

Balkans Brace for Troubled Time

Slobodan Milosevic's departure from power in Yugoslavia offers the Balkans a new chance to rebuild from the wreckage of a half-century of Communism and a decade of Europe's bloodiest conflicts since World War II. But success is by no means certain, writes **Robert H Reid** of AP from Vienna

DIFFICULT times lie ahead for Yugoslavia's people, perhaps for a generation or more, before the destruction of the past can be repaired. And as long as Yugoslavia remains unstable, the future of the entire Balkans will be clouded. Much will depend on both the West's response to the opportunity created by Milosevic's ouster and the ability of his successor, Vojislav Kostunica, to deliver on his promise to steer Serbia into the family of democratic nations.

From Slovenia in the Balkan's north-west to Bulgaria in the south-east, the ouster of the man blamed by the West for starting -- and losing -- four wars in a decade was received with both euphoria and relief.

Those conflicts left Yugoslavia and neighbouring states that succeeded from the Yugoslav federation economically crippled and socially traumatised. Ethnic tensions suppressed during the Cold War exploded into armed conflict, and even Balkan countries untouched by fighting -- such as Macedonia, Albania, Romania and Bulgaria -- suffered indirectly. Foreign investors feared sinking their money into countries that could have been drawn into the fray.

The whole region is glad to see the back of him," James Ker-Lindsay of the Royal United States Institute for Defence Studies in London said of Milosevic.

With Milosevic out of power, the European Union have already lifted key economic sanctions against Yugoslavia and the United States is expected to fol-

low suit, possibly as soon as this week.

That will open the door to Western aid and investment. It also will pave the way for Yugoslavia to join the Balkan Stability Pact, which the West launched last year to build democratic institutions and economic structures in the former Communist countries of south-eastern Europe. Without including Yugoslavia, plans for Balkan regional development stand little chance of success.

Prominent Belgrade political analyst Bratislav Grubacic said the removal of Milosevic means the situation in Yugoslavia "is no longer the obstacle for foreign investment... that could stabilise the region."

Milosevic's departure also may speed the day when the United States and its allies could consider withdrawing their peacekeepers from Bosnia-Herzegovina and the southern Serbian province of Kosovo without fearing that the Yugoslav leader would stir up trouble there again.

American, Russian and other Western troops were sent to those areas under deals to end fighting which the West blames Milosevic for starting. However, the problems he left behind in both Kosovo and Bosnia will take years to resolve.

In Bosnia, where Serbs, Muslims and Croats waged Europe's bloodiest conflict since World War II, ethnic tensions are still simmering five years after the Dayton peace agreement. They are kept below the boil only by the presence of 20,000 peacekeepers and an international administration which functions like a colonial

government.

In Kosovo, the situation is more explosive. Under UN resolutions, Kosovo remains legally part of Serbia. But ethnic Albanians, who make up 90 per cent of the province's two million people, dream of independence.

For them, Kostunica's rise is a setback. They fear the West will be less willing to support eventual independence for ethnic Albanians in the province now that Milosevic had been replaced by a democratically elected president.

In his inaugural address, Kostunica announced any plan for loosening Kosovo's ties to Serbia and promised to urge the United Nations to let Serb refugees return to the province. That would enrage the ethnic Albanians and could put them in conflict not only with the returning Serbs but with the UN and NATO-led troops protecting them.

Kostunica's rise has sparked other worries as well.

Governments in Albania, Romania and Bulgaria fear that the West will divert aid and investment earmarked for them to Yugoslavia to shore up the Kostunica administration as quickly as possible and prevent any chance of a Milosevic comeback. And Milo Djukanovic -- the president of Montenegro Serbia's smaller partner in the two-

public Yugoslav Federation -- fears he may be sidelined in the rush to embrace the new government in Belgrade. As long as Milosevic was in power, the United States and Western Europe showered pro-Western Montenegro with billions of dollars in aid.

Djukanovic has already served notice that the change in leadership in Belgrade does not mean he has abandoned his threat to declare independence unless Serbia agrees to a sweeping changes in the Yugoslav federation. And in a radio interview Saturday, Djukanovic challenged Kostunica's legitimacy as president of the federation.

The past elections were illegitimate," he said. "Any federal government formed on the basis of these elections... will be illegitimate. We can talk to Mr Kostunica, however not as the Yugoslav president, but as the representative of the new political thought in Serbia."

The problems Kostunica faces are staggering. He inherits a moribund economy, a bureaucracy that does not function and a demoralised people inured to corruption and filled with unrealistic expectations. Pro-Milosevic parties are firmly entrenched in parliament and in the government of Serbia, whose president, Milan Milutinovic, has been indicated by the UN court for war crimes.

All the former Communist countries faced similar problems when their authoritarian regimes collapsed. Most of them shucked off authoritarianism a decade ago and have barely started on the path toward functioning, free-market economies and Western-style democratic institutions.

Yugoslavia started the journey Saturday with Kostunica's inauguration. Yugoslavs are hoping the euphoria lasts, at least for a while.

"People are feeling like a big burden was taken off their shoulders," Grubacic said.



Left: Kostunica speaks at city hall. Above: Young people celebrate change.

—Photo courtesy: The Newsweek

Limited Power to Clear Unlimited Mess

New Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica has limited powers faced with old system of the deposed strongman Slobodan Milosevic, writes **Alexandra Niksic** of AFP from Belgrade

WHILE riding a crest of massive popular support, Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica enjoys limited powers in his new post, which under the federation's constitution is largely ceremonial. The real power in Yugoslavia resides in the parliaments of the two constituent republics, Serbia and Montenegro.

And the president of Serbia, by far the dominant partner, is Milan Milutinovic, a key ally of ousted President Slobodan Milosevic and like his close associate indicted by a UN tribunal for war crimes.

The constitution allows Kostunica to promulgate federal laws by decree and issue instruments for the ratification of international treaties. Besides that, he nominates a candidate for federal prime minister and his cabinet, but still needs the approval of the federal parliament.

The president also recommends members of the federal constitutional court, the federal court, the federal public prosecutor and governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

But for all this he needs the backing of the federal parliament. Since Kostunica's Democratic

Opposition of Serbia (DOS) failed to win a majority in the two-chamber federal assembly in last month's elections, it has to count on the support of the Socialist People's Party (SNP) of Montenegro.

The SNP is another old friend of Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), although it was the first of his allies to congratulate Kostunica on his victory while Milosevic refused to step aside.

Thanks to constitutional changes adopted by the old parliament, the federal assembly will be in charge of the activities of the government itself, including foreign policy, customs, the budget and security issues.

The constitution stipulates that the Yugoslav army is under the command of the president of the republic, but pursuant to decisions by the Supreme Defence Council.

That Council is comprised of the presidents of the two republics, together with the commander of the Yugoslav army, although the president may appoint, promote or dismiss army chiefs.

However, both republics -- Serbia and Montenegro -- are

quite autonomous in their rights including the right to self-determination often mentioned by the reformist Montenegrin leadership during Milosevic's rule.

And thanks to the vagueness of the constitution, a member republic "shall be sovereign in matters which under the present constitution are not reserved to the jurisdiction of Yugoslavia."

Each republic can also maintain relations with foreign states without the approval of the federal authorities and join international organisations.

Therefore Kostunica could hardly order rebellious Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic or pro-Milosevic Milutinovic to follow his rules.

Since Djukanovic took power in 1998, Montenegro has gained all but real independence -- introducing its own monetary system, control of its borders, international relations and refusing to support the federal budget and other costs incurred during Milosevic's rule.

The rights of the post of the Serbian president, which Milosevic held for seven years, are

even more powerful than that of the Yugoslav chief.

In 1992, using his influence, Milosevic almost totally annulled the existence of the federal Yugoslav police, leaving only several dozen units to secure foreign embassies and the country's missions abroad.

At the same time he greatly increased the number of Serbian police, which legally come under the control of the republic's president and its interior ministry.

The Serbian police are currently estimated to number around 120,000 including various security services.

To enable a transition of power in Serbia as well as at the federal level -- necessary to avoid a Montenegro-style boycott of the federal institutions -- the DOS has focused on the republic's legislature, insisting on early elections to oust the current government, still dominated by Milosevic's allies.

If not, each republic could order its police forces against the Yugoslav army, or empty the federal budget by failing to pay duties or taxes into it.

WOMEN'S BUSINESS OWNERSHIP

How Far is it Acceptable in Bangladesh?

by Dr Afreen Huq

IN response to the world-wide growth of women's entrepreneurship there has been increased attention given to women's business, both from a practical development perspective and a research point of view. The group of women which has attracted researchers, attention in the developed economies is educated, with access to resources and contact networks and therefore in principle, capable of starting up more significant businesses. As a whole, the issue researchers have largely investigated is the 'feasibility' of business start-up by those women, and the gender related barriers women encounter in developing and managing their businesses. The underlying assumption being that in the developed countries women's economic choices or their participation in any occupation is no longer an issue of social acceptability, as it still is in many developing economies particularly those with patriarchal societies.

By and large, the main focus of studies investigating women entrepreneurs in developing economies has been on issues surrounding the feasibility of women's entrepreneurship. However, the categories of women these studies have looked at are very poor women in rural areas and also urban slums, who are involved in micro scale income generating type of enterprises. The growing group of well educated, urban based women who have the potential of starting their own businesses as an economic option have been unrecognized by academic researchers or development planners in developing economies. This has been partly because they are not a priority for attention from the development agencies.

Nonetheless, there are educated urban women in Bangladesh who are already in business both traditionally female-types and non-traditional ones. However, information about these women is sparse and fragmented. In an attempt to fill the gap in knowledge, the author has conducted a study to explore to what extent the relative paucity of educated urban women business-owners in the country is influenced by social acceptability of women's entrepreneurship. Further more, the study has investigated how far social acceptability of business-ownership influence women to actually set-up and manage businesses in a developing economy context, namely Bangladesh. This is because in many of such societies notions of propriety keep women out of certain occupations including business-ownership.

Just as an individual's choice of a particular occupation depends, along with other factors, on the social attitude towards the occupation and the status it carries, favourable attitude of the society toward entrepreneurship and a widespread public support for entrepreneurial activities are both needed to

motivate people to start a new business. However, many theories have overlooked the fact that these factors can be encouraging to men and discouraging or impeding to women who wish to become entrepreneurs at the same time within a society or a country because the norms give restricted positions/roles to women. Self employment is, in many countries, a legitimate and acceptable occupational status. However for women, stereotyping may be implicit depending on the definition of women's legitimate roles in society. Indeed, two roles of women have almost undisputed acceptance, those of wife and mother. A third role, the economic one, has in many societies been undervalued and indeed rejected or criticised. In this regard, economic activities which are extensions of the roles of mother and wife are more easily

appreciated women who bring in a second income for the family but are not yet ready to redefine the traditional gender roles. Therefore, just as teaching is a highly desirable job for women because it is not a challenge to home-making, home-based business is the only acceptable type of business for women because it allows them to generate income without disrupting their gender roles.

The study also shows that business-ownership is an acceptable economic option for women who are married, have grown-up children, relatively older and want to set-up a traditionally female type business in their home. A number of interesting findings have also been revealed regarding acceptability of business-ownership by relatively older, married women. Firstly, it is acceptable for married women

the society. The social attitude towards women in business can be well described in the words of a graduate and an artificial flower exporter, respectively:

"In our society, the outlook of common people has not changed yet and it will take many more years to change as I believe. A woman who wants to be in business in full swing is very often criticised for under performing to a great extent her other roles such as those of a mother and wife. People do not try to understand that it is difficult for a woman to manage both family and work, rather they criticise her as being 'over ambitious' and 'selfish'."

In general, intelligence of a woman in our society is considered to be a vice not a virtue. That is why people call me a 'chally' business woman behind my back. They even say that it is not my dedication or hard work but my looks that has made me a successful business-owner today... would they have said the same if I were a man?"

From the findings of the study, it may be argued that there exists an enormous potential for entrepreneurship among middle-income educated urban women, who present an increasing group in most developing countries. In the face of shrinking job opportunities for these women, around the world, business-ownership can offer a viable medium for effectively combining their economic and domestic roles, particularly for women in the more traditional societies, such as that of Bangladesh. If policy makers are concerned with augmenting women's entrepreneurship in developing countries, policy initiatives should be taken at two levels. At the more general level, there is a need for policy and legislative initiatives that support and promote women's economic participation in general. However, policy and legislative measures alone cannot bring about the needed change in the environment. Although these measures serve to provide institutional backing, real change can only come when there is a general awareness and consequent recognition of the important role that women can play in the socio-economic uplift of the society. In so doing, efforts should be made to encourage widespread media exposure of role models, ideas for product and market development, and gender sensitivity training for the personnel of agencies working for the promotion of entrepreneurship. Agencies offering enterprise training programmes need to appreciate the limited experience of women entrepreneurs in public dealing, particularly in countries where due to cultural reasons women have limited experience of dealing with men, especially on a one-to-one basis.

The writer is Assistant Professor, Independent University, Bangladesh, Dhaka



Dhaka WASA Tender Notice (2nd Call)

(পানির অপচয় রোধে কাজ শেষে কলের মুখ বন্ধ করুন)

Tenders are invited from Titas Gas T&D Co. Ltd enlisted all class contractors for gas connection at Maniknagar WASA Ansar Camp. Amount of estimated cost of work is Taka 96,099/-. Tenders will be received up to 12:00 Noon of 30.10.2000 and will be opened on the same day at 02:00 PM in presence of the tenderers or their representatives (if any).

Schedule of tender will be available at the office of the Chief Accounts Officer of Dhaka WASA, WASA Bhaban, 98, Kazi Nazrul Islam Avenue, Dhaka and all MODS Zone offices of Dhaka WASA. Other details will be available at the office of the undersigned.

Address: "WASA Bhaban"
98, Kazi Nazrul Islam Avenue, Dhaka Md Meer Quasem Majumder
WASA-P-I:316/2000 Executive Engineer
DFP-24203-05/10 SM Division
G-1776 Dhaka WASA

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

Ministry of Women & Children's Affairs

Bangladesh Secretariat, Dhaka

No MW/CA/স/ প্র: -2/16/2000-372 Dt: 02.10.2000

Tender Notice

Tenders under sealed cover are invited from all reputed and bonafide jewellery/goldsmiths manufacturer firms of the country for supply of 2 (two) gold medals of 18 carat standard, weighing 25 grams each, 2 (two) replicas with 0.36 grams gold plating, ribbon and box as per sample and terms & conditions mentioned in the tender schedule for awarding Begum Rokeya Medal of the year 2000.

2. Interested firms can collect the tender schedule from the office of the undersigned on all working days on depositing Tk 400/- (four hundred) only through Treasuring Challan under head "1-3001-0001-2366" & producing the original Challan of Bangladesh Bank. Tender should be submitted in the tender box kept at the Office Chamber (Room No 314, Building No 6, Bangladesh Secretariat, Dhaka, of the Deputy Secretary (A) of the Ministry of Women & Children's Affairs by 1-00 PM of 30-10-2000. Tenders will be opened on the same day at 2:00 PM in presence (if any) of the tenderers. No schedule will be sold on the date of opening tender. The authority reserves the right to accept or reject any tender without assigning any reason.

Shamima Nargis
Senior Assistant Secretary
Phone: 8612056 (Req)

DFP-24135-5/10
G-1777

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

Roads & Highways Department

Office of the Executive Engineer, Chittagong Workshop Division, Dewanhat, Chittagong

Tender Notice

- 1) Tender Notice : 08(Eight)/EE/CWD/2000-2001/Dated 27-9-2000 & No 12-6-1407 Bangla.
- 2) Name of work : Group No "Ka" - Repairing & painting work of Pontoon No-P-I-017/81 of Badarkhal-Janata Bazar Ferryghat under (R&H) Chittagong Workshop Division, Year 2000-2001. Head of expenditure: 168-Road, Bridges Kheyaghat 2 repair.
Group No "Kha"-Repairing & painting work of Pontoon No-P-I-054/86 of Badarkhal-Janata Bazar Ferryghat under (R&H) Chittagong Workshop Division, Year 2000-2001. Head of expenditure: 168-Road, Bridge & Kheyaghat 2 repair.
Group No "Ga" - Supply of spare parts for repairing D-6-D, Model Cat Chain Doser of Chittagong Road Division under (R&H) Chittagong Workshop Division year-2000-2001.
Head of expenditure: ATC of Chittagong Road Division.
- 3) Estimated cost : As per schedule.
- 4) Earnest money : 2% of the estimated cost (Group-list based)
- 5) Time limit : 30 (thirty) days from the date of issue of work order.
- 6) Eligibility of contractors : (a) "A" to "C" general category of contractors of Roads & Highways Department, (D) general category of contractors of (R&H) Chittagong Workshop Circle and (E) category contractors of this department.
(b) Bonafide agent of manufacturer (only for "Ga" group).
- 7) Offices in which tenders will be available : a) Executive Engineer (R&H) Chittagong Workshop Division, Dewanhat, Chittagong.
b) Executive Engineer (R&H) Planning Division-1 (P&D) Sarak Bhaban, Ramna, Dhaka.
c) Executive Engineer (R&H) Rangamati Workshop Division, Vedvedi, Rangamati Hill District.
d) Sub-divisional Engineer (R&H) Workshop Sub-division, Dewanhat, Chittagong.
a) Superintending Engineer (R&H) Chittagong Workshop Circle, Sarak Bhaban, Agrabad, Chittagong.
b) Superintending Engineer (R&H) Procurement & Monitoring Circle, Sarak Bhaban, Ramna, Dhaka.
c) Executive Engineer (R&H) Chittagong Workshop Division, Dewanhat, Chittagong.
d) Executive Engineer (R&H) Rangamati Workshop Division, Vedvedi, Rangamati Hill District.
- 9) Last date of selling tender : 25-10-2000 & 10-7-1407 Bangla.
- 10) Date and time of receiving tender : 26-10-2000 & 11-7-1407 Bangla at 12:00 Noon.
- 11) Date and time of opening tender : 31-10-2000 and 16-7-1407 Bangla at 2:00 pm (Before the interested tenderers present).
- 12) Date and time of lottery (if necessary) : 01-11-2000 & 17-7-1407 Bangla at 12:00 Noon.

Md Abul Kalam Khan
Executive Engineer (R&H), (CC)
Chittagong Workshop Division
Dewanhat, Chittagong

DFP-24172-5/10
G-1775

