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Top stories as of: Saturday, 26 Sep 98, 07:30:01 AM EDT

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## TOP STORY

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> HURRICANE GEORGES CHURNS IN GULF

Hurricane Georges swirled in the open waters of the Gulf of Mexico Saturday, less than 24 hours after pounding the Florida Keys with strong winds, massive tidal surges and heavy rains. With its 105 mph winds (165 km/h), the storm is expected to pick up speed over the warm Gulf water, and residents from the Florida Panhandle across to Louisiana are being warned of possible landfall by Saturday night. The first voluntary evacuations were put in place for the Florida Panhandle.

Expecting the worst

.... <http://cnn.com/WEATHER/9809/26/georges.01/>

~~~~~  
WORLD NEWS  
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> SCHROEDER, KOHL PREPARE FOR GERMAN ELECTION

The latest polls show that the race between Gerhard Schroeder and the man he would like to unseat, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, is too close to call. Kohl has spent a record 16 years in office. It is in the former communist east that Schroeder's center-left Social Democrats are fighting the Party of Democratic Socialism, the former East German communists, for four crucial east Berlin districts.

One-third of voters are still undecided
.... <http://cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9809/25/germany.elections/>

> RESCUERS STRUGGLE TO FIND DEAD, HELP LIVING IN CARIBBEAN

Rescue workers in the Caribbean pulled bodies from the mud, water and rubble left behind by Hurricane Georges while others scrambled to provide food and water for hungry, thirsty survivors. Georges' Caribbean death toll topped

300,
with at least 210 dead in the Dominican Republic, 87 in Haiti, four in
Cuba,
three in Puerto Rico, three in St. Kitts and two in Antigua. Storm victims
everywhere struggled to find water, food, ice and other essentials to cope
with
their losses and the tropical heat.

Dominican villagers desperate

.... <http://cnn.com/WEATHER/9809/25/caribbean.georges.02/index.html>

> ETHNIC SEPARATIST WINS BOSNIAN SERB PRESIDENCY

A hard-line nationalist was elected president of Bosnia's Serb Republic on
Friday, while more moderate political forces gained ground elsewhere in the
country's second general election since the 1992-1995 war. Radical party
leader

Nikola Poplasen defeated Western-backed incumbent Biljana Plavsic for the
presidency of the Serb entity, said the Organization for Security and
Cooperation in Europe, which oversaw the September 12-13 election.

U.S.: Results positive overall

.... <http://cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9809/25/bosnia.election/index.html>

> RUSHDIE: 'IT'S BEEN A FIGHT ABOUT FREE SPEECH'

With his life no longer in serious danger for the first time in nine years,

writer Salman Rushdie said Friday he's glad the cloud of doom has been lifted

and that his fight for free speech prevailed. Rushdie has lived under the death

threat since 1989, when the Ayatollah Khomeini called on Iranians to kill Rushdie for blaspheming Islam in his book "The Satanic Verses." On

Thursday,

Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi said his country would not try to kill

Rushdie.

Rushdie: 'Happy to say' he's not Muslim

.... <http://cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9809/25/rushdie.01/>

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U.S. NEWS

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Florida Panhandle across to Louisiana are being warned of possible

landfall by

Saturday night. The first voluntary evacuations were put in place for the

Florida Panhandle.

Expecting the worst

.... <http://cn.com/WEATHER/9809/26/georges.01/>

> U.S. CHARGES BIN LADEN LIEUTENANT WITH MURDER CONSPIRACY

U.S. authorities have filed murder charges against a ranking member of a

terrorist group allegedly headed by Osama bin Laden, the Saudi exile

wanted in

last month's embassy bombings in Africa. A criminal complaint unsealed

Friday

in U.S. District Court in Manhattan charges the suspect, Mamdouh Mahmud

Salim,

40, with murder conspiracy and use of weapons of mass destruction in an

international plot to kill U.S. citizens. Salim was arrested by Bavarian

police

last week near Munich, Germany, after they received a tip from Interpol

officials in Washington.

Charges of training terrorists

.... <http://cnn.com/US/9809/25/terrorist.charged/index.html>

> U.S. SEIZES SCUD MISSILE IMPORTED BY WEAPONS COLLECTOR

U.S. Custom officials are investigating how an operational Russian-designed Scud B missile was imported into California. Customs officers seized the missile and its launcher September 2 in Port Hueneme, California, near Oxnard.

Officials are trying to determine whether the wealthy California weapons collector who they say imported the missile from London falsified customs documents and claimed the missile was "demilitarized."

Missile manufactured in Czechoslovakia in 1985

.... <http://cnn.com/US/9809/25/missile.seizure/>

> CENSUS: 43 MILLION AMERICANS LACK HEALTH INSURANCE

A new Census Bureau report says the number of Americans without health insurance rose 1.7 million last year to an estimated 43.4 million people.

"Groups most likely to be without health insurance coverage include young adults between the ages of 18 to 24, persons of Hispanic origin, those with lower levels of education, part-time workers and persons who are foreign born,"

says researcher Robert Bennefield.

About one in 10 children not covered in '97

.... <http://cnn.com/US/9809/26/uncovered.americans.ap/>

.....More U.S. stories at <http://cnn.com/US>

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BUSINESS from CNNfn

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> OCTOBER: BAD FOR INVESTORS?

When the U.S. stock market closes on Sept. 30, some investors will brace themselves for a month of gut-wrenching news. After all, it's hard to forget

that the stock market has suffered some of its most spectacular losses in October -- including history's two worst crashes of 1929 and 1987.

Historically, October has only ranked third worst since 1900 in terms of average monthly declines for the Dow Jones industrial average, according to James Stack, president of InvestTech, a Montana investment newsletter.

Stocks have lost 0.14 percent on average in Oct.

.... http://cnnfn.com/quickenonfn/investing/9809/25/q_october/

> IMF GIVES RUSSIA NEW HOPE

The International Monetary Fund said Friday that it may pay new funds to

Russia

once the government works out an economic program. "The government will need to consider urgently the narrow range of alternatives still available and quickly decide on its economic strategy," the IMF said in a statement after a mission left Moscow. "IMF management would consider the appropriate size and timing of further disbursements once such a comprehensive program had been agreed."

Russian Deputy Prime Minister resigned Friday

.... http://cnfn.com/hotstories/economy/wires/9809/25/imf_wg/

> EXISTING HOME SALES FALL

Sales of existing single-family homes last month were at their lowest levels since January 1998, but the National Association of Realtors said resale activity remains exceptionally strong. The seasonally adjusted annual rate of existing-home sales in August fell 3.7 percent to 4.73 million units from 4.91 million units in July. Economists had predicted higher sales of 4.81 million units.

NAR says sales still strong

.... <http://cnnfn.com/hotstories/economy/9809/25/homes/>

> AUTO LOANS GO INTERACTIVE

Car shoppers scouring the Internet for price information and tips on outsmarting the dealer might want to add one more task to their online list:

auto financing. Loan rate information from banks, credit unions and finance companies can all be found on-line. And auto loan applications are starting to hit the scene. The hook? A hassle-free loan process with low rates: Often 7 percent to 8 percent for new and used car loans.

Easy loan applications.

.... http://cnnfn.com/quickenonfn/home_auto/9809/22/q_bankrate/

.....More Business stories at <http://cnnfn.com>

.....For market numbers see <http://CNNfn.com/markets>

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SPORTS from CNN/SI

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> SOSA, MCGWIRE BOTH HOMER, TIED AT 66

Sammy Sosa held the lead in the home run chase for a mere 42 minutes Friday night before Mark McGwire pulled even with a shot to left field against the Montreal Expos. Facing friend and fellow Dominican Jose Lima, Sosa lined an 0-1 pitch into the third deck in left-center field to lead off the fourth inning.

His 462-foot shot was his fourth in nine games against the Astros, and his third against Lima, who yielded Nos. 50 and 51 at Wrigley Field on August 23.

Astros fans cheer loudly as Sosa circles bases

.... <http://cnnsi.com/>

> YANKEES SET AL RECORD FOR WINS WITH NO. 112

The New York Yankees set the American League record for wins in a season Friday after routing Tampa Bay 6-1 for their 112th victory to surpass the '54 Indians in the record books. In the game, Bernie Williams overtook Boston's Mo Vaughn for the AL batting lead, and Derek Jeter became the first Yankees shortstop in nearly a half century to get 200 hits. "This season is special," Yankees manager Joe Torre said.

'We enjoy it'

.... http://cnnsi.com/baseball/mlb/news/1998/09/25/drays_yankees_25/

> GIANTS EASE INTO TIE FOR WILD CARD

The San Francisco Giants crowded the National League's wild-card race

Friday

with an 8-6 win against the Colorado Rockies. Both the Chicago Cubs and New

York Mets lost earlier in the evening, allowing the Giants to move into a

three-way tie for the playoff slot with only two games left in the season.

"It

was great to see the Cubs and Mets both had lost," Giants manager Dusty

Baker

said. The Mets lost to Atlanta 6-5, while Houston beat Chicago 6-2.

Down to 2 games

.... http://cnnsi.com/baseball/mlb/news/1998/09/25/giants_rockies/

> FRIENDS, FANS PAY RESPECTS TO FLOJO

Hundreds of friends and fans, some wearing running shoes, lined up outside

Angelus Funeral Home in Los Angeles as early as 5:15 a.m. to pay their last

respects to Florence Griffith Joyner. The 38-year-old sprinter, best known

for

her outrageous track outfits and long fingernails, dazzled the 1988 Seoul

Olympics with three gold medals. She died Monday at her home in Mission

Viejo,

California. The cause of her death is still unknown.

"I just loved her"

.... http://cnnsi.com/athletics/news/1998/09/25/flojo_mourners/

.....More Sports stories at <http://cnnsi.com>

.....For scores see <http://CNNSI.com/scoreboards>

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POLITICS from AllPolitics

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> MORE STARR DOCUMENTS ON THE WAY

The House Judiciary Committee met behind closed doors Friday to decide how

to

release more than 60,000 pages of material, as well as the infamous Linda

Tripp

tapes, that Independent Counsel Ken Starr sent to Congress as part of his

report on possible impeachable activities by President Bill Clinton. The

committee's executive session was expected to be a repeat of last week's

meeting where Republicans used their majority status to authorize the

release

of the first nearly 3,200 pages of material.

Transcripts of Jordan, Currie testimony

.... <http://cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1998/09/25/starr.report/>

> POLL: AMERICANS DON'T FAVOR IMPEACHMENT HEARINGS

Most Americans want their representative in Congress to vote against

launching

formal impeachment hearings when the Lewinsky controversy comes before the

full

House next month, according to a new CNN/TIME Poll. A majority of people

do not

want Clinton removed from office, and they also oppose Congress releasing

additional documents that Independent Counsel Ken Starr turned over when he

submitted his report to lawmakers earlier this month. The new CNN/TIME Poll

also found a majority of people surveyed oppose releasing the videotape of

Clinton's testimony in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case.

Backlash against GOP

.... <http://cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1998/09/25/poll/>

> HOUSE NEARS VOTE ON \$80 BILLION TAX CUT

The House is expected to vote Saturday on a five-year, \$80 billion tax cut

package that President Clinton has threatened to veto. The bill would draw

the

cuts from the \$1.6 trillion budget surplus forecast from the next decade.

Clinton has said he would veto any tax cuts drawing on the surplus. The tax measure would provide tax relief for farmers, married couples, working senior citizens, small business operators, people with modest savings accounts and students saving for private colleges.

Lott pledges bill will pass

.... <http://cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1998/09/26/tax.cuts.ap/>

> CLINTON SAYS CONGRESS STALLING ON LEGISLATION

President Clinton criticized congressional Republicans Friday for stalling

key

legislation until after the election. He said they have passed only one of

13

federal appropriations bills and is five months past the deadline on the

new

budget. He said Congress is lagging on "key national goals", including

education and health coverage. The president told reporters at the White

House

he signed an emergency "stopgap" bill to keep the government running when

the

new fiscal year starts October 1.

"GOP majority...has its priorities wrong"

.... <http://cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1998/09/25/clinton.budget/>

.....More Politics stories at <http://allpolitics.com>

.....Commentary & cartoons at <http://allpolitics.com/1998/analysis.html>

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## SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY

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> FDA OKS BREAKTHROUGH BREAST CANCER DRUG

Breast cancer patients won a breakthrough Friday when the Food and Drug Administration approved Herceptin, a genetically engineered drug that battles the gene-fueled growth of aggressive cancer. Herceptin is not for every woman with breast cancer. But for the 30 percent whose especially aggressive tumors are driven by a gene called HER2, adding Herceptin can substantially increase the chances of longer life.

A new age for cancer treatment

.... <http://cnn.com/HEALTH/9809/25/breast.cancer.drug/>

> AGOURON: LOWER DOSE ANTI-HIV DRUG WORKS

According to a 48-week study by Agouron Pharmaceuticals, their anti-HIV drug Viracept taken twice daily works as well as the lower three-times-daily dosage patients normally take. It showed a success rate of 80 percent for the 238 people taking Viracept as part of a drug cocktail. Agouron said a twice-daily dosage makes it easier for patients to take the medicine on time. The company said it hopes to petition the FDA by year's end to raise the approved dosage.

> RESEARCHERS HAVE NEW TOOL TO FIGHT "SUPERBUGS"

Researchers said Friday a new antibiotic, linezolid, is in final human trials and has cured more than 90 percent of patients of their infections. They said the drug sabotages cell ribosomes and RNA, the stage of DNA used to make essential proteins. A Harvard Medical School doctor said since the drug affects several genes, it's harder for the bacteria to develop resistance. Once makers Pharmacia & Upjohn complete Phase III clinical trials, it can seek Food and Drug Administration approval.

> EXPERIMENTAL DRUGS MAY MAKE FLU EASIER TO BEAR

An experimental new pill appears to reduce the usual four-day bout of the flu

to about a day and a half and makes you feel better while you have the ailment.

GS4104 is one of two closely related drugs in development-- one given as a pill, the other as a nasal spray -- that help combat the flu. Researchers in

San Diego, Calif., say it has an edge over two drugs already on the market because it is effective against the two major rarities of the flu virus.

.....More Sci-Tech stories at <http://cnn.com/TECH>

.....What's new in high-tech? See <http://CNN.com/TECH/index.html#tomtod>

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## SHOWBIZ

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> MUSIC FANS CELEBRATE GERSHWIN'S MANY CONTRIBUTIONS

A celebration of George Gershwin's life and music will reach a peak on Saturday

as the world celebrates his 100th birthday. The composer, who was said to

write

six songs a day to get the bad ones out of his system, died at the age of

38 in

1937 after a prolific career that saw him pen some 800 songs. A walking

tour of

locations associated with George and brother Ira Gershwin will be held in

Manhattan on his birthday, and National Public Radio will hold a 24-hour

tribute.

Movies and concerts too

.... <http://cnn.com/SHOWBIZ/Music/9809/25/gershwin/index.html>

> KIDS-ONLY TV DRAWING YOUNG VIEWERS

When many of today's parents were children themselves, "Father Knows Best"

was

one of TV's top shows, with Robert Young and Jane Wyatt personifying

parenthood. Good luck trying to find that kind of father figure on TV now,

though: Networks have found that minimizing the parent's part in shows, or

removing the folks altogether, is good for ratings. The trend comes as

debate

rages over what children should watch on TV, and whether their friends have

more influence on kids than their parents do.

'It's about finding out who you are'

.... <http://cnn.com/SHOWBIZ/TV/9809/25/tv.parents/>

> CELEBRITIES TO MARCH FOR CANCER RESEARCH

A celebrity-studded crowd is expected to take part in a weekend rally in Washington, D. C., to raise awareness and funds for cancer research. A march on

National Mall is scheduled for Saturday featuring model Cindy Crawford, singers

Aretha Franklin, Michael Bolton, David Crosby and Graham Nash and Olympic figure skater Scott Hamilton. Retired General Norman Schwarzkopf, a cancer survivor, is leading the event. Vice President Al Gore is also planning to take part.

> RUSSIANS FINALLY GET THEIR MTV

It took 17 years, but Russians are finally getting MTV. MTV Russia debuts Saturday at midnight Moscow time, and will be seen daily in more than 10 million households throughout Moscow and St. Petersburg. The free-to-air channel will be tailored to the music tastes and lifestyles of Russians 14 to 34 years old.

MTV debuted in U.S. in 1981

.... <http://cnn.com/SHOWBIZ/News/9809/25/showbuzz/index.html#story1>

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (TRP NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Weitzenkorn, Laurie ("Weitzenkorn, Laurie" [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-OCT-1998 14:21:16.00

SUBJECT: Article #2

TO: Noa A. Meyer (CN=Noa A. Meyer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

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Noa,

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04351983 SUPPLIER NUMBER: 19652889 (THIS IS THE FULL TEXT)

Why is there no feminism after communism?

Goldfarb, Jeffrey C.

Social Research , v64 , n2 , p235(23)

Summer, 1997

ISSN: 0037-783X LANGUAGE: English RECORD TYPE:

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WORD COUNT: 7842 LINE COUNT: 00637

ABSTRACT: Feminism is struggling to take hold in former Eastern Bloc countries. Western feminism is often misunderstood by Central and Eastern European women. The emerging civil and democratic society in Eastern Europe challenges women to make political and social contributions. However, the marginalizing of women amid the social empowerment of men in these countries could lead to a feminist

movement.

TEXT:

If the existence of feminism depended only on the existence of gender injustice, and the need to address it, feminism would be a thriving enterprise in Central Europe. Women are bearing a heavy burden in the so-called transition to democracy. They are experiencing a disproportionate level of unemployment. Their rights to abortions are threatened. A rebirth of traditionalism uses them to symbolize the values of home, hearth, and religious revival. They have lost social services. Their number has drastically dropped in parliamentary institutions. They still struggle with the burdens of the second shift, they have experienced high rates of domestic violence, and, in the war zones of the former Yugoslavia, they have been subjected to systematic campaigns of rape as acts of war.(1)

In addition to this well known list of burdens, the very act of constituting the new democratic polities has involved gross

injustices to women democratic heroes. This has been most striking in the case of Poland. There, the functioning of the Solidarity underground depended on the work of women. They were key figures in the underground press, led some of the regions of underground Solidarity and were in large part the underground network of transportation and communication that could not be repressed by the communist authorities. Yet, with very few exceptions, they almost immediately dropped out or were forced out of public life when a more open society was achieved. They themselves have been silent about the contributions they have made.(2)

This, then, is not fertile grounds for feminism. If the most politically active and effective women do not take credit for their actions, it would seem that feminism does not have much chance to develop.

Even one former woman oppositionist who has broken this general rule and

made an effort to tell this story of political accomplishment, Joanna

Szczesna, does not consider herself to be a feminist (Penn, 1994, p. 64),

underscoring the oddity of the situation. In a world where women have

accomplished a great deal and experience injustice, there is an open hostility to feminism.

Contrary to the official propaganda of the communists, there was

significant gender injustice in the old system, and contrary to the hopes

of democrats, liberals, and civil society advocates,(3) the injustice has

not only not disappeared during the so-called democratic transition, but in

certain ways it has even intensified: with the loss of even the pretense of

the ideal of sexual equality, and the real or at least threatened loss of

reproductive rights. Under the communists, equality was a fiction that

justified political oppression, for women and men generally, and for women,

particularly. The oppression of women was part and parcel of the oppression

of the society as a whole. With democratic reforms, the oppression is more

the outcome of the workings of the society, as it moves against the ideals

of equality, and as traditionalisms of various sorts reassert themselves.

This would seem to be a most fertile ground for a feminist movement,

but
there is none, or more precisely, the feminism that does exist is of
a
relatively marginalized elite, with little broad-based societal
support,
not even supported, as we have noted, by accomplishment women
activists.

But much more is involved in the making of a feminist movement
than
the existence of gender injustice. The injustice must be
collectively
perceived, and the way of acting on the perception would have to
take a
certain form, conducive to the development of a feminist
worldwide.(4)

There is an opening for intellectual intervention by Western
feminists,
which can, though, easily lead to misunderstanding and resentments.

This
involves both the strange characteristics of the situation of women
in

Central Europe and the equal oddities of Western feminism as a
political
orientation and movement. Telescoping my answer to the somewhat
illogical
question posed in the title of this article, I believe the absence,
or at

least relative weakness, of feminism in East and Central Europe ,

has

less to do with the "feminine," the present situation of women in
that part

of the world, and more to do with the "ism," the way the problems of
women

have been understood by Western feminists and have been applied to
the

situation of the former communist countries. The problematic
relationship

between political intellectuals and the public is at issue,
especially as

intellectuals transverse the boundaries of political cultures. The
theoretical question of the proper relationship between theory and
political experience is at issue.

Wondering why there is no feminism in Central Europe ,
ironically, echoes the old socialist concern as to why there is no
socialism in America. Both questions suggest a worldview that takes
the

existence of a certain social and political movement to be natural,
its

absence needing explanation. Intellectuals raise such questions
because of

their strangeness, their distance from the concerns and perceptions
of

their compatriots.(5) Inspired by the insights of a particular
political or

social theory, a philosophy of history, a political experience

elsewhere,

they know that something ought to be the case, and if it is not, it needs

explanation. Why, after all, should there have been socialism in America?

The assumption was that the socialist movement was the natural outgrowth of

the injustices of capitalism. Since it was so, following the insights of

Marxist theory and European experience, the task was to explain the absence. The theory led to a question that seemed pressing, a perception

that now is only of historical interest. Theory led to a kind of ignorance

of the actual conditions of workers and their attempts to organize and act

according to their own understanding of their interests. Given the general

loss of legitimacy of socialism as a systemic alternative to capitalism,

the question no longer makes much sense apart from the historical interest

involved. Could feminism be like socialism in this way?

Explanations for the absence of feminism in Central Europe held

by Western feminists include: the theoretical allergies Central

European

women have to Marxist and psychoanalytically inspired feminism,
along with

the ignorance of Central Europeans to postmodern and
poststructuralist

theories, theories central to contemporary feminism
(Smejkalova-Strickland,

1993, pp. 13-17); the antifeminism of oppositionalist politics as it
interacted with official politics;(6) and the patriarchal character
of the

liberal democracy being instituted in that part of the world
(Watson,

1993). Sympathetic observers from the region explain the problem
differently. They point out that the family orientation of the men
and

women of the region does not lead to a sense of intragender
solidarity.

Feminism in one account appears as a manifestation of individualism
that is

lacking in the region (Marody, 1993). Feminism appears as a foreign
ideology, looking dangerously like other, sometimes unwanted,
imports, such

as McDonalds, Coca Cola, and Hollywood films (Siklova, 1993). The
feminist

criticism of private life and the questioning of the
responsibilities and

prerogatives of women in the private domain seem to cast into doubt

the
arena of highest accomplishment and value to Central European women
and
men, who have become convinced that politics is synonymous with
corruption
and human degradation. The emancipation of women brought by the
communists
is viewed as a failure, and renewed talk about such emancipation is
viewed
with suspicion. For many women, a life dedicated to the family and
the home
is much more desirable than enforced public engagement. And when
those
suggesting such engagement are obviously influenced by Marxism, and
still
seem to speak in its language of liberation, exploitation, and
internationalism, as Western feminists do, they are rejected not
only as
aliens, but as representatives of a worn-out politics that has been
central
to past oppression. In the words of Laura Busheikin, Western
feminist
working for an extended time in Prague, "there's a traditional
refusal that
is already part of the East European psyche -- refusal of
propaganda,
ideology, political messianism, of big liberatory ideas" (Busheikin,

1993,

p. 70).

The resistance to feminism involves a reaction against stereotypes of

Western feminism and a commitment to traditional ideas about gender relations, and a suspicion of the form, as well as the content, of

Western

feminism (it is presented too much like the discredited official ideology).

A suspicion that feminism is like other antiliberal emancipatory politics

turns women away from it. Yet, as with the old question about socialism,

the answers to the question about feminism's absence ignore the presence of

the political engagement of women in ways that are somewhat different than

those of the West. It assumes that a Western style mobilization is natural

and does not pay sufficient attention to the different ways that women are

becoming politically engaged. There was a great deal of social agitation

against the evils of capitalism in America that did not appear as being

sufficiently socialist to European observers. Could Western observers be

misunderstanding the engagement of women in Central Europe in a similar way?

Western Feminism Meets Civil Society

There are many Western feminists of good will who have done good work

with women of the new democracies. These intellectual activists have helped

establish centers of gender studies, such as the one in Prague. They have

provided advice for the establishment of the Rape and Abuse Hotline of

Women Against Violence in the former Yugoslavia. They have sponsored international conferences on the problems women face in the region.

Feminist intellectuals, like experts on constitutions, economic development, and the universities, among a great many others (including

religious missionaries), are attracted to the region for a variety of

motives: some because they see the possibility of spreading the good word,

the truth; others find the novelty of the political situation of the region

to be intellectually interesting, a chance to observe up close, and maybe

even influence, monumental historic changes; a few may be open to the

notion that the experience of the people in the region has something to teach them about their own theoretical and political concerns, and hope for political partnership. A combination of all these motives is usually present.

For those in the region who are most antagonistic to feminism, the image of a new internationale, representing the decadence of the West, or at least its silliness, is most conveniently imagined to characterize

Western feminists. They are viewed as being secular missionaries of the left, irresponsible intellectuals viewed as the conservative Paul Johnson

depicts the type, only these are women (Johnson, 1988). They appear to be

foreign and threatening, and are attacked and dismissed. Those who are

deeply conservative, traditionally religious, and nationalist, as in the

West, are antagonistic to feminism, and view feminist intellectual interventions in the most negative light. But what about the liberals and

the more culturally secular and sophisticated? How do the supporters of the

democratic opposition and the ideals of civil society respond to feminist

ideas? And how do feminists respond to their response? These questions

provide an opportunity to consider the way the ideals of civil society and

the critics of these ideals can resolve the incompatibility of their opposing positions politically, but not theoretically.

Mira Marody is a well established Polish sociologist and social

psychologist. On the occasion of an extended visit to the United States,

she wrote a reflective essay entitled: "Why I Am Not a Feminist."

Her essay

is not one of those postfeminist attacks on feminism with which we in the

West are now quite familiar. Rather, hers was an attempt to turn the tables

on the question, Why there is no feminism in the East? By asking the equally interesting question, Why is there feminism in the West? She reformulates the question in an objective social scientific manner, asking:

Under what conditions does a sexual identity become a gender identity? When and why do the differences between men and women stop being perceived by the individual as natural and biologically grounded and begin being treated as socially maintained? Is it only a problem of individuals'

"enlightenment"

or can we point at specific social factors which promote or inhibit

the development of "feminist consciousness"? (1993, p. 855).

Her answers to these questions lead to a critical appraisal of what

she takes to be the universal claims of Western feminism.

Marody is reacting to what she sees as the unusual aspects of the feminist stance. Any particular position held by women to be in their

interests is not necessarily understood as being feminist. Feminism embraces a set of enlightened positions: gender equality in political,

economic, cultural, and family life;(7) liberation from what are understood to be patriarchal definitions of women's nature and place;(8)

and a questioning of male-centered heterosexual understandings of sexuality.(9) Marody writes about the problem of feminism without subscribing to this battery of commitments. Rather, she asks what are the

social conditions that foster the development of these commitments.

She understands the problems that women in the postcommunist situation face

quite differently than would feminists. Thus, for example, she views the

strikingly high rate of abortion in a Catholic society, such as

Poland, as

a significant social problem. She sees it as evidence that "women pay most of the cost of sexual liberation" (1993, p. 857).

Among Western feminists, the problem of abortion is understood as the problem of the right to choose, the right to control one's own body and reproductive fate. My guess is that Marody would agree with their position.

But because she judges on the grounds of her compatriots' experience and perceptions, she also sees that the high rate of abortion is a burden upon

women, an indication of the nation's neglect of women. She reports that

although there is acceptance of extramarital sex by 60 percent of the population, and only 3 percent negatively evaluated giving birth out of

wedlock, and divorce was accepted by 40 percent of the population (all

indications of changing sexual attitudes and practices), women are subjected to the traumas of abortion at an extremely high rate. She does

not infer from this that abortion should be criminalized, but she does

question the interaction between changed sexual practices and a societal

neglect of birth control.

Marody takes a historical view. She notes that the women of Poland,

like the women of many other places and other times, may be dissatisfied or

even rebel against their fate, but they do so against their female fate,

not against a society that treats them in unequal ways. They are more

concerned with the health and freedom of their families, which have been

politicized by the communists, with the protection of the private domain

against public invasion, than with the protection of their own individual

rights against the injustices of the family itself. To her mind, Western

feminism is predicated upon an individualistic point of view that is foreign to Polish concerns. Western feminists, no doubt, see

Marody's

position as one that justifies patriarchy. She does seem to assume the

individual autonomy of men and only question the autonomy of women.

She

overlooks the often brutal conditions of family life. But, who is to

say

that focus on the family and the protection of private life against public

incursions is mistaken, especially when the people who seek the protection

have experienced the systematic invasion of privacy for two generations or

more?

Marody concludes with a challenging observation:

For American feminists, the most important goal in life seems to

be the defense of their right to socially supported individual development. On the contrary, Polish women have a tendency to subordinate their own individual development to family goals, which they try to achieve by using private methods and tricks.

Both attitudes contain in themselves their own negation. In Poland, we observe a growing disorganization of family life which accumulates socially neglected problems of individuals, whereas many American feminists seem to pay for the equality of their social rights with increasing private problems, a

great

many of which have their source in the disintegration of their families. Whatever may be said about the future of women in both societies, I cannot agree that a solution to their

problems

lies in the forced choice between (the) individual's rights

and

happy family life (1993, p. 864).

It is hard to imagine any serious feminist, from the West or the

East, believing that such a forced choice is the solution, given the nature

of family commitments in Eastern Europe. To be sure, the traditional structure and power relations of the family have been the subject of feminist critiques, but, there is room within the feminist position for an

appreciation of the deep and enduring relationships of the family.

Nonetheless, the way the family is understood by Marody is problematic from

a feminist point of view. It embodies patriarchy that feminists know must

be confronted if women's rights are to be successfully pursued. Yet, talk

about different sorts of family relations, which such a confrontation

implies, from the East European point of view, seems to be not only undesirable, but dangerously utopian. There is a real theoretical impasse.

From the point of view of the feminist West, the common sense of the ordinary East European, which Marody reports and agrees with, is sexist;

from the East European point of view, the feminist critique of the family,

along with its theoretical resemblance in form and content to

discredited

ideologies, is unacceptable. For reasons based in lived experience, feminism, even when addressing the real concerns of women, does not provide

a way of understanding or acting in the world, especially when it comes

wrapped in a theoretically questionable package. Consider, further, the

intervention of Josef Skvorecky on the issue of sexual harassment and date rape.

Skvorecky is a distinguished emigre Czech novelist and cultural and

political activist. The author of the acclaimed *The Engineer of Human Souls*

and *The Bass Saxophone*, he has also played a major role as the publisher of

a Czech publishing house, 68, that helped keep Czech literature alive

during the most repressive period of the Communist regime. His works have

often focused on the cultural distance between the political East and the

political West. In an article he wrote for the Czech weekly *Respekt*, "Can

There Be Sex without Rape?" (1992) he continues his task of cross cultural

commentary.

His opening sentence summarizes his position: "The worst thing that

can happen to a good idea is to have some fanatic, a la Lenin, make it the

basis of an ideology." He purports to value the fundamental wisdom of

feminism, recognizing that the equal treatment of women in all aspects of

private and public life is a worthy idea, but he maintains that this idea

has been transformed into the notion of the superiority of women. He provocatively writes about the new ideology of "lesboid feminism," which

views sexual intercourse as a crime. It expands, to his mind unacceptably,

the unambiguous definition of the crime of rape, in which sexual intercourse has been forced on a woman by physical violence. Two new sorts

of rape have been added to the traditional understanding (in which the

signs of physical coercion by a stranger can be clearly discerned): when a

woman having a sexual relationship with a man is physically forced to have

sex with him when she does not desire it, and when a man uses verbal coercion, without even touching the woman, until she agrees to have

sex.

This is the way that Skvorecky understands acquaintance rape and date rape.

He believes that seduction and rape have come to be confused by these new

feminist understandings. He makes some troubling comments about Mike Tyson,

Clarence Thomas, and American male bonding, declaring "So it is no wonder

that in North America, more and more young men would rather go for a beer

than on a date." He concludes that "It is no wonder that among girls one

increasingly hears the lament, 'Why is it that all men I come into contact

with are either wimps, married or fairies?'"

The article plays into the antifeminist prejudices and homophobia of

the Czech audience, and, as should be expected, was viewed quite negatively

by the feminists of Prague.(10) It seemed to them that Skvorecky's piece

was part of a trend to print antifeminist articles to intimidate people, an

attempt to prevent feminism from influencing Czech women. Taken together

with articles that celebrate the contribution of traditional women

to

history, the negative articles, it seems to the local feminists, are aimed

at convincing women that they have a considerable stake in the traditional

order of society. They further worry that the discussions about feminist

issues, which are very new to the Czech public, are being framed by the

antagonistic Skvorecky, who is a major cultural figure on the Czech cultural landscape. His authority comes from his work as an oppositionist

public intellectual and a distinguished novelist. The hero of the dissident

civil society works against the struggles of Czech feminists.

The cultural editor of Respekt maintains that she published the

article in order to provoke public discussion, and she was pleased that the

article did indeed open public debate about the issues of feminism.

But the

journal's critics point out that this debate is one that is distorted by

the unequal authority of the competing voices. The prevailing attitudes

toward feminism and the authority of feminism's critic make a free and open

discussion next to impossible. The Czech feminists realized that if the article were published in Canada, where Skvorecky is a professor of literature at the University of Toronto, his "bluntly stated sexist views"

would have been met with protest and derision, Laura Busheikin reports.

While in the Czech Republic, his critics have little power to criticize his

position head on, in the West, political correctness might not allow for

the open discussion of Skvorecky's position, Busheikin seems to inadvertently imply. The point is that in both North America and in East

and Central Europe, open intellectual discussion about the issues and

problems feminism presents is not an easy matter. The existence of a newly

formed or a well-established civil public life does not automatically do

the trick.

Skvorecky's position on date rape and acquaintance rape may be old

fashioned and incorrect. Indeed, his representation of feminism reveals a

fundamental misogyny and is particularly unfortunate because of the way he

collapses feminism as a general phenomenon into its most objectionable form. He erases the liberal element that is a core component of the feminist tradition. He has unleashed a backlash to feminism without there even being a movement to react against. Here we have a corollary to the antisemitism without the Jews that has been characteristic of the political culture of Central Europe after the Holocaust. Nonetheless, there is something to his argument. There are ideological tendencies in the feminist movement. There are those who call for a purity of position and view all who are opposed as enemies, those who understand the family exclusively as a repressive institution, and those who crusade against pornography, who view all concerned with freedom of speech as complicit in rape (see Dworkin and Mackinnon, 1988). As someone who has suffered from the abuses of ideology, it should not be surprising that Skvorecky reacts so strongly to these tendencies among feminists, and feels responsible to address the public on the subject. That he has done so in an awkward, even a hateful,

manner, in a way that may serve to undermine the capacity of a feminism to establish itself, has to do with the gulf between the experience that gave rise to feminism in the West and the experience of the general public and the intellectuals of the former communist countries. There is a political gulf that separates people of good will and guarantees misunderstandings and tensions. The ideals of a free public life in civil society do not seem to have room for feminism.

Marody's analysis and Skvorecky's polemics, thus, suggest that the gulf between feminists and Central European democrats is unbridgeable, apparently confirming what some radical critics maintain with assurance, that liberal democracy is a form of oppression, in this case patriarchy, something to be dismissed or overthrown, part of the problem, not the solution. But if we look closer at the activities of feminist intellectuals

in the region another conclusion does seem in order.

Women Inform Civil Society

The resistance to feminism in the new democracies of Central Europe has an organizational dimension, along with the already discussed ideological dimension. This also involves a reaction to communist experience. Supporting the official ideology, there was an elaborate institutional system, which brought the official truth into the everyday life of ordinary people. These were the structures of mass mobilization, the infamous conveyor belts of official ideology: from official industrial unions to peasant associations, to writers unions, to peace and women's movements. Women activists seem to be reluctant to establish a centralized women's organization or movement, especially one that is unified through an agreed upon ideology, because they fear that it would resemble the organizations and movements of the recent past. Without the experience of totalitarianism, feminists in the West are much less reluctant to establish national and international coordination of political action. Yet, it is striking that women intellectuals of the new democracies, nonetheless, are developing organized responses to the new problems they are facing.

There

are dozens of women's resource centers, women studies programs and research

institutes throughout the former Soviet Bloc: in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and beyond.

The form and normative commitment of these responses in Central

Europe seem to be informed by the culture of the democratic opposition to

the communists, and in an important way seem to keep that culture alive. As

Elzbieta Matynia has observed, in the course of the 1990s, in Warsaw, Budapest, Prague, and Bratislava -- places where the political scene is more and more

frequently looked upon with disappointment and disgust--one has also been able to detect the reemergence of a public-spirited

ethos exemplified more often than not by certain individual women and women's groups in parliaments and beyond. Such an ethos combines the experience and civic commitment of former dissidents (from the democratic opposition of the 1970s and 1980s) with the readiness to address imaginatively the unfamiliar challenges of new political and economic circumstances.

These women are beginning to be respected by both the broader public and the political elites either because of--or in

spite of--their commitment to women's issues.(11)

In Hungary and Poland almost immediately after the fall of communism,

reproductive rights were challenged. Women first organized to defend these

rights in and outside of Parliament. Publications followed, first focusing

on the specific experiences of women under communism. Women realized that

the dream to join Europe provided leverage for the articulation of grievances. Just as the Helsinki agreement had provided an opening for the

pursuit of human rights in the 1970s and 1980s, the standards of the European Community and the Council of Europe concerning the equality between men and women are used to press for change in constitutional arrangements. The immediate success of these efforts may not be assured,

but neither were the activities of the Helsinki Watch Committees of the late 1970s.

The Meeting Place and Foundation ROSA in Prague, supported by the

Gender Studies Center, provoke public discussions about the problems of

elderly and divorced women. These groups also support a hotline and resource center for female victims of violence. Women are brought together

in conferences, seminars, and lectures, and they work to put on the political agenda the special problems of women.

In Bratislava, the women's journal, *Aspekt*, with filial connections

to the Public Against Violence, the major post-1989 period, works to accomplish the same end of enriching public deliberations in Slovakia.

In Hungary, two significant national associations concern themselves

with the issues of women. The Association of Hungarian Women was formed in

1989, as a successor of the Women's Council, which was an old communist

conveyor. The Feminist Network includes a small number of Westerners as

active and visible members. The first group provokes distrust because of

its too intimate connections with the past, the second because of its too

intimate connections with the West. But the latter group is adopting a new

strategy, becoming a network of projects with some distance from the foreign and ideological sounding label of feminism. They are turning increasingly to more straightforward descriptive names and activities, such

as Women for Women Against Domestic Violence and the Women's House.

Apparently by adopting this approach, there is an attempt to reach

beyond

the relatively narrow circles of academia and the urban cultural

elite to

which these groups are generally confined. Feminist intellectuals

are

trying to meet the public on its terms, eschewing vanguardism.

In Poland, the legacy of the oppositional civil society seems

to be a

factor that extends the influence of women's groups, Matynia

reports.

Discussion about women's issues in Poland are less driven by Western

experience, more an outgrowth of indigenous issues. The

controversies with

the Church, particularly over the question of abortion, are central.

Women's groups are related through horizontal structures, reacting

against

communist organizational principles and recreating the principles of

organization of Solidarity, both legal and underground. Women played

a key

role in the organizational activities then, and women with

experience of

organizational action are concerning themselves with women's issues

now.

National organizational activities are constrained by the

complicated

authority of the Catholic Church in Polish life, with the population

often

at odds with the Church in its attitudes to political questions, but unwilling to defy the Church openly and in an organized and coordinated

fashion. The decentralized organization of women leads to some limited

influence in Parliament, the development of a wide range of cultural initiatives, and the attempt to defend women against unjust economic burdens. The goal is to enter civil society as a coordinated group of

voluntary associations, and support and shape civil society in the process.

Matynia concludes:

women's movements are gaining a firm foothold in much of East and Central Europe, stimulating growth and development of civil society. If successful, they may not only get women's issues

onto the official agendas of their respective governments and parliaments, but they may also influence the very process of democratization in their societies (1995, p. 403).

The expectation that feminism could be imported to Eastern and Central Europe with the same ideological and organizational form and content, not surprisingly, has not been sustained, but women's movements

are developing as a part of the indigenous political culture. These movements are informed and supported by Western feminists and feminism,

but, as this happens, the movements have something to say to their

Western

colleagues. Their activists' allergy to ideology is not only an idiosyncrasy of the victims of communism, which make them unreceptive to

good Western theory. It has meaning and is a criticism of the ideological

foundations and tendencies of at least some Western feminists. Their understanding that an identity movement contributes to and does not work

against the ideal of civil society also is an important insight.

But a serious set of problems remain: are the initiatives mentioned

here and the dozens, if not hundreds, of similar initiatives definitive of

the situation of women and feminism in the emerging democracies of East and

Central Europe? Or, is the observable deterioration of the status of women

definitive.? Is the optimism of Matynia warranted? The way one answers

these questions is, to be sure, a matter of sensibility as much as a matter

of evidence, but there are disturbing patterns that must be recognized.

The emergence of an open civil society and the free public life in

the former communist societies has included, as we have already

observed, a

diminishing status of women. This provides the opening for the interpretation that the diminishing status of women in the emerging democracies is a necessary part of the structures of liberal democracies.

This argument has taken on rather stale Marxist and antiliberal forms.

Capitalism can do no good, and the collapse of communism is nothing more

than an ascendance of capitalism. A free public life and civil society are

but facades for the underlying realities of capitalism. Patriarchy is a

necessary component of a abhorrent retrogressive social formation.

But this

interpretation also can be presented with care and challenges both our

understanding of the situation of women after the fall of communism and our

understanding of the possibility of intellectual action in democratic society.

Peggy Watson (1993, 1992, forthcoming) argues that the emergence of

the autonomous public sphere is based on the political differentiation of

postcommunist societies. Under communism, men and women were equally

disenfranchised. They equally lacked political citizenship. The absence of women in political life, after the fall of communism, entails the mobilization of difference between men and women that was irrelevant under communism. This, she argues, should be understood as part of a more general process that includes the emergence of nationalism and ethnic strife.

People used to be all in the same boat, equally disempowered by communist domination, and now some are taking the helm and some are being thrown overboard.

Contrary to civil society theorists, Watson emphasizes that "civil society mobilizes those self-same differences which subvert its universal ideal" (forthcoming). She takes as telling that the emergent zones of free

public life include men and not women. The transformation of public and

private assigns women exclusively to the private zone. The democratization

of the countries of Central Europe has meant the empowerment of men, leading to "a rise of masculinism." But as women are marginalized, systematically excluded from the public sphere, the opportunity for

feminism emerges, as well. The traditional social inequalities between men and women that the communists did not transform are now institutionalized in redefined public and private spheres, politicizing subordination, but also politicizing resistance to subordination. The distance between Western feminists and their Eastern counterparts would seem then to be diminishing.

Thus, while Matynia sees the rise of women's groups as an outgrowth of the democratic oppositions in East and Central Europe, Watson sees these developments as a movement against the male democratic intellectuals in power.

Matynia emphasizes the commitments that male and female democratic activists share to the opening of a free public sphere and a civil society, while Watson maintains that the actually emerging public space excludes

women as part of a continuing and recurring social process. The political implications of these contrasting diagnoses are great. Matynia points to the legitimate expansion of the democratic consensus to include the

special

problems of women. Watson criticizes the patriarchal character of the

emerging political consensus, as we have seen revealed in the writings of

Marody and Skvorecky, and points to the need for feminist solidarity in

opposition to the political consensus. With an appreciation of the deliberative contribution of intellectuals to political life,(12) it becomes clear that the theoretical resolution of Matynia's and Watson's

competing analyses is not desirable. The tension between their competing

positions should be articulated and addressed politically, not resolved

theoretically. Intellectuals and scholars, such as Watson and Matynia, will

have competing positions to present, opening time and space for deliberation. It is the purview for the political actors to act and resolve

the tensions in their competing positions. Learning from both positions in

the case of feminism in East and Central Europe, they will act within

the legal framework of the emerging democracies, extending Matynia's approach both in their acceptance of the legitimacy of the new democratic

orders and in their activities of coalition building with and
against the
new authorities, and, working with the approach of a Watson, they
will
attempt to forge a new understanding of the nature of contemporary
and
historical patriarchy and the need for a feminist consciousness and
social
movement. The best question is not, Why is there no feminism after
communism? but, How are women confronting the problems of building a
civil
democratic order? The task for intellectuals is to stimulate
informed
conversation about these problems. The task for democratic actors is
to
address the dilemmas politically.

Notes

(1) This summary statement concerning the situation of women in
the
former East Bloc is drawn from an essay by Ann Snitow "Feminist
Futures in
the Former East Bloc," 1993, p. 40. I have learned a great deal
about
feminism after communism from Snitow. Together, we have had an
opportunity
to view up close the complexities and dilemmas in the emerging
democracies

in a special summer program on democracy and diversity convened each summer

in Cracow, Poland. She and I yearly are sure to have a discussion about the

issue of identity politics and democratic culture. This has led to public

dialogue. We reach, it seems to me, no definitive conclusions, only sensitizing doubts about our most fundamental political commitments.

I

understand this article to be a continuation of our dialogue and gratefully

acknowledge her assistance and contributions to my understanding of the

relationship between the condition of women and the prospects of democracy.

(2) One case illustrates the oddity of the situation. Danuta Winiarska

led the Lublin region's Solidarity underground. She knew that no one would

take her seriously as a woman, so she invented an imaginary man whom she

claimed to represent. She acted in his name and coordinated the underground's action. After about a year, she found that she could no

longer work without the physical presence of "Abramczyk." At that time, she

arranged for an acquaintance, recently released from political

internment

from another region of Poland, to play the Abramczyk role. After the collapse of communism, he actually gave interviews describing his leadership of the Lublin region, without even mentioning his "loyal assistant" Winiarska. The marginalization of Winiarska's political engagement after the fall of communism was anticipated by the form of her public engagement in the opposition. She, like many women oppositionists, worked in the shadows, not visible to the general public, reenforcing traditional notions about the place of women. Her male puppet's pretense to have had an opposition life of his own making was but an extension of Winiarska's decision to act behind the scene, and this is being further extended by her decision, along with the majority of other women democratic oppositionists, not to tell the story of their political accomplishments.

As far as they are concerned, their's was a supporting role required at the moment, not worth retelling. See Penn, 1994.

(3) I am referring here most explicitly to civil society advocates in the West. It is an open question whether the advocates of civil society in

the region concerned themselves with the issue of gender justice at all. A

lack of serious thought seems to have been the norm; sometimes even open

hostility was apparent.

(4) For a telling historical study of how it comes to pass that an

inequality is perceived by people as a injustice see Barrington Moore, Jr.

(1978).

(5) It is my general thesis concerning the intellectuals that they are

a special sort of stranger in the sense of Georg Simmel, both of a place

and apart from it due to the abnormal attention they pay to their critical

facilities. For an elaboration of this position, see my Civility and Subversion: The Intellectual in Demoratic Society, forthcoming.

(6) Peggy Watson, 1993; for a supportive detailed position from Hungary, see Joanna Goven, 1993.

(7) This is the great theme of the first wave feminism of the nineteenth century and the commitment of liberal feminism in the twentieth

century. Mary Wollstonecraft's classic, A Vindication of the Rights of

Women, articulates this position, as does John Stuart Mill's The Subjugation of Women. More recent feminists who focus on this

position

include such equal rights advocates as Supreme Court Justice Ruth

Bader

Ginsburg.

(8) This is the theme of the second wave of feminism, born in the

postwar period. A classic opening salvo in this development was

Simone de

Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1993). In the United States, Betty

Friedan's *The*

Feminine Mystique (1974) opened the way to a new feminism that was

accelerated by women activists of the New Left. They greatly

expanded the

scope and depth of feminist investigation, criticism, and action,

considering such issues as the relationship between gender and

racial and

class injustice, alternative theologies, critiques of the law and

scholarship, and educational and social welfare institutions. For an

intriguing insiders account of the development of the second wave

from the

inside, see Ann Snitow, 1990.

(9) The classic work is Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1980).

Her

position has been further extended from a variety of alternative

positions,

see, for example, Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and

Lesbian

Existence" (1980), Andrea Dworkin, Pornography: Men Possessing Women
(1981), and Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson,
eds.,

Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality (1983).

(10) The feminist reaction to the Skvorecky article is reported
in

Laura Busheikin, "Sex and Czechs" (1993).

(11) Matynia, 1995, has documented the dialogic qualities of
the

developing women's movements in Slovakia, the Czech Republic,
Hungary and

Poland. The discussion of the contribution of feminism to the ideal
of

civil society here draws heavily upon Matynia's research.

(12) It is the primary thesis of my forthcoming book, Civility
and

Subversion, that the intellectuals' special democratic contribution
to

democratic societies is to facilitate dialogue about society's
pressing

problems, both as they establish the possibility of informed civil
discussion and as they subvert easy common wisdoms that make the

discussion

of society's problems impossible. Matynia and Watson together
highlight

these two roles.

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Feminism in Central and Eastern Europe : risks and possibilities of

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Olsen, Frances Elisabeth

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ABSTRACT: US feminists involved in promoting women's rights in Central and Eastern Europe risk falling into the Western pattern of condescension and superiority, but progress can be made by acknowledging the mutual benefits that are possible through cooperation. The transitions going on in Eastern and Central Europe have harmed many women. Economic supports, physical safety and reproductive rights have been undermined. Thoughtful engagement with women of these nations in addressing structural barriers to equality will help US women to better understand inequality at home.

TEXT:

Alice described the Looking-glass House: "First, there's the room you can see through the glass-that's just the same as our drawing-room, only the things go the other way.... (T)he books are something like our books, only the words go the wrong way."(1) As the looking glass was hanging right over the fireplace, Alice could not see whether the Looking-glass House really had a fireplace with a fire in it, as their roo

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did. "(Y)ou never can tell, you know, unless our fire smokes, and then smoke comes up in that room too -- but that may be only pretense, just to

make it look as if they had a fire."(2) When she entered the Looking-glass

House, the fireplace was the first thing Alice checked, and "she was quite

pleased to find that there was a real (fire), blazing away as brightly as

the one she had left behind."(3) But as she began looking about, she "noticed that what could be seen from the old room was quite common and uninteresting, but that all the rest was as different as possible."(4)

Some Western observers see the countries of Central and Eastern Europe much as Alice saw the Looking-glass House: The stodgy supporters of the status quo are the Communists; the local Catholic Church

hierarchy extols the value of democracy; and every election results in a decrease in the number of women representatives in government.(5)

Westerners often wonder whether the notion of women's equality, extolled b

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these governments for some forty-odd years,(6) was merely a pretense or whether, like the fireplace fire, it will turn out to have been blazing away brightly. They may wonder how much in these countries is actually "common and uninteresting" and how much of what was previously unseen may

turn out to be "as different as possible." Like Alice, Westerners are likely to slip easily from the view that things in Central and Eastern Europe "go the other way" to the view that they "go the wrong way."

Europe was not separated by a looking glass, but by the "iron curtain" that Winston Churchill announced in 1946 had "descended across" Europe "(from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic)." (7) This

"iron curtain" was thought to divide Europe between the advanced Western democracies and the more backward countries floundering under the shadow o

f the Soviet Union, referred to by Churchill as "these Eastern States of Europe." (8) This division of Europe into East and West mirrored the "Orientalist" (9) division of the world between the advanced West and the backward East, and reinforced the self-definition of Western Europe as modern and democratic. (10) In reality, of course, Switzerland did not allo

w women to vote, (11) and Spain was a fascist dictatorship. (12)

f With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the substantial changes in Central and Eastern Europe, the "iron curtain" is gone. Yet the division o

Europe between East and West remains almost as stark as ever. The cultural and political condescension toward Eastern Europe during the Cold War era

may be replaced by a similar condescension toward the countries in transition. (13) Although it might be argued that the changes since the transitions began in 1989 have made "the very idea of Eastern Europe, as a

distinct geopolitical entity for focused academic analysis ... dubious and

equivocal," (14) habits of thought persist. Moreover, the legacy of the "iron curtain" provides many bases that link together the countries of the

region. (15)

The situation of women throughout most of Central and Eastern Europe

has in many respects worsened since the transition. (16) In most of the countries, unemployment is generally high and especially high among women. (17) Discrimination against women has increased as governments have

failed to enforce existing antidiscrimination provisions (18) and some conservative and nationalist regimes have even promoted discriminatory policies to limit women's roles. (19) The transition to a market economy ha

s precipitated a decline in social and public services, including sharp decreases in the availability of child care facilities. (20) Sexual abuse and domestic violence appear to be increasing, and little is being done to

stop them. (21) Reproductive freedom has become a serious issue in a number

of countries, with several governments proposing or enacting laws against

abortion. (22) Prostitution is on the rise, and the working conditions of women and girls in prostitution are especially harsh and dangerous. (23)

As the wall came down, Americans and Western Europeans began to flock to Central and Eastern Europe. These flocks included entrepreneurs o

f various kinds, opportunists, do-gooders, religious missionaries, and others, including feminists.(24) The feminists, not surprisingly, have bee

n particularly interested in the role and status of women and how the transition affects that role and status. This Essay examines the situation

of women in Central and Eastern Europe from a (West) European-American perspective, and explores the value and risks of this perspective and of American feminist work in Central and Eastern Europe in general. My goal i

s to improve communication and increase the effectiveness of the exchanges between women from the United States (and perhaps Western Europe)(25) and

women from Central and Eastern Europe. While some of these gestures at global sisterhood have been productive,(26) the exchange has also been lopsided and inadvertently accompanied by a patronizing attitude that reduces its usefulness to women in Central and Eastern Europe and limits the value of the experience to women in the United States. This Essay seek

s to understand and thus to decrease the factors that limit the effectiveness of efforts at international women's alliances. It addresses

in a concrete context a number of issues that have received considerable theoretical attention: cultural imperialism, cultural relativism, international feminism, universalism, essentialism, and the possibilities

of international feminist politics.(27)

Although Central and Eastern Europe has never been the focus of my work, or even of my international work, my associations with the region go

back thirty years.(28) In 1967, I visited most of the countries of Central

and Eastern Europe,(29) including a week-long study tour of Poland organized by the Danish Social Democrats. In the early spring of 1989, before the transition, I was in Hungary for a ten-day lecture tour.(30) I

made several trips to Yugoslavia before the transition and in Croatia observed the referendum on independence held in May 1991. In addition, I have presented numerous lectures, consulted with academics and activists,

and visited a wide variety of institutions in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and the former East Germany. I maintain close ties with the University of

Berlin (Humboldt), where a program on feminist law I initiated and nurture

d is now in its fourth year.(31) In the fall of 1996, I conducted a concentrated course on feminist legal theory at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, presented numerous additional lectures, gave interviews, and consulted with academics, politicians, judges, feminist activists, and others.

Part I of this Essay briefly examines the basic notion of "Central

and Eastern Europe." Although perhaps an improvement on "Eastern Europe,"

the category nevertheless conceptualizes the region as different from and

inferior to Western Europe. Like so many other oppressive constructions, however, the concept should be utilized at the same time that it is deconstructed. Part II considers the classic critiques of Western feminism

and how they might apply to the activities of American feminists working i

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Central and Eastern Europe. While agreeing with many of these critiques, I

argue that a number of bases for alliance among women exist and that forging such alliances is a particularly important feminist project. Part

III examines some of the lessons that can be learned from Central and Eastern Europe and suggests that American women need to recognize that working abroad serves their own self-interest. By acknowledging as much, women can begin to counteract the hypocrisy and pervasive domination embedded in present concepts of international altruism. Part IV examines some of the ways in which women in Central and Eastern Europe can benefit

and have benefitted from American feminist involvement. It challenges the

ways in which antifeminist critics have attempted to portray nationally subordinated women as passive victims of Western feminist domination. The

question is not what Americans can do to help, but rather whether and how

women in Central and Eastern Europe can make use of American feminist involvement.

I. The Construction of "Eastern Europe" and "Central and Eastern Europe"

One should interrogate the category "Central and Eastern Europe." Do

the people in this geographic region have enough in common to be treated a

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a group? Or do their differences overshadow their commonalities? The countries of Central and Eastern Europe share at least two particularly important circumstances. First, the region was to a great extent treated a

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a unit by the United States throughout the Cold War. All the countries wer

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at that time considered part of the Soviet Bloc and they are all now considered to be democracies, to one extent or another. Second, neoliberal

economic policies currently play a crucial role in each of the countries.(32)

The idea that Europe consisted of a modern western portion and a les

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advanced and less civilized eastern portion is not a recent construction but one that arose during the Enlightenment. During the early Renaissance,

Europe was considered to be divided between the barbarian Kingdoms of the

North and the refined and cultured Italy in the South.(33) As Larry Wolff
has shown, the idea of Eastern Europe was constructed during the eighteenth
century "as a work of cultural creation, of intellectual artifice, of
ideological self-interest and self-promotion."(34)

The cultural condescension that the Italian humanists had expressed
toward the barbarian North was replaced with a similar condescension of the
Enlightenment centers of Paris, Amsterdam, and London toward the backward
countries of Eastern Europe.(35) An important question for those concerned
with the people of Central and Eastern Europe is whether the West can
overcome the constructions of the Cold War without resorting to the pattern
of the Enlightenment: "the assumption of intellectual mastery by which
Eastern Europe was made to offer itself up to the 'gaze' of travelers ...

to become an object of analysis for the Enlightenment."(36) Eastern Europe
remains a battleground where Westerners fight their intellectual battles
with one another. Can American feminists hope to break any of these
patterns, or are they likely simply to continue them?

A peculiar quality of "Eastern Europe" is that many would like to opt
out of it. This was one of the impulses behind the resurrection of the idea
of "Middle Europe" or "Central Europe" in the 1980s. Yugoslavia, for
example, could easily be said to belong neither to "Eastern Europe" nor to
"Central Europe." A Yugoslav woman living in the United States complained
in a 1995 publication that when she was asked to speak about women in
Yugoslavia, she had to "position (her)self as East European, or devote the
whole time allotted ... to explaining why this classification should not be
taken for granted; that, in other words, Yugoslavia in its own eyes had not
been an Eastern Bloc country."(37) In the United States, the right wing has
always referred to the European countries inside the Iron Curtain as
"Eastern Europe." There has been a complex debate going on for some years
regarding the boundaries of "Eastern Europe" and the status of the category
"Central Europe." In this Essay, I follow the terminology common among
feminists and the American left and refer to the countries in transition as
"Central and Eastern Europe." Whether one can call this less Orientalist
(or demi-Orientalist) than Eastern Europe" is uncertain, but it at least

avoids some of the associations with the right-wing use of "Eastern Europe." (38) Without denying the role any such terminology plays in constructing as well as studying the region, I would intend to acknowledge

the many differences among the countries as well as the commonalities.

II. GENERAL CRITIQUES OF Western OR AMERICAN FEMINIST IMPERIALISM AS APPLIED TO CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

I do not presume to avoid the mistakes of my brethren and sisters and

make Eastern Europe a subject of study rather than an object of construction. Rather, I propose to examine the role of women in the ongoing

constructions of Eastern Europe, Central Europe, and Central and Eastern Europe. In this Part, I examine the standard critiques of Western feminism

and compare the critique of European-American feminists by African-American

feminists to the critique of Western feminists by Third World women. I then

examine the applicability of the critique to Central and Eastern Europe.

A. General Critiques

Growing numbers of commentators question whether international collective activity can be effective when the kind of self-centered analysis suggested by the Looking-glass metaphor is so common, even among

feminists and other progressive Americans. (39) White middle-class feminist

have been criticized for trying to make themselves the measure of all things feminist. (40) Just as feminists accuse men of considering themselves

the norm and constituting women as Other, (41) critics accuse American women

of holding themselves up as the norm against which to compare Other women

-- poor, nonwhite, foreign -- and usually finding these Others wanting. (42)

To the extent that Westerners view Central and Eastern Europeans as Other,

it is argued, they will never understand the region or be able to help its

people.

The criticism leveled against Western feminists goes further. In the

context of a world system dominated by the West, Western feminists are said

to contribute to imperialism by assuming that all women must have similar

interests and needs that transcend ethnic, class, and other differences. (43) Too often, feminists assume sisterhood simply on the basis

of shared gender or a notion of the universal oppression of women as a group by men as a group. It is supposedly a crucial assumption of feminism

that all women, across classes and cultures, somehow constitute a more or

less homogeneous group that can be identified and used as a category for analysis prior to the process of analysis. Yet, in the words of one of the

sharpest critics, "(t)here is ... no universal patriarchal framework ... (for feminist scholars) to counter and resist -- unless one posits an international male conspiracy or a monolithic, ahistorical power structure."(44)

Two of the charges frequently leveled against Western feminists are

that they participate in the imperialism of the West in general and that they homogenize women by assuming that they can adequately represent all women. These two critiques can be in some senses sharply contrasted. Imperialism leads one to distinguish the self from the other, generally valorizing the self as more advanced, civilized, liberated, and so forth.

Homogenization, however, leads one to see the similarities between all women, whether those similarities actually exist or not. Whether one emphasizes similarities or differences is always already a political question that depends upon the particular context and on political goals.

In the context of the Third World, feminists can inadvertently support imperialism if they allow the status of women to be used to justif

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imperialist projects. The protest of British feminists over the condition

of women in India, where, for example, widows were forced or convinced to

immolate themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband,(45) may have provided support to England's claim that it was civilizing that part of it

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Empire. American women express the same kind of fascination and horror toward the practice of infibulation, sometimes referred to benignly as female circumcision or more negatively as female genital mutilation (FGM).

The right question about infibulation is not whether it is a good practice

or a bad one: The mere fact that the practice in many regions may be in th

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control of women does not justify it any more than women plastic surgeons

make breast augmentation surgery good operations in the United States. A more salient concern, too often overlooked, is whether Western feminists channel disproportionate Third World resources to this issue. Infibulation

has probably taken on increased importance because of the American fascination with the practice.(46) African women who work against infibulation are more likely to receive positive attention from feminists

in the West than are those who work against other manifestations of sexism

that may be even more important to most African women, such as poverty or

maternal mortality rates.(47) Perhaps maternal mortality rates will become

a more fashionable issue as American women focus attention on the misallocation of medical care in the United States (48) and see a parallel

with the lack of adequate prenatal care in many parts of Africa. In neither

case, however, would the attention paid to the issue be likely to reflect

its actual importance to African girls and women.

The feminist agenda may be similarly skewed in Central and Eastern Europe. For example, American feminists currently tend to focus considerable attention on domestic violence in Central and Eastern Europe

in part because it is an especially important issue in the United States.

Without denying that domestic violence is an important issue, it may be as

useful to recognize the different roles that violence and poverty play in

different countries. Addressing economic issues may do more to improve the

lives of Central and Eastern European women and even to decrease the violence they suffer in their homes. Domestic violence cuts across economic

lines, but increased economic distress leads to increased violence.(49)

To take another example, Western women often think in a simple, noncontextual way of how they would feel about having to cover their entire

bodies and view the veil as a simple form of subordination of women.(50) If

they were to focus instead on the complex combination of coercion and ideological instilling of desire that drives women to adopt the veil,(51)

perhaps they would begin to recognize similar factors at play in women adopting uncomfortable, high- or even spike-heel shoes -- in part to look

professional and obtain and retain employment, in part to feel elegant or

"feminine" -- despite clear medical evidence of the health dangers of wearing such shoes.(52)

B. Feminists in Central and Eastern Europe

Small armies of feminists are marching into Central and Eastern Europe measuring women's unemployment, documenting violence against women

and proposing laws to deal with it, examining abortion laws and studying women's struggles for reproductive freedom, and performing various other functions.(53) Some of these feminists come from Western Europe; many come

from the United States.(54) An East German friend recently commented to me(55) that she knows of many American feminists who are conducting studies

in Eastern Europe and are engaged in feminist activism there, but who do not seem to be "doing politics"(56) in the United States, and she wondered

why. How would Americans feel, she mused, if Eastern Europeans began flocking to the United States to study our problems and to advise American

women?

Without disputing the relevance of recognizing the historical specificity of the situation of women in particular social and power networks, this Essay affirms the value and importance of feminist work in

the context of Central and Eastern Europe. A patriarchal framework, while

not universal, in fact underlies much of political thought animating Western political discourse. Throughout Europe and North America, at least

, there is no need for men to conspire: Men identify with other men and notice and object more if a policy will hurt men than if it will hurt women.(57) This is institutional sexism, and it functions through consciou

s and unconscious discrimination; women must counter and resist it for the sake of a better world for all -- men and children, as well as women. A political alliance cannot be taken for granted or assumed on the basis of

gender, but it can and should be forged through feminist political practic

e and analysis.

The same kinds of problems of exclusion and domination, misunderstanding and "essentialism" that have marked relations between African-American women and European-American women within the United States(58) reappear in the international context, with economic domination

and cultural imperialism taking the place of racism. The rich literature and the growing body of political experience regarding feminist race relations" may facilitate understanding and alliance between American wome

n and the women of Central and Eastern Europe.

One lesson from American feminist race relations is that there are twin dangers when any member of the dominant group (white women in the United States, Americans or Western Europeans in the context of Central an

d Eastern Europe) either fails to write about or chooses to write about the

subordinated group."(60) American women must take account of Central and Eastern Europe to understand social change. American feminist analysis suffers from its insularity; American women should take greater responsibility for the policies of the American government and of other powerful policymakers.

Yet there is always the risk that writing about women in Central and

Eastern Europe will amount to an act of appropriation and will be a misrepresentation. Such scholarship, especially by an American, may seem t

o "produce" a singular, monolithic image of "Central and Eastern European woman." Any effort to analyze or codify scholarship and knowledge about a

group of women creates or makes use of categories that in turn affect the

nature of the analysis.(61) These analytic categories are generally define

by feminist interests as articulated by Western women. Taking the West as

primary referent for the theory and practice of women in Central and Eastern Europe has obvious problems.

American feminist work in Central and Eastern Europe has in practice

many of the problems identified in theory. In practice, United States feminists may constitute Central and Eastern European women as an "Other,"

validating the progressiveness of the United States.(62) (Central and Eastern Europe serves as the "Other" that Western Europe increasingly refuses to be.) In practice, American feminists may essentialize and homogenize Central and Eastern European women. Westerners tend to pay attention to a small number of women they come to know, often inviting the

same small group of women to every conference and indirectly affecting the

distribution of power between these internationally known players and thei

countrywomen. Yet there is little reason to believe that the "stars" America recognizes or produces will be the women most likely to benefit other women in their own countries. There is always a danger of such invitations degenerating into a form of patronage, in which American feminists may have inappropriate influence upon Central and Eastern European agendas.

There is also a risk that a kind of new colonialism will filter into

the efforts of American women, preventing them from working effectively in

Central and Eastern Europe. Perhaps the most obvious danger is simply the

privileging of gender over all other categories, despite massive differences in national wealth. Just as women of color have often criticized white feminists for treating gender as more important than race,(63) Central and Eastern European women may well be entitled to complain that American feminists treat gender as more salient than the economic differences that divide American women from many of the women in

Central and Eastern Europe. This is the same kind of critique that women from the former East Germany have occasionally leveled against women from

the former West Germany;(64) it is closely tied to the valorization of women from the West. West German women believe they are more advanced and

more feminist than women from the former East Germany,(65) just as America

women consider themselves more advanced and more feminist than women in Central and Eastern Europe. There is a serious-problem of condescension an

arrogance in such a view.

The American feminist emphasis on gender is sometimes said to

deemphasize or even deny the importance of imperialism.(66) By focusing attention on the conflict between the sexes, American feminists divert attention away from the conflict between wealthier countries and poorer countries: The former seek wider markets to increase their wealth and the

latter wish to develop their own productive economic base to improve their

overall economic well-being, rather than simply gain access to a larger number of imported consumer goods. Western feminists are accused of false

assuming that all women share important interests and desires, that Western

notions of gender, sexual difference, and patriarchy can apply cross-culturally, and of valorizing the West as the best model for women's

struggle for equality and power.(67) It has been argued that most of these

notions are a Western feminist import and are inappropriate as a means of

understanding women in other countries.(68)

The choice to write about women would appear to presuppose the importance of gender. There is a risk that by implicitly privileging gender

as the most important oppression, one will thereby deemphasize other sources of oppression. Moreover, Western feminists may try to "construct (for women) a transnational identity as woman coherently rooted in the

shared experience of gendered oppression"(69) and believe they have thereby

produced a shared international agenda. Yet by focusing on the experience

of women as victims of or resisters against male domination, these feminists "take for granted a transnational community of women,"(70) instead of laying the proper foundations for an alliance among women. This

Essay attempts to avoid taking female solidarity for granted and aims to uncover and reinforce such a foundation for an alliance among women.

The perils and pitfalls of the American interchange with Central and

Eastern European women and its potential promise come from the same source

: the hybrid hierarchical position of women from the United States. Women from the United States are situated at the top of the hierarchy between the

United States and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe but on the bottom of the gender hierarchy within the United States.(71) As Americans,

women participate, to one extent or another, in the domination that the United States (and Western Europe) exercises over the countries of Central

and Eastern Europe. This Essay itself illustrates that hierarchy: American

scholars, including American feminists, are more likely than their Central

or Eastern European counterparts to have the opportunity to publish their perspectives in an influential and widely read journal.(72)

Many American feminists challenge the sexist or patriarchal elements

of the United States's interaction with Central and Eastern Europe, and they should be more skeptical than American men of some of the neoliberal

economic policies that the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and

Jeffrey Sachs(73) are pushing onto the "new market economies" of the region.(74) A disproportionate number of the people in Central and Eastern

Europe hurt by these neoliberal economic policies are women,(75) and it is

women who are generally expected to care for the men, women, and children

abandoned by the state in its drive to become "fiscally sound" and "competitive."(76)

This hybrid position of American women is both a strength and a weakness, and it has significant effects upon the relations between American women and the women of Central and Eastern Europe. A further pitfall for American women is that the example of the present situation of

women in Central and Eastern Europe can be used to undermine American women's legitimate complaints about their role and status within the United

States. Focusing on the wretched situation of many women in Central and Eastern Europe contributes to a conservative self-satisfaction with the "progress" made in American gender relations and with the formal protections to women of equality in family life and employment.(77)

C. Prospects for Feminist Internationalism

Western feminists often are criticized for focusing attention on the

gender opposition between men and women instead of upon the glaring differences between rich and poor.(78) privileging nationality and economics is an inadequate answer to this problem. Just as posing race against gender is the wrong way to deal with the twin evils of racism and

sexism in the context of the United States,(79) so too does such an opposition fail to deal adequately with the international problems that affect women. Given the apparent failures of class-based internationalism,(80) gender-based international cooperation appears to be

a more promising strategy. Nationalism has proven to be remarkably resilient.(81) Yet women often recognize the damaging effects nationalism

has upon women and children.(82) Unlike workers, racial minorities, or any

other "identity" group, women are a majority of the population. One possible mechanism for internationalist feminist intervention into the damaging influence of present neoliberal policies might be found in trade

agreements. Within each country and across borders, women could organize to

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insist that strong and enforceable requirements for maintaining social standards be inserted into trade agreements.(83)

The feminist concern with avoiding the imposition of American or Western values upon other countries runs a risk of being appropriated by the right wing and used not as a caution, but as a condemnation. At the United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994,

and again at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in

China in the autumn of 1995, it became apparent that conservatives have "discovered" the anti-imperialist critique of the women's movement.(84) In

Beijing, the Catholic hierarchy appealed to these themes to encourage countries to express reservations regarding those parts of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action to which the Vatican objected.(85) Thi

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misuse makes it more dangerous for feminists glibly to criticize themselves

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or other feminists for "imperialism" or "essentialism." These disputes inadvertently provide ammunition to those who would discredit feminism and

downgrade women. At the same time, the conservative threat underscores the

importance of feminists dealing effectively with the problem itself.

III. The Importance of Recognizing Self-Interest and Other

Lessons from Central and Eastern Europe

As an antidote to the arrogance and condescension all too common among Americans dealing with countries they consider subordinate, feminist

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should recognize and acknowledge what they gain from working in Central and

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Eastern Europe. By learning from the experiences of women in Central and Eastern Europe, Americans can come to be more effective in the United States and in other parts of the world.

A. Lessons for Americans from the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe

It is important for American feminists to realize the amount that they can learn about their own society from Central and Eastern Europe. These lessons include insights into the limits of economic or market strategies, the ideological importance of political language, and the possibilities for organization.

1. Weighing the Values of a Market Strategy

The postwar experiences of American women differed considerably from

those of women in Central and Eastern Europe. American women had worked in

industry and at other well-paying jobs in unprecedented numbers during World War II, had exercised considerable and broad responsibilities inside

and outside their homes, and had experienced a good deal of freedom.(86)

But once "Rosie the Riveter" had served her wartime purpose, the men returning from the war reclaimed their jobs and their domination over women.(87) Resistance from women was met with repression.(88)

"Normalization" meant in part forcing women back into very limited and decreasingly important roles in the home.

In contrast, postwar Central and Eastern Europe offered numerous examples of women working at paid employment on conditions of far greater

equality with men than American women experienced. Many American women wer

quite sympathetic to such a "marketplace" strategy in the United States: full-time work for women as a route to greater equality for women throughout society.(89) Certainly the example of women as successful doctors, engineers, and other professionals in Central and Eastern Europe

helped to counter any claim that women were incapable of doing such work.(90)

Yet the practices in Central and Eastern Europe were mixed, offering a striking illustration of the weaknesses of the "marketplace" strategy. A

elsewhere in the world, feminized professions tended to lack status, regardless of the difficulty or importance of the work of the profession.

For years, the majority of doctors in the Soviet Union were women, but American detractors were quick to assert that doctors had much lower statu

in the Soviet Union than in the United States.(91) In many European countries, including West European ones, women have long served as trial court judges, but these judges have relatively low status.(92) Even when women's pay and work hours were nearly equal to that of men, women continued to be held responsible for nearly all of the unpaid work in the home.(93)

On one hand, these circumstances could be explained as the continuing, though receding, legacy of a very conservative past in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.(94) The Nazi attitude toward women, that they belonged primarily in the kitchen, caring for children, and serving the church and preserving its values, had been broadly accepte

in the region.(95) Some American feminists would give the governments Credit for bringing about a degree of change in a very difficult situation

The power structures in these countries, however, remained firmly male-dominated. Women in government positions exercised little or no power

and seemed to some to be chosen in part for their willingness not to cause

any trouble to the men.(96) The governments in the region gained what legitimacy they possessed largely from the anti-Nazi credentials they established during World War II. Their policy toward women seemed to be based on anti-Nazism and on communist or socialist ideology more than any

strong internal feminist movement.(97)

On the other hand, the oppression of women in Central and Eastern Europe during the period before transition raises questions about a market

strategy for women in the United States. Perhaps working full time in paid

employment does not promote women's equality as effectively as American feminists have tended to believe. Similarly, the limited influence of laws

on women's equality in Central and Eastern Europe raises questions about the usefulness of law as an instrument of social change for women, and thus

about the legal strategy implicitly adopted by many American feminists.(98)

The successes and failures of Communist-era laws that purported to improve

the role and status of women provide an illustration of the effects and limits of a positivist use of law.(99)

Some of the legal struggles waged by women since the transition show

the difficulty of maintaining a social state in the face of global economic

competition. One problem that has attracted attention in the former East Germany and Slovenia is the ability of employers to disregard the law. In

the early 1990s, after unification, some women from the eastern German states concluded that the only way to get a job was to show prospective employers a certificate indicating that they had been sterilized and thus

would not take time off work to give birth or to raise children.(100)

Employers generally could disclaim any responsibility for the attitude of

the unemployed women, and it would be difficult to prove that the employer

actually discriminated against fertile women in violation of the law.

A more blatant violation of the law developed in Slovenia. There, some women were required -- as a condition of employment -- to sign undated

letters of resignation, with the understanding that the employer would circumvent the liberal maternity leave laws by activating the resignation

letters in the event that they became pregnant.(101) Under Slovenian law,

however, the state and not the employer bore the costs of the fully paid,

one-year maternity leave that was, at least in theory, provided to women.(102) The only obligation of the employer was to hold the job open for the return of the employee.(103) With a birth rate in Slovenia of only

1.3 children per woman,(104) it would be easy to suspect that the actual motivation of employers was more sexist than economic.(105)

The practice of requiring such resignation letters became sufficiently widespread to attract the attention of lawmakers. One of the

parliamentary parties proposed responding to this problem through a tax credit to employers to compensate them for the losses they suffered or claimed to suffer by keeping the position open during the woman's state-paid maternity leave.(106) Meanwhile, a conservative party tried to

extend the leave from one to three years, presumably to benefit new mother

and to increase the birth rate.(107) Opponents argued that it was also an

effort to lure women out of the labor market altogether, to romanticize motherhood, and to establish a traditional sexual division of labor.(108)

At present, the labor market participation of women in Slovenia is relatively close to that of men (46.9% compared to a male rate of 58.5% as

of 1993),(109) and women earn 88% of the salary men earn, working slightly

fewer hours.(110) Unlike in the former East Germany and in many of the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe,(111) the burden of unemployment appears not to have fallen disproportionately upon women in Slovenia.

2. The Use and Abuse of Language

American feminists can learn important lessons from the current misuse of Nazism. Throughout Central and Eastern Europe, and especially in

Germany, conservatives distort the legacy of Nazism to support reactionary

policies. For example, in the German Constitutional Court's 1975 decision

that declared unconstitutional a reform law that had decriminalized most abortions,(112) the Court appealed to Germany's Nazi past to justify its opinion that the constitutional provision protecting life included the protection of fetuses. The Court implied that the Nazis had permitted abortion(113) when in fact the Nazis imposed the death penalty for the abortion of German fetuses.(114) Under the guise of avoiding the distinction the Nazis had drawn between worthy and "unworthy" life, the Court in effect imitated the Nazis and placed a state-decreed value on fetuses (which in Nazi time was based upon the fetus's "nationality"), disregarding the interests and chosen values of the pregnant women. This deliberate misuse of the Nazi legacy occurred before and after the transition. The German right has long struggled to equate Communism with Nazism, changing anti-Nazi memorials to memorials to "victims of fascism and communism."(115) After the transition, street names in what had been East Germany were changed to eliminate the names of virtually any socialis

or other left-winger.(116) The new history that conservatives seek to create tells of a gradual evolution from a historically authoritarian regime to an ever more liberal democracy, interrupted by the blips of Nazism and, in the East, Communism. For example, against a strong feminist

protest, spearheaded in part by the left-wing Party of Democratic Socialis

(PDS), the name of Clara Zetkin Strasse, located behind the University of

Berlin (Humboldt), was changed to Dorotheean Strasse.(117) Clara Zetkin wa

a member of the German Reichstag from 1920 until its destruction in 1933 and one of the best-known socialist women of the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries; Dorothea was a Dutch princess and second wife of a Prussian Grand Duke. An effort appears to be underway to erase the entire

rich history of leftist activism in Germany prior to the Nazi takeover.(118)

In a more striking misuse of the Nazi past, West German academics invoked it to explain their decision to fire a large portion of professors

from formerly East German universities, including many women, and to replace them with West Germans, almost all men and often young academics who had been unable to find continuing employment in the West German universities.(119) Responding to charges of cultural imperialism and allegations that the firings resulted more from the desire of the West German professors to find employment for former students than to improve the quality of the East German universities, some West Germans claimed tha

West Germany did not want to repeat the "mistake" they made of not firing

any of the Nazi professors at the end of World War II.(120) In fact, the domination of the West German universities by professors acceptable to the

Nazis during and for many years after World War II, combined with the German system of mentoring,(121) probably contributed to the continuing strong anti-Communist orientation of many West German professors. By firin

the Communists or alleged Communist sympathizers, West German professors were simply repeating what the mentors of the mentors of their mentors had

done before and during the War, from 1933 to 1945.

In Slovenia and the other republics that broke away from Yugoslavia,

there continues to be ideological struggle over the status of the anti-Naz

resistance during the War. The resisters who had been celebrated as patriots are being redefined in some circles as mere Stalinists,(122) and

efforts have been made to rehabilitate the Nazi collaborators as the true

patriots.(123) Croatia has adopted the flags and other symbols that date from Nazi times, 1941-45,(114) and as a result, it has received a good dea

of money from Nazi supporters living outside of the country,(125) some of

whom had been smuggled out of Europe in 1945-46 with the help of Croatia.(126) The new Croatian government also has destroyed much of the evidence of Nazi war crimes, including the concentration camp memorial located in Jasenovac.(127) Controversy over the status of anti-Nazi resistance has not been limited to the former Yugoslavia. In the Baltic countries, for example, Nazi war criminals have been "rehabilitated" as honored citizens and if they were in jail, released.(128)

Recent struggles in Central and Eastern Europe over the Nazi past ca

offer valuable insights into the ongoing struggle in the United States ove

the legacy of McCarthyism. The same groups of reformers in the United States whose lives and careers were most disrupted by the abuses of McCarthyism are once again finding "McCarthyism" used against them. In recent years, the memory of Senator Joe McCarthy has been invoked almost a

s often by those opposing efforts to combat racism, sexism, and hate campaigns as by those opposing political repression. The right-wing attack

o on "political correctness," or "PC," is often accompanied by a reference t

the "New McCarthyism,"(129) by which the speaker means to suggest that the

effort to reduce racism and sexism in our language and culture is just as

oppressive as or more oppressive than the abuses of power during the McCarthy era.(130)

The notion of "political correctness," currently used by the right t

o attack the left, was invented by the left wing as a playful, ironic self-critique. During the 1960s and early 1970s, members of the civil rights, antiwar, and women's liberation movements cautioned against taking

themselves too seriously in their efforts at "purity" in refusing to buy products manufactured under oppressive conditions or in oppressive countries, and their efforts to reduce sexism in language. A home-cooked dinner might be humorously praised as "politically correct" if it had no table grapes, which were being boycotted to support the United Farm Workers, and no wine or other ingredients that came from Franco's Spain or

another right-wing dictatorship. When the idea was "discovered" and taken

over by the American right wing in the 1980s and 1990s, the humor and self-reflection were replaced with a nasty hard edge, and there was no acknowledgement of its origin.(131)

The right-wing invocation of McCarthyism to criticize efforts to reduce racism and sexism serves two purposes. First, it attempts to undermine and discredit the cultural struggle against racism and sexism. I

t tends to exaggerate the power of the voices trying to reduce racism and sexism and clothes them with imaginary state power. In addition, it attempts to discount and obscure the serious abuses of the McCarthy era. The right wing occasionally produces its own "horror stories" of "politica

l correctness," claiming that some teacher lost his job for insisting that Cleopatra was not black-skinned or for complimenting the dress of a female

student.(132) As far as I know, whenever one of these "horror stories" includes enough specificity that the facts can actually be tracked down, i

t turns out to be a total fabrication: There was no job, or the job was not

lost, or the person was not hired for some other, unrelated reason.(133) I

n contrast, during the era of McCarthyism, tens of thousands of people lost

their jobs, and untold more were intimidated and terrorized.(134) Harvard

University is widely credited for bravely refusing to fire two teachers wh

stood up to McCarthy, when in fact the school merely waited a few months until the end of their contract period to terminate them.(135)

3. Implications for Feminist Studies

The struggle between right-wing and left-wing politics in the United

States continues to influence American involvement in Central and Eastern

Europe in ever more complicated ways. Many conservatives in the United States claim that the United States, or former President Ronald Reagan, "won" the Cold War by standing up to the Soviet Union or by destroying its

economy through the arms race.(136) The collapse of the Soviet Bloc and th

changes in the governments of Central and Eastern Europe are often used in

the United States to claim or "prove" that Communism does not work.(137)

Although these assertions are nonsense, there is a connection between

the current weakness of the left in the United States and Western Europe and governmental changes in Central and Eastern Europe. This crisis on the

left has occurred at about the same time as a rise in the importance of "identity politics" -- movements for racial justice, gender justice, gay and lesbian rights, rights of the handicapped(138) -- and a decrease in confidence that the working class provides the logical basis for progressive social change.(139) Feminists, who focus on women, the largest

of these identity groups, may be in an excellent position to question underlying weaknesses in Marxism's class analysis.(140) An understanding o

the governmental changes in Central and Eastern Europe may in turn facilitate and enrich this feminist critique. More broadly, a number of liberals or leftists are interested in contesting the rightwing's claimed

hegemony in Central and Eastern Europe. Some seek to demonstrate in the region the value of liberal social policies.(141) Some are also interested

in studying Central and Eastern Europe to develop a better understanding o

the processes of social change.(142)

Studies of Central and Eastern Europe may also help answer a number

of questions that are highly relevant to feminist studies. Why did women i

some Central and Eastern European countries remain subordinated at a time

when their governments enacted many of the laws that Americans and some Western Europeans are still struggling to enact?(143) Are Western feminist

mistaken to think law is an effective tool for social change? Will the legal changes we seek be effective? For example, American feminists would

do well to understand why East German women were not able to negotiate a more equitable division of domestic work with East German men when women had a real option to leave their husbands and raise their families on their

own."(144) This is the kind of option many feminists are struggling to establish for women in the United States. Further, there is much to learn

from women's experiences during and after transition. How do they mobilize

as they do and set up the institutions they establish? One clear lesson from Central and Eastern Europe is that when change begins to take place,

it can occur with breathtaking speed. Such a message can be quite encouraging to those who calculate that at the present rate of change women

may not begin to achieve fair wages and meaningful access to top jobs until

the year 2040.(145) What role did the governments' loss of legitimacy play

in facilitating rapid change? Feminists have long focused on issues of legitimacy; an important goal of feminist struggles is to delegitimize male

domination and the oppression of women.(146)

B. Mixed Motives and Self-Interest

Women and men working in Central and Eastern Europe may have complex

mixed motives for their work; these motives may in turn lead to a complex

set of results. One aspect of motives and results involves the ongoing struggle within the United States between right and left, a struggle further complicated by the feminist movement.

1. The American Right Wing Versus Left Wing

Central and Eastern Europe plays an ideological role in internal U.S.

politics. One could call Central and Eastern Europe a "floating signifier."(147) The meaning the region has in the American imagination and

politics is a subject of significant contestation and struggle. To some extent, people find what they look for, and Americans look for different things depending upon their assumptions about the previous governments, their general view of social change, and their sense of what matters for the future. Antifeminists study different things and make different findings than feminists, and liberals are likely to reach different conclusions about the present situation in the region than are radicals or

conservatives. Feminists in the United States also split on this issue.(148) Socialist feminists tend to be more skeptical about anti-Communism than are radical feminists or liberal feminists. Liberal feminists may share a degree of anti-Communism, and are more ready to believe that establishing a capitalist market goes hand in hand with democratization.

Soviet influence over the governments established in Central and Eastern Europe after World War II played a central justificatory role in the Cold War.(141) America's postwar swing to the right and the terrible repression of the McCarthy era were fueled by Cold War anti-Communism.(150)

Throughout the Cold War, right-wingers would constantly refer to the countries of "Eastern Europe" as proof of the worthlessness of Communism.(151) These so-called captive nations were reported to be dictatorships under the domination of the Soviet Union.(152) Right-wingers

cited these undemocratic governments to argue that people did not voluntarily choose to live under Communism and that Communism was hypocritically more imperialistic than any imperialism attributed to the capitalist, or "free," countries. The right wing championed the dissident

movements, and the CIA poured vast sums of money into antigovernment activities in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.(153)

In contrast, many left-wingers in the United States felt somewhat embarrassed about so-called real existing socialism and denied that the governments were socialistic.(154) Some Americans tried to find some good

in the governments, but generally they did not offer support. To a large extent, the American left simply did not engage in Central and Eastern Europe. It is only in the last ten years that the significance of Central

and Eastern Europe to the left has undergone a marked change.(155)

2. "Civilizing" Central and Eastern Europe

American women may also want to share their hard-earned knowledge with Central and Eastern European women. Finding some women who are worse

off and "helping" these women rise to the level of American women, however

reinforces self-congratulatory views of the United States as civilized and

progressive. Some women may be motivated in part by the desire to prove that Western liberalism can include women in the rights of man,(156) or to

prove that liberal feminism is superior to cultural feminism or radical feminism.(157) Other women may seek through their work in Central and Eastern Europe to challenge Americans' views of their own progressiveness

and civilization.(158) Some may be motivated at least in part by a kind of

nostalgia, a desire to refight old battles and fare better this time.

Finally, some American feminists who worry that feminism in America is pas

its prime and no longer interesting may find a new excitement and liveliness to feminism in Central and Eastern Europe.(159)

The armies of developers and harmonizers, however, will continue to

march into Central and Eastern Europe regardless of what feminists do or d

not do. The markets of Central and Eastern Europe will be exploited in mor

or less harmful ways. Yet too often the same kind of obnoxious patronizing

and dismissal of Eastern Europeans that marks so much of the officially sponsored American involvement also finds echoes in feminist work.(160) American feminists involved in Central and Eastern Europe act from a diversity of experiences and with a diversity of goals. For quite a number

of feminists of Central- or Eastern-European origin, the notion -- or fantasy -- of returning to their roots may play an important role. Others

want to encourage the United States women's movement to be less provincial

and insular. For some American feminists, working in Central or Eastern Europe is nostalgic; it invokes a simpler time when law was idealistic. Frustrated by the complexity and seemingly intractable nature of gender issues in the United States, these feminists are drawn to societies they see as simpler, where sexism seems clear and outrageous. The blatant sexism

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they may find in other countries makes some American women feel modern and

liberated by comparison.

One potential pitfall of increased involvement is the use of Central

and Eastern Europe as a laboratory. A number of people, not only or especially feminists, view the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as

lands of opportunity, places where they can have experiences and gain importance that they would never enjoy at home. I was appalled a few years

ago when an American law school on the East Coast bragged about how a class

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had drafted portions of the Latvian constitution or criminal code.(161) A

student of mine taught law in Romania immediately after graduating from law

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school, a great experience he could not have obtained elsewhere, and he might have done a fine job. But I am reminded of the British who served in

India (and other colonies) enjoying power and prestige they could never have had at home. Nonaristocratic British men were able to live like aristocrats in the colonies.(162) The armies of advisors and legal codifiers and homogenizers sent to Central and Eastern Europe today can feel a similar self-importance.(163)

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In the United States, the problems of Central and Eastern Europe have

attracted more attention than their successes. Some of this impulse or fashion is quite justified. Women's groups are interested in improving conditions, so they are most interested in those conditions that they see

as needing improvement. During the period before transition, most government-supported women's groups bragged about the progress of women in

their countries in a relatively uncritical manner. Now, increasingly, the

women's groups are complaining about how bad things are becoming for women

in their countries. Because an important goal of American and Western European women working in various parts of the world is to come to understand better the possibilities and limits of social change, we need to

develop a theory that avoids totalizing or homogenizing women. The next Part of this Essay attempts a few steps in that direction.

IV. A Perspective on the Value of American Feminist Engagement to Central and Eastern European Women

A. Feminism and Anti-Communism

Throughout much of Central and Eastern Europe, "feminism" carries negative connotations, even for women concerned with the role and status of

women.(164) As one Bulgarian woman put it, "The first time I said (feminism) it ruined my personal life, so now I say that I am working for

the status of women."(165) Even worse, some women feel that feminism is being imposed on them. "This can make Eastern and Central European women

feel that female solidarity obviously does not extend beyond the now physically nonexistent but mentally persisting iron curtain."(166)

The formal support for women's equality given by the former governments in the region appears to make the countries particularly susceptible to antifeminist influences. One useful goal that American women

can achieve in their work in Central and Eastern Europe is to give women's

rights an alternative pedigree and undermine efforts to link feminism with

Communism in ways that harm women or equate anti-Communist government sentiment with antifeminism.(167) In other words, American feminists can ensure that "women's rights" are included as part of the "package from the

West." Here there would appear to be a comfortable correspondence between

the American feminist goals internationally and nationally. For example, an

important aim of some American feminists is to use the relative legitimacy

of feminist legal theory in the United States to help feminists establish

feminist legal theory in other countries; the goal is to share the legitimacy of feminist legal theory in the United States with feminists from other countries.(168)

B. Feminism and Nationalism

One of the most critical failures of the governments in Central and

Eastern Europe was their inability to establish an internationalism that would survive the transition.(169) The resurgence of nationalism throughout the region raises problems for women on a number of levels. Nationalist-inspired expulsions, such as pressure on members of the Russian

population to leave the Baltic countries,(170) create difficult conditions

d for the refugees, many of whom are women,(171) and create the need for a great deal of readjustment and caretaking work, most of which is unpaid and is done by women.(172) Nationalism has played a central role in the war in the former Yugoslavia; it has had devastating consequences for most of the population, and especially for women. (173)

C. Abortion

d Another important manifestation of nationalist struggles has involve the issue of reproductive freedom, especially access to abortion. Pro-natalist policies are pursued with particular urgency when nationalist concerns are in ascendance.(174) Countries concerned about maintaining their military power and national population are more likely than other nations to define women in terms of their reproductive capacity and to pressure women to adopt the limited role of mother.

f In Poland and Slovenia, the Catholic Church tried to spearhead a drive to criminalize abortion.(175) In both countries, the effort contributed to establishing a movement of activist women.(176) The women o

f Slovenia have been considerably more successful than those of Poland.(117)

In Slovenia, the response to anti-abortion activism was to enshrine reproductive freedom into the Slovenian constitution. Article 55 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia provides: "Persons shall be free

to decide whether to bear children. The State shall ensure that persons have every opportunity to exercise this freedom and shall create such conditions as enable parents to freely choose whether or not to bear children.(178)

A number of observations can be made about Article 55. First, it provides for state funding for birth control and abortion. In this it goes

considerably further than any other constitution of which I am aware.(179)

Further, it would seem to require a two-thirds vote to overturn.(180) I sa

y "seem to" because much of the constitution is so vague that it will requir

e a good deal of interpretation and I lack full confidence in the constitutional court, which is composed of nine men and is thought by many

Slovenes to be more political and less "legitimate" than, say, the constitutional court of Hungary.(181) Although both lines of reasoning would seem ingenuous to large numbers of Slovenes, there are at least two

e different routes by which the constitutional court could try to nullify th

provision of Article 55. It could: (1) grant fathers rights over the choic

e to abort; or (2) determine, as the West German court did in 1975, that a

fetus is a person entitled to right-to-life protection.(182) Article 17 of

the Constitution of Slovenia provides that "(h)uman life shall be inviolable."(183)

The German Constitution, however, has no provision equivalent to Article 55.(184) Thus it was easier in West Germany than it would be in Slovenia for the court to disregard women's interests and decide that a fetus is a person subject to in utero protection against the pregnant woma

n who created it. Similarly, the use of gender-neutral "person" in Article 5

5 is offset by the focus on the "bear(ing)" of children, which in Slovenian,

as in English, is related to childbirth. It would be startling, though not

impossible, for the article to be interpreted in a way that would give husbands any kind of veto power over the abortion decision.

Abortion was one of the most difficult issues that arose during negotiations over the unification of East and West Germany.(185) The East

German women organized to resist any provision that would undermine their

access to legal abortion,(186) yet the West German Constitution had been interpreted to provide significant legal protection to fetuses.(187) After

considerable deadlock, the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany

and the German Democratic Republic approved the Unification Treaty with a

provision that the abortion law of each of the former Germanies would remain in force temporarily until the new united Bundestag enacted an abortion provision. The Bundestag eventually worked out a compromise, whic

h slightly improved the access of West German women to abortion but reduced

and complicated the access of their East German counterparts. However, the

Constitutional Court declared this solution unconstitutional.(188)

In Romania, which before transition pursued a dangerous pro-natal policy that banned abortion and led to the highest maternal mortality rate

in Europe,(189) the law was changed to permit abortion.(190) The life expectancy of women has increased and the life chances for women have improved,(191) but the overall poverty and corruption in the country creat

e serious continuing problems for women.(192)

D. Opening Markets for Capital and Goods: Market Economies and the Role

and Status of Women

A significant aspect of United States policy toward the countries of

Central and Eastern Europe is the effort to open the countries to the marketing of American goods.(193) There is also some interest in investing

capital in Central and Eastern Europe, provided a stable and high rate of return can be assured.(194) Western Europe has a similar, though sometimes competing, interest in opening Central and Eastern European consumer markets to European Community goods(195) and promoting profitable Western European investment opportunities in the region.(196) These policies explain many of the actions taken by the United States, Western Europe, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank.(197) Most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe appear to be anxious to join the European Union and hope thereby to share in the prosperity of Western Europe.(198)

While a few voices express concern that prosperity may not automatically result from European Union membership and that the countries joining may actually be made worse off,(199) the neoliberal economic policies promoted by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and

Jeffrey Sachs generally are accepted as inevitable and even desirable.(200)

Governments of different political persuasions seem all to adopt roughly the same economic policies.(201) For example, in Lithuania from 1992 to 1996, the government led by the Democratic Labor Party, which was reconstituted from the Communist Party, enacted an austerity program nearly

identical to those enacted by the other "new market economies" in the region, including governments led by Christian Democrats.(202) The Lithuanian government slashed "price supports, adopt(ed) fiscally conservative budgets and enthusiastically follow(ed) the austere economic

recovery plans drawn up with outside, international organizations such as

the International Monetary Fund."(203) Although the austerity programs adopted by the governments of Central and Eastern Europe are unpopular with

their populations and thus lead to considerable political instability,(204)

most governments seem to feel they have no choice but to adopt the programs.(205) Indeed, veritable armies of Western developers, economic advisors, and legal advisors are appearing in Central and Eastern Europe to

oversee and promote these neoliberal economic programs.(206) The legal advisors are drafting new codes and regulations to bring the governments of

the region into conformity with the Western model.(207)

Feminist evaluation of United States involvement in Central and Eastern Europe plays the critical role of documenting and publishing the damage these neoliberal economic policies cause to women and children.(208)

The decreases in social services have hit women harder than men,(209) and

the increase in crime that neoliberal economic policies seem to have fostered promises to impoverish and inhibit the lives of women even more than the lives of men.(210) These are issues close to the hearts of many American feminists.(211) The United States has long trailed behind both Western Europe and socialist Eastern Europe in providing social services,

creating considerable tension between raising a family or caring for elderly relatives and working at paid employment.(212) American feminists

do not want to see the same fate befall other women, and they do not want

to lose the example of other countries that provide the social services fo

r which American women continue to struggle.(213)

The potential importance of feminist solidarity becomes clear when s

o much of comparative work reinforces the status quo. The armies of developers and harmonizers invited into Central and Eastern Europe are there, in significant part, to open the markets of Central and Eastern Europe to Western exploitation.(214) Opposing the negative effects of neoliberal economic policies in a globalized economy requires some form of

transnationalism.(215) Women provide one of the most promising bases for international cooperation to prevent the erosion of the welfare and status

of women. Even when governments, individuals, and nongovernmental organizations working internationally are motivated by altruistic goals, i

t is necessary to examine their practices and the limitations of their behaviors and perspectives. If current efforts to export "the American way

" are carried out primarily by men, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe could also import American sexism. There are many reasons for this

bias. Most American men are more likely to notice if men are underrepresented than if women are, more likely to notice men's unemployment than women's, and more likely to assume men and not women mak

e important societal decisions.(216) American women should insure that exchange programs include women and that women's interests, where they differ from those of men, are included in any calculation of the public interest.(217)

If one focuses on the positive possibilities for foreign intervention, the relative powerlessness of women is a disadvantage. American women, perhaps especially feminists, have less access to money an

d power than American men.(218) No woman, and certainly not a feminist, has

the influence of someone like Jeffrey Sachs, nor his access to resources.(219)

E. Crime and Women

Economic distress also leads to an increase in noneconomic social problems. The much-touted return to a rule of law is often violated with respect to women. For example, in many of the countries of Central and

Eastern Europe domestic violence against women appears to be on the rise.(220) Americans and West Europeans frequently point out, however, tha

it is difficult to know whether this reflects a rise in incidents of violence or merely reporting.(221) Although this is an important insight gained from work with domestic violence in the United States and Western Europe,(222) it May not be applicable to particular countries in Central and Eastern Europe because of their different histories.

Less disputed is the general rise of crime. Economic crime is rampant in many countries and violent crime is generally on the rise.(223) While the victims of crime are both men and women, one may assume that a vastly

disproportionate number of perpetrators, as in the West, are men.(224) Women are particularly at risk for a number of reasons. Crime tends to decrease the mobility and freedom of women more than men. The decreased safety of children in a crime-filled society increases the burdens of chil

care, as children need to be escorted to more places and as greater supervision must be exercised over their playtime activities.(225) Finally

as in the case of economic disruption, women are expected to take care of

the men, women, and children damaged by crime.(226)

American women are in a good position to warn others of the gender-specific damage from an increased crime rate. The rate of violent crime in the United States greatly exceeds the rate in most of Europe,(227

and this increased risk makes it considerably more difficult to raise children.(228) It also seriously undermines the basic freedom of women and

results in an informal "curfew" on women in many areas of the United States.(229) In many parts of the United States, a woman may be seen as "asking for trouble" if she appears alone on the streets or in public afte

dark.(230)

Thus there are significant gains to be achieved by both American women and Central and Eastern European women through continued interaction

and collaboration. These potential gains provide a significant basis upon

which a political alliance can be built. Moreover, the long-range effects

of such an alliance could be considerably more significant. While it may b

unfashionable at the moment to talk of a feminist revolution, we should remember that when change occurs, it can take place with breathtaking speed.(231)

V. CONCLUSION

The changes in Central and Eastern Europe have created at least temporary difficulties for most members of the population, especially for

women. I have argued that despite the salience of many of the critiques of

Western feminism, American feminist involvement may help make the changes

less harsh. At the same time, this involvement benefits American feminists

The general inequality between the United States and Central and Eastern Europe should not be ignored and cannot be ended by feminists' simply wishing it away. More modest goals are reasonable, however, such as improving international interaction and doing more good than harm. America

women need to be more conscious of the politics of what they do.

Over time, feminists can and should work to equalize the wealth and

power of the regions of the world. We should break down dividing lines not

just in Europe, but throughout the world. One of the areas in which Western

political thought is weakest is in devising strategies to readjust this unequal division of power. This weakness may be related to the pervasive male dominance in political and social theory. Liberal political theorists

who posited the equal rights of man against prescribed hierarchies and inequalities were obsessed with a false focus on the theoretical equality

of male heads of families. They neglected the reality of inequality within

families(232) and neglected to study or theorize the processes by which hierarchies can shift smoothly over time.(233)

Alice's trip through the Looking-glass turned out to be a dream. One

cannot really enter authentically into the world of another culture. One always has one's own perspective and sees with eyes that are, to one degree

or another, limited and prejudiced. Although American feminists are responsible for their own behavior and its consequences, it is also important to realize that the women of Central and Eastern Europe are not

mere passive victims of American feminism. Their perspective also has its

limits and prejudices, and they also shape the consequences of the interaction. Even if one party to an interaction were actively seeking to

dominate the other, the interaction nevertheless presents opportunities for

that other to shape and rework. This degree of mutuality in fact, however

limited, offers promise, especially when feminists have significant bases

for political alliance and cooperation. At the very end of Alice Through the Looking-Glass, the heroine raised the question of agency: "(L)et's consider who it was that dreamed it all.... (I)t must have been either me

or the Red King. He was part of my dream, of course -- but then I was part

of his dream, too!"(234)

(1). Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the*

Looking-Glass 127 (Roger Lancelyn Green ed., Oxford Univ. Press 1971) (1872).

(2). *Id.*

(3). *Id.* at 128.

(4). *Id.* at 129.

(5). See, e.g., Jurek Martin, *Female Legislators Still Losing Battle*

of the Sexes: Fewer Women Elected in Former Communist States, *Fin. Times*,

Aug. 28, 1995, at 12.

(6). See Marlis Allendorf, *Women in Socialist Society* 94-209 (1975)

(describing government-sponsored efforts to bring about women's equality i

n

socialist countries from 1947-75). But see Zuzana Kiczko & Etela Farkasova, *The Emancipation of Women: A Concept that Failed*, in *Gender Politics and Post-Communism* 84-94 (Nanette Funk & Magda Mueller eds., 1993).

(7). Winston Churchill, *The Iron Curtain* (Mar. 5, 1946), in *Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat: The Speeches of Winston Churchill* 295, 303 (David Cannadine ed., 1989). The term "iron curtain" appears to have originated i

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1918 and was used by the Nazis near the end of World War II. Churchill himself used it in a telegram to President Truman on May 12, 1945, just days after the defeat of Germany. See John W. Young, *The Longman Companion*

To Cold War And Detente 1941-1991, at 291 (1993).

(8). Churchill, *supra* note 7, at 304.

(9). Edward Said coined the term "Orientalism" in his powerful critique of the ways in which scholars studying the Orient reinforced imperialism. See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* 2 (1978). He explains how the

Occident constructed the Orient as the Other, as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience," *id.* at 2, which allowed the West to dominat(e), restructur(e), and hav(e) authority over the Orient," *id.* at 3

See also *id.* at 327 (making specific references to "the Other").

(10). One might say that the "ironcurtain" reflected Western Europe t

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be twice as democratic as it was. Cf. Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*

53 (1929) ("Women have served all these centuries as looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man a

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twice its natural size."), Eastern Europe might also be considered a project of "diminished-orientalism," created to mediate between the Orient and the Occident. See Larry Wolfe, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* 8 (1994) ("(T)he study of Eastern Europe, like Orientalism, was a style of intellectual mastery, integrating knowledge and power, perpetrating domination and subordination.").

(11). For a brief history of female suffrage in Switzerland, see Lee

Ann Banaszak, *Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture, and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage* 144-45 (1996).

(12). Francisco Franco came to power in Spain after the Spanish Civil

War, aided by the Nazis. He remained in power until his death in 1975. For

a description of the Francoist regime, see generally Edouard De Blaye, *Franco and the Politics of Spain* (Brian Pearce trans., Penguin Books 1976)

(1974); Max Gallo, *Spain Under Franco: A History* (1973); Thomas J. Hamilton, *Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain* (1943); Stanley

G. Payne, *The Franco Regime 1936-1975* (1987); and Jose Yglesias, *The Franc*

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years (1977).

(13). See David Kennedy, *Turning a Market Democracy: A Tale of Two Architectures*, 32 Harv. Int'l L.J. 373, 374 (1991) (noting "background assumptions ... that the East 'lags' behind the West"). Kennedy explains further:

The dominant image governing (efforts to integrate Central and East European countries into the international market system) has been a "retur

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to normalcy," to universal reason, to the West. The 1989 rupture released

the East from primitivism, from ideology, from the priority of politics over economics, public over private, belief over reason. As for the deinstitutionalized insane, enlightened thought seeks to treat the East as

.normally" as possible. Id. at 385.

(14). Wolfe, *supra* note 10, at 3.

(15). The Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) from Central and Eastern Europe worked together in a caucus and referred to themselves as the "non-region" at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. See East-East Caucus at the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China (Sept. 14, 1995) (unpublished leaflet, on file with the Yal

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Law Journal).

(16). See European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, Project Report

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Status of Women in Eastern and Central Europe 6-9 (1995) (hereinafter Project Report) (on file with the Yale Law Journal).

(17). See id. at 24-27.

(18). See id. at 9.

(19). See id,

(20). See id. at 34-37.

(21). See id. at 35, 41-42.

(22). See id, at 45. The former harsh Romanian law against abortion was, however, repealed in late December 1989, the day after Ceausescu was

thrown out of office.

(23). See id, at 47.

(24). Aside from the numerous universities and other institutions supporting feminists' involvement, there are at least two organizations

involved in feminist work in Central and Eastern Europe, the Network of East-West Women and Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights. The Network of East-West Women is a membership organization founded some years ago by a group of women spearheaded by Ann Snitow and Slavenka Drakulic. Telephone

Interview with Ann Snitow (Mar. 4, 1997). Among its activities, it cosponsored a conference with the University of Connecticut Law School in

the spring of 1996, the papers from which will be published in the University of Connecticut Journal of International Law. See The Status of

Women in New Market Economies, 12 Conn. J. Int'l L. 1 (1997) (hereinafter

Connecticut Conference). Minnesota Advocates has worked against domestic violence. It has sent delegations to a number of countries in Central and

Eastern Europe and published reports on domestic violence in these countries. See Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, Domestic Violence in

Bulgaria (1996) (hereinafter Minnesota Advocates, Domestic Violence in Bulgaria); Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, Lifting the Last Curtain:

A Report on Domestic Violence in Romania (1995) (hereinafter Minnesota Advocates, Domestic Violence in Romania).

(25). While this Essay primarily addresses the United States, much of

what it discusses is to some extent applicable to Western European feminists as well.

(26). It is often difficult to judge when international cooperation has been effective. Certainly, many of the women in Central and Eastern Europe would assert that certain programs and projects have been helpful t

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them., but such self-reporting is not actual proof. See Connecticut Conference, *supra* note 24.

(27). See, e.g., Jane Flax, Race/Gender and the Ethics of Difference:

A Reply to Okin's "Gender Inequality and Cultural Differences", 23 Pol. Theory 500 (1995) (promoting postmodernism or "differences" approach to international feminist politics); Tracy E. Higgins, Anti-essentialism, Relativism, and Human Rights, 19 Harv. Women's L.J. 89 (1996) (examining cultural relativism, universalism, anti-essentialism, and international feminist politics); Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Under Western Eyes, in Third

World Women and the Politics of Feminism 51 (Chandra Talpade Mohanty et al

eds., 1991) (presenting classic critique of Western feminism as culturally

imperialistic and ethnocentrically universalistic); Vasuki Nesiah, Toward

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Feminist Internationality: A Critique of U.S. Feminist Legal Scholarship,

16 Harv. Women's L.J. 189 (1993) (criticizing American feminist legal scholarship as culturally insensitive); Susan Moller Okin, Gender Inequality and Cultural Differences, 22 Pol. Theory 5 (1994) (examining

sources of "essentialism" in feminist work and defending liberal conceptions of universalism); Marian Paules, *Returning the Gaze: The Thomas/Hill Hearings of 1991 as a Western Feminist Response to Mohanty* (June 14-16, 1996) (unpublished manuscript, on file with the Yale Law Journal) (relativizing Mohanty's critique in concrete context).

(28). My work in this area includes proposing and organizing a conference on Women and Nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe, funded

by the UCLA Center for the Study of Women, the UCLA Center for Russian and

East European Studies, the UCLA Law School, and the University of California at Berkeley Center for German and European Studies. The conference brought together speakers from Hungary, the former East Germany

and Bulgaria. Papers from the conference are published in *Symposium, Women*

in Central Eastern Europe: Nationalism, Feminism and Possibilities for the

Future, 5 UCLA Women's L.J. 1 (1994). I have also arranged for visits and

individual lectures throughout the United States by feminists from the former East Germany and Hungary.

(29). I did not visit the Soviet Union or Albania, as each had visa requirements that were too expensive for me to meet with the extremely limited financial resources I had at that time.

(30). This trip was financed in part by the Soros Foundation, through the Bibó István College of Law Students of the Eötvös Loránd University, and in part by the Academic Senate of UCLA.

(31). The University of Berlin's Projekt feministische Rechtswissenschaft offers anywhere between two and four courses a year. To

support Projekt feministische Rechtswissenschaft, I served as a Chaired Professor at the University of Berlin during 1995, and in February of this

year I began what I hope will be a regular three-week study tour to the United States, with visits to several leading law schools, lectures, and seminars for the students by some two dozen American feminist legal scholars.

(32). See Alice H. Amsden et al., *The Market Meets Its Match: Restructuring The Economies of Eastern Europe* (1994).

(33). See Wolfe, *supra* note 10, at 4-5.

(34). *Id.* at 4. Wolff remarks: "The invention of Eastern Europe was a

subtly self-promoting and sometimes overly self-congratulatory event in intellectual history, whereby Western Europe also identified itself and affirmed its own precedence." *Id.* at 360.

(35). Wolff notes: (It was the intellectual work of the Enlightenment

to bring about that modern reorientation of the continent which produced Western Europe and Eastern Europe. Poland and Russia would be mentally detached from Sweden and Denmark, and associated instead with Hungary and

Bohemia, the Balkan lands of Ottoman Europe, and even the Crimea on the

Black Sea. Id. at 5.

(36.) Id. at 359.

(37.) Vida Penezic, Women in Yugoslavia, in Postcommunism and The Bod

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Politic 57, 64 (Ellen E. Berry ed., 1995).

(38.) In contrast, because nationalists in Slovenia use the term "Central Europe" to identify themselves with Germany and Austria, and to sharpen the distinction between Slovenia and the supposedly less civilized

and less progressive countries to the South or to the East, some opponents

resisted this nationalist impulse by referring to the entire region, including their own country, as "Eastern Europe" during my trip there in September and October 1996. Interviews at University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

(Sept. 29-Oct. 5, 1996).

A sharper dispute regarding terminology exists with respect to the borders of Germany. Some conservative Germans refer to the portion of Germany most of us would consider "eastern" as "central Germany" and refer

to portions of Poland as "at the moment under Polish administration." This

terminology (zurzeit unter polnischer Verwaltung) is even used in a German-language road atlas for travelers published by Hallwag A.G. Bern an

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printed in Switzerland in 1968. See Europa Touring: Motoring Guide of Europe 88 (1968),

(39.) See Flax, *supra* note 27, at 502-03.

(40.) See *id.* at 503; Mohanty, *supra* note 27, at 73.

(41.) Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (H.M. Parshley ed. & trans.,

Alfred A. Knopf 1993) (1949), is the classic statement of this phenomenon.

(42.) See Mohanty, *supra* note 27, at 56, 72; Okin, *supra* note 27, at

15-17.

(43.) See Mohanty, *supra* note 27, at 55.

(44.) *Id.* at 54.

(45.) See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Can the Subaltern Speak?, in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* 271, 300-08 (Cary Nelson & Lawrence Grossberg eds., 1988); cf. Robin Jared Lewis, Comment, Sati and the Nineteenth-Century British Self, in *Sati, The Blessing and the Curse:*

The Burning of Wives in India 72 (John Stratton Hawley ed., 1994) (suggesting that some French and German authors used Sati as "an effective

vehicle for sharp satire of their own societies").

(46.) This topic has received enormous attention in American feminist

literature. See, e.g., Kay Boulware-Miller, Female Circumcision: Challenge

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to the Practice as a Human Rights Violation, 8 Harv. Women's L.J. 155 (1985); Karen Engle, Female Subjects of public International Law: Human Rights and the Exotic Other Female, 26 New Eng. L. Rev. 1509 (1992)

(presenting clitoridectomy as primary example); Alison T. Slack, Female Circumcision: A Critical Appraisal, 10 Hum. Rts. Q. 437 (1988). A LEXIS search in the Allrev File, conducted on January 20, 1997, produced 142 law

review entries referring to female "circumcision," "infibulation," "female

genital mutilation," or "FGM." Of these, at least 12 different articles or

Notes focused entirely on the issue. See Catherine L. Annas, Irreversible

Error: The Power and Prejudice of Female Genital Mutilation," 12 J. Contemp. Health L. & Pol'y 325 (1996); Layli Miller Bashir, Female Genital

Mutilation in the United States: An Examination of Criminal and Asylum Law

, 4 Am. U. J. Gender & L. 415 (1996); Karen Hughes, The Criminalization of Female Genital Mutilation in the United States, 4 J.L. & Pol'y 321 (1995)

; Gregory A. Kelson, Granting Political Asylum to Potential Victims of Female

Circumcision, 3 Mich. J. Gender & L. 257 (1995); Hope Lewis, Between Irue

and "Female Genital Mutilation": Feminist Human Rights Discourse and the Cultural Divide, 8 Harv. Hum. Rts. J. 1 (1995); Note, Female Genital Mutilation and Refugee Status in the United States -- A Step in the Right

Direction, 19 B.C. Int'l & Comp. L. Rev. 353 (1996); Joleen C. Lenihan, Comment, A Physician's Dilemma: Legal Ramifications of an Unorthodox Surgery, 35 Santa Clara L. Rev. 953 (1995); Daliah Setareh, Recent Development, Women Escaping Genital Mutilation -- Seeking Asylum in the United States, 6 UCLA Women's L.J. 123 (1995); Robyn Cerny Smith, Note, Female Circumcision: Bringing Women's Perspectives into the International

Debate, 65 S. Cal. L. Rev. 2449 (1992); Note, What's Culture Got to Do with

h It? Excising the Harmful Tradition of Female Circumcision, 106 Harv. L. Rev. 1944 (1993); Patricia Dysart Rudloff, Recent Development, In re Oluloro: Risk of Female Genital Mutilation as "Extreme Hardship" in Immigration Proceedings, 26 St. Mary's L.J. 877 (1995); Lisa Manshel, Book

Review, 16 Harv. Women's L.J. 298 (1993) (reviewing Alice Walker, Possessing the Secret of Joy (1992)).

(47.) A male doctor from Africa first alerted me to this problem when

he attended a conference held at the Rockefeller Conference and Study Center in Bellagio, Italy, while I was a Fellow of the Center, from May to

June 1994. See Public Health Training Programs for the Next Century: 821st

Conference of the Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio Study and Conference Center at the Villa Serbelloni (May 23-27, 1994). Since then, I have tried

to notice the issues on which African women receive attention in the United

States, and my nonscientific observations seem to bear this out.

(48.) Breast cancer is the classic example, but funding has recently been increased, in large part by allocating funds from the military budget to the issue. See Sandra G. Boodman, *Advocates of Breast Cancer Research Come of Age: Politics of an Illness*, Times Union (Albany), Apr. 24, 1994, at E1 (describing Pentagon funding for cancer research). Similar concerns have been raised about the allocation of funds for other diseases. See, e.g., Sandra G. Boodman, *The Rise of 'In-Your-Face' Activism*, Wash. Post, Apr. 19, 1994, (section) 8 (Magazine), at 7 (describing Pentagon funding for cancer research); Monica Fountain & Beradine Healy, *First Female Director of NIH, Making Women's Health a Priority*, Chi. Trib., Mar. 12, 1996, at 1E.

(49.) See, e.g., Tamara Jones, *Walls for Women in Germany*, L.A. Times, Aug. 6, 1991, at A1. While it is important for society to recognize that domestic violence is not just a problem of the poor, poverty exacerbates the situation of any particular woman because the stress of poverty contributes to violence. See Martha F. Davis & Susan J. Kraham, *Protecting Women's Welfare in the Face of Violence*, 22 Fordham Urb. L.J. 1141, 1145 (1995); see also *id.* at 1150 (maintaining that women's economic dependence on their batterers increases risk of serious injury); *id.* at 1154 ("(T)he most likely predictor of whether a battered woman will permanently separate from her abuser is whether she has the economic resources to survive without him.").

(50.) See Mohanty, *supra* note 27, at 66 (citing examples). This is the general attitude expressed by many Western feminists. For an excellent exposition of the need to complicate this view, see Lama Abu-Odeh, *Post-Colonial Feminism and the Veil: Considering the Differences*, 26 New Eng. L. Rev. 1527 (1992).

(51.) See Abu-Odeh, *supra* note 50, at 1530-32.

(52.) See William A. Rossi, *The Sex Life of The Foot and Shoe* 131, 132-33 (1976); Michael J. Coughlin & Francesca M. Thompson, *The High Price of High-Fashion Footwear*, 44 Institutional Course Lectures 371 (1995). On the internal and external pressure women feel to wear unhealthy, hampering shoes, see Susan Brownmiller, *Femininity* 183-87 (1984); Rossi, *supra*, at 9 ("Who wears sexless shoes? Mostly sexually turned off women: the elderly or infirm Then there are those women with psychosexual inhibitions or neurotic problems, who use their desexed shoes as a pedic chastity belt. O

butch-type lesbians who deliberately masculinize their appearance."); id a

123-24 (referring to flat or low heels as "mannish" and elaborating on sexlessness of "sensible" shoes). On the similar pressure not to wear "sensible shoes," see Brownmiller, *supra*, at 186-87. See also Rossi, *supra*

at 151-52 (describing "podoalgolagnia" as common; "a sadomasochistic experience of foot deformation through foot-constricting shoes to increase

sex attraction. This is our own choice. We'll have it no other way because

the pleasure is greater than the pain.").

(53.) See Minnesota Advocates, Domestic Violence in Bulgaria, *supra* note 24; Minnesota Advocates, Domestic Violence in Romania, *supra* note 24.

(54.) It should be clear that to the extent this is a critique, it is an internal critique or a self-critique. I am myself right at the head of

some of these armies of feminists.

(55.) Interview with Petra Blass, Member of the German Parliament (representing Sachsen-Anhalt), in Crianlarich, Scotland (July 16, 1996).

(56.) Id. By "doing politics," she meant being actively involved in political activity.

(57.) For example, the disastrous immediate effects of programs of structural adjustment on the poor have generally been given little attention in large part because those injured have been disproportionately

female. See Victoria Daines & David Seddon, *Fighting for Survival: Women's*

Responses to Austerity Programs, in John Walton & David Seddon, *Free Markets & Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment* 57, 58-59 (1994);

Diane Elson, *Male Bias in Macro-economics: The Case of Structural Adjustment*, in *Male Bias in the Development Process* 164 (Diane Elson ed.,

2d ed. 1995).

(58.) The literature is extensive. For classic examples, see Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought* (1990); Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race & Class* (1981); Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter* 51, 170-76, 307-11 (1984); Bell Hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (1984) (hereinafter *Hooks, Feminist Theory*); Bell Hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender,*

and Cultural Politics (1990); and *This Bridge Called my Back: Writings by*

Radical Women of Color (Cherrie Moraga & Gloria Anzaldua eds., 1981).

(59.) See, e.g., *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power: Essays on Anit*

Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality (Toni Morrison ed., 1992); Elizabeth V. Spelman, *Inessential Woman: Problems of*

Exclusion in Feminist Thought (1988); Carol B. Stack, *All Our Kin: Strategies For Survival in a Black Community* (1975); Patricia J. Williams,

The Alchemy of Race and Rights (1991); Jennifer Wriggins, *Rape, Racism, and the Law*, 6 Harv. Women's L.J. 103 (1983).

(60.) White women have been properly criticized for failing to take sufficient account of the experiences and contributions of women of color.

See, e.g., Hooks, *Feminist Theory*, supra note 58, at 1-10; Kimberle Crenshaw, *Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics*, 1989 U. Chi. Legal F. 139. Yet there is also literature emphasizing the importance for people of color to speak in their own voice

and criticizing white women for appropriating the experiences of black women or for seeming to try to speak for them. See, e.g., Hooks, *Feminist*

Theory, supra note 58, at 11; Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (1984).

White women have similarly criticized men: Men seem either to ignore feminist scholarship and women's issues or alternatively to become the "experts" on feminism, appropriating feminist analysis and then generally

being cited more frequently than the women whose work they have appropriated. See Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* 291-92, 299-313 (1991); Richard Delgado, *The Imperial Scholar: Reflections on a Review of Civil Rights Literature*, 132 U. Pa. L.

Rev. 561 (1984). I have even heard people claim that men write about feminism better than women do because they are more objective on the subject Cf. Lorraine Dusky, *Still Unequal* 113 (1996) (reporting observatio

by female law professor that if she taught gender issues her teaching was

labeled "political and biased," while male colleagues were "perceived as objective or neutral, particularly on gender issues").

(61.) On the relationship between categories of thought and power, se

generally Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (1970); and Michel Foucault

Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 (Colin Gordon ed. & Colin Gordon et al. trans., 1980). On its application to the

study of cultures, see Said, supra note 9, at 3. For a pre-transition examination of whether Western categories apply to Eastern European women,

see Alfred G. Meyer, *Feminism, Socialism, and Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, in *Women, State and Party in Eastern Europe* 13, 14 (Sharon L. Wolchik & Alfred G. Meyer eds., 1985).

(62.) See Flax, supra note 27, at 502-03.

(63.) See supra notes 58-60 and accompanying text.

(64.) See Dorothy J. Rosenberg, *Step Sisters: On the Difficulties of*

German-German Feminist Cooperation, in *Communication in Eastern Europe: Th*

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Role of History, Culture, and Media in Contemporary Conflict 81-109 (Fred

L. Casmir ed., 1995); Dorothy J. Rosenberg, Shock Therapy: GDR Women in Transition from a Socialist Welfare State to a Social Market Economy, 17 Signs 129, 146 (1991) (hereinafter Rosenberg, Shock Therapy).

(65.) See Rosenberg, Shock Therapy, *supra* note 64, at 146; see also Hermine G. De Soto, Crossing Western Boundaries: How East Berlin Women Observed Women Researchers from the West After Socialism, 1991-1992, in Fieldwork Dilemmas in Postsocialist Societies (Nora Dudwick & Hermine G. D

e

Soto eds., forthcoming 1997).

(66.) See generally Mohanty, *supra* note 27, at 53-54 (arguing that Western feminist emphasis on male dominance in Third World struggles deemphasizes or denies importance of imperialism).

(67.) See generally *id.* at 55.

(68.) See *id.* *passim*.

(69.) Nesiah, *supra* note 27, at 195.

(70.) *Id.* at 196.

(71.) Women from Central and Eastern Europe find themselves in a further, more complex hybrid position. They are at the bottom of the hierarchy between Eastern and Western Europe and are relatively economically underprivileged, yet they are on the top side of the Western/Third World feminist hierarchy and share racial privilege with mos

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other Europeans.

(72.) Neither passing up the opportunity to express my views nor trying to write from a perspective other than my own offers any personal solution to the general problem of unequal access to influential channels

of communication. Direct recognition rather than denial of my specific perspective would seem to encourage a greater sensitivity to the many ways

that cultural and political differences can skew one's judgment of a situation; for example, cultural or political differences can make one think that just because something goes "the other way," it also goes "the

wrong way." Moreover, acknowledging my own partial perspective may aid others in their judgment of whether I am correct or not.

(73.) Jeffrey Sachs is a Harvard economist whose views have been enormously influential on the policies of countries adopting a market economic system and on the international lending agencies determining what

conditions to place on loans and credits to the countries. "Shock therapy"

is one of his best known approaches. See Amsden et al., *supra* note 32; Peter Gowan, Neo-Liberal Theory and Practice for Eastern Europe, 213 New Left Rev. 3, 24 (1995).

(74.) For a description of some of these policies, see Walton & Seddon, *supra* note 57, at 288-329.

(75.) For an analysis of the situation in the eastern portion of Germany, see Anneliese Braun et al., Rolling Back the Gender Status of Eas

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German Women, in German Unification: The Destruction of an Economy 147-50

(Hanna Behrend ed., 1995).

(76.) See *id.* at 146-47; see also Jones, *supra* note 49 (stating that

German "federal government... acknowledges that women are suffering the most in the east's chaotic transition to a free-market system"); Jonathan

Kaufman, *Women Find Freedom Doesn't Mean Liberation*, *Boston Globe*, Dec. 27

, 1990, at 19 ("Across Eastern Europe women are complaining about cuts in subsidies and child care, which hit women and families hardest."); *id.* ("(O)ver the short term, women are bearing the brunt of economic hard times.").

(77.) This seems to be the attitude of a number of very successful antifeminist women. See generally Camille Paglia, *Sex, Art, and American Culture* (1992); Katie Roiphe, *The Morning, After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism*

on Campus (1993); Naomi Wolf, *Fire with Fire: The New Female Power and How*

It Will Change the 21st Century (1993).

(78.) See, e.g., Mohanty, *supra* note 27, at 63-66.

(79.) See Crenshaw, *supra* note 60, at 162-63.

(80.) The socialist slogan, "Workers of the world, unite and fight" illustrates this class-based internationalism.

(81.) After years of official promotion of internationalism, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have developed strong nationalist

parties remarkably quickly. The former Yugoslavia is perhaps the most tragic and striking example of this phenomenon. See generally Edgar O'Ballance, *Civil War in Yugoslavia* (1993). On the rise of nationalism throughout the formerly socialist countries of Europe, see Celestine Bohlen, *Eastern Europe's Women Struggle with New Rules and Old Ones*, N.Y.

Times, Nov. 25, 1990, (section) 7 (Week in Review), at 1 (describing resurfacing of conservative attitudes toward women, usually with strong ties to nationalism); Richard Caplan & John Feffer, *Introduction to Europe's New Nationalism: States and Minorities in Conflict* 4, 5, 8 (Richard Caplan & John Feffer eds., 1966).

(82.) For one scholar's description of some of the ways that nationalism is bad for women, see Penka Angelova, *Women and Nationalism: O*

n *the Position of Women in the Nationalist Movements of the Balkan Peninsula*

, 5 *UCLA Women's L.J.* 49, 54-61 (Dorothy J. Rosenberg trans., 1994); see als

o Bohlen, *supra* note 81, at 2 (describing nationalistic pro-natalism developing throughout countries in transition).

(83.) The Treaty of Rome, the founding document for the European Economic Community, now the European Union, provided for equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. This minor provision underpins the development of European Union sex discrimination law. More extensive protections could be inserted into trade agreements, such as NAFTA, as a condition for women's support.

(84.) See Richard Kieschten, *A Page Was Turned in Cairo*, 26 *Nat'l J.*

2178 (1994).

(85.) See, for example, the news release issued by the Holy See at th

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conclusion of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. As a delegate to the Conference, I was present when a man in a priest's collar,

apparently part of the delegation from the Holy See (or Vatican), distributed a gold-colored leaflet that encouraged countries to express reservations and to resist the supposed imperialist imposition of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. I issued a leaflet the same day in response to this pressure tactic and to other manipulations by the

Holy See and other antifeminist government delegations. See Professor F. Olsen, Appeal to Delegates (Sept. 13, 1995) (unpublished leaflet, on file

with the Yale Law Journal).

(86.) See generally Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class,

Gender, and Propaganda During World War II (1984) (describing fact and portrayal of women's wartime employment).

(87.) See Leila J. Rupp & Verta Taylor, Survival in the Doldrums: The

American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s, at 13-14, 18-19 (1987).

(88.) See id. at 18-19 (describing postwar social climate of antifeminism).

(89.) See Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique 46-47, 344 (1963).

(90.) One might have thought that this claim had already been disproven before and during the Second World War, but it seems to spring u

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again almost every decade. The modern approach is to argue that women simply do not want to do particular kinds of work. For an analysis of this

approach, see Vicki Schultz, Telling Stories About Women and Work. Judicia

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Interpretations of Sex Segregation in the Workplace in Title VII Cases Raising the Lack of Interest Argument, 103 Harv. L. Rev. 1749, 1799-815 (1990).

(91.) See Bohlen, supra note 81, at 2 ("With notable exceptions, wome

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were often shunted into feminized professions, such as teaching or medicine, where both the pay and the prestige were correspondingly low.").

I also heard these claims throughout my childhood. The main evidence they

gave of this allegedly lower status was that doctors in the Soviet Union did not earn the very high salaries that many American doctors began successfully to demand for themselves. Even if the lower salary could be translated into lower status, it is not clear why that should discount the

American feminist assertions about the ability of women to practice medicine. Of course, there is no logical basis for believing that there is

any connection between women's medical abilities and the low status said to be enjoyed by doctors in the Soviet Union; the quick dismissal, however, of the assertion that many Soviet doctors were women and that this mattered was akin to the general dismissal of any experience from the Soviet Union as proving anything worthwhile. More recently, at a conference held at the

University of Connecticut, see *supra* note 24, I have heard Russian women make a similar claim about the low status of doctors; they make the assertion as part of a feminist critique of the superficiality of the improvement in the status of women in the Soviet Union, not to discount women's equality in general.

(92.) A further example is provided by Nepal, where a large portion of law professors are women, but the profession is of relatively low status.

Women are attracted to legal academia because they can coordinate it with child care better than they can coordinate most legal jobs. Interview with

Women Law Professors, including Kusum Saakha and Society for Constitutional and Parliamentary Exercise (S.C.O.P.E.) members in Kathmandu, Nepal (July

7, 1991); see also Philip Blumstein & Pepper Schwartz, *American Couples: Money, Work, Sex* 144 (1983); Frances Olsen, *Does Enough Work Make Women Free? Part-time and Full-time Work Strategies for Women*, 53 *Indian J. Soc.*

Work 599, 606 (1992) (explaining that law teaching in Nepal has low prestige and is considered part-time work because it is done by women).

(93.) See Gisela Kaplan, *Contemporary Western European Feminism* 38-41

(1992); see also Blumstein & Schwartz, *supra* note 92, at 144.

(94.) See Sharon Wolchik, *Introduction to Women in the Precommunist Period*, in *Women, State and (Party in Eastern Europe*, *supra* note 61, at 45

49 (discussing claims of activists in Czechoslovakia, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia).

(95.) While many associate the slogan "Kinder, Kirche, Kuche" with the Nazi view of women, the phrase actually originated before the Nazi era. See

Louis L. Snyder, *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* 194 (1976); see also Renate Bridenthal & Claudia Koonz, *Beyond Kinder, Kirche, Kirche: Weimar Women in Politics and Work*, in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar*

and Nazi Germany 33, 54-57 (Renate Bridenthal et al. eds., 1984) (explaining continuing appeal of conservative antifeminism to women as related to shallowness and superficiality of supposed equality enacted in

Weimar constitution). A 1934 speech of Hitler captures some of the Nazi ideology of gender relations: (T)he world of woman ... is her husband, her

family, her children, and her house.... Providence has assigned woman the

task of caring for this world of her own, and only from this can the man construct and mold his world. These two worlds are therefore never in conflict. They complement each other, they belong together, like man and woman belong together. We do not think it is proper if woman invades the world of the man and enters his territory; instead we think it is natural

for these worlds to remain apart. One is characterized by strength of feeling, strength of soul! While the other requires strength of vision, toughness, determination, and willingness to sacrifice! Adolf Hitler, The

Role of Women in the Volksgemeinschaft, in *Inside Hitler's Germany* 262 (Benjamin C. Sax & Dieter Kuntz eds., 1992). Similarly, the guidelines of

the Party issued in 1933 to the National Socialist Women's League provided

in part as follows: We reject the misguided direction of the democratic-liberalistic-international women's movement because they have not discovered new paths based on God and nationhood, and which are rooted

in women's souls; instead they represent the point of view that women are

competitive with (or equal to) men, and in the demands they have raised they have elevated temporary stopgap measures to the position of a fundamental principle. This has resulted in the creation of a motherhood that has misplaced its energies and that has not understood its task in Germany's time of need. The National Socialist Women's League, in *Inside Hitler's Germany*, supra, at 265.

(96.) See, e.g. Carol J. Williams, *Awaiting Another Revolution*, L.A. Times, Dec. 4, 1996, at A1 (stating that Soviet-era Parliament included approximately 15% to 20% women, but they were powerless to change anything

and that Communist parties in Russia continue to employ "patronizing quotas" for women while other parties retain resentment of Communist-era tokenism). To the extent that the government positions lacked power, the idea that women were selected on the basis that they did not threaten the

men may well be an American projection. See generally Frances Olsen, *Affirmative Action: Necessary but Not Sufficient*, 71 Chi-Kent L. Rev. 937,

941-42 (showing why American law faculties may prefer least threatening women and minority faculty candidates rather than most promising ones).

(97.) See, e.g., Rosenberg, *Shock Therapy*, supra note 64, at 136-38 (discussing role of women in East Germany). These countries were also seriously in need of labor power to rebuild after the destruction of the war. Thus the employment of women in work outside the domestic sphere was

attractive to the governments quite aside from ideology. For a discussion

of ideology, see Hermine G. De Soto, *Equality/Inequality: Contesting Femal*

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Personhood in the Process of Making Civil Society in Eastern Germany, in

observer asserted that Romanian government policy in support of women's equality would have shifted if President Nicolae Ceausescu's economic policy were effective, thereby "rais(ing) labor productivity, eas(ing) the

labor shortage, and reduc(ing) the need for women in the economy." Mary Ellen Fischer, *Women in Romanian Politics: Elena Ceausescu, Pronatalism, and the Promotion of Women*, in *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe*,

supra note 61, at 121, 137.

(98.) See Jane S. Jaquette, *Foreword to Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe*, supra note 61, at xiii, xiv. She writes: (T)he experience

of Eastern European women illustrates, in part because government policies

have gone much further than our current consensus in the West (excluding Scandinavia) will allow, the limits of government-sponsored change. It als

proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that such sponsorship, though it makes a

real difference, falls short of our vision. *Id.*

(99.) See *id.*

(100.) Interview with Members of Women's Committee, I.G. Metall Union

Offices, Frankfurt/Main, Germany (Spring 1992).

(101.) Interview with Vika Potochik, Member of Parliament and Chairwoman, Commission for Women's Politics of the National Assembly of Slovenia; Danica Simsic, Member of Parliament and Member of Commission for

Women's Politics of the National Assembly of Slovenia; and Bojan Bugaric,

University of Ljubljana, in the Parliamentary Offices of Vika Potochik, National Assembly, Ljubljana, Slovenia (Oct. 3, 1996).

(102.) *Id.*

(103.) *Id.*

(104.) See Office for Women's Policy, *Statistics on Women in Slovenia*

(1995) (setting forth statistics from 1991 to 1994).

(105.) There seems to be an interesting contrast between economic welfare and the issue of reproductive freedom. The deteriorating economic

position of women in many countries of Central and Eastern Europe occurs despite the law and often in violation of the law, as suggested by the examples from eastern Germany and Slovenia. Deterioration of the opportunity for birth control and abortion seems to occur primarily throug

changes in the law. The main exception was an administrative regulation in

Poland which restricted access before the parliament enacted its restrictive law. See Malgorzata Fuszara, *Legal Regulation of Abortion in Poland*, 17 *Signs* 117, 123 (1991). Preventing abortion, or more accurately

criminalizing abortion, appears to be ideologically important to certain Catholics and conservatives. See John Paul II, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope* 204-11 (Jenny McPhee & Martha McPhee trans., 1994); Bohlen, *supra* note

81; Kaufman, *supra* note 76 (reporting that deputy speaker of Polish Senate

"has come under fierce attack by the Catholic Church for opposing the abortion bill"). The deterioration of women's economic circumstances, however, takes place outside the law and is presented as the "mere" side effect of economic transformation and moves toward "efficiency." See Bohlen, *supra* note 81.

(106.) Interview with Vika Potochik, *supra* note 101.

(107.) *Id.*

(108.) *Id.*

(109.) See Office for Women's Policy, *supra* note 104.

(110.) See *id.* (noting that women worked 93.6% of hours men worked).

(111.) On the general high unemployment of women in Central and Eastern Europe, see Project Report, *supra* note 16, at 23-27.

(112.) See (sections) 218a Strafgesetzbuch (StGB) (F.R.G.) (amendment

of June 18, 1974).

(113.) Judgment of Feb. 25, 1975, Bundesverfassungsgericht (BVerfGE)

39, 1 (F.R.G.).

(114.) See (sections) 218 (III)(2) StGB (amendment of Mar. 18, 1943);

Frances Olsen, *The Supreme Court, 1988 Term -- Comment, Unraveling Compromise*, 103 Harv. L. Rev. 105, 132 (1989) (discussing Nazis' impositio

of capital punishment for "aggravated cases").

(115.) See Dorothy J. Rosenberg, *Conference on German Identity -- East*

and West 5-6, 8-9 (Aug. 30, 1995) (unpublished manuscript, on file with the

Yale Law Journal).

(116.) See Hermine G. De Soto, (Re)Inventing Berlin: Dialectics of Power, Symbols and Pasts, 1990-1995, *City & Soc'y* (forthcoming 1997).

(117.) See *id.*

(118.) See *id.*

(119.) Interview with Tom Raiser, Dean, Humboldt University, Berlin (May 24, 1995); Interview with Bernhard Schlink, Professor, Humboldt University, Berlin (June 22, 1994); Interview with Rosemarie Will, Professor, Humboldt University, Berlin (June 7, 1995).

(120.) Interview with Tom Raiser, *supra* note 119; Interview with Rosemarie Will, *supra* note 119.

(121.) In Germany, professors choose which individuals to accept as graduate students to pursue the doctorate and the habilitation, the advanced degrees needed to become a German professor. See Frances Olsen, *Employment Discrimination in the New Europe*, 20 J.L. & Soc'y 131, 141-42 (1993). As in the United States, the support of a professor is important i

obtaining a teaching position. See Robert Birmingham, *Proving Miracles and*

the First Amendment, 5 Geo. Mason L. Rev. 45, 48 (1996) ("At German universities, talent descended from father to son-in-law, young academics

marrying their professors' daughters, and thus improving their prospect of appointments to professorships.") (citing Mark Kac, *Enigmas of Choice: An Autobiography* 28 (1985)).

(122.) Interview with Alenka Selih, Ljubljana, Slovenia, Oct. 4, 1996

(123.) Id.; Interview with Bojan Bugaric, Ljubljana, Slovenia, Sept.

27, 1996.

(124.) See generally Roger Cohen, *Serbian General Who Calls the Shots*

Determined and Calling West's Bluff, N.Y. Times, Apr. 17, 1994, (sections)

1, at 12 ("Provocations directed at the Serbian minority by the Croatian

President, Franjo Tudjman (included the banning of the Cyrillic script in

Croatia, the removal of some Serbs from public administration posts, and the initial tolerance of the use of Ustashe, or Croatian fascist, symbols."). Furthermore, (i)n one of his first acts, Mr. Tudjman decreed that Croatia should adopt a red-and-white checkerboard coat of arms that closely resembles the symbol of the fascist Ustashe state. That coat of arms is now part of the Croatian flag.... (T)he Croatian Parliament accepted Mr. Tudjman's recommendation that the country adopt a new currenc

y and call it the Kuna, which was the name of the national currency during the Ustashe period. Stephen Kinzer, *Pro-Nazi Rulers' legacy Still Lingers*

for Croatia, N.Y. Times, Oct. 31, 1993, (sections) 1, at 10.

(125.) On the importance of foreign money, see Raymond Bonner, *A Would-Be Tito Helps to Dismantle His Legacy*, N.Y. Times, Aug. 20, 1995, (sections) 1, at 12 "(T)he Croatian Democratic Union ... won the first elections, helped by financing from anti-communist Croatian emigres in the

United States and Kinzer, *supra* note 124, at 10 ("Mr. Tudjman's refusal to

condemn the Ustashe legacy helps solidify his support among some Croatian

nationalists and among rightist Croatian exiles who contribute to his political campaigns.").

(126.) This was how the United States smuggled Klaus Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyon," out of Europe, in March 1951, before the French could lay hands on him. After the French finally successfully extradited Barbie

as a war criminal, in February 1983, a flurry of articles explained how th

e American Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) paid a Croatian Catholic priest,

Father Krunosla Draganovic, to smuggle Barbie and thousands of other Nazi

war criminals out of Europe with the active assistance of the Vatican and the International Red Cross through what became known as the "Ratline." See Charles R. Allen, Jr., *Nazi War Criminals in America: Facts ... Action: The Basic Handbook* 37-39, 41 (1985); Haim Genizi, *America's Fair Share: The Admission and Resettlement of Displaced Persons, 1945-1952*, at 88-92 (1993); Allan A. Ryan, *Klaus Barbie and the United States Government: A Report to the Attorney General of the United States* 135-63 (1983); Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War* 176-85 (1988); Obituary of Klaus Barbie, *Daily Telegraph*, Sept. 27, 1991, at 19; Priest Linked to Escape of Barbie, *Record* (Bergen, N.J.), May 8, 1986, at A8; Richard Rashke, *Dominique D'Ermo and the Plot to Kill Klaus Barbie*, *Regardie's Mag.*, Oct. 1989, at 92; Alexandre Zvielli, *Unveiled Top-Secret Report Reveals: The Rat Route*, *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 4, 1990, at 1.

(127.) See Robert J. Donia & John V.A. Fine Jr., *Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* 141 (1994) ("In the Serbian nationalist lexicon, Jasenovac is an instantly identifiable symbol of Croatian genocide."); Chris Hedges, *Croatian War-Shrine Plan Revives Pain*, *N.Y. Times*, May 19, 1996, (sections) 1, at 6 ("President Franjo Tudjman ... said a few days ago that he wanted to turn the (Jasenovac) camp into 'a memoria for all victims of war.' Those who died under fascist and Communist rule, along with the dead from the 1991 Croatian war against the Serbs, would lie side by side at Jasenovac.").

(128.) On Lithuania, see *Nazi War Crimes Shadow Lithuanian President's First Visit to Israel*, *Agence France-Presse*, Feb. 28, 1995, available in LEXIS, Nexis Library, AFP File (reporting Jerusalem's Simon Wiesenthal Centre Director Efraim Zuroff's accusation that "(t)here are around 5,000 Lithuanians involved in the murder of Jews during the Holocaust ... among those rehabilitated by the Lithuanian government").

(129.) A LEXIS search of the Allrev File, conducted on January 20, 1997, turned up more than a dozen references to "New McCarthyism," almost all referring to "political correctness" or efforts to reduce racism and sexism. The two exceptions, one Australian, were references to alleged McCarthy-like political repression against legal academics associated with

Critical Legal Studies (CLS),

(130.) See Dinesh D'Souza, *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race*

and Sex on Campus 195 (1991) (discussing alleged "McCarthyism of the left").

(131.) See David Lodge, *Mind Your Language*, Sunday Times (London), Oct. 16, 1994 (reviewing *The War of the Words: The Political Correctness Debate* (Susan Durrant ed., 1994) (hereinafter *The War of the Words*)); see

also Deborah Cameron, "Words, Words, Words": The Power of Language, in *The War of the Words*, supra.

(132.) See D'Souza, supra note 130, at 194-228. Any issue of the newspaper *Heterodoxy* would have one or more such stories. See also *The War of the Words*, supra note 131.

(133.) See, e.g., *Dateline NBC: Affirmative Reaction* (NBC television broadcast, Jan. 23, 1996) (tracking down and disproving claim by Tom Wood, coauthor of California's anti-affirmative action Initiative 209, that he was denied academic job because of reverse discrimination); see also Russell Jacoby, *Dogmatic Wisdom* (1994) (acknowledging, in context of criticizing "cultural war," massive difference between "political correctness" and McCarthyism, and tracking down and debunking various right-wing claims of political repression); Christopher Phelps, *The Second*

Tune as Farce: The Rights's "New McCarthyism", *Monthly Rev.*, Oct. 1991, at 39 (demolishing claim that political correctness is worse than McCarthyism).

(134.) See, e.g., Sean Wilentz, *Sense and Sensitivity*, *New Republic*, Oct. 31, 1994, at 43, 46 (reviewing Richard Bernstein, *Dictatorship of Virtue: Multiculturalism and the Battle for America's Future* (1994)) (describing McCarthy-era "jailings, congressional subpoenas, rampant blacklisting and the firing of untold thousands of Americans from their jobs, including upward of 600 teachers and professors").

(135.) See Ellen W. Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* 204 (1986) (discussing case of Leon Kamin, who was not fired

but not reappointed because of his refusal to cooperate with Jenner Committee); id. at 249 (discussing case of Helen Deane Markham, who was also neither fired nor reappointed for same reason); Jerry Frug, *McCarthyism and Critical Legal Studies*, 22 *Harv. C.R.-C.L. L. Rev.* 665, 67

1 (1987) (reviewing Schrecker, supra).

(136.) See, e.g., Gwen Ifill, *Bush Cites Arkansas Crime in Attack on*

Clinton Record, *N.Y. Times*, Sept. 29, 1992, at A19; Major Garrett, 'We Need' Bush, Reagan Says; Delegates Laugh, Cry, Cheer Ex-President, *Wash. Times*, Aug. 18, 1992, at A1.

(137.) One could equally well claim that the collapse of the Soviet Bloc proved that Trotsky was correct and Stalin mistaken about the need fo

r worldwide revolution, rather than "socialism in one country." Or one could

speculate that when Communism falls, capitalism cannot be far behind. My favorite counter to the right-wing assertion arose from a 10-day lecture tour I made to Hungary in the very early spring of 1989, before the transition. I spoke with a wide variety of people who were struggling in one way or another for basic societal changes, including women's groups and

three different women, each of whom believed she was "the only feminist in

Hungary." By the end of the trip, I had reached some conclusions: Based on

the society's failure to deal adequately with the situation of women, I predicted that the government would not survive. Therefore, by the same logic used by the right wing, my prediction proves that feminism is correct.

(138.) Within the United States, "identity politics" is most often used to refer to such progressive movements. One useful description suggests:

In what could be considered the first stage of identity politics, individuals

identified with general characteristics such as race, gender, or national origin to contend that discriminatory distinctions should not be made on the basis of those categories. The

early

civil rights and women's movements, for example, argued that African-Americans and

women were

entitled to the same rights as white men. Asserting that there was no significant

difference between blacks

and whites or between women and men, these movements aimed to achieve

a system by which skin color or sex did not determine one's place in society. Subsequent movements rejected this paradigm of liberal pluralism on

the

ground that its colorblind and sexblind mentality obscured real cultural and

political (and

some even argued

biological) differences between the groups. Some individuals and groups in a

proliferating list

of movements based on identity began proudly to (re)assert, or perhaps

reclaim, their

identities -- as African-American, Asian-American, Latino or Native

American,

as female, as gay

or lesbian, as disabled, as working class and so forth. Eventually,

identity

politics called upon

dominant groups to acknowledge their positionality as well, so that

some

began classifying

others or themselves as white, as male, as straight, as able-bodied,

as

upper-middle class. Dan Danielsen & Karen Engle, Introduction to After Identity at xiv (Dan Danielsen & Karen Engle eds., 1995). A more international context may engender a less positive view of identity politics. As Valentine Moghadam writes, for example:

During the 1980s, discourses and movements centered on issues of identity

erupted around

the world with considerable force. Questions of cultural, religious,

national, linguistic, and

sexual identity commanded center stage, relegating questions of

economic

justice, at least

temporarily, to the background.... In the wake of the dismantling of

Communism in Eastern

Europe and the Soviet Union political-cultural movements of all type

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have

emerged in the

former socialist bloc, destroying old solidarities and redefining

group

identity and boundaries

between groups. The tragedy in the former Yugoslavia is only the mos

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violent. Valentine M. Moghadam, Introduction: Women and Identity Politics in Theoretical and Comparative Perspective, in Identity Politics

and Women: Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspectiv

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3, 3 (Valentine M. Moghadam ed., 1994).

(139.) As Moghadam states:

Whereas the discourse of "national character," "national psychology"

and

national identity used

to be associated with the Right, it now spans the political

spectrum....

Whereas the

socialization of the means of production was once the dividing line

between

Left and Right in

d the West, now it is multiculturalism in the university curriculum an
the school system. The workers' or labor movement is apparently a thing of the past, succeeded by a plethora of social movements, many of them organized around questions of identity. Moghadam, *supra* note 138, at 4. (140.) For example, although the working class may constitute a large portion of the population, paid workers are actually a relatively small group. The unstated assumption that male heads of households provide adequate political representation for their families has been attacked by feminists from Elizabeth Cady Stanton and most of the suffragists down to the present day. See *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage* 108 (Mari Jo & Paul Buhle eds., 1978); Luce Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman* (1985); Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (1979) (criticizing Western maledominated tradition of political thought, from Plato to John Stuart Mill and beyond); Iris Marion Young, *Impartiality and the Civic Public: Some Implications of Feminist Critiques of Moral and Political Theory*, in *Feminism as Critique: On the Politics of Gender* 57 (Seyla Benhabib & Drucilla Cornell eds., 1987). (141.) See Duncan Kennedy, *Neither the Market Nor the State: Housing Privatization Issues*, in *A Fourth Way? Privatization, Property, and the Emergence of New Market Economies* 253 (Gregory S. Alexander & Grazyna Skapska eds., 1994) (proposing housing privatization policy animated by ideals of solidarity and participation); Duncan Kennedy & Leopold Specht, *Limited Equity Housing Cooperatives as a Mode of Privatization*, in *A Fourth Way?*, *supra*, at 267 (detailing method for privatizing housing). (142.) See, e.g., Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres & Barbara Laslett, *Introduction to Forum*, 17 *Signs* 112, 113 (1991). (143.) See Jaquette, *supra* note 98, at xiv. (144.) See Braun et al., *supra* note 75, at 142. (145.) See Naomi Caine & Helen Davidson, *Men Still Behave Badly over Women's Salaries*, *London Times*, Jan. 26, 1997 (reporting on study by British Equal Opportunities Commission concluding that at current rate, "women will wait until the year 2040 to achieve equality in pay"). Different studies come to different conclusions, but none suggests equality any time soon. (146.) See, e.g., Nadine M. Taub & Elizabeth Schneider, *Women's Subordination and the Role of Law*, in *The Politics of Law: A Progressive Critique* 151, 160-71 (David Kairys ed., rev. ed. 1990); Ann E. Freedman,

Sex Equality, Sex Differences, and the Supreme Court, 92 Yale L.J. 913, 96

(1983) (emphasizing importance of critiquing sexist social norms and practices to combat sex discrimination); Kathryn L. Powers, Sex Segregation

and the Ambivalent Directions of Sex Discrimination Law, 1979 Wis. L. Rev.

55, 102-05. On legal legitimation generally, see Frances Olsen, Socrates on

Legal Obligation: Legitimation Theory and Civil Disobedience, in Legal and

Political Obligation: Classic and Contemporary Texts and Commentary 66-69

(R. George Wright ed., 1992), revised and reprinted from 18 Ga. L. Rev. 929, 951-54 (1984) (discussing how legal practices can reconcile oppressed

to their oppression and help oppressors to feel justified in their oppressive behavior).

Typically, racial segregation and oppression have been thought to rest on force and violence (lynchings, arrests, physical intimidation) while male domination is thought to be customary and to maintain itself through ideological hegemony. In fact, the role of force and violence in maintaining the gender hierarchy may be underestimated, just as the role of

ideology in maintaining racial hierarchy may be underestimated. On the role

of violence in maintaining gender hierarchy, see Susan Brownmiller, *Against*

Our Will: Men, Women and Rape 14-15 (1975) (discussing prehistoric discovery of rape as conscious process of intimidation); Frances Olsen, *Feminist Theory in Grand Style*, 89 Colum. L. Rev. 1147, 1177 (1989) (discussing pervasiveness of sexuality in women's subordination and therefore rape as act of sexual terror against women as a group). On the role of ideology in maintaining racial hierarchy, see Alan David Freeman,

Legitimizing Racial Discrimination Through Anti-Discrimination Law: A Critical Review of Supreme Court Doctrine, 62 Minn. L. Rev. 1049, 1051 (1978) (arguing that Supreme Court opinions both reflect and crystallize dominant societal moral positions regarding discrimination).

Generally, women seem to gain from the process of delegitimizing existing structures. Yet because women are so often denied legitimacy, this

process can be double-edged. On delegitimizing women's experience of sexual

harassment through its trivialization, see Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Sexual*

Harassment of Working Women 52 (1979). Women are often in the position of

having to defend the legitimacy of state "intervention" into the "privacy"

of the family. See Frances Olsen, *The Family and the Market: A Study of Ideology and Legal Reform*, 96 Harv. L. Rev. 1497, 1509-13 (1983); Frances

Olsen, *The Myth of State Intervention in the Family*, 18 U. Mich. J.L.

Reform 835 (1985).

(147.) Renata Salecl introduced this Lacanian concept into the literature on Central and Eastern Europe: (N)otions like democracy, human

rights, the state run according to the rule of law, etc., are floating signifiers which we cannot say have some immanent meaning. Their meaning i

s always dependent on the symbolic network in which they are embedded....

(T)heir articulation and inclusion in a particular political discourse is

the product of a struggle. Renata Salecl, *The Spoils of Freedom: Psychoanalysis and Feminism After the Fall of Socialism* 53-54 (1994).

(148.) See generally Alison M. Jagger, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* 173-350 (1983) (describing liberal, radical, and socialist feminism); Louise C. Johnson, *Socialist Feminism*, in *Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct* 304, 304-31 (Sneja Gunew ed., 1990) (discussing socialist feminism); Robyn Rowland & Renate D. Klein, *Radical Feminism: Critique and Construct*, in *Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct*, supra, at 271, 271-303 (discussing radical feminism).

Cold War, in *Modern American Diplomacy* 117, 123 (John M. Carroll & George

C. Herring eds., rev. & enlarged ed, 1996) (characterizing "(t)he failure

of (a promised) second front to materialize until late in the war" as "'perhaps the most determining single factor' in the origins of the Cold War") (quoting Franklin D. Roosevelt biographer James MacGregor Burns); id

at 118-22 (attributing Cold War to failure of West to invest any fraction

of what Soviet Union invested to defeat Nazi Germany).

(150.) See Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* 243-45 (1996); Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United State*

s 420-28 (1980).

(151.) See Young, supra note 7.

(152.) For perspective, it should be remembered that most of these same American right-wingers praised the dictatorships in countries such as

Spain, Portugal, the Philippines, and Saudi Arabia. See generally id.

(153.) Radio Free Europe alone cost untold millions of dollars. See Dean E. Murphy & Marjorie Miller, *Radio Free Europe's Warriors Still Wary*,

L.A. Times, Feb. 8, 1995, at A1 (reporting that Radio Free Europe eventually lost over \$200 million annually). In an article praising the work of the "cadre of career anti-communists" staffing the station and Radio Liberty, the authors speak positively of spying carried out from the

Munich headquarters of Radio Free Europe, claim that many credit the staff's assertion of responsibility for toppling the Communist regimes, an

d report that top figures received six-figure American salaries. See id.; se

e also Morning Edition: Congress Orders Radio Free Europe to Privatize (NPR

radio broadcast, Jan. 3, 1995) (recounting, in context of planned privatization of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, "scandal in the earl

y 1970s when it was revealed their funding came from the CIA. They had been

funded directly by the U.S. Congress ever since. . .").

(154.) See generally Young, *supra* note 7.

(155.) For example, when I was a Fellow at Oxford in 1987 and first met non-right-wing dissidents from Central and Eastern Europe, the general

association of the American right wing with opposition to Communism in Eastern Europe had not changed much. Some of the Hungarians who later formed the influential Young Democrats party approached me with an interes

t in establishing contacts with American liberals and leftists and in broadening United States support beyond the right wing.

(156.) This appears to be a concern of Susan Moller Okin. See Okin, *supra* note 27, at 18-21 (arguing that Rawls's theory of justice can speak

to women's family issues in feminism).

(157.) For an earlier, similar use of Eastern Europe, see Wolff, *supr*

a note 10, at 359-61, which discusses the use of Eastern Europe as "an experimental domain" by Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau, and others in their agreements and disagreements with one another.

(158.) For an earlier version of this approach, see Wolff, *supra* note

10, at 368-69, which describes Rebecca West's use of Eastern Europe to critique Western Europe in 1930s.

(159.) The claim that feminism is past its prime has been around almost since the first feminist movement. See Rupp & Taylor, *supra* note 87

, at 20 (noting that in 1950s, "women who had once identified as feminists declared that feminism was dead").

(160.) Practices in various countries of Central and Eastern Europe,

such as grocery stores expecting customers to bring their own shopping bags, or criminal prosecutions proceeding by an accusatory rather than adversarial model, are treated as more peculiar and backwards when the reporter is unaware that the same practices exist in Western Europe as well. For example, in Bellagio, Italy, in June 1994, an American Bar Association representative to Lithuania, the son of one of the Bellagio Fellows then in residence, made a presentation to the Fellows deriding these "backward" customs.

(161.) See AALS Conference, Section on Legal Exchanges, San Francisco

(Jan. 1993). I do not know whether the assertion is accurate.

(162.) See The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire 49

(P.J. Marshall ed., 1996).

(163.) See Gunter Frankenberg, *Stranger than Paradise: Identity & Politics in Comparative Law*, 1997 Utah L. Rev. (forthcoming Summer 1997).

(164.) See Project Report, *supra* note 16, at 13 ("Most participants at the workshops noted that the word 'feminist' has a perjorative and negative connotation in their countries.").

(165.) Quoted in *id.* at 14.

(166.) *Id.* (quoting *Beyond the Role: The Case of Polish Female Professionals*, 10 *Scandinavian J. Mgmt.* 2 (1994)).

(167.) See Krisztina Morvai, *Continuity and Discontinuity in the Legal System: What It Means for Women: A Female Lawyer's Perspective on Women and the Law in Hungary*, 5 *UCLA Women's L.J.* 63, 64-66 (1994).

(168.) This has long been one of my goals. See, e.g., Frances Olson (sic), *Frau Olson (sic), weshalb ist die feministische Rechtstheorie in den USA derart etabliert?*, *Pladoyer* (Basel, Switzerland), Mar. 1994, at 23; Frances Olsen, *Überlegungen Einer Gastprofessorin* (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin *ZiF Bulletin* No. 12, at 39, 1996).

(169.) See Bohlen, *supra* note 81 (describing rise of nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe).

(170.) See, e.g., *Force Could Be Used to Defend Russians Abroad*, *Kozyrev Says*, *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, Apr. 18, 1995, available in *LEXIS World Library*, *Curnws File* (quoting Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyre

as saying Estonia and Latvia have specific policies aimed at "'squeezing out" ethnic Russians and that other ex-soviet republics expelled ethnic Russians through "'pressure ... as well as discrimination").

(171.) Worldwide, the majority of refugees are women and children. See J. Anne Tickner, *Feminist Approaches to Issues of War and Peace*, in *Reconceiving Reality: Women and International Law* 267, 272 (Dorinda G. Dallmeyer ed., 1993); Lydia Jankovic Gottlieb, *Women Without Shelter: Refugee and Displaced Women in Central and Eastern Europe* (speech presented Apr. 14, 1996) (transcript, on file with the Yale Law Journal).

(172.) Women do unpaid caretaking work in Central and Eastern Europe as well as in the United States. See Morvai, *supra* note 167, at 65; Dorothy J. Fiction: *Changing Roles in GDR Society and Literature*, in *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe*, *supra* note 61, at 344, 351.

(173.) Not only are casualties among civilians relatively high, as in many civil wars, and thus a higher than usual proportion of women among the victims, but there have also been claims of rape taking place at unprecedented levels. See Bogdan Denitch, *Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia* 124 (1994). Although a great deal of the talk in the United States has focused upon allegations of rape by Serbs against Muslim women, and has served to prepare the American people for possible military

intervention against the Serbs, the most extensive case that has thus far come before the international tribunal involves allegations of rape by one Croatian and three Muslim men against Serbian women. See Mary Williams Walsh, Croat, Muslims Face U.N. Tribunal, L.A. Times, Mar. 11, 1997, at A6 ; see also Gillian Sharpe & Deborah Amos, Hague Testimony (NPR broadcast, AR Things Considered) (Mar. 17, 1997) (identifying Serb as "the first woman to give evidence about rape to an international tribunal since Japanese officers stood trial after the Second World War"). I hope that feminists dealing with rape allegations will focus on the goal of long-term reduction in the victimization of women and general reduction in military abuses, and be cautious to try to minimize the propagandistic use of such allegations

by nationalists promoting further military actions.

(174.) See Angelova, *supra* note 82, at 56-58; Bohlen, *supra* note 81.

(175.) Interview with Mateja Kuzah-Novak, Member of Slovenian National Assembly, in Ljubljana, Slovenia (Sept. 28, 1996); see also Bohlen, *supra* note 81; Kaufman, *supra* note 76.

(176.) See Fuszara, *supra* note 105; Interview with Mateja Kuzah-Novak, *supra* note 175; Patricia Clough, *Dreaming of a Return to the Kitchen Sink*, Independent, July 2, 1990, at 4.

(177.) On the recent history of anti-abortion legislation and repeal in Poland, see Malgorzata Fuszara, *Abortion and the Formation of the Public Sphere in Poland*, in *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections From Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* 241 (Nanette Funk & Magda Mueller eds., 1993).

(178.) *Casopisni Zavod Uradni List Republike Slovenije* (Constitution) art. 55 (Slovn.).

(179.) The United States Constitution has been interpreted to provide some protection to women's choice to abort a pregnancy under the rubric of privacy. See *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973). However, the Supreme Court has allowed quite harsh limitations on public funding for abortion. See *Harris v. McRae*, 448 U.S. 297 (1980) (denying funding even for medically necessary therapeutic abortion).

(180.) The constitution provides that it can be amended only by a two-thirds vote of the National Assembly. See *Casopisni an. 55*. This

constitutional entrenchment is especially important, because in the elections of November 10, 1996, the Rightist parties won 50% of the vote,

and only seven women remain in the Assembly (none are in the government).

E-mail Exchange with Bojan Bugaric, Univ. of Slovenia (Nov. 14, 1996; Feb.

26, 1997; Mar. 19, 1997) (transcripts on file with author).

(181.) See Kim Lane Scheppele, Plenary Lecture at the Joint Meeting o

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the Law & Society Association and the International Sociological Association, July 10, 1997, Glasgow, Scotland. The Hungarian court, however, is generally more activist than most constitutional courts of Europe. See *id.*

(182.) See Judgment of Feb. 25, 1975, Bundesverfassungsgericht (BVerfGE) 39, 1 (F.R.G.).

(183.) Casopisni art. 17. However, the second of the article's two sentences refers to the death penalty ("There shall be no capital punishment in Slovenia."), further suggesting the inappropriateness of applying the Article to fetuses or embryos.

(184.) The West German Constitution was drafted following World War II. It included a general provision on the equality of the sexes, but no provision relating to reproductive freedom, birth control, or abortion. Se

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Grundgesetz for die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Constitution) (1994) (F.R.G.).

(185.) See Rosenberg, *supra* note 64, at 135-36.

(186.) See *id.* at 139-40.

(187.) The 1975 decision that provided constitutional protection to fetuses is discussed *supra* text accompanying notes 112-14.

(188.) Decision of May 28, 1993, Bundesfassungsgericht (BVerfGE) 88,

203 (F.R.G.); see also Petra Blass, Women in East and West Germany: Victim

s

of Discrimination, Humiliation, Domination?, 5 UCLA Women's L.J. 71, 73-74

(1994); Hermine G. De Soto, "In the Name of the Folk": Women and Nation in

the New Germany, 5 UCLA Women's L.J. 83, 83-84 (1994). For an excellent description and evaluation of the changes in German abortion law following

unification, see Rosemarie Will, German Unification and the Reform of Abortion Law, 3 Cardozo Women's L.J. 399 (1996).

(189.) See Frances Olsen, *supra* note 114, at 108 n.15 (citing c. Tietze, Induced Abortion: a World Review 102 (5th ed. 1983)).

(190.) See Gail Kligman, The Politics of Reproduction in Ceausescu's

Romania: A Case Study in Political Culture, 6 E. Eur. Pol. & Soc'y 364, 40

2

(1992).

(191.) See *id.* at 415-16.

(192.) See Project Report, *supra* note 16, at 61 n.62.

(193.) See Amsden et al., *supra* note 32, at 174; Gowan, *supra* note 73

,

at 24.

(194.) See Amsden et al., supra note 32, at 175; Gowan, supra note 73

at 9.

(195.) See Amsden et al., supra note 32, at 176; Gowan, supra note 73

at 21, 24, 28,

(196.) See Amsden et al., supra note 32, at 177.

(197.) See id at 178.

(198.) See id at 179.

(199.) See id at 180.

(200.) See id

(201.) At least the governments claim to adopt such policies. It has

been asserted that the Czech Republic enjoys a lower unemployment rate than

any other country in Central and Eastern Europe because the President was

able to reassure the West that he was adopting the neoliberal economic policies while actually subsidizing Czech industries to keep them from being destroyed, including industries that would be considered "inefficient." Interview with Bojan Bujaric, Ljubijana, Slovenia (Oct. 5,

1996).

(202.) Michael Tarm, Sense of Betrayal May Topple Lithuania's Communists, L.A. Times, Oct. 19, 1996, at A6.

(203.) See id

(204.) See Walton & Seddon, supra note 57, at 289.

(205.) See id at 309.

(206.) See Frankenberg, supra note 163, manuscript at 1-2.

(207.) See id.

(208.) See Barbara Einhorn, Cinderella Goes to Market (1993); Minnesota Advocates, Domestic Violence in Bulgaria, supra note 24; Minnesota Advocates, Romania, supra note 24; Ana's Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe (Tanya Renne ed., 1997).

(209.) See Joan C. Williams, Privatization as a Gender Issue, in A Fourth Way?, supra note 141, at 253; Jones, supra note 49; Kaufman, supra

note 76.

(210.) See infra text accompanying notes 220-29.

(211.) Numerous American feminists have focused on economic harm to women. See, e.g., Victor R. Fuchs, Women's Quest For Economic Equality (1988); Margaret Randall, The Price You Pay: The Hidden Cost of Women's Relationship to Money (1996). Feminists are especially concerned with crime. See, e.g., Margaret T. Gordon & Stephanie Riger, The Female Fear (1989).

(212.) Compare Blumstein & Schwartz, supra note 92, with Paula Snyder

The European Women's Almanac (1992).

(213.) See Challenging Boundaries: Domestic Labor, Panel at Conference

at The Yale Law School, Nov. 9, 1996.

(214.) See Gowan, supra note 73.

(215.) See Amsden et al., supra note 32.

(216). See Victoria Danes & David Seddon, *Fighting for Survival: Women's Responses to Austerity Programs*, in Walton & Seddon, *supra* note 57

at 57-59.

(217). For example, we should ensure that exchange programs that bring people to the United States include a fair proportion of women.

(218). On the differential access of American men and American women to financial resources, see generally Fuchs, *supra* note 211.

(219). For a description of Sachs' influence, see Gowan, *supra* note 73. The closest comparison might be the M.I.T. professor Alice Amsden. See

AMSDEN ET AL., *supra* note 32.

(220). See Minnesota Advocates, *Domestic Violence in Bulgaria*, *supra* note 24, at 19; Minnesota Advocates, *Domestic Violence in Romania*, *supra* note 24, at 10.

(221). See Project Report, *supra* note 16, at 35, 41-42.

(222). See, e.g., Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny* 3 (1987).

(223). See Project Report, *supra* note 16, at 35, 41-42; Katherine Vedery, *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* (1996); Gowan, *supra* note

73, at 12.

(224). On the inability of women to walk the streets safely at night in many parts of the United States, see Gordon & Riger, *supra* note 211.

(225). See Albert W. Alschuler, *Implementing the Criminal Defendant's*

Right to Trial: Alternatives to Trial: Alternatives to the Plea Bargaining

System, 50 U. Chi. L. Rev. 931 (1983); James B. Jacobs, *Symposium, Guns at*

Home, Guns on the Street: International Perspectives, 15 N.Y.L. Sch. J. Int'l & Comp. L. 275, 276 (1995) (reporting more felony arrests in United

States than in all of Europe combined).

(226). See *supra* text accompanying notes 75-76.

(227). See Center for Disease Control, U.S. Dep't of Health & Human Servs., *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 101-05 (Feb. 7, 1997).

(228). I have found that in parts of Scandinavia, it is still considered acceptable to leave a child in a baby carriage outside a store

while shopping. Cf. Chronicle, WCBV Boston (ABC television broadcast, July

29, 1996) (reporting on baby carriages left outside stores in Reykjavik, Iceland). In the United States, there are many neighborhoods where it is not safe for children to play outside. See, e.g., Roxana Kopetman, *Life in*

City's Toughest Neighborhood, L.A. Times, Sept. 16, 1990, at J1.

(229). This is a major theme of the "Take Back the Night" campaigns organized by women. For a description of "Take Back the Night" marches, see

Nadine Taub, *Thoughts on Living and Moving with the Recurring Divide*, 24

Ga. L. Rev. 965 (1990). Taub explains: (A) spectrum of women have joined together in reclaiming public space. Frequent in the late 1970s, marches have been revived in recent years. The very notion that women are entitled

to be on the streets at night is a wonderful source of energy for liberating women who learn early on where they can and cannot go. Id. at 983; see also Susan Stefan, *The Protection Racket: Rape Trauma Syndrome*, *Psychiatric Labeling, and Law*, 88 Nw. U. L. Rev. 1271, 1286 (1994). Stefan

explains: Women in the early and mid-1970s began organizing and speaking out about rape and violence against women. They publicized the extent of the violence done to women and protested the insensitive practices and procedures by police and the judicial and medical systems that perpetuated

the silence. The feminist analysis was based upon the premise that rape wa

s not an individual act or aberration, but an integral part of the objective

, innate, and unchanging subordination of women relative to men.

Characterizing rape for the first time from a political and social perspective led to collective action to challenge the myths, stereotypes,

and silence. The first rape speak-out was organized in 1971 by the New Yor

k Radical Feminists.... It was followed by speak-outs everywhere -- women telling their stories of rape in public. The stories were not only stories

of abuse and horror, but of triumph and empowerment. Whether they were called speak-outs or rallies or marches to take back the night, women acte

d collectively to publicize, redefine, and assert control over the violence

against them, to end the silence, and to give themselves an opportunity, finally, to articulate their anger and pain. Id. (citations omitted). For

statistics on women's fear for their safety, see Gordon & Riger, *supra* not

e 211, at 10-11.

(230). See *supra* note 229.

(231). See *supra* text accompanying note 145.

(232). See Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women* (1989); Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (1988).

(233). It may well be the case that the "fall" of Communism and the increasing problems within capitalism originate from the same source: a lack of democracy due to a failure to deal with men's domination of women,

In particular, feminist scholars have shown that classical liberal theorists, whose ideas continue to shape most theories of social change an

d government, were men who existed comfortably in a society that oppressed women and who all too often avoided dealing with women or women's inequality. Ignoring power differences does not help to erase them, The project of social reconstruction is most in need of a theory of political

change, a theory of shifting power over time. The Achilles heel of Communism is the problem of developing a monopoly of power, comparable to

the monopoly of economic power, the Achilles heel of capitalism.

(234). Carroll, supra note 1, at 244.

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===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

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TEXT:

Overseas analysts deemed that yesterday's grenade attacks at a bus station in the southern Israeli town of Beersheba had cast a "dangerous shadow" over the tripartite Mideast peace talks underway at the Wye Plantation in Maryland. The Israeli press expressed a divergence of views in reaction to the attack, which reportedly wounded more than 60 people. Mass-appeal, pluralist Maariv insisted that terrorism "must not be allowed to affect the peace process," adding: "Israel must fight terror as if there is no peace process and pursue the peace process as if there is no terror." Tel Aviv's nationalist Hatzofe and mass-circulation, pluralist Yediot, however, disagreed, stating that the "latest attack proves anew that Yasser Arafat cannot be trusted." "To continue [the Wye talks]...is pointless," Hatzofe declared. Editorial comment from Arab countries confirmed that the "gap of mistrust between Palestinians and Israelis is widening." Dailies in Egypt and Jordan contended that a large part of the blame for such attacks lay with "Israeli extremists, represented by Netanyahu and his supporters." These writers reasoned that the Israeli government's "oppressive measures"

had "driven desperation into the heart of peace seekers." Amman's mass-appeal Arabic Al-Arab Al-Yawm did, however, caution Palestinians to keep in mind that bomb attacks "at this point in time can only serve Israel's logic and understanding."

European observers viewed the Wye talks as "hanging by a thread" as a result of the grenade assaults in Beersheba. London's centrist Independent had these words of wisdom for Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu: "Mr. Netanyahu should bolster Yasser Arafat. Mr. Arafat is, frankly, as good as it gets for Israel.... Whatever success he does have will be due to the strength of his own position, and that is down to how much authority Israel grants him." Turin's centrist, influential La Stampa, despite its headline banner a "dangerous shadow" over the Wye summit, saw grounds for optimism. The attacks at Beersheba "may have prompted new energies which could end up resolving the impasse in the negotiations," that paper said, adding: "Another encouraging element is the arrival of Jordan's King Hussein in Maryland.... His entourage yesterday did not rule out the possibility that he may participate in the final phase of the talks."

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EDITORS: Katherine Starr, Kathleen J. Brahney and Bill Richey

BEERSHEBA ATTACK: 'DANGEROUS SHADOW OVER WYE TALKS'

ISRAEL: "Lessons From A Terror Attack"

Mass-appeal, pluralist Maariv's lead editorial stressed (10/20): "The truth of the matter is that despite the agony and pain, the Beersheba attack must not be allowed to affect the peace process. We know that more terror attacks are in store and we must do all we can to prevent them. We also must tell Arafat to stop Hamas terrorism. What we must not do, however, is to give Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin and his killers a crucial say in the peace process and, consequently, in the fate of the Middle East. Israel must fight terror as if there is no peace process and pursue the peace process as if there is no terror."

"Pressure Attack"

Senior analyst Ron Ben-Yishai penned this front page commentary for mass-circulation, pluralist Yediot (10/20): "One of the reasons Hamas has switched to small-scale, low-damage attacks is an understanding between Yasser Arafat and Sheikh Yassin, under which Hamas will refrain from undermining Arafat's attempts to use negotiations to induce Israel to yield more West Bank land.... That is why Hamas has taken to launching

unsophisticated assaults which, Arafat can tell the Americans and Israelis, are 'individual and localized initiatives,' which are virtually impossible to prevent."

"Lessons Drawn From Beersheba Attack"

Nationalist Hatzofe's lead editorial made these points (10/20): "The terror attack at the Beersheba bus station yesterday was a reminder that the Palestinian terrorists have not laid down their arms and that there is no letup in their efforts to kill Jews.... The latest attack proves anew that Yasser Arafat cannot be trusted and that to continue the talks with the founding father of Palestinian terror is pointless."

"Best Hope for Peace"

According to an editorial in the Independent Jerusalem Post (10/20): "Arafat's ambivalence toward terrorism that is the most serious threat to the peace process; ending that ambivalence--by confronting both the infrastructure and moral underpinnings of terrorism--is peace's best hope."

"Prospects And Perils"

Columnist Ran Kislev opined in independent Haaretz (10/20): "Israel's initial moderate response to the attack was somewhat surprising. Neither Netanyahu nor Sharon spoke of packing up and going home as the right in Israel demanded.... This is encouraging. Perhaps Netanyahu really wants to leave Wye Plantation with some sort of agreement.... Or American

pressure may have been strong enough to offset the effects of Netanyahu's right-wing partners and even his own natural tendency.... If Netanyahu returns without an agreement, it will not be because of the grenades in Beersheba or political pressure from the right at home, but because Netanyahu himself does not want an agreement."

EGYPT: "Hopes For Peace Process Vanishing"

Pro-government Al Akhbar held (10/20): "The two bombings which occurred in Beersheba confirm that the gap of mistrust between Palestinians and Israelis is widening, and the hopes of peace supporters for the Wye Plantation talks to break the peace stalemate is starting to evaporate. The operations, claimed to be done by a Palestinian, confirm that Israeli extremists, represented by Netanyahu and his supporters, are responsible for such acts. They have driven desperation into the hearts of peace seekers. The hopes are vanishing rapidly also with President Clinton's failure, after three days, to convince Netanyahu to cooperate with the peace process."

JORDAN: "The First Beneficiary"

Chief editor Saleh Qallab wrote in independent, mass-appeal Arabic Al-Arab Al-Yawm (10/20): "A gift from the heavens has landed in Netanyahu's lap. As far as the Israeli negotiators at the Wye Plantation are concerned, the Beersheba bomb attack was timely, as they needed practical evidence for their attempts to cut off the current peace negotiations on the pretext of security concerns... It is for certain that the Israeli right wing bears

responsibility for the kind of violence that is being undertaken by the Palestinians. Had it not been for the Israeli government's oppressive measures, the environment would not have been so ripe for such suicide attacks by Palestinians. What the Palestinians need to keep in mind, however, is that such a bomb attack at this point in time can only serve Israel's logic and understanding."

SAUDI ARABIA: "What To Expect From Wye Talks"

London-based, pan-Arab Al-Hayat had this editorial view (10/20): "The expectation was for a bad agreement and an incident such as the operation of Beersheba would make it worse.... A bad agreement simply means a bad and incomplete peace. In such a case, it would be legitimate to develop an opposition to an unfair and unjust settlement which does not respect a nation that has suffered long enough from oppression."

MOROCCO: "Deadlock In Wye Talks Threatens Middle-East"

Government-coalition, French-language Al Bayane front-paged this comment by Salem (10/20): "As of yesterday, the talks were in a deadlock and violence had been resumed in the Middle East. The U.S. government is right to be worried that a summit that should have ended on Sunday will go continue until Tuesday and the many issues divide the two parties. Netanyahu does not want to upset the right wing of his government coalition, which is represented at the talks by Ariel Sharon.... Failure of this summit will have negative impact on the entire situation in the Middle East."

BRITAIN: "No One Wants To Bear Blame For A Failure At Wye"

BBC Radio's World Service had this from its correspondent at Wye (10/20):

"The talks are still going on, and the most permanently optimistic American observers believe there is still the chance of a deal.... Nobody wants to be seen as the party responsible for failure. It may be that even if there isn't full agreement, there will be some kind of limited deal by the time we all get out of Maryland."

"Peace The Best Guarantee For Israel's Security"

The centrist Independent's lead editorial declared (10/20): "Threats to Israeli security should not be downplayed. Why should Israel make any concession at all? Of course it should, because the Oslo agreement says so. But, realistically, Mr. Netanyahu has to be reminded about why his predecessors, men as varied in their politics as Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir and, of course, Yitzhak Rabin, came to understand that the best guarantee of Israel's future was peace itself. Mr. Netanyahu should bolster Yasser Arafat. Mr. Arafat is, frankly, as good as it gets for Israel.... Israel is right to expect Mr. Arafat to do his best: but she cannot reasonably expect him to eradicate terror completely. Whatever success he does have will be due to the strength of his own position, and that is down to how much authority Israel grants him."

FRANCE: "Endangered Summit"

Right-of-center Les Echos told its readers (10/20): "The extreme reactions from some of the participants at the summit to the terrorist attack...left Bill Clinton with no other choice but to return to the plantation. He alone could hope to calm down those who called for ending the talks and convince everyone that the negotiations were more than ever necessary. Everyone knows that a U.S. president normally has at his disposal the necessary means of persuasion to convince his interlocutors. Unfortunately, in the case of Bill Clinton, whether right or wrong, we are entitled to have doubts."

"Irreconcilable Differences"

Jean-Claude Kiefer asked in regional Les Dernieres Nouvelles d'Alsace (10/20): "The simple fact that the Wye Plantation summit is taking place is something to credit Bill Clinton with. Still, Clinton's show of force will not resolve the basic issue, which...is that Israel does not want a Palestinian state."

GERMANY: "Legitimate Desires"

Hans-Juergen Haller commented on regional radio station Norddeutscher Rundfunk of Hamburg (10/20): It is clear that Israel has a right to security at home and along its borders. The desire of the Palestinians for a real state and not a patchwork state is also legitimate.... The Jerusalem government does not realize that its obstinate policy encourages extremists and terrorists on both sides. But the issues must be resolved in Israel, not in the United States."

"Terror And Peace"

Wolfgang Guenter Lerch noted in an editorial in right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine (10/20): "Israel's Premier Netanyahu...benefits from terrorists, because they damage the peace process. But terrorism is not only an Arab problem. An Israeli killed Arafat's partner Rabin, and Baruch Goldstein initiated further attacks against Arabs. It is part of the painful lessons...in the Middle East that the troubled region will, in the medium-term, always suffer from terrorists and violence. But should we, therefore, give up plans for comprehensive and fair peace?"

"Terrorists Score Points"

Hubert Kleine Stegemann had this to say in centrist General-Anzeiger of Bonn (10/20): "[The Beersheba] attack creates another wide crater in the path of negotiations, and it is another serious blow to Arafat's credibility. But Netanyahu's reaction to discuss security matters and nothing else is by no means helpful either. Only immediate and productive negotiations which result in a fair accommodation of interests can in the long run prevent further attacks. But this does not seem to be occurring. Yesterday, cynics scored further points."

ITALY: "Dangerous Shadow Over Wye"

Andrea di Robilant filed from Washington for centrist, influential La Stampa (10/20): "The terrorist attack at Beersheba casts a dangerous

shadow over the Maryland negotiations and President Clinton was forced to return to Wye Mills for the fourth time in order to have the talks resume.... But the intense involvement of the president...suggests that he is still convinced that an agreement can be achieved, notwithstanding the new difficulties caused by the terrorist bombs (sic.) In fact, some observers believe that the two bombs (sic) at Beersheba may have prompted new energies which could end up resolving the impasse in the negotiations. The attack forced all participants to focus on what the Israelis consider to be the key issue on the negotiating table--security.... Another encouraging element is the arrival of Jordan's King

Hussein in Maryland.... His entourage yesterday did not rule out the possibility that he may participate in the final phase of the talks."

"Hanging By A Thread"

Umberto De Giovannangeli observed in PDS (leading government party) daily L'Unita (10/20): "The last hope for peace in the Middle East is hanging by a thread, just a thread. A thread which the Beersheba bombs tried to sever. A thread of hope which 'surgeon' Bill Clinton is trying to keep alive."

RUSSIA: "Fruitless Talks"

Under this headline, centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta had this (10/20) by Aleksandr Reutov: "The four days of the Palestinian-Israeli talks, which

started in Washington last Thursday, have not produced any concrete results, except that (President Bill Clinton) has managed to get the meeting extended at least by one day."

BRIEFS

GLOBAL FINANCIAL TURMOIL AND REFORMS

CHINA: "Fed Will Not Balk At Reasonable Measures"

Li Zhengxin said in state council Economic Daily (Jingji Ribao)(10/17): "To maintain continued growth in the U.S. economy, the federal reserve will not balk at reasonable measures. The interest rate cut has encouraged economic circles and is welcomed by trade unions and political groups. The two interest rate cuts will increase pressure on Europe and other developed countries."

SINGAPORE: "Shooting For Reforms"

Pro-government Straits Times (10/19) had this editorial: "The truth is no reform, however ambitious, can be a substitute for what has to be done immediately to prevent a global slump. Still, it is good that serious thinking on long-term reforms have begun.... The proposals of the G-22 countries would be a good place to start.... These proposals sound modest, but they would have far-reaching beneficial effects if they were adopted soon, especially if they were accompanied by the necessary enforcement mechanisms. In this regard, the British proposal to create a standing committee bringing together the IMF, the World Bank and other regulatory

institutions to develop a mechanism for ensuring that new rules for global financial regulation are carried out, is valuable."

SOUTH KOREA: "Is The Asian Stock Market Reviving?"

Reporter Kim Sung-yong of the conservative Chosun Ilbo (10/20) wrote:

"Stocks, almost trashed because of the current crisis, are now suddenly surging in price. The immediate cause is...reductions in U.S. interest rates.... There is, nevertheless a concern that this phenomenon may be short-lived.... In addition, the region continues to be dominated by political instability and still has to grapple with difficulties over economic restructuring. Fanning the skepticism further is the possibility for drastically diminished investments by the industrialized countries in emerging markets.... A substantive recovery will come only [with]... interest rate cuts by industrialized nations, a greater supply of available IMF funding, and implementation of workable economic stimulus packages and the 30 billion-dollar Miyazawa plan."

BRITAIN: "Dollar Doldrums"

Independent Financial Times had this editorial (10/20): "A weaker dollar provides the emerging markets with some welcome relief, as it takes the pressure off their own currencies. Several Asian countries have been able to cut their interest rates since the movement in the dollar/yen rate. The

flipside, though, is that it also makes their exports more expensive in the United States. The combination of a weak dollar with a faltering economy leaves the United States ill-placed to continue to be the so-called 'importer of last resort' from the emerging markets. Instead, the burden of trade adjustment is likely to shift to Europe."

CHINA: "Peace Talks End Without Progress"

Official English language China Daily noted (10/19): "New nuclear powers, India and Pakistan, ended their first peace talks after making little headway in the first round of dialogue between the foes...on the long-running dispute over the Himalayan region of Kashmir.... But they stressed that results should not have been expected from this round, which was to resume a process that had remained deadlocked since September."

CHINA-TAIWAN: 'MORE TALKS BETTER THAN NO TALKS'

JAPAN: "China, Taiwan Need to Continue Dialogue"

Top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri editorialized (10/20), "The recent visit by a senior Taiwan envoy to China marked the first important step toward bringing stability to the Taiwan Strait in the coming century.... The U.S. has been reacting most sensitively to the development of better ties between China and Taiwan, even though it stood firm against China by sending two aircraft carriers to the Taiwan Strait when Beijing carried out its naval exercises. President Clinton, who was concerned about the rising tension, made clear during his recent visit to China that he would oppose independence for Taiwan. The president urged the two sides to

resume dialogue. Because of their showdown over the strait that has lasted nearly 50 years, China and Taiwan will not be able to resolve their differences overnight. That is why both sides must continue their efforts to create a new framework of peace and stability."

THAILAND: "More Talks Better Than No Talks"

Independent Nation editorialized (10/20): "The resumption of China-Taiwan talks is pivotal as a confidence-building measure.... It also provides a breathing space for countries...that pursue a 'one-China policy' but maintain close economic ties with Taiwan."

BELGIUM: "Time To Abandon Sterile Haughtiness"

Philippe Paquet wrote in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (10/20):

"The Taiwanese leaders flattered the communist authorities' pride by dispatching to the Chinese capital a personality without official function.

It is time now for the Chinese authorities to show the same degree of realism by abandoning a sterile haughtiness in order to initiate the political dialogue which they are seeking with the only possible interlocutors: the Taiwanese leaders, and first of all, their president.... Even though the Chinese do not like Lee Teng-hui and do not recognize his authority, it is a fact that he was democratically elected.... This is the price--mutual respect--to be paid for...real political negotiation."

CLOCK TICKING TOWARD NEW DEADLINE ON KOSOVO

SERBIA-MONTENEGRO: "Culprits Not Identified By U.S. State Department"

Pro-government Politika (10/19) ran an official new agency "Tanjug" report identical to the one

on television the night before criticizing the State Department's lack of reaction to the recent

killing of three Serbian policemen in the Kosovo village of Orlate:

"Referring to the events in Kosmet (Kosovo-Metohia) of the last three days, (James Rubin) condemned the latest, as he put it, sporadic incidents, but he did not explicitly say that these attacks and provocations had been performed by the so-called Kosovo Liberation Army, the terrorists and the militant separatists who obviously have been trying to undermine the current situation and the just-concluded agreement on the settlement of the crisis."

"NATO's Dangerous Alignment"

Official Politika, Politika Ekspres, and Borba also all ran a reprint of an article from army magazine Vojska (10/19): "The debates over the future status of Kosovo-Metohia reveal the reason why Albanian separatist leaders have been stubbornly refusing dialogue with the Serbian authorities and why certain panicky 'concerned' NATO members are not insisting on this. Many questions arise from this: why do the Albanian separatists and their foreign sponsors not distance themselves from the terrorists; why has the FRY been groundlessly accused of uncooperativeness; and why has NATO been so ardent about the aggression against the FRY? There is reason to believe that the positive attitude of the international community will grow

stronger and completely overcome NATO's aggressiveness as well as eliminate the illusions of the Albanian separatists that the status of the Albanian minority in Serbia could be resolved through terrorism."

RUSSIA: "Separatists Main Obstacle To Settlement"

Yuriy Pankov stated in centrist, army Krasnaya Zvezda (10/20): "The Albanian separatists and their intractable position, more than anything else, blight optimistic prospects for a settlement of the Kosovo crisis. We have yet to see the West react adequately to separatists' actions."

INDIA-PAKISTAN: AT LEAST THEY'RE TALKING

PAKISTAN: "Continuation Of Dialogue In Itself Is A Development"

An editorial in leading, mass-circulation Urdu Jang held (10/20): "India which hitherto had considered Kashmir as its indisputable territory and a non-issue has now at least admitted it an issue to debate upon. The fact that the international community has also started pressing for a resolution is in itself a positive development. It is now a test of our diplomatic wisdom to reap the fruit of this change in postures. India will keep on insisting on bilateral talks on the Kashmir issue, while many countries of the world including the United States have offered several times to act as intermediaries.... Both countries, as a result of the dialogue, have indicated goodwill development on some issues of mutual interest which include the exchange of suggestions on nuclear issues...and a cease-fire accord by the border security forces."

RUSSIA: "It's Good to Have Dialogue Started"

Yuriy Savenkov remarked in reformist Izvestiya (10/17): "The positions of the opponents are too far apart. Even getting a dialogue started is an accomplishment. The best we can expect now is for the sides to create a mechanism of mutual trust, one which would work even in a crisis."

CHINA: "Peace Talks End Without Progress"

Official English language China Daily noted (10/19): "New nuclear powers, India and Pakistan, ended their first peace talks after making little headway in the first round of dialogue between the foes...on the long-running dispute over the Himalayan region of Kashmir.... But they stressed that results should not have been expected from this round, which was to resume a process that had remained deadlocked since September."

FOCUS ON CUBA AT 8TH IBERO-AMERICAN SUMMIT

PORTUGAL: "Long Live Fidel?"

Vasco Pulido Valente editorialized in centrist Lisbon Di?rio de Not?cias (10/19): "[President Castro] presents the 'socialism' that he imposes on his own land with an iron fist as a 'privilege,' a kind of 'oasis' in the desert of the capitalist world--today at the mercy of the IMF and the World Bank, and he has the audacity to extol the liberty which his subjects so notoriously enjoy. In the face of all this, the media, with

reverence and even pleasure, proceed to fall all over him.... And, meanwhile, the creature has arrested, tortured and killed an inconceivable number of people.... [These are little details that do not shake our media's 'impartiality.'...Why? Simple: because in the West great criminals of the 'left' always enjoy special treatment. And, perhaps with the exception of the lunatic in North Korea, Fidel is the last of the breed. The 'democratic' hysteria of Tiananmen has already passed, and now that old assassin has once again become, they believe, 'politically correct.'"

SPAIN: "The Ibero-American Summit in Oporto"

Liberal El Pais commented (10/19): "The Oporto Summit has seen a repetition of certain facets featured previously such as the limelight in which the eternal prodigal son, Cuban President Fidel Castro, constantly basks and the condemnation of the Helms-Burton law. Washington continues to enforce this statute with respect to Cuba although it does nothing at all to advance Cuba's desired democratization, while at the same time damaging the interests of other countries, many of whom are loyal American allies.... The Summit has shown that the collective weight of its members is much more effective in addressing their common problems [than individual efforts]. Without this forum...member countries would become mere toys on the tide of globalization."

CUBA: "Toward the End of Neoliberalism"

Several articles in the Communist labor union weekly Trabajadores (10/19) discussed Castro's reception in Oporto, and the decision to hold the next

summit in Havana. According to one: "Fear functions like fashion: when the famous choose a path, the rest follow. This has been happening with the expansion of the current economic crisis.... The neoliberal globalization that the United States continues to try to expand, is going through a crisis, also global, that is already affecting the United States."

CHILE: "The Unsustainable Embargo On Cuba"

Government-owned, independent Santiago La Nacion ran this editorial (10/19): "The embargo [against Cuba] violates the principles of free trade.... The Helms-Burton law... has extraterritorial effects, since it violates the sovereignty of those nations with trade relations with Cuba.... The United States maintains relations with Vietnam and China; it is incomprehensible that it does not do the same with Cuba. It is time to end sanctions that, beyond having caused the people of Cuba great harm, have not contributed to their original purpose, that is, achieving political freedom in the island."

IMPLICATIONS OF PINOCHET'S DETENTION FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW

SPAIN: "Spain and Pinochet"

Liberal El Pais opined (10/20): "Chilean society is divided over Pinochet's arrest ... a division which is being reflected in a certain way in Spain.... Chilean President Eduardo Frei was not wrong when he commented that each country has its own way of making the transition from

dictatorship to democracy, and that nobody outside Spain ever brought any legal action for

what had occurred here during Franco's 40 years in power. But Franco died in office and Pinochet has not; dictators with so much blood on their hands should be pursued by the law. The statute for their crimes does not run out.... What is being sought is that the law be enforced."

GERMANY: "Pinochet Case Shows Need For International Court System"

Roland Heine wrote in left-of-center Berliner Zeitung (10/20): "The case of Chile's ex-dictator...would fall under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court.... But this institution will convene its work only in a few years at the earliest.... So far, the United States has not been willing to support the establishment of this court. Among other things, the United States wants a guarantee that...its own citizens can be tried by a court at home. But this is exactly what Chile's President Eduardo Frey also says. This insistence on traditional sovereignty rights makes international action against murderous potentates extraordinarily difficult since they invariably insist on the principle of sovereignty."

RUSSIA: "Dictators Have To Pay A Price, Too"

Tatyana Koshkareva and Rustam Narzikulov said on page one of centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta (10/20): "It is a convincing answer to radicals, Rightists and Leftists alike, and to those who dream about a 'boss,' a free-market patron, and to those who are nostalgic for a Soviet-type

economy. The world has changed, and the times are gone when dictatorships went unpunished. Modern history shows that any dictatorship has its price which has to be paid by nations, as they live through reprisals, and by dictators themselves."

NORWAY: "Pinochet"

Conservative Aftenposten observed (10/19): "Reactions after the arrest of Senator Pinochet show how national and international principles of justice can collide with ethical and moral principles.... In recent years, we have established a tradition of prosecuting human rights violations. It is the responsibility of the international community to make sure this takes place. The new War Crimes Tribunal is a good example of this development. But where do we draw the line? Pinochet's arrest is a good example of how difficult it is to answer this question."

POLAND: "Do Not Punish The Executioner"

Adam Michnik filed an editorial in liberal Gazeta Wyborcza (10/19): "General Pinochet executed a bloody coup and ruled for many years as a dictator in Chile. At the same time, he was the one who guaranteed the consent of the power ministries' to a peaceful transition to democracy. His imprisonment brings back the issue of 'squaring up' with the past dictatorship, a problem present in all new democracies.... Political reasons collide with legal arguments, moral assessments clash with one another. What is more moral: to execute justice at the risk of a new

civil war, or secure a social peace without justice ensuing from a compromise between yesterday's enemies? No dictator is eager to peacefully resign from power without securing first some guarantees of security."

ARGENTINA: "Washington Does Not Opine Because Of 'Reasons Of State'"

Jorge Elias for daily-of-record La Nacion wrote (10/19): "Reasons of State were alleged yesterday by the Department of State spokesman speaker James Rubin, to avoid a statement from Washington on former president Pinochet's arrest.... It is as though the retired general had fallen in his own labyrinth, but it does not imply that the United States...will take advantage of the situation to break the love-hatred relationship it has had with Pinochet, since the CIA supported the coup d'etat against Salvador Allende in 1973."

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION EARLY REPORT

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, WASHINGTON DC 20547

USIA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND MEDIA REACTION

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Archived at: www.usia.gov/products/medreac.htm

Tuesday, October 20, 1998

BEERSHEBA ATTACK: 'DANGEROUS SHADOW OVER WYE TALKS'

Overseas analysts deemed that yesterday's grenade attacks at a bus station in the southern Israeli town of Beersheba had cast a "dangerous shadow" over the tripartite Mideast peace talks underway at the Wye Plantation in Maryland. The Israeli press expressed a divergence of views in reaction to the attack, which reportedly wounded more than 60 people. Mass-appeal, pluralist Maariv insisted that terrorism "must not be allowed to affect the peace process," adding: "Israel must fight terror as if there is no peace process and pursue the peace process as if there is no terror." Tel Aviv's nationalist Hatzofe and mass-circulation, pluralist Yediot, however, disagreed, stating that the "latest attack proves anew that Yasser Arafat cannot be trusted." "To continue [the Wye talks]...is pointless," Hatzofe declared. Editorial comment from Arab countries confirmed that the "gap of mistrust between Palestinians and Israelis is widening." Dailies in Egypt and Jordan contended that a large part of the blame for such attacks lay with "Israeli extremists, represented by Netanyahu and his supporters." These writers reasoned that the Israeli government's "oppressive measures" had "driven desperation into the heart of peace seekers." Amman's mass-appeal Arabic Al-Arab Al-Yawm did, however, caution Palestinians to keep in mind that bomb attacks "at this point in time can only serve Israel's logic and understanding."

European observers viewed the Wye talks as "hanging by a thread" as a result of the grenade assaults in Beersheba. London's centrist Independent had these words of wisdom for Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu: "Mr. Netanyahu should bolster Yasser Arafat. Mr. Arafat is, frankly, as good as it gets for Israel.... Whatever success he does have will be due to the strength of his own position, and that is down to how much authority Israel grants him." Turin's centrist, influential La Stampa, despite its headline bannering a "dangerous shadow" over the Wye summit, saw grounds for optimism. The attacks at Beersheba "may have prompted new energies which could end up resolving the impasse in the negotiations," that paper said, adding: "Another encouraging element is the arrival of Jordan's King Hussein in Maryland.... His entourage yesterday did not rule out the possibility that he may participate in the final phase of the talks."

BRIEFS

- Global Financial Turmoil And Reforms
- China-Taiwan: 'More Talks Better Than No Talks'
- Clock Ticking Toward New Deadline On Kosovo
- India-Pakistan: At Least They're Talking
- Focus On Cuba At 8th Ibero-American Summit
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EDITORS: Katherine Starr, Kathleen J. Brahney and Bill Richey

BEERSHEBA ATTACK: 'DANGEROUS SHADOW OVER WYE TALKS'

ISRAEL: "Lessons From A Terror Attack"

Mass-appeal, pluralist Maariv's lead editorial stressed (10/20): "The truth of the matter is that despite the agony and pain, the Beersheba attack must not be allowed to affect the peace process. We know that more terror attacks are in store and we must do all we can to prevent them. We also must tell Arafat to stop Hamas terrorism. What we must not do, however, is to give Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin and his killers a crucial say in the peace process and, consequently, in the fate of the Middle East. Israel must fight terror as if there is no peace process and pursue the peace process as if there is no terror."

"Pressure Attack"

Senior analyst Ron Ben-Yishai penned this front page commentary for mass-circulation, pluralist Yediot (10/20): "One of the reasons Hamas has switched to small-scale, low-damage attacks is an understanding between Yasser Arafat and Sheikh Yassin, under which Hamas will refrain from undermining Arafat's attempts to use negotiations to induce Israel to yield more West Bank land.... That is why Hamas has taken to launching unsophisticated assaults which, Arafat can tell the Americans and Israelis, are 'individual and localized initiatives,' which are virtually impossible to prevent."

"Lessons Drawn From Beersheba Attack"

Nationalist Hatzofe's lead editorial made these points (10/20): "The terror attack at the Beersheba bus station yesterday was a reminder that the Palestinian terrorists have not laid down their arms and that there is no letup in their efforts to kill Jews.... The latest attack proves anew that Yasser Arafat cannot be trusted and that to continue the talks with the founding father of Palestinian terror is pointless."

"Best Hope for Peace"

According to an editorial in the Independent Jerusalem Post (10/20): "Arafat's ambivalence toward terrorism that is the most serious threat to the peace process; ending that ambivalence--by confronting both the infrastructure and moral underpinnings of terrorism--is peace's best hope."

"Prospects And Perils"

Columnist Ran Kislev opined in independent Haaretz (10/20): "Israel's initial moderate response to the attack was somewhat surprising. Neither Netanyahu nor Sharon spoke of packing up and going home as the right in Israel demanded.... This is encouraging. Perhaps Netanyahu really wants to leave Wye Plantation with some sort of agreement.... Or American pressure may have been strong enough to offset the effects of Netanyahu's right-wing partners and even his own natural tendency.... If Netanyahu returns without an agreement, it will not be because of the grenades in Beersheba or political pressure from the right at home, but because Netanyahu himself does not want an agreement."

EGYPT: "Hopes For Peace Process Vanishing"

Pro-government Al Akhbar held (10/20): "The two bombings which occurred in Beersheba confirm that the gap of mistrust between Palestinians and Israelis is widening, and the hopes of peace supporters for the Wye Plantation talks to

break the peace stalemate is starting to evaporate. The operations, claimed to be done by a Palestinian, confirm that Israeli extremists, represented by Netanyahu and his supporters, are responsible for such acts. They have driven desperation into the hearts of peace seekers. The hopes are vanishing rapidly also with President Clinton's failure, after three days, to convince Netanyahu to cooperate with the peace process."

JORDAN: "The First Beneficiary"

Chief editor Saleh Qallab wrote in independent, mass-appeal Arabic Al-Arab Al-Yawm (10/20): "A gift from the heavens has landed in Netanyahu's lap. As far as the Israeli negotiators at the Wye Plantation are concerned, the Beersheba bomb attack was timely, as they needed practical evidence for their attempts to cut off the current peace negotiations on the pretext of security concerns... It is for certain that the Israeli right wing bears responsibility for the kind of violence that is being undertaken by the Palestinians. Had it not been for the Israeli government's oppressive measures, the environment would not have been so ripe for such suicide attacks by Palestinians. What the Palestinians need to keep in mind, however, is that such a bomb attack at this point in time can only serve Israel's logic and understanding."

SAUDI ARABIA: "What To Expect From Wye Talks"

London-based, pan-Arab Al-Hayat had this editorial view (10/20): "The expectation was for a bad agreement and an incident such as the operation of Beersheba would make it worse.... A bad agreement simply means a bad and incomplete peace. In such a case, it would be legitimate to develop an opposition to an unfair and unjust settlement which does not respect a nation that has suffered long enough from oppression."

MOROCCO: "Deadlock In Wye Talks Threatens Middle-East"

Government-coalition, French-language Al Bayane front-paged this comment by Salem (10/20): "As of yesterday, the talks were in a deadlock and violence had been resumed in the Middle East. The U.S. government is right to be worried that a summit that should have ended on Sunday will go continue until Tuesday and the many issues divide the two parties. Netanyahu does not want to upset the right wing of his government coalition, which is represented at the talks by Ariel Sharon.... Failure of this summit will have negative impact on the entire situation in the Middle East."

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Jean-Claude Kiefer asked in regional Les Dernieres Nouvelles d'Alsace (10/20): "The simple fact that the Wye Plantation summit is taking place is something to credit Bill Clinton with. Still, Clinton's show of force will not resolve the basic issue, which...is that Israel does not want a Palestinian state."

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Wolfgang Guenter Lerch noted in an editorial in right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine (10/20): "Israel's Premier Netanyahu...benefits from terrorists, because they damage the peace process. But terrorism is not only an Arab problem. An Israeli killed Arafat's partner Rabin, and Baruch Goldstein initiated further attacks against Arabs. It is part of the painful lessons...in the Middle East that the troubled region will, in the medium-term, always suffer from terrorists and violence. But should we, therefore, give up plans for comprehensive and fair peace?"

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Hubert Kleine Stegemann had this to say in centrist General-Anzeiger of Bonn (10/20): "[The Beersheba] attack creates another wide crater in the path of negotiations, and it is another serious blow to Arafat's credibility. But Netanyahu's reaction to discuss security matters and nothing else is by no means helpful either. Only immediate and productive negotiations which result in a fair accommodation of interests can in the long run prevent further attacks. But this does not seem to be occurring. Yesterday, cynics scored further points."

ITALY: "Dangerous Shadow Over Wye"

Andrea di Robilant filed from Washington for centrist, influential La Stampa (10/20): "The terrorist attack at Beersheba casts a dangerous shadow over the Maryland negotiations and President Clinton was forced to return to Wye Mills for the fourth time in order to have the talks resume.... But the intense involvement of the president...suggests that he is still convinced that an agreement can be achieved, notwithstanding the new difficulties caused by the terrorist bombs (sic.) In fact, some observers believe that the two bombs (sic) at Beersheba may have prompted new energies which could end up resolving the impasse in the negotiations. The attack forced all participants to focus on what the Israelis consider to be the key issue on the negotiating table--security.... Another encouraging element is the arrival of Jordan's King

Hussein in Maryland.... His entourage yesterday did not rule out the possibility that he may participate in the final phase of the talks."

"Hanging By A Thread"

Umberto De Giovannangeli observed in PDS (leading government party) daily L'Unita (10/20): "The last hope for peace in the Middle East is hanging by a thread, just a thread. A thread which the Beersheba bombs tried to sever. A thread of hope which 'surgeon' Bill Clinton is trying to keep alive."

RUSSIA: "Fruitless Talks"

Under this headline, centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta had this (10/20) by Aleksandr Reutov: "The four days of the Palestinian-Israeli talks, which started in Washington last Thursday, have not produced any concrete results, except that (President Bill Clinton) has managed to get the meeting extended at least by one day."

BRIEFS

GLOBAL FINANCIAL TURMOIL AND REFORMS

CHINA: "Fed Will Not Balk At Reasonable Measures"

Li Zhengxin said in state council Economic Daily (Jingji Ribao)(10/17): "To maintain continued growth in the U.S. economy, the federal reserve will not balk at reasonable measures. The interest rate cut has encouraged economic circles and is welcomed by trade unions and political groups. The two interest rate cuts will increase pressure on Europe and other developed countries."

SINGAPORE: "Shooting For Reforms"

Pro-government Straits Times (10/19) had this editorial: "The truth is no reform, however ambitious, can be a substitute for what has to be done immediately to prevent a global slump. Still, it is good that serious thinking on long-term reforms have begun.... The proposals of the G-22 countries would be a good place to start.... These proposals sound modest, but they would have far-reaching beneficial effects if they were adopted soon, especially if they were accompanied by the necessary enforcement mechanisms. In this regard, the British proposal to create a standing committee bringing together the IMF, the World Bank and other regulatory institutions to develop a mechanism for ensuring that new rules for global financial regulation are carried out, is valuable."

SOUTH KOREA: "Is The Asian Stock Market Reviving?"

Reporter Kim Sung-yong of the conservative Chosun Ilbo (10/20) wrote: "Stocks, almost trashed because of the current crisis, are now suddenly surging in price. The immediate cause is...reductions in U.S. interest rates.... There is, nevertheless a concern that this phenomenon may be short-lived.... In addition, the region continues to be dominated by political instability and still has to grapple with difficulties over economic restructuring. Fanning the skepticism further is the possibility for drastically diminished investments by the industrialized countries in emerging markets.... A substantive recovery will come only [with]...interest rate cuts by industrialized nations, a greater supply of available IMF funding, and implementation of workable economic stimulus packages and the 30 billion-dollar Miyazawa plan."

BRITAIN: "Dollar Doldrums"

Independent Financial Times had this editorial (10/20): "A weaker dollar provides the emerging markets with some welcome relief, as it takes the pressure off their own currencies. Several Asian countries have been able to cut their interest rates since the movement in the dollar/yen rate. The flipside, though, is that it also makes their exports more expensive in the United States. The combination of a weak dollar with a faltering economy leaves the United States ill-placed to continue to be the so-called 'importer of last resort' from the emerging markets. Instead, the burden of trade adjustment is likely to shift to Europe."

CHINA: "Peace Talks End Without Progress"

Official English language China Daily noted (10/19): "New nuclear powers, India and Pakistan, ended their first peace talks after making little headway in the first round of dialogue between the foes...on the long-running dispute over the Himalayan region of Kashmir.... But they stressed that results should not have been expected from this round, which was to resume a process that had remained deadlocked since September."

CHINA-TAIWAN: 'MORE TALKS BETTER THAN NO TALKS'

JAPAN: "China, Taiwan Need to Continue Dialogue"

Top-circulation, moderate Yomiuri editorialized (10/20), "The recent visit by a senior Taiwan envoy to China marked the first important step toward bringing stability to the Taiwan Strait in the coming century.... The U.S. has been reacting most sensitively to the development of better ties between China and Taiwan, even though it stood firm against China by sending two aircraft carriers to the Taiwan Strait when Beijing carried out its naval exercises. President Clinton, who was concerned about the rising tension, made clear during his recent visit to China that he would oppose independence for Taiwan. The president urged the two sides to resume dialogue. Because of their showdown over the strait that has lasted nearly 50 years, China and Taiwan will not be able to resolve their differences overnight. That is why both sides must continue their efforts to create a new framework of peace and stability."

THAILAND: "More Talks Better Than No Talks"

Independent Nation editorialized (10/20): "The resumption of China-Taiwan talks is pivotal as a confidence-building measure.... It also provides a breathing space for countries...that pursue a 'one-China policy' but maintain close economic ties with Taiwan."

BELGIUM: "Time To Abandon Sterile Haughtiness"

Philippe Paquet wrote in conservative Catholic La Libre Belgique (10/20): "The Taiwanese leaders flattered the communist authorities' pride by dispatching to the Chinese capital a personality without official function. It is time now for the Chinese authorities to show the same degree of realism by abandoning a sterile haughtiness in order to initiate the political dialogue which they are seeking with the only possible interlocutors: the Taiwanese leaders, and first of all, their president.... Even though the Chinese do not like Lee Teng-hui and do not recognize his authority, it is a fact that he was democratically elected.... This is the price--mutual respect--to be paid for...real political negotiation."

CLOCK TICKING TOWARD NEW DEADLINE ON KOSOVO

SERBIA-MONTENEGRO: "Culprits Not Identified By U.S. State Department"

Pro-government Politika (10/19) ran an official new agency "Tanjug" report identical to the one on television the night before criticizing the State Department's lack of reaction to the recent

killing of three Serbian policemen in the Kosovo village of Orlate: "Referring to the events in Kosmet (Kosovo-Metohia) of the last three days, (James Rubin) condemned the latest, as he put it, sporadic incidents, but he did not explicitly say that these attacks and provocations had been performed by the so-called Kosovo Liberation Army, the terrorists and the militant separatists who obviously have been trying to undermine the current situation and the just-concluded agreement on the settlement of the crisis."

"NATO's Dangerous Alignment"

Official Politika, Politika Ekspres, and Borba also all ran a reprint of an article from army magazine Vojska (10/19): "The debates over the future status of Kosovo-Metohia reveal the reason why Albanian separatist leaders have been stubbornly refusing dialogue with the Serbian authorities and why certain panicky 'concerned' NATO members are not insisting on this. Many questions arise from this: why do the Albanian separatists and their foreign sponsors not distance themselves from the terrorists; why has the FRY been groundlessly accused of uncooperativeness; and why has NATO been so ardent about the aggression against the FRY? There is reason to believe that the positive attitude of the international community will grow stronger and completely overcome NATO's aggressiveness as well as eliminate the illusions of the Albanian separatists that the status of the Albanian minority in Serbia could be resolved through terrorism."

RUSSIA: "Separatists Main Obstacle To Settlement"

Yuriy Pankov stated in centrist, army Krasnaya Zvezda (10/20): "The Albanian separatists and their intractable position, more than anything else, blight optimistic prospects for a settlement of the Kosovo crisis. We have yet to see the West react adequately to separatists' actions."

INDIA-PAKISTAN: AT LEAST THEY'RE TALKING

PAKISTAN: "Continuation Of Dialogue In Itself Is A Development"

An editorial in leading, mass-circulation Urdu Jang held (10/20): "India which hitherto had considered Kashmir as its indisputable territory and a non-issue has now at least admitted it an issue to debate upon. The fact that the international community has also started pressing for a resolution is in itself a positive development. It is now a test of our diplomatic wisdom to reap the fruit of this change in postures. India will keep on insisting on bilateral talks on the Kashmir issue, while many countries of the world including the United States have offered several times to act as intermediaries.... Both countries, as a result of the dialogue, have indicated goodwill development on some issues of mutual interest which include the exchange of suggestions on nuclear issues...and a cease-fire accord by the border security forces."

RUSSIA: "It's Good to Have Dialogue Started"

Yuriy Savenkov remarked in reformist Izvestiya (10/17): "The positions of the opponents are too far apart. Even getting a dialogue started is an accomplishment. The best we can expect now is for the sides to create a mechanism of mutual trust, one which would work even in a crisis."

CHINA: "Peace Talks End Without Progress"

Official English language China Daily noted (10/19): "New nuclear powers, India and Pakistan, ended their first peace talks after making little headway in the first round of dialogue between the foes...on the long-running dispute over the Himalayan region of Kashmir.... But they stressed that results should not have been expected from this round, which was to resume a process that had remained deadlocked since September."

FOCUS ON CUBA AT 8TH IBERO-AMERICAN SUMMIT

PORTUGAL: "Long Live Fidel?"

Vasco Pulido Valente editorialized in centrist Lisbon Diário de Notícias (10/19): "[President Castro] presents the 'socialism' that he imposes on his own land with an iron fist as a 'privilege,' a kind of 'oasis' in the desert of the capitalist world--today at the mercy of the IMF and the World Bank, and he has the audacity to extol the liberty which his subjects so notoriously enjoy. In the face of all this, the media, with reverence and even pleasure, proceed to fall all over him.... And, meanwhile, the creature has arrested, tortured and killed an inconceivable number of people.... [These are l]ittle details that do not shake our media's 'impartiality.'...Why? Simple: because in the West great criminals of the 'left' always enjoy special treatment. And, perhaps with the exception of the lunatic in North Korea, Fidel is the last of the breed. The 'democratic' hysteria of Tiananmen has already passed, and now that old assassin has once again become, they believe, 'politically correct.'"

SPAIN: "The Ibero-American Summit in Oporto"

Liberal EL Pais commented (10/19): "The Oporto Summit has seen a repetition of certain facets featured previously such as the limelight in which the eternal prodigal son, Cuban President Fidel Castro, constantly basks and the condemnation of the Helms-Burton law. Washington continues to enforce this statute with respect to Cuba although it does nothing at all to advance Cuba's desired democratization, while at the same time damaging the interests of other countries, many of whom are loyal American allies.... The Summit has shown that the collective weight of its members is much more effective in addressing their common problems [than individual efforts]. Without this forum...member countries would become mere toys on the tide of globalization."

CUBA: "Toward the End of Neoliberalism"

Several articles in the Communist labor union weekly Trabajadores (10/19) discussed Castro's reception in Oporto, and the decision to hold the next summit in Havana. According to one: "Fear functions like fashion: when the famous choose a path, the rest follow. This has been happening with the expansion of the current economic crisis.... The neoliberal globalization that the United States continues to try to expand, is going through a crisis, also global, that is already affecting the United States."

CHILE: "The Unsustainable Embargo On Cuba"

Government-owned, independent Santiago La Nacion ran this editorial (10/19): "The embargo [against Cuba] violates the principles of free trade.... The Helms-Burton law... has extraterritorial effects, since it violates the sovereignty of those nations with trade relations with Cuba.... The United States maintains relations with Vietnam and China; it is incomprehensible that it does not do the same with Cuba. It is time to end sanctions that, beyond having caused the people of Cuba great harm, have not contributed to their original purpose, that is, achieving political freedom in the island."

IMPLICATIONS OF PINOCHET'S DETENTION FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW

SPAIN: "Spain and Pinochet"

Liberal El Pais opined (10/20): "Chilean society is divided over Pinochet's arrest ... a division which is being reflected in a certain way in Spain.... Chilean President Eduardo Frei was not wrong when he commented that each country has its own way of making the transition from dictatorship to democracy, and that nobody outside Spain ever brought any legal action for

what had occurred here during Franco's 40 years in power. But Franco died in office and Pinochet has not; dictators with so much blood on their hands should be pursued by the law. The statute for their crimes does not run out.... What is being sought is that the law be enforced."

GERMANY: "Pinochet Case Shows Need For International Court System"

Roland Heine wrote in left-of-center Berliner Zeitung (10/20): "The case of Chile's ex-dictator...would fall under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court.... But this institution will convene its work only in a few years at the earliest.... So far, the United States has not been willing to support the establishment of this court. Among other things, the United States wants a guarantee that...its own citizens can be tried by a court at home. But this is exactly what Chile's President Eduardo Frey also says. This insistence on traditional sovereignty rights makes international action against murderous potentates extraordinarily difficult since they invariably insist on the principle of sovereignty."

RUSSIA: "Dictators Have To Pay A Price, Too"

Tatyana Koshkareva and Rustam Narzikulov said on page one of centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta (10/20): "It is a convincing answer to radicals, Rightists and Leftists alike, and to those who dream about a 'boss,' a free-market patron, and to those who are nostalgic for a Soviet-type economy. The world has changed, and the times are gone when dictatorships went unpunished. Modern history shows that any dictatorship has its price which has to be paid by nations, as they live through reprisals, and by dictators themselves."

NORWAY: "Pinochet"

Conservative Aftenposten observed (10/19): "Reactions after the arrest of Senator Pinochet show how national and international principles of justice can collide with ethical and moral principles.... In recent years, we have established a tradition of prosecuting human rights violations. It is the responsibility of the international community to make sure this takes place. The new War Crimes Tribunal is a good example of this development. But where do we draw the line? Pinochet's arrest is a good example of how difficult it is to answer this question."

POLAND: "Do Not Punish The Executioner"

Adam Michnik filed an editorial in liberal Gazeta Wyborcza (10/19): "General Pinochet executed a bloody coup and ruled for many years as a dictator in Chile. At the same time, he was the one who guaranteed the consent of the power ministries' to a peaceful transition to democracy. His imprisonment brings back the issue of 'squaring up' with the past dictatorship, a problem present in all new democracies.... Political reasons collide with legal arguments, moral assessments clash with one another. What is more moral: to execute justice at the risk of a new civil war, or secure a social peace without justice ensuing from a compromise between yesterday's enemies? No dictator is eager to peacefully resign from power without securing first some guarantees of security."

ARGENTINA: "Washington Does Not Opine Because Of 'Reasons Of State'"

Jorge Elias for daily-of-record La Nacion wrote (10/19): "Reasons of State were alleged yesterday by the Department of State spokesman speaker James Rubin, to avoid a statement from Washington on former president Pinochet's arrest.... It is as though the retired general had fallen in his own labyrinth, but it does not imply that the United States...will take advantage of the situation to break the love-hatred relationship it has had with Pinochet, since the CIA supported the coup d'etat against Salvador Allende in 1973."

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Greetings from Amazon.com Delivers Politics and Current

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Editor, Ron Hogan

FEATURED IN THIS E-MAIL:

- * What We're Reading: The Presidents' Day Special
- * Spies Across America: An Interview with Allen Weinstein
- * The Fight Against Socialism: An Interview with Balint Vazsonyi
- * Bestsellers
- * New in Paperback
- * Coming Soon: "Monica's Story"

WHAT WE'RE READING: THE PRESIDENTS' DAY SPECIAL

"Why Not Me?"

by Al Franken

http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/038531809X/ref=ad_pce1

During the last American presidential campaign, Al Franken

was content with political commentary, explaining to readers why Rush Limbaugh was, as he put it, "a big fat idiot." Now the stakes are higher: in "Why Not Me?" Franken makes his own bid to move into the Oval Office. Hey, he can't be any more of a clown than some of the men who've been there already, right?

"Presidential Ambition"

by Richard Shenkman

http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/006018373X/ref=ad_pce1

What is the single quality that all the presidents of the United States, from Washington to Clinton, have in common? In "Presidential Ambition," Richard Shenkman examines the lengths to which men have gone in order to become America's chief executive--and what they've done to hang on to their power once they've reached the White House.

"Grand Inquests"

by William H. Rehnquist

http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0688171710/ref=ad_pce1

You've probably seen Chief Justice Rehnquist talk about "Grand Inquests" on C-SPAN. Now back in print, the book discusses what were, when he wrote it in the early '90s, the two most significant impeachments in American history: the Senate trials of Justice Samuel Chase and President Andrew Johnson. Events in Washington, D.C., make this a timely bit of history, as well as a potential source of insight into

Rehnquist's own thoughts on the matter.

SPIES ACROSS AMERICA

If you'd told historian Allen Weinstein 10 years ago that he'd have access to KGB files, "I never would have believed you. Now we've opened an office in Moscow and I've made 50 trips to Russia in the last eight years." The result is a groundbreaking history of Soviet espionage in the United States during the Stalin era, "The Haunted Wood."

<http://www.amazon.com/allen-weinstein-interview>

THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIALISM

In "America's 30 Years War," Balint Vazsonyi argues that the United States has fallen prey to socialist agendas since the political upheavals of the 1960s--and puts forth some proposed solutions. Learn more in this exclusive interview with Amazon.com's John J. Miller.

<http://www.amazon.com/balint-vazsonyi-interview>

BESTSELLERS

Although the impeachment trial has captured most of the

mainstream media's attention, some people have been more interested in "Year of the Rat," a provocative look at the campaign-finance scandals surrounding Bill Clinton and Al Gore and how they may have led to breaches in America's national security. Meanwhile, as Y2K approaches, Eugene Linden says that computer crashes will be the *least* of our problems. "The Future in Plain Sight" explains how it's not the new disasters that'll ruin us--just the old ones getting worse.

"Year of the Rat"

by Edward Timperlake and William C. Triplett II

http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0895263335/ref=ad_pce1

"The Future in Plain Sight"

by Eugene Linden

http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0684811332/ref=ad_pce1

NEW IN PAPERBACK

"Dialogues"

by Jerry Brown

http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0965377490/ref=ad_pce1

Between his failed bid for the Democratic nomination for president in 1992 and his victory in the 1998 mayoral race in Oakland, California, Jerry Brown hosted a popular

syndicated radio show called "We the People," which featured interviews with prominent political activists like Sister Helen Prejean, author of "Dead Man Walking," Nobel Peace Prize winner Thich Nhat Hanh, and Noam Chomsky. "Dialogues" features these and 15 other conversations on social issues whose effects are felt in neighborhoods throughout the world.

COMING SOON

"Monica's Story"

by Andrew Morton

http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0312240910/ref=ad_pce1

She is the most famous twentysomething woman in the world--

but you've only known about her from other people's

perspectives. Now "that woman," with the help of

international bestselling biographer Andrew Morton, has

finally gone on the record. Of all the books written by or

about those associated with the presidency of Bill Clinton,

perhaps none has been as anticipated as "Monica's Story."

The book won't be released until after the impeachment

trial, but you can pre-order it now.

You'll find more great books, articles, excerpts, and

interviews in Amazon.com's Nonfiction section at

<http://www.amazon.com/nonfiction>

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