

RADIO ANNOUNCER (Dari) Subtitles

The election on September 18th is getting closer, when Afghanistan for the first time in 35 years votes for Parliament.

NARRATION

2005. Four years after the Taliban regime was deposed by a US-led coalition, 27-year old Malalai Joya hopes to win a seat in Afghanistan's Lower House of Parliament.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Hello. Excuse me. Let me write your name down. You're from Deutsche Welle. Yes, I remember. Since my enemies found out that I'm a candidate for Parliament, they've threatened me in various ways. Sometimes enemies come here disguised as friends. They distribute leaflets to threaten me and break me emotionally.

MALALAI JOYA (English) Subtitles

Some of the leaders of the Taliban are living in Shivan, and they arranged a program to kill me.

MALALAI JOYA (English) Subtitles

Here we have a short time, but I have to go because I have to change. The security of this house is not good. Some of the neighbors they have contacted. And also they say that it's good that I leave this house. I'm going to another house.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Although I hate the burka, I have to wear it. A lot of women have taken off their burka at my suggestion, but now I'm forced to wear it myself.

NARRATION

Two years earlier, at the Loya Jirga, or constitutional convention, Joya delivered an attack on her country's warlords that earned her enemies at home and attention around the world.

SEBAGHATULLAH MOJEDDIDI (Dari) Subtitles

Wait a minute. Stay in your seats. One sister says that she's traveled from far away. She insists that we haven't given the young delegates enough time to speak. You have three minutes. Please.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Why would you allow the constitutionality and independence of the Loya Jirga to be compromised? It's those criminals who have brought our country to this situation. They made our country the center of national and international conflicts. And they should be



prosecuted nationally and internationally. They might be forgiven by the Afghan people, but not by history.

SEBAGHATULLAH MOJEDDIDI (Dari) Subtitles

Sit down! Sit down! The sister is out of line. I'm going to request that she be banned from this assembly. Security, take her out! She has no right to come to this assembly again. Guards, throw her out!

NARRATION

Condemning the presence of warlords was a daring stance. They are a sacrosanct political force in the country, drawing their power from the profits of the opium trade, private militias and arsenals of weapons.

NARRATION

Undeterred by her ouster two years ago at the Loya Jirga, Joya is running for election in her native province of Farah, a poor and remote region on the border with Iran.

With the election only two weeks away, she tries to meet as many voters as possible every day.

HAJI ABDUL AZIZ (Dari) Subtitles Where?

GUARD (Dari) Subtitles Please.

MALALI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Welcome. What's your name?

HAJI ABDUL AZIZ (Dari) Subtitles My name is Haji Abdul Aziz.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles How did you hear of me?

HAJI ABDUL AZIZ (Dari) Subtitles

People talk about you. They say that Malalai is good. I've come here to help you with my vote. Others will also vote for you.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles How many?

HAJI ABDUL AZIZ (Dari) Subtitles About... There might be...130. Let's say 135.



MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles
One hundred and thirty five, that's pretty good.

HAJI ABDUL AZIZ (Dari) Subtitles

But the candidates are out buying votes. They offer up to \$40 per vote. I said to people, "You shouldn't ask for money, but don't rule it out either." They said, "OK." Everybody here knows each other, either from what they hear or what they see. People know what's going on. We can easily spot the people who are selfish and evil.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Yes, it's good that people are aware, like you are. Then you don't get cheated.

NARRATION

Shereen, a former Mujahedeen fighter who helped put an end to the Soviet occupation of the 1980s, is another Joya supporter.

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles

It's a two-hour walk. I walked all the way here. I've come because of you.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Welcome.

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles I've brought this for you.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles What is it?

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles It grows in the mountains. It's kortoba.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Kortoba? How do you eat it?

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles With soup.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Good.

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles

Try tasting it. It was given to me by a woman in our area who's a herder. It's good with soup.



MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles How old are you?

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles

I'm 100, 100, 100, 100. I served under the Mujahedeen. I planted mines and destroyed tanks.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles You mean Russians?

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles

Just look at my legs. Let me show you how I placed the mines. I crawled forward, removed the rocks, made a hole, planted the mine and withdrew. My child!

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Don't cry. You should be proud. There aren't many like you. Did you walk all the way here?

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles

I left immediately after hearing about you. I didn't hesitate one second, I ran here.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Why are you voting for me?

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles

I'm voting for you because your behavior is proper and Islamic, and you treat people decently. The whole village is voting for you.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

She says they'll vote for me. Let's go and vote together, after you've picked up your ballot card.

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles

I'll remember the card. I have it in a suitcase at home. May God make your dreams come true, my child.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Go with her to my home. Tell them to treat her well. Make her some tea. She's tired.

NARRATION

Ten days before the vote, the Farah Province candidates gather for an informational meeting with United Nations workers, who are deployed around the country to monitor the election. In Farah, 47 candidates are competing for just five seats.



UN WORKER 1 (English) Subtitles

Ideally, a correct ballot should be ticked like this. We also have this material. Nobody is supposed to intimidate a candidate, whether using a gun or using words. It's a crime. It's a crime to buy a card, OK? Nor should you be also allowed to sell your card. One card, one person, one vote. So, I wish all of you well on the 18th, 10 days from now, and wish you success in your campaign.

UN WORKER 2 (English) Subtitles

OK. Regarding this -- the ladies -- they say that ladies have their kids, so they cannot go to polling centers. The men will take care of the kids, and they will allow females to go to polling centers to cast their vote. Wait, wait.

CANDIDATE 1 (Dari) Subtitles

Yes, but this is Afghanistan. Are you comparing us to Europe and the U.S.? Do you want people to refrain from voting? Do you think the men will allow their women to walk two and a half miles to vote?

CANDIDATE 2 (Dari) Subtitles

It'll take them two or three hours to walk. How will they vote?

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

I agree with the candidates who've complained, but doing it this way, with loose talk from all the candidates, isn't the proper way to complain. When a question is asked, half an hour passes without an answer, and today is our last chance.

CANDIDATE 3 (Dari) Subtitles

I've seen Malalai's armed men hit candidates and tear down election posters in the bazaar.

RADIO ANNOUNCER (Dari) Subtitles

The U.S. military reports that two bombs exploded in Afghanistan today. The bombs, placed at the side of the road in Kandahar, wounded two American soldiers. Kandahar was previously a frontline in the fight against the Taliban regime. The attack takes place merely a few days prior to the Afghan Parliament election on September 18th. Insurgents will try to sabotage it. Since last January, 1,000 people have been killed in Afghanistan due to the insurgents' attacks.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Tell the soldiers to put on uniforms and have their weapons ready. How far is it?

MALAK ZADA (Dari) Subtitles

By car, about 15 to 20 minutes.



MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles I'm wearing my burka, but do you think it's safe?

MALAK ZADA (Dari) Subtitles It'll be fine. Security people are checking the area.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Will you also be doing that?

MALAK ZADA (Dari) Subtitles Yes, I'm going there myself.

NARRATION

Despite the security risks, Joya ventures out with armed guards to urge the women in a poor village to be sure to use their vote.

These elections represent a special milestone for Afghan women, who under the Taliban were essentially denied any rights.

Nationally, of around 2,700 candidates running for 249 seats, one of eight is a woman. A quarter of the seats are reserved for them.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Listen, sisters. I have something important to say. This is our last chance. There are only eight days until the election. I've chosen to run in order to expose the enemies of Afghanistan, the enemies of women, the enemies of democracy, the enemies of happiness, who don't want peace. When you make your mark, you determine your grandchildren's future. I'm not telling you to vote for me, but to vote for those without blood on their hands. Vote for those who respect women's rights. On election day you should take a day off work. It's a historic day. You'll turn over a leaf in the history of Afghanistan.

CAMPAIGNER (Dari) Subtitles

For those who don't read, Malalai is number nine. Her symbol is a house.

NARRATION

While some of Joya's visitors come to discuss politics, others like 13-year old Rahela Nakim seek her help on family issues.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Welcome.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles



Hello. No, don't kiss my hand. You shouldn't kiss your sister's hand. Welcome. How are vou?

RAHELA NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

He stopped us on the way and said nasty things to me. He told my brother, "Give me your sister." He said ugly things to me. He said, "If I catch you, I'll shoot you."

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

He can't hurt you. Don't cry. Rahela, you're a brave girl. You don't normally cry. We're with you. Be patient. You must be strong or you'll break. Talk to me. I know that you need to unburden your heart.

RAHELA NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

My brother was supposed to marry Shirin Khan's daughter for a big dowry. At the wedding Khan threatened my brother. He said, "If I don't get your sister for my wife, you'll be shot." Then they agreed to take care of the problem after the wedding. The wedding ended, and my brother got his money. When I realized that Khan was going to marry me, I came to see you. I called upon the Directorate for Women's Affairs, but they wouldn't help me. Now all I have left is God.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

You'll get help. Don't cry. He behaves like an animal. You're younger than his granddaughter. He has several wives and he's an opium dealer. I remember your story.

RAHELA NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

My family wouldn't give me away to an illiterate. I read and write. I'm in the fifth grade. He wants me to keep the accounts for his opium money. He has weapons and walks with a limp. He's crippled in one hand and one leg. I can't find happiness with him.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

He's harassing you. As I told you before, you shouldn't go outside. If you do, you should wear a burka like me. Don't wear a headscarf. Wear a burka so you can't be recognized. I don't want anything to happen to you. You must be careful for your own sake.

NARRATION

Six days to the elections. Since Joya can't risk going too far from her secured compound, she finds alternative ways to get her message heard.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Shall we record it again? What are you doing? Rewinding? Wait a minute. Stop. One moment. I have to get ready.

MAN RECORDING (Dari) Subtitles



Shall I run it?

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

In the name of God, here is what I stand for. But before that, I wish to express my deep respect for you, my compatriots. Due to security problems I cannot meet you face to face, but I think of you and will always share your sorrows and joys, my dear sisters and brothers. The Parliament is an important foundation for democracy. That's why we must pay attention to whom we elect. Since the Loya Jirga, I've attacked the warlords who are in public office and accused them of violent crimes. I hope the shadow of weapons will disappear one day from our country and that the whole population will disown those who create instability.

NARRATION

Andul Nakim, the father of the teenager who is facing a forced marriage, visits Joya to discuss her predicament. In Afghanistan, more than 70 percent of women are still forced into marriage.

He's asking Joya to mediate -- and she agrees to listen.

ANDUL NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

Our problem is that we didn't stand up to Shirin Khan from the start. I'd rather lose my head than give him my child. He doesn't speak to me, he speaks to my children. And he doesn't tell them that he has two wives and that he's 80 years old. He tries to get her by using force.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles She's younger than his grandchild.

ANDUL NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles
His relatives have also told him, "Why do you pursue her?"

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

I know the whole story about Shirin Khan wanting to marry Rahela.

ANDUL NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

Never! He shall never have my daughter. I'll hold out until death and I swear by Rahela's life that he shall not have her. I'd sacrifice my last drop of blood for her.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

What happened to your hands? Are those blisters? What do you do?

ANDUL NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles I work at a construction site.



MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles And all because of this problem?

ANDUL NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

I'm middle-aged. I've been a truck driver for 30 years, but in the last six months I haven't left my home.

NARRATION

Social work and politics go hand in hand for Joya.

She helped establish an orphanage and a health clinic in Farah in the late 1990s, at a time when the Taliban ordered women to stay at home. She also ran a literacy program - although all female education was banned.

Now Joya's political career has cut into her private life.

She married just six months ago, but lives miles away from her husband, who studies in the capital, Kabul.

Starting a family is not an option as long as Joya lives in constant fear for her life.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles What have you heard?

SECURITY GUARD (Dari) Subtitles

With the election approaching our enemies will tighten their grip.

MALAK ZADA (Dari) Subtitles

We need to tighten up security and we need more guards at our control posts.

NARRATION

Five days before the elections, a close friend comes to see how Joya is coping with the mounting pressure.

FRIEND (Dari) Subtitles

It's always been my hope for you, as your friend. I'm proud of you. I know you'll win. The people are behind you. But ever since your speech at the Loya Jirga two years ago, your life has been in danger. I don't know what'll happen. On the one hand, I'm proud of you. On the other hand, I'm very nervous for you.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

You've played a great part in my life and have been there all the way. Stop filming. I can't.



FRIEND (Dari) Subtitles Stop crying. Have you gone mad? Don't worry. It'll be fine.

NARRATION

Before long, Joya is back at the office, counseling a family on their domestic discord.

WIFE (Dari) Subtitles

He's kicked out the children and me nine times. Sometimes he thinks that I'm having an affair with my brother-in-law and with other men too. I said, "I'm not that kind of person. We've been together nine years and you say this after we've had children?" He said that they weren't his children. He wanted to kill them. He said, "Get out, I don't want you."

HUSBAND (Dari) Subtitles

My nerves are under great strain. I can't live with this woman.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles You can't stand your own wife?

HUSBAND (Dari) Subtitles I can't cope with her. She's out of control.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Are you ready for a divorce?

HUSBAND (Dari) Subtitles Yes, it's over. She cheated on me.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

If I handle the divorce, would you take in your sister?

BROTHER (Dari) Subtitles

Yes, I have to. She can't live in the street. And I can't stand him beating up my sister. It's the tenth time he's beat her up. Enough of this.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles What about the children?

BROTHER (Dari) Subtitles I can't take in the children too.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

If your wife were gone, could you take care of your own children?

HUSBAND (Dari) Subtitles



Yes, I could.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

I feel sorry for you. If you can't take care of your wife, how can you take care of your children?

HUSBAND (Dari) Subtitles

She can have the children.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

What should we do with the poor children? Would you accept one?

BROTHER (Dari) Subtitles

I work for the baker. I'm supporting six children and can't even provide for my own family. I can't afford it. If he takes the children, I'll take my sister.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Would you go with your brother without your children?

WIFE (Dari) Subtitles

What am I to do?

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

I implore you. There's no other way out. I beg you, it's not their fault. What have the two little ones done for you to sacrifice them?

HUSBAND (Dari) Subtitles

I'm incurable.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

It's obvious that you're using opium. Are you an addict? Swear that you don't use opium. You're an addict. That's why you behave the way you do. Take your children, relax and go home. I don't care about you. We'll take care of the divorce. If you harass your wife, I'll notify the police. They'll deal with you. Take your children and get them home safely.

BROTHER (Dari) Subtitles

He's an addict. In 20 minutes he'll be back to get her.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Don't cry. You'll get your children back. I just said it to scare him. He must see how hard it is to take care of children.

BROTHER (Dari) Subtitles

Then he'll appreciate you. He can't take care of the children.



NARRATION

The mother eventually got her children back. She and her children have now moved in with her brother and his family.

NARRATION

Three days to go, and all the candidates get to address their voters on television. For Joya, it's a chance to recall the atrocities of years of war.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Where should I sit?

CAMERA MAN (Dari) Subtitles Here.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles
Is my veil in place? Will you be doing many takes?

CAMERA MAN (Dari) Subtitles No, it's all done in one take.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles One take?

CAMERA MAN (Dari) Subtitles Yes. We're not editing it.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

In the name of God... I'm sorry, which way should I look? Into the camera? I apologize.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

My name is Malalai Joya, and I'm a candidate for Parliament. I'll briefly explain what I stand for. I promise that crimes such as – people being beaten with nails, dancing in a rain of bullets, women having their breasts cut off, the raping of girls and grandmothers, people being burned in containers, the martyrdom of 65,000 people in Kabul, and a thousand other crimes – will never be forgotten. I promise that if Parliament becomes a nest for warlords and the Taliban and if they pass laws counter to the people's interest, I'll be the people's voice and will expose their evil plans. Finally, I promise that although I've been threatened thousands of times, I'll forever fight for freedom, democracy and equality of men and women. Thank you.

MAN (Dari) Subtitles

You observed the time. Two minutes and two seconds.



NARRATION

Rahela's fears over a forced marriage are deepening. Now her whole family comes to seek Joya's help.

RAHELA'S MOTHER (Dari) Subtitles

He shows up at all hours. My daughter's school is about to start. He insists on marrying her. She threatens to set herself on fire.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

I know that you're under pressure and it's hard for you.

RAHELA'S MOTHER (Dari) Subtitles

He's older than her father. He has two wives and 13 children. Even his wives warn us against handing our daughter over to this man. He's overwhelmed with desire.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Hearing a story like this makes one laugh and cry at the same time. I think we should go to the police together. Then you can tell them your troubles.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

He's around 80 years old and wants to force a 13-year-old girl into marriage.

ANDUL NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

I flatly refuse, even if they cut me into pieces, not even if President Karzai himself ordered me to do it.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

He's a murderer, a drug dealer, and he wants this girl who's younger than his own grandchild.

ANDUL NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

He insists on having her. For God's sake, how does her future look? We want her to go to school and be broad-minded.

POLICE OFFICER 1 (Dari) Subtitles

Sharia law dictates that when she comes of age, she can decide for herself. She won't be married now.

ANDUL NAKIM (Dari) Subtitles

I told him, "Talk to the authorities." But he wouldn't.

POLICE OFFICER 1 (Dari) Subtitles

No one gets their way by force.



RAHELA's MOTHER (Dari) Subtitles Force! He wants to take her by force.

POLICE OFFICER 2 (Dari) Subtitles We need the father's fingerprints.

POLICE OFFICER 1 (Dari) Subtitles I'll turn over the complaint to the chief detective. He'll take care of it.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Thank you for your help.

POLICE OFFICER OFF CAMERA (Dari) Subtitles

The chief detective will see to it that this person is investigated.

NARRATION

Without warning, Shirin Khan, who wants to marry Rahela, comes to Joya's office to seek a resolution.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

I sent for you, for Rahela's sake. Rahela's life is important to me. She's one of these girls who gets into a tight corner in our wretched society.

SHIRIN KHAN (Pashto) Subtitles

Rahela's mother is a bitch. She steps on my honor and pride. I paid the dowry, but then they came back a few days later and said that the mother didn't want to give me Rahela, that I should choose between the other two daughters. It's not like buying a car, where you can exchange it. She's a woman, and this is our tradition, this is our Islamic Sharia law.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Islam also provides women with rights. Our law and Sharia law say the same thing. She must be asked before a husband is chosen for her.

SHIRIN KHAN (Pashto) Subtitles

I should never have agreed to it. I swear by this glass of juice that they shall give me their daughter. It's unacceptable that I should give them my daughter and the dowry.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

My advice to you is to save the girl from a poor destiny, because she isn't willing to marry you.

SHIRIN KHAN (Pashto) Subtitles



Ninety-nine people came to me and mocked me, "Are you still waiting for that girl?" My brothers and my clan threaten me, "If you don't get married, you can't stay here in Farah." Because she's engaged to me, and they've received money in advance.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Forget about your tradition, and do withdraw for the sake of Rahela.

SHIRIN KHAN (Pashto) Subtitles

Listen. She isn't facing a bad life. She won't be hanged.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

She threatens to commit suicide.

SHIRAN KHAN (Pashto) Subtitles

She won't. And if she commits suicide, I'll pay compensation.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Are you willing to marry a young girl who's unwilling to marry you?

SHIRAN KHAN (Pashto) Subtitles

We're talking of family and honor. It's the stupid Afghan tradition. I'm prepared to die for this tradition, but I swear by God that I'm not in love with Rahela.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

The solution is in your hands.

SHIRIN KHAN (Pashto) Subtitles

I swear by God that there's nothing I can do.

NARRATION

Rahela's family then sent an uncle to dissuade Khan from marrying her. He killed the uncle, for which he was arrested and sent to jail. Fearing escalation, Rahela and her family fled to Iran, where they are still hiding.

NARRATION

Election day.

Some 12 and a half million Afghans, half the country's population, are registered to vote for the Parliament.

Forty four percent of newly registered voters are women.

Joya and her fervent supporter, Shereen, go to a polling station reserved for women to cast their ballots together.



MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Do we get a stamp?

You must look at the squares and put your mark where you choose. The paper with this color goes into that box. I'll also put mine in. The other one goes in here.

SHEREEN (Dari) Subtitles

You should unite and establish security, collect people's weapons and get along. I'm 100 years old. I've prayed to God. I've come here filled with hope. My heart is heavy with grief.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Don't cry, mother. You've done what you could, and now we'll go home.

RADIO ANNOUNCER (Dari) Subtitles

The count of the votes is now completed. Former warlords and their supporters won the majority of the seats. Twenty eight percent of the 249 seats went to female candidates. Among them is Malalai Joya, whom the BBC calls, "The most famous woman in Afghanistan." She's elected with the second largest number of votes in our province and she's the youngest member of Parliament.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles Thank you very much.

NARRATION

Three months later, Joya is in the capital, Kabul, for the Parliament's inaugural session.

Many former warlords and some former Taliban leaders are among the deputies.

Joya's outspoken reputation attracts comment, even before the new MPs reach the Parliament building.

PARLIAMENT MEMBER 1 (Dari) Subtitles I want to make trouble too, now.

PARLIAMENT MEMBER 2 (Dari) Subtitles Women's rights!

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

Why is it provocative to defend women's rights? Why do you make this remark? The truth instigates rebellion in this country. The warlords are the ones creating disruption.

PARLIAMENT MEMBER 3 (Dari) Subtitles



The word "warlord" creates disruption. That's what disrupts the atmosphere and unity in Parliament.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

When I say "warlord," I don't mean the good Mujahedeen fighters who defeated the Russians. My father was a Mujahedeen fighter.

PARLIAMENT MEMBER 4 (Dari) Subtitles

Calm down. You'll have time to discuss this for the next five years.

PARLIAMENT MEMBER 5 (Dari) Subtitles

I'll tell you one thing, Malalai. The suffering we've gone through, we must forget.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles We can't forget.

PARLIAMENT MEMBER 6 (Dari) Subtitles

Maybe not. But we must look ahead. People admire and respect you as a daughter of this country. You should be grateful for that.

PARLIAMENT MEMBER 7 OFF CAMERA (Dari) Subtitles

It looks nice with the national flag.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

They look at us filled with hope.

CROWD (Dari) Subtitles

Long live Afghanistan!

PARLIAMENT ANNOUNCER (Dari) Subtitles

Now we'll ask the Honorable Hamid Karzai, the President of Afghanistan, to give his inaugural speech for the debate at the first sitting of Parliament.

PRESIDENT HAMID KARZAI (Dari) Subtitles

Our hope is that all over the country our national flag – black, red and green – will be hoisted forever. We must put our ethnic and regional differences aside. All citizens should unite so that the country can be rebuilt and flourish. We Afghans have the right to face our surroundings with our heads held high, telling everyone that our dear Afghanistan has resurrected like a phoenix from the ashes of war. We shall tell the people who were about to destroy this country that this country will endure for eternity.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

We had a busy day. Play some music. You said that you had some. Jamil, what music do you like? I don't really know about music. The fact is that I don't have time to listen to



it. I've been working since the eighth grade. Our financial situation wasn't good. In the morning I went to school and in the afternoon I taught others. The only thing I know anything about is politics.

NARRATION

Two years later, in May 2007, the Lower House suspended Joya over a TV interview, in which she compared Parliament to a stable of animals. On the day she was ousted, Joya gave a press conference.

MALALAI JOYA (Dari) Subtitles

There are criminals in the Afghan Parliament today. To call that place a stable is simply not enough. I've been threatened many times since my interview. One of the members of Parliament even said, "We have to kill Joya by any means, even if we have to stage a suicide attack."

NARRATION

Before resuming her position in Parliament, Joya must apologize to her fellow legislators.

So far, she has refused.