So again, it's taxpayers' money that pays for what's presented as 'aid'.

Has there been any news so far about food producers, textile corporations, pharmaceutical industries that donated any of their products? I haven't heard of any. What looks like aid I think is being paid for at normal market price, including corporation profit. The money flows from state budgets, international organizations' and NGO's budgets to corporations.

There is a huge difference between what can be sold in order to rebuild Yugoslavia than to rebuild Rwanda for example. This war has started to bring in huge profit to corporations which remain in the background. obviously but not only to the military industry. But now there is no time for careful choosing of the suppliers, so the Multinationals get all the deals. And the money keeps flowing from the first world to the first world, making profit.

good night for now.

*David White* -----

## **29. London Times 5/23**

The week had also begun unhappily for Clinton, who was furious when a press résumé on his Oval Office desk last Sunday afternoon included a report from The Sunday Times of "frustration" in Downing Street over his less than impressive leadership in the war.

His legendary bad temper had already been provoked once by the British. According to one account, he felt he was being "goaded" by Britain at the NATO summit in Washington last month over his reluctance to commit ground troops.

Unable to explain what would happen if Milosevic did not back down and no ground force was ready to impose a peace settlement, he stormed back to the White House in such a hurry that the military officer shadowing him with the "nuclear suitcase" was left behind. An angry scene ensued in the Oval Office, where Clinton blamed Sandy Berger, his national security adviser, who has been shaping Kosovo policy and opposes any talk of a ground force.

Now Clinton felt he was being accused in London of being "chicken".

Sam Delgado -----

**30. From Milot, a sophomore at Catholic College in Eastern Pennsylvania from Kosova**

March 28. The Day the Bombing Began

Hello...I talked with my family last night. The situation is extremely dangerous. Bajram Kelmendi, a lawyer and a human rights activist, my father's best friend and colleague, was shot dead together with his two sons in cold blood by the Serbian police two nights ago.

Mr. Kelmendi was one of the lawyers that defended my father in court while he was being sentenced. He was a human rights and political activist as well as my father. To make the long story short....my family is in real danger too.

I called them at home, nobody would answer. Then I called my grandparents, and they told me that my family had to leave the house and go elsewhere. Right now they are at a relative's house. They are planning to move from house to house to lose track of the Serbian police.

They only talked to me for about 2 or 3 minutes. My father insisted to not talk anything in detail, mention any names or discuss any future plans.

I remember, at one point, I asked him if I should call at the same place again later, he responded..."Don't insist...call at your grandma's and she will inform you about us."

And the very last thing he told me was..."You have to understand, this is a war. Everything could happen. We will be fine...." Then he broke into tears. "I want you to not move from there. Don't you dare to leave the United States. We will be fine.

That just broke my heart. I could not talk anymore. I felt so weak and desperate. I finally managed to say the last words..."I love you all and God be with you..."

The last two days, the Serbian policeman have been breaking into the Albanian houses and collecting the intellectuals and the rest of the males in the family and shooting them dead in cold blood. That's what happened to Mr. Kelmendi...and I am just hoping and praying to God that my father is not the next one on the list.

Please keep my family in your prayers,

Yours, Milot

Linda Earle -----

**31. Branka Novi Sad May 5 evening**

I write in fear that we will lose electricity, and I do not know if that would "hurt" the computer. We are doing OK. We have both water and electricity, however sporadically. We never know when it will come on or go off. When the electricity comes, everyone rushes to turn on everything they need, and they need so much, and then off it goes. When there is no electricity the water does not work either, so we keep the reserves and replenish them as it is possible. We buy bottled water for drinking. When we get electricity, we cook some coffee and put it in thermos, so we are fine as far as the coffee goes, too. When there is no electricity I cook on the balcony.

Remember that little hibachi you bought in Baltimore for \$1? I am using that with wood Ticha gathers in the yard. Of 43 days of bombing, to date Novi Sad was not hit only 5 days, and even

then, the sirens were on whole nights long. The wind has dissipated that cloud from the refinery. Hopefully, it is fine. I don't smell the smoke in the air, or we got used to it. Tomorrow we will go out to the graveyard, even if it rains to visit grandmother's grave, it is Patron Saint day St. Georgie. I hope that we will find some Lilly of the valley flowers at the market.  
Love, Branka

May 6 Evening

Just as we got back from the grave yard the sirens came on in the middle of the day. I did not pay attention to them, and just as we were to leave for Boba's, they started to shoot . While, I was packing some gifts for her - liquid soap and nail polish - it detonated real strongly. It was strong, but not too close. It was on Detelinara. I hope Staya's parents are all right. They say that people were injured. It was in the middle of the day, and the weather was nice, so the children were out playing. I'll write tomorrow if we have electricity. Love, Branka

May 12 morning

Last night I could not get in to send you the letter. I guess everyone is on the Internet as much as they can afford. Last night, they did not bother us. I'll cook spinach today. Don't worry, Vera, I had this one in the freezer from before the war. It not the one with chemical rain they are talking about.

Alvan Colon Lespier -----

**32. NYTimes 6/20/99 Carlotta Gall Mitrovica, Kosovo**

Asked what they thought of President Slobodan Milosevic, on Serbian policeman leaving Kosovo did not hesitate. "He is a good man, I hope he lives until he is 100 years," he said. "And I'll be on the first train to kill him."

David Cale -----

**33. Wed, 31 Mar 1999 From: caring economist Hungary**

Dear Fellows,

I thought it would be interesting to know more about some key leaders' personal history. Of course I don't think that the problem is just one or a few person's psychological patterns. I called a friend at a newspaper and asked him for some leaders' bios. He gave me more facts of Milosevic's life story: he was born august 29, 1941 in Pozarevac, Serbia. His mother, his father and one of his uncles committed suicide. So it's obvious that comments by people he is supposed to negotiate with like the one by Madeline Albright a few days ago are not helpful.

She said something like Milosevic is like a child who killed both of his parents and now complains to be an orphan. He graduated from Beograd University Law School in 1964. He's married to Mirjana Markovic who's mother was killed by the Gestapo in 1943.

Again, comments made by top politicians both of Germany and other first world places saying - 'When the two bombers landed back home after having bombed Serbia on day one - that by completing the first active military action 'by Germany' in a foreign country for the first time after World War II was Germany's real, complete come back as fully accepted European country' -- do not help.

She was raised by her mom's mom. Her father was a member of the government under Tito, that means what people would refer to as 'under communism'. The Milosevic couple's private life is very hidden. Experts say that she is the leader in the relationship and is actually the political leader too. They each lead a political party. They have two children.

It's AM here, high time to go to sleep. Good night,

Rev. David Dyson -----

**34. NYTimes 6/20/99 Steven Erlanger Stimlje, Kosovo**

Vaga Neilson, a Dane who had been working with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe said sadly after his long experience in Bosnia, "We knew we would be watching ethnic cleansing of Kosovo and then be accomplices." But he said he is ashamed that the earlier monitors' mission failed and pulled out of Kosovo five days before the bombing began, leaving a vacuum that let the Serbian offensive against the KLA intensify without witnesses. "I feel a little responsible for what happened," Mr. Neilson said quietly. "We and the West were accomplices. We didn't want it to happen, but we couldn't prevent it. And all of it," he said -- the half measures and the withdrawal and then the bombing - "set off something terrible." He's returned, he said, to do what he can to fix what has broken.

Henry Foner -----

A prominent member of Pristina's small Turkish minority said, "The brains and thoughts of Balkan people do not change so easily." "There will be new cycles of revenge. And I'm afraid that the Albanians will make themselves no better than the Serbs." "The Albanians ruled the Serbs with little justice from 1974 to 1981," he said. "They reaped what they sowed. And now it's changed again. But it's the ruling logic of the Balkans."

Chris Suggs -----

**35. Description of Tomahawk Missile**

Facts about the long-range Tomahawk cruise missile:

Length: 18 feet 3 inches.      Weight: 2,650 pounds.

Speed: About 550 mph.      Range: Land attack, conventional warhead -- 1,000 miles.

Warheads: Conventional -- 1,000 pounds or conventional sub munitions dispenser with combined-effect bomblets.      Contractor: Hughes Missile Systems Co.

Unit Cost: about \$750,000 to \$1 million.      Source: Navy

Robbie McCauley -----

**36.** *Marty's Poem -- On the ground the U.S. Army's riding around in Cherokee jeeps, while overhead, Apache helicopters are ready to avert ethnic cleansing. Diving, turning as the Navy's Tomahawk missiles click off latitude and longitude, arcing high overhead towards their coordinates. The Tomahawks' noses have been dipped in the depleted uranium - perhaps mined on the reservations - which as an armor piercing weapon is 2.5 times heavier than steel and 1.5 times heavier than lead and capable of being fired at a higher velocity, giving far greater destructive capacity, which you would want, if you were the one pulling the bow, the trigger, I mean the button. The Tomahawks can also contain a rod of uranium for penetrating bomb-proof targets. The Apache helicopters, yet to be deployed, have the same weapons that the American A10 ground attack aircraft is now using...uranium tipped bullets for knocking out tanks. The Guardian reported that weapons tipped or packed with depleted uranium were used extensively for the first time in the Gulf War and are blamed by some scientists for the phenomenon know as Gulf War Syndrome and by the Iraqis for a surge in birth defects and cancers in the south of the country. But maybe those are from the Iraqis' blowing up Kuwait's oil refineries.*

Henry Foner -----

**37.** Kosovo is the size of Connecticut

Kosovo plus Serbia is the size of Maine

George Drance -----

**38. Gianni -- Sergeant of Security at NYU.**

Marty, can I make a statement at your evening? I just want to say that the bombing was an act of mercy. It was an act of critical difference to us. It was not a mistake, what your country did. It was a good thing. It was the only thing that could save us.

Brad Stokes -----

**39. Lyrics from a song by the group Muzsikas, from Yugoslav's neighbor Hungary .**

*"The bird has flown away, the cage is empty. It sent a message that it will be back in the spring. But if it isn't back when the wheat is ripe, and certainly, if it isn't back when the grapes soften, then it will never come back."*

**END OF PART 1 -- 15 MINUTE INTERMISSION BE TOGETHER TIME**

## **WINNING THE PEACE PART II**

Ronete Levenson -----

### **40. Kosova Saturday April 3**

I want the world to know that I am afraid.

I want the world to hear our pleas -- help us! Help us, why is this going on? I am only seventeen years old. I still not have my first kiss or makeup my face with lipstick or see any other part of the world! I have friends in America, Germany, Australia, I promised to one day visit. This is not how I ever imagined my life to be-- not for a million years. Will anyone help us?

Arthur French -----

### **41. From Kosovo March 29 and 30**

I reached Pristina before nightfall. I could not get to the Humanitarian Law Center office. the building is opposite the Police Department and prison and the front entrance was locked. Someone inside said, "We don't know you and we won't open the door." By his accent, I knew the man was Serb and he must have known by mine that I was Serb too. I knew that the residents were Serb and Albanian and I saw their determination to allow no strangers into the building as the good side of my Serbian people in Pristina.

When day broke, I went to see some friends. The Keljmendis phone was cut off. Bajram Keljmendi's shingle was still on the door of his law office. Neighbors told me they hadn't seen his wife Nekibe since the burial of Bajram and their sons. I asked them to give her my regards. Then, together with Nora, a relation of Fehmi Agani (a Kosovar human rights worker), and a driver from Belgrade, I made my way to Dragodan, Fehmi Agani's neighborhood.

When we reached it, we were stopped by police. They asked to see our papers and when they saw that Nora and Arsim were Albanian, the one in charge ordered them out of the car. I got out too, saying we all worked for the same organization and were looking for a friend. The officer replied that Albanians no longer worked in Serbia and should be on their way to Macedonia. I asked since when did police have the authority to fire people and he yelled at me to get back in the car and shut up. I sat on the seat, leaving the door open and my legs outside the car. He slammed the door against my legs, saying Serbia was being ruined by such Serbs. The one in charge called someone over his Motorola. This lasted about 10 minutes and then he waved us on. We made our way back to the Center, hardly believing we had got off so lightly.

We started out for Macedonia in two cars, at about noon. It's seventy-five kilometers to the Djeneral Jankovic crossing. Several cars coming from side streets joined us. When we were on the road to the border, there were hundreds of cars behind us. The plan was to get to the border, wait until Ariana and Mentor had crossed and Nora and I would make for Belgrade.

Three kilometers from the border, the column stopped. Rumors flew that the border was closed, that police were taking cars, that they were separating out the men.. The sight of police with masked faces in the column frightened us and we decided to return to Pristina. No one prevented us. People asked us what was going on and we tried to persuade them to go back home. But only a few cars followed us. As we drove back, we saw that there were more than 2000 cars in the column. We also saw groups making their way on foot, all gripped by a terrible fear.

We got back to Pristina, dropped off Ariana and the other and I, Nora, her brother, and Mentor headed for Belgrade. I was afraid of what would happen at police checkpoints. The first was just outside Pristina on the road to. Our driver asked a policeman if the road to was open. Depends on the name, was the reply.

Patrick O'Flaherty

**42. New York Times May 24, 1999**

BELGRADE, Serbia -- Another joke asks, "Why will Bill Clinton become the next President of Yugoslavia?" The answer: "He's succeeded in uniting the Serbs and destroying the Albanians."

Ted Hannan -----

**43. From Belgrade: Bombing Day 2**

Again a nightmarish night. I called Peddle Markovic my friend and publisher. How do you feel, he asked. I feel like a moving military target, I said, and you? Splendid, simply splendid, answered he...just making plans where to go for vacation, down to the shelter or up to the terrace.

Does anybody see what they are doing? Killing in order to stop the killing. What a brutal way to restore peace and democracy. It seems to me that this is only an alibi to use the modern Tomahawk rockets. I feel that a state and nine million people serve as a polygon for testing the modern armaments.

If they really wanted to restore the peace in Kosovo and elsewhere in Yugoslavia, why did they not keep negotiating? If the Contact group was not satisfied with the Serbian delegation, why did they not raise objections? It was the ultimate either-or, as if there are no experts and other people here. They never asked the people from the Opposition to give some suggestions. They rushed to the arms solution, I have a feeling.

That is the easiest and most brutal way of teaching a lesson and to demonstrate the power. It is for us and to the other small nations to keep in mind that NATO is the ruler of the world at the moment.

The siren again. Go to hell, I said, turned the light off, sat in front of the computer and started answering the messages till almost dawn.

Freddie Brown Carter -----

**44. From one of the organizers of Women in Black Belgrade: Bombing Day Three**

In the last days every night there were sounds of bombs in the town. Today the McDonald's shops are demolished, as well as cultural centers of four "enemy states." There are not many people on the streets. Most women's groups are closed down because moving from one place to the other in town is very hard, and there is no fuel for cars.

As many women who lived in the war zone know, the main emotion is fear and panic. We have talked to women activists from other small town in Serbia, they are alive and more or less in fear. We talk a couple times a day with our friends in Pristina. The Women's Center is constantly in touch with women around the country and is open 24 hours. Many women did not

sleep last night, so some of us are constantly on the phone with those who feel bad. Once again feminists and pacifists from Belgrade are sending sisterly tender words for our friends the Albanian women and their families in Kosovo.

Jane LaTour -----

#### **45. From the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Philadelphia**

The United States needs to respond creatively and nonviolently to international crises using wisdom and true strength rather than brute force. Our peaceful "weapons" whose strength should not be underestimated, are the commitment to the rule of international law and our democratic civil society with strong economic, cultural and educational institutions.

We need to realize that Milosevic would be powerless without his soldiers and Special Police. Most of the Yugoslav soldiers and Special Police are young men who were drafted into their present unhappy positions. There is already a very high rate of draft evasion and desertion from the Yugoslav army. Most of the conscripts would rather be in school or starting a career than killing civilians in Kosova.

At the time of this writing, the NATO attack against Yugoslavia has been going on for only 6 days and already it has cost well over \$1 billion dollars. If, for example, this money were used by the UN for educational scholarships or job training, they could afford to offer a \$30,000. scholarship to any of the best universities in Europe or the US for each of the 30,000 Serbian soldiers and Special Police in Kosova, and still have plenty of money left to give special enormous bonuses to pilots, captains and tank drivers who deserted and brought their vehicles with them. This better use of American and European tax dollars would save the lives of many Serbs, Kosovars and Americans while furthering the education of a new generation of Yugoslav leadership to take the place of those who would be sitting in prison in The Hague.

Everyone says their number from their seat with microphone at a 'listing statistics pace'

#### **46. London Times Eve Ann Prentice "Blunders" 5/15/99**

(D.Mc) April 5, Aleksinac: Up to 17 killed when NATO bombs miss army barracks.

(MBE) April 9, Pristina: Homes and telephone exchange bombed.

(AL) April 12, Leskovac: Up to 55 killed when NATO bombs train.

(RN) April 14, Dakovica: Up to 75 refugees killed when NATO attacks convoy.

(KA) April 14, Meja: Small convoy and C-shaped building bombed, refugees killed.

(MB) April 28, Surdulica: Up to 20 killed when NATO bombs houses instead of army barracks.

(AK) May 1, Luzane: Up to 47 killed when NATO bombs bus.

(LE) May 3, NIS: Up to 15 killed when NATO bombs miss landing strip.

(RL) May 3, Pec: Up to 20 killed when NATO bombs bus.

(LM) May 8, Belgrade: 3 killed when NATO bombs Chinese embassy.

(CP) May 14, Korisa: Up to 100 refugees killed when NATO attacks village.

(CB) Lake Garda: Jettisoned bombs land in water near tourist beach.

(RL) Serbs claim 1,200 civilian deaths

Bill Henning -----

#### **47. Excerpts from Canadian Auto Workers Statement**

The bombing and air attacks on Yugoslavia by hundreds of NATO aircraft should be a major concern for all Canadians. There are protests in Canadian cities over this issue as worried relatives and concerned Canadians react to the images and stories brought to us hourly from this war zone.

This is a troubling chapter in the history of NATO as a cold-war defensive alliance is transformed into an offensive military alliance. When and how does the decision to intervene happen and why has this troubled region been targeted versus the host of other similar situations in other parts of the world? This is not a United Nations sanctioned operation.

On behalf of the 215,000 Canadian Auto Workers members and their families, the CAW National Executive Board is calling on the Prime Minister and the Canadian government to:

1. recall all Canadian fighter jets immediately
2. demand a meeting of the United Nations to develop a plan to send ground troops into the region as a peacekeeping force to end the armed conflict and start the process of a lasting peace in Yugoslavia.
3. increase our commitment to humanitarian aid for the refugees
4. commit Canadian troops as peace keepers to assist with the settlement of conflicts.

Adopted by the CAW National Executive Board at Port Legion, Ontario on March 31, 1999.

Linda Mancini-----

**48. Rita is a 23-year-old Kosovo Albanian woman, a medical student from Pristina. She has lived in exile in Skopje, Macedonia with her family since early April. Rita sends AOL her journal entries every few days from an Internet cafe.**

#### **May 18, 1999**

When my family and I finally crossed the Jazince, Macedonia border after a three-day wait we met people who were registering refugees. I felt like I was not an individual, just a number on their list. While they were putting me on that long list of the names I had an empty feeling like I am being registered to die.

They were asking me a hundred questions. Name? Hometown? How many days at the border? Local relatives? Where will you stay? Suddenly, it started to rain. It seemed like even the sky was crying for our destiny.

I was exhausted. But since we didn't have any relatives in Macedonia, we didn't know if we would find any place to sleep that night. We met a man who was waiting for his family from Kosovo and he offered to let us stay at his house near Skopje until his relatives came. We accepted. Next morning when I woke up I had a terrible headache. I realized that I had to start a completely new life.

First I had to go to downtown Skopje to search for my relatives and friends. Black thoughts were going through my mind because just before I left I lost a friend. She was shot dead by a Serb guy in the middle of the street. Not a military guy. Just a crazy guy. Two other friends were killed two months ago on the bus while they were returning to their villages. The police took them to the station and executed them because their cousin was a well-known political activist. They executed four more of the man's male relatives.

These were close friends of mine, but so many more Kosovars have been killed. It became a land of spirits. Human life has lost meaning; you could be killed without any reason. I hope this will end soon and those people who did such bad things will be punished one day. If nothing else, God is our witness.

Back in Skopje, looking for my friends, In a cafe in the center of the city I met some people that I knew from Prishtina\*. Everybody was looking for somebody -- family, friend, neighbor or whatever.

Moments of hugging with some friends that I met there were very hard. We cried a lot. I had met some friends, but people had been split all over the world and I went to the Internet cafe to check my email and to send some messages to people who I really care for. I got a response from a friend of mine who managed to get to Prague and from another in Geneva.

I went with the journalists to the Blace, Macedonia refugee camp two days later. It is almost the 21st century, but those camps remind you of the pictures from medieval times. Almost 80,000 people in the Blace camp with no elementary services, not even food and water, made you wonder what hell looks like if not like the Blace border of those days.

After so much suffering, don't we deserve a bit of freedom...?

--Rita

*Patrick O'Flaherty* -----

**49. Excerpts from email sent to Clinton, Blair, Albright and the rest of the NATO members/leaders from the workers at a Yugo car factory.**

We are the citizens of Kragujevac, a city that paid most dearly for its freedom in the last war - in the blood of its children, all beastly executed in a single day, and of its workers and citizens.

We are the employees of the Zastava factory which for over 150 years has been the home of its employees and which today directly provides for the living of its 38,000 employees, with a total

of 60,000 when ancillary employees are counted and the living of all their families. We have all, each in keeping with his individual expertise and ability, built in the future of this factory, all our creative abilities, and with honest work have created the positive preconditions to make our living on the work in the future as well.

Our very existence and that of our families is now brought into question. We want to protect what has remained of our future, and therefore we, the workers of this factory and our management, have taken the decision not to leave our factory workshops and go to shelters even at the sound of air raid sirens -- but to remain in the production plants of our factories. This live wall made of the employees, their families and citizens of Kragujevac shall protect the factory round-the-clock, seven days a week, as long as the war operations against our country go on.

Dear Sirs, In this way we wish to inform your public that an attack on our factories covering the area of 305 hectares, located in latitude 44=BA N and in longitude 20.55=BA E, and employing 38,000 men shall mean the direct death of several thousand men who will be present in the factories all the time while the war operations against our countries go on and will mean an enormous loss to their families.

We appeal to the conscience of your workers, intellectuals and all other citizens to prevent an awful catastrophe that may come up due to this insane act.

We know that in all the countries there are honest people who respect what is human in other men, and precisely, in this way, we wish to address them, and urge them to raise their voice of reason in our protection.

*March 26, the employees and management of "Zastava"*

*Rabbi Daniel Brenner -----*

### **50. Reporter Robert Fisk Independent, England April 10**

In Kragujevac, the workers at the massive Zastava car plant who so stubbornly told me just over a week ago that they would sleep on the factory floor to protect their workplace -- they even sent e-mails to Clinton, Albright and Solana to this effect -- were rewarded with an attack by cruise missiles that smashed into the car works and wounded 120 of the men.

*Arthur, George, Matthew, Alvan, David Cale all stand*

### **51. War Graffiti from Serbia**

(ACL) My dear bomb, you are going to Billy boy

(MM) NATO get out

(AF) Happy Meal Lunch -- Mc Uck, fried french...spy pie....coffee annan.

(GD) Fox Molder: The truth is here.

(DC) Sorry we are singing

(ACL) Billy boy, blow in our saxophone, We have more love than you

(AF) Billy boy, we are not Indians.

(MM) Nobody is perfect - F 117's

(DC) Tony go back to Loch Ness

(GD) Keep the smile - it is the style of Belgrade

Annie Lanzilotto -----

**52. Good Times - 5/23 - London Times May 23 1999 War in Europe**

It was the mayor's white shirt that made the crowd of women see red. Why were their sons dying in the blood and filth of Kosovo while he was safe and smug in Serbia?

"I grabbed him by his white collar," said Marija Kojic, one of the frantic mothers who mobbed the mayor of the southern Serbian city of Aleksandrovac last Monday. Her son had been on the front line for 50 days with nothing but "a dirty uniform, which couldn't help him against the NATO bombers".

Within seconds, a riot broke out. Apprehension had been growing in southern Serbia among the wives and mothers of Yugoslav soldiers serving in Kosovo since a partial troop withdrawal was announced by Belgrade two weeks ago.

Days passed, the families grew impatient and rumors grew of heavy casualties. There was dismay when the bodies of 10 soldiers were returned to the towns on Friday, May 14.

This area of southern Serbia has long been Milosevic's political stronghold. Yet, after a weekend of mounting panic, about 1,000 demonstrators gathered last Monday morning at the bus station to prevent a busload of soldiers from returning to Kosovo. Some mothers wanted to lie in front of the buses, but their sons told them not to because it might cause problems for others at the front seeking home leave.

Some were angry and complained that while the men were in Kosovo, rich young men went around town talking on their cellular telephones. A 3,000-strong crowd stoned the town hall in nearby Krusevac. The demonstration was broken up by police. Soldiers in Kosovo also heard exaggerated reports on Radio Free Europe that the police had used water cannons against their wives and mothers.

Next morning, about 2,000 armed soldiers in uniform suddenly appeared in Aleksandrovac, having left the front in lorries and buses without permission. There were tears and kisses, but also a sense of horror.

"I was waiting with my son's wife and children," said Kojic. "He went straight to the church, lit a lot of candles and started crying. Only after that did he come out and hug and kiss us."

"Thank God my son came back sane," she said. "A lot of other soldiers came back with empty eyes - completely insane, urinating without control."

Martha Baker

**53. From: "Dijana Milosevic" Subject: Moment of Silence Date: May 24, 1999**

There is going to be a worldwide Moment of Silence for peace in Yugoslavia. Thousands of people from all around the world will come together at one moment in time, exactly 5pm Greenwich time (that's 9am Los Angeles, 12 noon in New York, 6pm Paris, 8pm Moscow.

We will stop whatever we are doing and observe two minutes of silence and prayer for the people in Yugoslavia. It is not about politics or about borders and governments. It is about value of the individual human life and liberty. It is a gesture of peace and good will for all men, women and children. Make music, not bombs!

Simin Farkondeh -----

**54. Email note from Milan on the bombing of a ski resort in Serbia**

"If your stomach could handle some photos, please go to <http://www.peric.net/nato/tornick/index.html> to see for yourself what a "military" object it was. And what NATO is really doing.

Please bring a friend along.

Mary McLaughlin -----

**55. Lynn@aol.com**

I have sent to my friends letters asking them to contribute to the relief effort for the refugees. I have found out American addresses for relief organizations. I am asking 20 people to give \$50 and each reach out to 20 of their friends -- this would raise \$20,000. immediately for refugee relief. If those 20 people continue to reach our it could raise \$100,000.

This is what I have been able to do over the weekend. My love to you and Iskra and regards to the family.

George Drance -----

**56. Gianni -- Sergeant of security guard at NYU.**

I lost 43 of my family members in the last two months over there, in Kosova. 43, it is too much.

I am Albanian, but I believe we should not have this hatred, this division between Serb and Albanian, what is that for? I was a captain in the Yugoslavian Army for 18 years I was in the Army. I was highly decorated, in charge of a brigade, which is a big deal. When in 1992 my commanding officer - Colonel Zivkovic - ordered me to go to Croatia and 'kill people', he said just that, I refused. I said "No, I will not go kill old people, I have no argument with those people." He assured me that it was Croatians he was talking about, not Serbians. "I don't care where they are from, if they are Indians or whoever they are." I went on a 7, 8 day hunger strike - not a thing I eat - but then on June 13 at 3 AM outside the Garrison, in front of the Hotel they tried to kill me - not my men, my men and I were very close, but paramilitaries they brought in from where the war was at that time - they shoot at me three times and I escape with the help of a Serbian father and son to Macedonia, then Greece, then here.

That night at same time as me - 3 AM - paramilitaries also came to kill my family - my wife, who was pregnant and father. My wife she would not open the door and they talked back and forth but she still refused and so it was they left and did not succeed in killing them.

I do not understand what happened to their minds, these soldiers. I know soldiers, I am a soldier for 18 years, I serve with distinction and I ask myself 'what is in their minds. I am surprised how he treat in his mind, how he can change overnight, how is that possible?' I know General Mladic - I know this man, I work with him long time, we speak, I have much respect for him, how did he change? Nobody can make me change my mind to hate people because of religion, race or tradition. I still have Serbian friends, now, they live in Florida, NYC, even I call in Montenegro, they call me - we still have good relations.

Robbie McCauley -----

### **57. Letter from Natasha, Humanitarian Law Fund May 23, 1999 Belgrade**

I am now in Belgrade and I plan to remain here a few days before leaving for Kosovo and Montenegro.

B. says that large refugee columns are moving towards the Vrbnice border crossing every day. There are three check-points before the Albanian border. He learned that many refugees had their identification papers torn up and that license plates from their cars were taken away. The remaining Albanians do not dare leave their homes. After mass expulsions of Albanians from the surrounding villages, the targets have now shifted to doctors, professors, lawyers, political activists and Albanians who worked for the OSCE. About 650 Albanian families do not know what happened to their sons who were forcibly mobilized in the Yugoslav Army. Local authorities told them that they are digging trenches somewhere on the border with Albania.

Everybody fears paramilitary groups, unmarked cars, police questioning, possible expulsion and, as of late, hunger. Sick people do not dare go to the doctor and resort to traditional cures instead. If only there were some international organization in the area, they say, they would feel more secure and this would give them strength to persevere and stay there.

When I travel through Serbia, now more and more by side roads, I talk to people in villages and I see that they have no problem understanding what is going on. They are fully aware that the most vital issue for Serbia at present is to call to account those who are responsible for everything that has happened.

More than 50,000 people have left Belgrade since 24 March 1999. It is not easy to describe life here. My friends abroad find it very hard to believe when I tell them that there are people in the streets just like before, that local cafes are busy even when the sirens go off, that taxies circle the city at night when the streets are completely dark and that I don't know anyone who goes to air raid shelters.

People in Serbia by and large support the G-8 proposal for ending the war. This is evident from statements by high-ranking officials of the ruling party and other government officials. More and more reports speak about Albanian refugees who were forced to leave their homes because of NATO air raids. For the sake of facts, I would like to quote here what one Albanian from Pec said about expulsions of Albanians from that town (I have interviewed 98 Albanians expelled from Pec and they have all corroborated his story).

Becky Nelson -----

**Albanian woman - (new reader stands next to 1st, takes #1 hand and reads)**

Friday, 26 March. We were sitting at the table when a group of about 20 people in uniforms and red berets accompanied by three civilians raided our home. None of them wore masks. Their uniforms looked like army uniforms. I recognized some of them as people from the Brzhenik I section of the town. They shouted at us "You have one minute to leave". My daughter in law put her baby in the cradle and then one of the uniformed men kicked it so hard that the baby fell out of the cradle and started to scream. We all started to leave the house except my old father who cannot walk. One of them ordered my son Blerim to stay behind. My son remained silent but my wife and I started to cry and plead with them to let us stay too. My son then cried that he would stay behind and that we should go. My wife and I would not budge, but they started shoving us and pushing us out by our shoulders. When I saw a rifle pointed at Blerim's temple, I tried to go back and help him, but then I heard a shot and saw Blerim taken up in the air before he crumpled down in a heap at my father's feet. They got hold of me too, but then my wife rushed and took me out of the room. When we left the room heard three more shots. I heard them shouting that we should go to Clinton. Blerim's body was left behind. We tried to go to our cousins, house but streets were crammed with people and police ordered us to join one of the columns. They also told us that the road to Montenegro is safe.

(Robbie) Best regards, Natasa (both sit still holding hands)

Mary Beth Edelson -----

**58. Sun, 11 Apr 1999**

**From: caring economist Hungary**

It is encouraging how people of post war generations these days are uncovering the effects of wars in our lives. One way I can think of that happening was that since there has been no attention for our parents' and grandparents' war stories. They stopped telling them. And later on even if we asked about their lives, they denied a real answer. So we grew up with major things not being talked about in the family and in society and it makes it hard for us to find out about things now. A war crushes ones integrity and personality in major ways, and our parents could not fully recover from it. So they are most probably looking for reassurance all the time and outside of themselves. This is one reason I believe why we too are scared, find it hard to go into conflicts, to fight for something, to stand up and so on.

People have to be at their workplace day and night to protect them. People are shocked by the amount of bombs dropped on the country. My co-worker, her memories from wwII when she was deported are now coming back. She is an unhappy supporter of the bombings, keeps in mind it's not against the people of her country. Without the bombings masses of people would have been crushed she says. Nationalities at her place still are in peace with each other. In her opinion it is her people's job to remove M. from power. They should have stopped him earlier she says. They are terrified, hoping for it to end. She asked people to think of them and to want to meet them when this would be over. And to give them food, there will be none by then.

thanks for your caring, good night for now.

Kathy Acey -----

**59. Subject: URGENT**

**Date: Fri., 26 Mar 1999**

Campaign Against Homophobia (formed by the European Youth Association of Serbia, Gay Lobby Arcadia and Humanitarian Law Fund) is disgusted at attacks of NATO which are taking place during the last few days. By so doing and thinking, NATO has created a situation which only empowers Milosevic's communist-fascist regime and directly supports further continuation of his terror against both the Kosovo Albanians and every genuine, authentic opposition in the Republic of Serbia.

The coordinators of the Campaign Against Homophobia are directly endangered by these attacks -- both by the NATO bombs and by the revenge of local population, as well as of the police, who consider us to be the American "agents" which in the Republic of Serbia means people who fight for democratization of the country.

Dejan, Chief Executive Coordinator Belgrade, March 26, 1999

Ronete Levenson -----

**60. From women in black London Times Tuesday May 4 1999**

**Prostitution gangs stalk camp women**

**Janine Di Giovanni in Fier, Albania**

"We are frightened, really frightened," says Suzanna, 22, a student of German from Pristina, who is now living in the Grize refugee camp. "We have been told we can't leave the camp, even to go for a walk. I survived Pristina being cleansed and walking four days on foot over mountains, but this is worse."

"They come every night, these men in Mercedes, and say that they want to take the youngest girls away to train us to be teachers in Italy," she says. "Why are they doing this? Haven't we gone through enough?" "Local men arrived with fake documents and said they had come to take young girls away to a teacher training course in Italy." "This week they had three girls in their early twenties and a boy, aged 28, in their possession, before we stopped them."

Fier and Berat, a neighboring city, are famous for prostitute-trafficking: it is estimated that since the 1992 creation of Albanian democracy, 10,000 local women have been taken to Italy and 20,000 to Greece.

J.L.Pottenger -----

**61. Jeremy Brecher, a policy analyst on Representative Bernie Sanders (Ind. Vermont). He resigned April 29 after Rep. Sanders voted in favor of a House resolution endorsing the NATO air war. These are excerpts from his letter of resignation.**

Dear Bernie,

This letter explains the matters of conscience that have led me to resign from your staff.

I believe that every individual must have some limit to what acts of military violence they are willing to participate in or support, regardless of either personal welfare or claims that it will lead to a greater good. Any individual who does not possess such a limit is vulnerable to committing or condoning abhorrent acts without even stopping to think about it.

Those who accept the necessity for such a limit do not necessarily agree regarding where it should be drawn. For absolute pacifists, war can never be justified. But even for non-pacifists, the criteria for supporting the use of military violence must be extremely stringent because the consequences are so great. Common sense dictates at least the following as minimal criteria.

The evil to be remedied must be serious.

The genuine purpose of the action must be to avert the evil, not to achieve some other purpose for which the evil serves as a pretext.

Less violent alternatives must be unavailable.

The violence used must have a high probability of in fact halting the evil.

The violence used must be minimized.

Let us evaluate current U.S. military action in Yugoslavia for each of these tests.

**Evil to be remedied:** We can agree that the evil to be remedied in this case -- specifically, the uprooting and massacre of the Kosovo Albanians -- is serious enough to justify military violence if such violence can ever be justified. However, the U.S. air war against Yugoslavia fails an ethical test on each of the other four criteria.

**Purpose vs. pretext:** The facts are incompatible with the hypothesis that U.S. policy is motivated by humanitarian concern for the people of Kosovo.

In the Dayton agreement, the U.S. gave Milosevic a free hand in Kosovo in exchange for a settlement in Bosnia.

The U.S. has consistently opposed sending ground forces into Kosovo, even as the destruction of the Kosovar people escalated. (While I do not personally support such an action, it would, in sharp contrast to current U.S. policy, provide at least some likelihood of halting the attacks on the Kosovo Albanians.)

According to The New York Times(4/18/99), the U.S. began bombing Yugoslavia with no consideration for the possible impact on the Albanian people of Kosovo. This was not for want of warning. On March 5, 1999, Italian Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema met with President Clinton in the Oval Office and warned him that an air attack which failed to subdue Milosevic would result in 300,000 to 400,000 refugees passing into Albania and then to Italy. Nonetheless, "No one planned for the tactic of population expulsion that has been the currency of Balkan wars for more than a century." If the goal of U.S. policy was humanitarian, surely planning for the welfare of these refugees would have been at least a modest concern.

Even now the attention paid to humanitarian aid to the Kosovo refugees is totally inadequate, and is trivial compared to the billions being spent to bomb Yugoslavia. Surely a genuine humanitarian concern would be evidenced in massive emergency airlifts and a few billion dollars right now devoted to aiding the refugees.

*Less violent alternatives:* While it has refused to send ground forces into Kosovo, the U.S. has also opposed and continues to oppose all alternatives that would provide immediate protection for the people of Kosovo by putting non-or partially-NATO forces into Kosovo. The refusal of the U.S. to endorse such proposals strongly supports the hypothesis that the goal of U.S. policy is not to save the Kosovars from ongoing destruction...the United States should 'propose an immediate cease-fire, to continue as long as Serb attacks on Kosovo Albanians cease'...In short, there is a less violent alternative to the present U.S. air war against Yugoslavia.

*High probability of halting the evil:* Current U.S. policy has virtually no probability of halting the displacement and killing of the Kosovo Albanians.

*Minimizing the consequences of violence.* In this case we are seeing not just collateral damage but the deliberate selection of civilian targets, including residential neighborhoods, auto factories, broadcasting stations, and hydro-electric power plants. If these are acceptable targets, are there any targets that are unacceptable?

Indeed the very day after the House's vote, the Pentagon announced that it would begin "area bombing" which the Washington Post characterized as "dropping unguided weapons from B-52 bombers in an imprecise technique that resulted in large-scale civilian casualties in World War II and the Vietnam War."

It was your vote in support of this resolution that precipitated my decision that my conscience required me to resign from your staff.

I have tried to ask myself questions that I believe each of us must ask ourselves: Is there a moral limit to the military violence you are willing to participate in or support? Where does that limit lie? And when that limit has been reached, what action will you take? My answers led to my resignation.

Sincerely yours, Jeremy Brecher

David White -----

**62. New York Times May 24, 1999**

BELGRADE, Serbia -- Another joke has a young boy discovering from his father that the United States has fought both Germany and Japan, and won, and yet the Germans and the Japanese live wonderfully, with strong economies and stable societies. "Are we an unlucky country?" the boy asks. "Why?" his father asks.

"I'm afraid we'll win."

Freddie Brown Carter -----

**63. June 6 1999 Belgrade**

Milosevic's personal wealth is now estimated to be in the billions. His son recently transferred 1.7 million pounds to banks in South Africa in cash, in person, in preparation for fleeing Serbia. The family made inquiries about visas and vaccinations.

Mary Beth Edelson -----

**64. Jadranka June 17, 1999**

Dear Friends,

My colleagues in Belgrade are faced with questions, to play the performances or to help wounded people and clean the ruins. Many artist in Belgrade /Yugoslavia continue to work somehow. Conceptual artist Era Milivojevic made his visual art performance from the tapes on the windows (now on each house in the town) that protect from the splashing in the case of explosion. The risk of gathering and the fear are mixed with need to preserve the beauty and spirituality against the ugliness and primitivism of destruction. Many continue to exist in virtual reality of Internet's web cites and emails, creating the common projects and collaboration in that way [www.cyberrex.org](http://www.cyberrex.org)).

What theater can do? What art can do? It can give through the presence of the actor on the stage the example of the spiritual being, conscious being; it can give the energy of life which is manifested in the dancing, singing body of an actor, which can overcome the fear. It can answer the need of the people to understand the moment they live, to meet the fear, anger, pain and suffering. It can remind people on the suffering of others. It can...it has power to influence people strongly even without political pressure, propaganda and it can make people to smile again.

Linda Mancini -----

**65. Rita "Agreement and Return" June 15, 1999**

If we had not had a bad experience with this thing called Agreement, the 4th of June would probably be a very special day for us Albanians. That is the day the Serbs signed the agreement in which Yugoslav forces will leave Kosova. I mean, during all this time since the war started in Kosova, and also before that, there had been a lot of signed agreements but the situation got even worse.

This agreement will include an international security presence in Kosova. This sounds very good but I don't know how successful it will be.

I met a lot of Albanians here with jubilant faces. They were very happy for this agreement and their impression was that we are going back home soon. Yes, of course it might happen, but I really think that even if we will go back to Kosova it's going to take a long time before we could talk about any kind of peace there, where people will forget the past and live for the future.

I don't know why, but I think that a lot of violent incidents are going to happen all the time by both Serbs and Albanians. Even with the presence of international troops.

Nobody from outside can understand what kind of devil is now between us and Serbs. There had been a lot of bad things happening all this time so probably there are still some very angry people and they just won't be able to keep control of themselves.

I can completely understand them. It's not so easy losing loved ones, being raped, seeing your house burning, getting injured, being forced to leave your land being calm. It will take more time until the Albanian people will forget those traumas.

On the other hand, going back to Kosova, for some it will be too late. They already left for third countries and do not want to come back. Others for sure cannot wait and already planning their return.

Personally, I belong to this second group and going back to Kosova will be the happiest moment in my life. I was born there, all my life is there, and I do belong to that place.

--Rita

Linda Earle -----

**66. Dijana Milosevic - Belgrade, Serbia June 24, 1999**

"Finally I write to you, after long silence which was caused by horror through we have lived during last two months and a half. I am just wondering if there is third solution then these two systems of government in the world - political repression and poverty that is in our country and hidden political repression and running after money and profit that is in your country. Can we create the third solution, why are we, people who think differently like you, me and others so helpless in front of violence of our societies? Probably we make some mistake, probably we care just when we are very directly involved in conflict, I do not know.

Sanja and me continued to work here. I had to face very essential questions again concerning the sense of my - our work, sense of theater and art in contemporary world. My basic question now is how to create art that can help people who are in the middle of the conflict and how to heal with the art? I started to think that these are the most important questions today."

Rabbi Daniel Brenner and Rev. David Dyson -----

**67. June 27 1999 Bob Graham in Belgrade**

*(RDD)* The eight-hour drive between Pristina and Belgrade was completed in silence. Patriarch Pavle, 87, head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, sat slumped in the rear of the car, his head bowed, too shocked to speak to his three aides.

His delegation had traveled to Kosovo to persuade members of the Serbian community to remain in the province - the spiritual cradle of Serbian religious orthodoxy - rather than flee in fear of returning Albanian refugees.

But after seeing the mass graves of Albanians, witnessing the devastation of ethnic cleansing and listening to horrific stories from both sides, the patriarch returned to Belgrade with a different agenda. At a meeting last week with other senior bishops from the church's Holy Synod, it was decided to tell the Serbian people the truth about what happened in Kosovo.

"When Patriarch Pavle returned from Kosovo he was in shock from what the Serbian people had done to Albanians," said Deacon Luka Novakovic, his spokesman. "We have to know who did these things, to see if it is the state who should carry the guilt.

"At our church services, our priests will be able to tell people the truth of what has happened in Kosovo. It will not be possible to keep these atrocities a secret any longer."

*(RDB)* The church's unprecedented decision to defy Slobodan Milosevic, the Yugoslav president, is likely to be ignored by the state-controlled media. Its influence is strong, however; its defiance yet another sign that the regime is beginning to crumble.

The threat to the regime is expected to come into sharper focus this week. The Alliance for Change, an umbrella group of 30 opposition parties, is expected to attract up to 25,000 people to a protest rally in the central Serbian city of Cacak to call for Milosevic's resignation and for free elections. If he refuses, they may stage a poll themselves.

The event is being organized in breach of a ban on protests that remains in force despite the Yugoslav federal and Serbian parliaments' decision last Thursday to lift a state of war imposed on March 24.

The location is well chosen. Cacak is in the middle of a region where political opposition to Milosevic is strong and where tens of thousands are jobless after their factories were destroyed by NATO bombing. Velimir Ilic, the mayor, was forced into hiding throughout the war after criminal charges were brought against him for organizing an anti-government rally.

Among those who have agreed to share a platform are Vuk Obradovic, a former army general and leader of the Social Democracy party, who is seen as a potential president, and Zoran Djindjic, leader of the Democratic party.

*(RDD)* Obradovic plans to tell the crowd that the president has plunged his country back 40 years with a succession of "ridiculous" wars in Krajina, Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo.

"I know Milosevic and I know his ways. He must go and in his place must come a new movement, one with vision and a belief to rebuild and replace."

Obradovic said he had written to Tony Blair asking for advice on turning his party into a "social democratic movement for the 21st century".

At Cacak, Serbia's opposition - long divided - will stand together against Milosevic for the first time. Serious rifts remain, however: Vuk Draskovic, head of the Serbian Renewal Movement, who served briefly as a deputy premier under Milosevic, has said he will continue to campaign independently for reforms.

*Alvan Colon Lespier ----*

## **68. Returning Soldiers**

Just along the road from Cacak, in at least 11 locations, Yugoslav soldiers returning from the conflict continued street protests at the government's failure to pay their wages. They used armored personnel carriers, T-55 tanks and trucks to block roads.

At the beginning of the week the soldiers were decorated by Milosevic as "the nation's heroes". By yesterday the majority of the estimated 2,500 reservists had still not been paid for the three months they had endured under fire.

The government's difficulty in finding the money to pay the soldiers in full highlights its economic crisis. Economists from G-17, an independent Serbian think tank, claim it will cost \$29.6 billion to repair the war damage, which has left a quarter of a million people without work.

"The country needs assistance from the West urgently to repair the bomb damage as well as create jobs," said Mladjan Dinkic, the think tank's co-ordinator. "They must earmark some help for us to repair our infrastructure, because to ignore us is playing into Milosevic's hands and threatening the very process of reform which the West wishes us to follow."

The international community remains to be convinced, however. President Bill Clinton warned last week that Milosevic stood in the way of progress. He threatened not to give Serbia "one red cent for reconstruction" so long as Milosevic remained in power.

Henry Foner

**69. London Times June 25 The Kosovan Serb refugee Svetomir, 46, an ambulance driver**

I'm packing my things to leave for the second time. There's no order, no law, no courts, no army. So, here we go again. My wife and I fled a week ago when the army was withdrawing. There was an endless convoy of soldiers, gypsies, Serbs, driving anything that could be driven. There were tractors and bicycles riding alongside and in between tanks and jeeps.

I saw this one fellow holding onto a tank with one hand and steering his bicycle with the other. Many were just walking out of Kosovo. It was chaos. My wife and I went to Kragujevac to stay with family. Then we came back, but what am I supposed to do here? You can't drive an ambulance when there's no petrol.

My kids are in Serbia and call every day telling me and my wife to get out. But I have land and farm animals, so it's difficult. My last hope is that General Jackson can establish some order and make things function like they do back in his country.

*(All the men reading stand, turn toward audience in circle with backs to each other)*

**70. Newsday Matthew McAllester June 27, 1999 Serbs' Stories Revel Planning**

Matthew Maquire

Tony, 26 years old, Arkan's Tigers -- "It was strictly business, not like a holy war, a sacred war. We were war profiteers, not soldiers. I want to tell someone. I know it's not good, that job I did. But I entered into it and it was impossible to turn back. I didn't stop it. But it wasn't my job to stop it. Everyone looked after himself.

Ted Hannan

Everything had been prepared in advance. The local administration drew up the lists. The state delivered those lists with names. They had concise information on them. The first name, the last name of the man. His address, if he is the head of the family, the number of family

members, whether he had a family member sending money from abroad, if he was the owner of a shop. Such people were a priority. We had good information and we went to the wealthiest parts of Kosovo from the beginning. We knew who owned the gas stations, who was in the jewelry trade, who had rich cousins abroad. They were kept in Kosovo until they paid. Most of the ones who had a lot of money were allowed to live. The people who had no money faced a worse outcome.

Patrick O'Flaherty

Our job was to gather and send all the spoils and to transfer them to Belgrade. To a certain place and person in Belgrade. The paramilitary units I met were comprised of all kinds - there were junkies, prisoners, people picked up from the streets of Belgrade, people possessed with nationalism who thought they could beat NATO with guns. The Tigers had an unlimited supply of drugs...heroin, cocaine and LSD were always at hand.

David White

There were more amateurs than real professionals, unlike Bosnia and Croatia. Those were real wars. Here you could call it simple robbery. We kept reports on soldiers, who collected what and who could keep what. They were not allowed to keep more than 10% of the total value. The majority of the spoils went to Arkan. The state cooperated. The spoils were divided in Belgrade. We knew Kosovo would be lost. At least we knew that, while the other fools were fighting. It was very sad to see regular troops sitting in tanks and on anti-aircraft batteries exposed to the high risks, getting killed every day. They didn't even get a dinar, not a penny. We'd take \$10,000. for a small group of Albanians to let them go to the border. So you can imagine how much we made with almost 1 million refugees and all those things taken from their houses.

Sam Delgado

I made \$106,000 dollars. I'm spending half on an apartment. I have a new car, a BMW. I haven't decided what to do with the rest of the money. Others are using their money to open shops, invest in businesses. They're making connections with each other, putting their money together. I didn't want to do that. I escaped from it. I'm trying to get out of this business and break off all contact with these people and live a normal, decent life. If I hadn't been there, someone else would have done it. I know the money I earned was not decently earned and I have a troubled conscience about that a bit, but there are people here who did worse sins than mine.

George Drance

**71. Gianni, Albanian former Captain in Yugoslavian Army**

This Doctor over there - I give you his name - Rantovic - he killed my son. He give my son who was one year old, my first child, only one for then, he give him wrong medicine 2000 cc's, not 200 cc's mistake injection and my son dies. And this not first time this Doctor kill someone like this, he's stupid, he no care, he's not careful.

1983 New Year's Eve this happens so forever now New Year's Eve, Christmas "I am dressed in black." So 10 days after funeral , 10 days, I take my gun and go to kill doctor and his whole family. Revenge is revenge. He killed my son. I have to do it.

We live in same near neighborhood and I meet his sons - they are four and six years old - right there, first time, on street. I bend down and his one son, he has beautiful beautiful blue blue

eyes and I look in his eyes and I start to cry, I can't help it, and I think "If I kill him the world will never again see these beautiful eyes."

And so I buy them chocolates and take them with me to their father's house. I walk in with them and walk to Doctor and lay my gun down in front of him. I say "Today I come with gun full-loaded to kill you and your family. You killed my son. But God must have done a thing because I buy your sons chocolate and I bring them home to you. God will punish you late all life for what you did to kill my son and all those other people."

And I walked out. Even though I am a soldier, a Captain, something happened and I did not kill him.

Rebecca Nelson

**72. June 26, 1999 New York City**

It was reported in today's papers that returning Serbian soldiers, militia, paramilitary forces and policemen were rioting in the streets of Belgrade in response to not having been paid since April.

David Cale -----

**73. Woman from Kosova**

The woman from Kosova who lives in London sat across from me at the Greenwich Village Coffee Shop. We had met the day before at an event about the war in Kosova. As I had handed her my business card so she could call and set the time of a coffee date to hear more of her story, she had looked down at my name, back up at me, down again and said "I look to see if you are Serbian, to see if you would maybe try to kill me."

We met the next afternoon, she brought an Albanian friend who is active in the women's organizations that have played such a critical rational role before, during and since the war.

Looking at her photographs of haystacks and farmers in Kosova, I asked her if agriculture was in her family's background. "Oh yes" she replied softly, "for hundreds of years we have been bee-keepers. My grandfather still is. Just last month, when the time came and he was forced to leave, my grandfather knew that they would burn his home, so he took his poems and hid them in the beehives, thinking that maybe they wouldn't destroy the beehives. And perhaps they are still there, will be there, if he can ever go home...waiting amongst the bees, being covered in honey."

Brad Stokes

**74. Muzikas Song. Dedicated to all Kosovars and all Serbs living and dead. ...and to us. June 30, 1999**

*"Turn towards the sunset, my noble horse. We are going together May the wind blow away the tracks we have made on our journey. Now I am sick and a long way from my home. No one speaks my language. They don't understand my sorrow. I will never see my home again."*

*"I thought it was raining but it's the tears I shed. hold out your hand to me one last time and let me know you forgive me. My heart is breaking to know we must part forever. We share the same terrible fate, so speak just one last word so I will know that I stay in your heart."*

Marty - goodbyes, thanks and respect to all those whose emails, articles, letters, journals, interviews and conversations made this performance and text possible. Talks about what honest pride in one's country might be like, while Terry Dame improvises "America the Beautiful"

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*Winning the Peace owes its deepest gratitude and thanks to all the people from around the world who sent emails, reported for newspapers, made journal entries and wrote letters throughout the war and from whom this performance is possible*

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