



YOUNG MEN OF FIGHTING AGE

The monitoring by the OSCE-KVM Human Rights Division confirms that young men were the group that was by far the most targeted in the conflict in Kosovo, particularly in the period after the OSCE-KVM's evacuation and the commencement of the NATO air campaign against FRY. Clearly, there were many young men involved in the UCK (see Chapter 3, The military/security context), but every young Kosovo Albanian man was suspected of being a terrorist.¹ If apprehended by Serbian forces - VJ, police or paramilitary - the young men were at risk, more than any other group of Kosovo society, of grave human rights violations. Many were executed on the spot,² on occasion after horrendous torture. Sometimes they would be arrested and taken to prisons or other detention centres, where, as described afterwards by men released from such detention, they would be tortured and ill-treated, while others would simply not be seen again. Others were taken for use as human shields or as forced labour.³ Many young men "disappeared" following abduction.

It is not possible in this report, on the basis of the data gathered by the OSCE-KVM, to determine how many men on either side were killed in combat. The focus in this section is on cases of people subjected to grave human rights violations who appear to have been non-combatant civilians. Even if some of the young men referred to here were in fact members of the UCK, in all the cases cited they are reported as having been *hors de combat* as defined in Common Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

Killings

Very many statements speak of executions of young men, sometimes because they came from locations that were well-known UCK strongholds, at other times because they had the same family names as known UCK fighters. In most cases, however, they seem to have been killed simply because they were male and young enough to join the UCK. In one illustrative case a 41-year-old man saw how police separated two young men from the convoy in which they were all travelling. Since the young men were identified as coming from Lapastica/Llapashtice (Podujevo), a well-known UCK stronghold, they were summarily killed.⁴

It is very commonly recorded in the statements taken by the OSCE-KVM how men were separated from

the other inhabitants as the villages were attacked,⁵ as they were leaving in convoys or as they were trying to cross the border into the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia or Albania. In many such instances, the men were killed on the spot, often in front of their families, often in groups.⁶ At other times the men went missing after being detained in this way, only for their bodies to turn up later.

The following cases are illustrative. For an indication of the full extent of the phenomenon, reference should be made to Part V of this report, surveying Kosovo's 29 municipalities.

At Iglarevo/Gllareve (Klina) the young men (the interviewee says "boys") were not allowed to leave as the rest of the villagers were expelled by Serb forces on 17 March 1999. The next day one of the villagers went back to the village to see what had happened to the boys. He saw the burned body of a boy tied up to hay; only the bones and parts of the legs were left. Eleven other boys had been shot all at the same spot, executed. They buried the young men right there.⁷

One 17-year-old boy describes how on his way to Velika Krusa/Krushe e Madhe (Orahovac), he was stopped by police and put in a line of young men. They were forced to say "Long live Serbia" and give the Serbian sign (three fingers). A 25-year-old mute man, since he could not say "Long live Serbia", was ordered to get into a pool of water. He was shot in the back and a second time with an automatic weapon. The police then took four or five men from the group and put them in the water, one by one. They forced them to drink from the pool where the bodies were. They were then shot. This happened over a three- or four-hour period.⁸

In Podgradje/Pogragje (Gnjilane), 30 paramilitaries drove through the village on a stolen tractor. Five young men, Kosovo Albanians, were at that time coming from the other direction. The paramilitaries stopped them, ordering them to lie down on the road so that all the villagers could see. Then the paramilitaries trod on the backs of the young men for a while and beat them with rifles. After that four of the young men were shot in their backs as they were lying face down on the asphalt. The paramilitaries told the fifth one to go in the village and get some fuel so that they could burn the bodies. When he refused to do so they put him on top of the bodies and shot at him. He was wounded but survived.⁹

Two interviewees describe how a convoy was stopped just outside Donji Crnobreg/Carrabreg i Ulte (Decani) on 7 May 1999 by four masked men in camouflage uniforms, who took young men from the tractors. Four young men were forced to lie down on the ground with their hands behind their heads. Three others were forced to do the same about 10 metres away. Then [a masked] man shot the four men in the back of the head with a single bullet each. He walked over to the other three men. A man from the convoy had been collecting money and jewellery and offered them, pleading that they not be killed - two of the three were his sons. The man shot the three men and then the father as well.¹⁰

An interviewee described being in a convoy of IDPs which arrived in Grashtica/Grashtice (Pristina), where it was stopped by paramilitaries. The paramilitaries took nine young men from 20 to 28 years of

age and made them stand at attention with their backs to the people, then they were killed. Next they tied a young man to an electric pole and used him for target practice starting with his legs, hands and then from the head down. In all 11 were killed.¹¹ Another man who was forced out of a convoy at Grastica at around the same time described how he was brought behind a neighbouring house where he was shown "about 100" executed young men lying side by side. He was asked whether he recognized any of the dead "terrorists" and as he was unable to identify them, he was then shot with one bullet through his face/neck. He survived by pretending to be dead.¹²

A 28-year-old woman witnessed how 11 men were separated from a convoy in Gladno Selo/Gllanaselle (Glogovac). All 11 were shot straight away a few metres in front of the interviewee. They were ordered into one line, and first shot in their knees and legs, and all men fell.¹³

As Serb forces surrounded the villagers of Dubrava/Lisnaje (Kacanik) in the mountains on or around 13 April, a woman interviewee saw how some of the young men were caught. She saw the paramilitaries lining up 11 of the men and tie their hands behind their backs. Then they wounded them with automatic fire (legs and arms). While the men were still alive, the paramilitaries carved out the eyes from some of them, slashed their throats, opened the chests of others and one other had his forehead cut open.¹⁴

Fate unknown - young men missing following abduction

In addition to the kind of killings described above, very many young Kosovo Albanian men were seen being taken away from villages or out of convoys, and their subsequent fate was not known at the time the cases and incidents were being reported to the OSCE-KVM.¹⁵ At the time of writing this report, some 7,000 Kosovo Albanians were estimated to be missing.¹⁶

Arrest, detention, torture and ill-treatment

(The issues touched upon here are also extensively covered in Chapter 6, Torture and ill-treatment, Chapter 9, Arbitrary arrest and detention, and Chapter 10, The violation of the right to a fair trial.)

It is impossible to determine why some young Kosovo Albanian men who were apprehended by Yugoslav and Serbian forces were summarily killed, and others were not. Those who were not killed faced other kinds of human rights violations, particularly arbitrary arrest and detention, very often accompanied by torture and ill-treatment. As one 55-year-old inmate of Lipljan/Lijpan prison said, "young men were the biggest targets" for beatings and maltreatment. He added "they wanted to destroy them".¹⁷

Nevertheless, there is evidence that, notwithstanding the clear focus of the Yugoslav and Serbian forces in targeting young Kosovo Albanian men for grave human rights violations, at least in certain instances the handing over of enough money could secure the release even of young men from arbitrary detention

after they had been apprehended following attacks on their villages, at checkpoints or in the IDP convoys.

At the end of March in Belanica/Bellanice (Suva Reka) masked VJ demanded DM 1,000 from each family with young men. The interviewee saw 10 men forced to kneel, with guns pointed at them. Those who could not pay were led away.¹⁸ When the village of Celina/Celine (Orahovac) was surrounded by Serb forces on 25 March, young men were separated from the group and lined up. After the villagers paid around DM 20,000 the young men were released.¹⁹ As one 30-year-old man described when the bus by which he was being expelled from Glogovac/Gllogoc was stopped in Lipljan on 3 May at a police checkpoint: "All young men were ordered out of the bus and beaten with batons. Those who could pay the DM 300 were released."²⁰ A young woman saw police abduct four young men from her bus at a checkpoint on 24 May in Pristina. Among the young men was her brother; when she handed over DM 400 the police released them.²¹

Notes

¹ For example, A/1077 describes how special police in Savrovo stopped every tractor and searched for young men. See also Chapter 17, Children, where one paramilitary is quoted as having said that all young boys must be killed "because otherwise they would grow up and seek revenge". Also, in one unusual incident, nevertheless illustrative of the Kosovo Albanian community's justified anxiety over the targeting of its young men, a 66-year-old man describes how in Suva Reka, on 28 April two Kosovo Albanians "authorized by the Serbs" attempted to register young Kosovo Albanian men to work and fight for the Serbs, but the interviewee and others refused to co-operate and hid the young men, A/1062.

² M/1193; M/1196.

³ For more information concerning these violations see Chapter 13, Human shields and other endangerment of non-combatants.

⁴ M/0981.

⁵ M/0496; M/0622; M/0166.

⁶ Numerous examples, including A/0133; A/0289; A/0492; M/055; M/0220; M/0240; M/0339; M/0376; M/0432; M/0460; M/0720; M/0830; M/1378; M/1388; M/1701; M/1707; M/1747.

⁷ A/0415.

⁸ A/0118. Incident occurred on 1 April 1999.

⁹ M/1441. Incident occurred on 18 April 1999, as recounted to the interviewee by his brother.

¹⁰ A/0574; A/0429.

¹¹ M/1256. The incident is reported to have happened on 23 April 1999.

¹² M/1815. Attached to the interview form is a medical certificate confirming that he had been operated on for facial injuries.

¹³ M/1619. The incident happened on or around 23 April 1999.

¹⁴ M/0363.

¹⁵ For example A/0417; A/0422; A/0450; M/0034; M/0098; M/0382; M/0715; M/0915; M/1119; M/1120; M/1608; M/1162.

¹⁶ Tom Hundley, "Kosovars agonize over the missing", *Chicago Tribune*, 7 October 1999.

¹⁷ M/1777.

¹⁸ A/0139.

¹⁹ A/0742.

²⁰ M/0473.

²¹ M/1746.



PART IV : The impact of the conflict on communities and groups in Kosovo society (Chapter 16)

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WOMEN

The way women in which were targeted during the conflict differed notably from the way in which men were targeted. Much of the violence that women suffered seems to have been directed towards their gender in a way that appears also to have been intended to humiliate the whole of Kosovo Albanian society. Instead of being arbitrarily killed, as were many men, many women suffered rape and other forms of sexual violence, since the perpetrators knew that this attached extreme stigma in many women's eyes (see also Chapter 7, Rape and other forms of sexual violence).

In some cases when men and women were separated, the men were victims of extra-judicial killing, torture and ill-treatment, while the women were taken away and raped nearby. As young men were singled out from the convoys, so were groups of young women. However, in such cases, it was more common for women and children to be released and sent on their way out of Kosovo, while the men were kept back by Yugoslav/Serbian forces.

Pregnant women were at risk of being specifically targeted by Yugoslav/Serbian forces, given a climate in which the high birth rate in Kosovo Albanian society has been portrayed by the official media as part of a deliberate policy to increase the Kosovo Albanian population in the province.¹ There are several reports of pregnant women being beaten in the stomach, killed or disembowelled. They also had difficult births in difficult situations. There are reports of many children being born in the mountains without any medical support and with almost no sustenance. Women also gave birth at railway stations, at the border and in similar public places. Many of the babies born in these circumstances died.

When villages came under attack, women were left in an especially vulnerable position, as they were often left behind with the children and the elderly. There are many accounts telling how the men left a village, either to join the UCK or to go into hiding, and how they told the women to stay behind because they thought "the Serb forces would not harm the women".

The number of women fighters in the UCK has been the subject of many articles in the international media. There are no exact figures for the number of women who participated in the fighting.

Gender-based humiliating and degrading treatment

Yugoslav/Serbian forces deliberately humiliated women in ways that could severely traumatize them, as they carried out expulsions of the Kosovo Albanian population. A common form of humiliation was to grope the women and force them to undress, often under the pretext of searching for money or valuables. There are numerous accounts of how Yugoslav/Serbian forces would grope the women underneath their clothes and keep their hands there for a long time. Many women were also forced to undress in public, sometimes only to the waist, sometimes completely. Sometimes the women were even sent away without any clothes.

One 29-year-old woman describes how three paramilitaries entered the house and dragged her into the room where her parents were. She states: "They forced my mother and me to undress. They groped and ridiculed us in front of my father."² A 41-year-old man describes leaving Pec/Peja in mid-April 1999 and seeing police take the clothes off women and send them away naked.³

Violence against pregnant women and mothers

Many interviewees tell how pregnant women were targeted in different ways by the Yugoslav/Serbian forces. Pregnant women were harassed and beaten. In Lukare/Llukare (Pristina) in mid-April a man in a large convoy describes seeing paramilitaries ask a pregnant woman on a tractor in front of him for money and confiscate her ring. He said: "They threatened to cut open her stomach but let her go after she had given them some money."⁴ Paramilitaries were also seen beating a pregnant woman in the abdomen when they expelled people from their flats in Pristina on 24 March.⁵

The work of the OSCE-KVM with refugee women

Once refugees reached the refugee camps in Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the OSCE-KVM started to collect statements, it became clear that many more men than women were coming forward for interview. OSCE-KVM staff considered that new approaches to the collection of information were needed, especially given that the general practice was for the (male) head of household to come and speak with interviewers. By more proactive approaches directly to women, the percentage of interviewees who were women was raised to 25 per cent.

In Cegrane camp (former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) the OSCE-KVM worked in close collaboration with a Kosovo Albanian women's organization, Motrat Qiriasit. They organized several workshops with young women and girls and also with more mature women. The subject matter varied, included such topics as self-empowerment, health issues, self-defence and solidarity between women, especially those who were victims of sexual violence. An important additional component was singing and dancing, since this helped the women to regain their spirits and make them more prepared to tackle problems.

OSCE-KVM officers participated in the workshops, sometimes presenting the work but sometimes

just as participants in the workshops. Quite quickly they were accepted and were seen as just another participant. This also led more women to come to the OSCE-KVM tent to give statements. It was also possible for the OSCE-KVM officers to bring women who were traumatized or had been victims of sexual violence to the workshops without anyone being labelled in any way. This ongoing work helped to avoid problems encountered in the past, when human rights organizations took statements from victims of sexual violence and then left them alone with their traumas, or even traumatized them again.

Sometimes this had fatal consequences. One pregnant woman describes being forced to leave Vucitrn/Vushtrri, walking to a nearby village from where she took the bus to Pristina on 10 April. Before the bus got to Pristina it was stopped and the police forced everyone to get off. She states:

They hit me with batons in my stomach and on my back. Afterwards, I lost consciousness. I woke up at border at Bllace [Blace, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], and from there I was taken to Tetovo hospital. After 23 hours I gave birth, but my baby, a girl, was born dead. The baby had sustained internal bleeding after the beating.⁶

Similarly, a husband describes how when they came to the border in Djeneral Jankovic/Hani I Elezit (Kacanik) one police officer saw that his wife was nine months pregnant. The policeman "insulted her with the word `Shiptar' and hit her with his fist at her back. On 12 April the baby died during the birth in the Tetovo hospital".⁷

A rape of a pregnant woman leading to her requiring an abortion is described in Chapter 7, Rape and other forms of sexual violence.⁸

Pregnant women were not spared from the killing. A 65-year-old man describes how on the way from Pristina to Kolic/Koliq (Pristina) he saw dead bodies every 40 metres or so along the road. He states: "I also saw the dead body of a pregnant woman, whose body had been cut open. Her dead baby was lying on her."⁹

Incidents indirectly caused by the conflict. Being caught up in the conflict has particularly tragic consequences for many other pregnant women.

One woman hid in her house in Vucitrn for 10 days in early April while the town was shelled. She said: "We were too scared to go out because police were guarding the houses around us, since there were Serbs living there ... During this time spotlights were shining into our house and we crawled on floor so as not to be seen through the windows. As I was nine months pregnant the baby was pushed upwards in my stomach when I was crawling on the floor and when I gave birth the baby was born dead."¹⁰ Another woman from Slivovo/Slivove (Urosevac) who was eight months pregnant describes hearing shooting and seeing armoured vehicles on 28 March. She fell and could not move; the baby was born prematurely

and died. She said that she was very frightened and that this probably brought on the labour.¹¹

Births. As the Kosovo Albanian population was forced to leave Kosovo, many pregnant women gave birth along the way in very difficult situations. There are many accounts of women giving birth in railway stations, in fields, on hillsides and at the border. In many of these cases the baby died shortly after the birth, as on occasion did the mother.

One woman describes how in Pristina on 30 March people were lined up and had to walk to the railway station. She said that "a woman who give birth to a baby was abducted with the newly born baby".¹² Another woman at Pristina station at about the same time tells how "police were firing shots in the air". She said: "I saw a woman giving birth. Another woman was taken away in labour. We were told to get on the crowded train and were taken to the border."¹³ A man at Pristina station at about this time also describes seeing two women giving birth. He said that one baby died soon after, while "the police were just standing around the women, laughing at them".¹⁴

Another young man describes how a baby was born in the mountains in mid-April as the villagers from Vlastica/Llastiche (Gnjilane) took refuge there. Quite soon after the birth the baby died; a three-month-old baby also died at about the same time.¹⁵

Gender violence targeting women

A 17-year-old boy describes how in Vucak/Vucak (Glogovac) in late March a woman, whose face "showed she had suffered a lot" was standing 2-3 metres from him. She was holding a three-month-old baby in her arms. One police officer in a black uniform asked the woman in Albanian whether it was a boy or a girl and she replied that he was a boy. Then the police officer asked whether she had enough milk to feed her son and she said, "Yes, I have enough." For some reason the police got very angry with this answer. He took the baby from her, grabbing it out of her arms. All this time she had been trying to comfort the baby who had been crying the whole time. The baby fell on the ground where it lay crying. He tore the woman's dress, took out his knife with his right hand, held the woman with his left hand and cut her breast off with one quick movement. The woman was crying and screaming. She knelt and curled up. No one dared help her. The policeman joined the other policemen without making any other comments and his colleagues behaved as if this were perfectly normal behaviour.¹⁶

Resistance

Some women tried to resist the violence against them. There are several accounts of women resisting, sometimes with tragic results as they were killed on the spot or subjected to other gross human rights abuses. A 66-year-old man, who was travelling in a convoy of 300 families which was more than a kilometre long, describes how in mid-April they were stopped at gunpoint by Serbs near the entrance to Djakovica/Gjakove. A 22-year-old woman was pulled from the tractor by a paramilitary "who wanted

her". She resisted and the Serb shot her dead with a Kalashnikov in front of her father-in-law and brother-in-law. The Serbs then pulled her body to the side of the road and ordered the convoy on.¹⁷

In other cases women actually managed to prevent the Yugoslav/Serbian forces from taking any women with them. A 26-year-old man describes how in Globare/Globare (Glogovac) in mid-April six soldiers came, took money and gold and ordered several women and girls to go with them to "sleep with them". He said, "The women started to cry and refused ... The men were taken to the other side of the room and beaten there. Everybody was screaming in the house. The men were then ordered to leave the room and were taken to the yard ... In the meantime, the soldiers were trying to force some women to go to their houses, but the women were holding each other's hands and were very strong. Then, the soldiers started to beat the women and then told them that they would come back in three hours." Although there were three guards on the building, the women then managed to escape.¹⁸

There are reports of mothers trying to save their young sons from being taken, but the mothers themselves would be severely beaten, or worse, and in most cases had to relinquish their sons. An interviewee from Pristina/Prishtina municipality describes an incident he witnessed in mid-April after he had been expelled from his village. A young Kosovo Albanian man was summarily killed by a Serb paramilitary in a village near Pristina, and was left dead by the side of the road. The interviewee recounted that "the mother went to her son and took his hand. Because she wouldn't let [go] the hand of her son, a paramilitary cut away her arm with a big knife".¹⁹

Societal consequences of the conflict for women

The husbands of many women were killed during the conflict and these women face many problems, especially if they have children. In addition to practical problems, tradition and customary law in Kosovo sometimes contradict the written law; in such cases, especially in rural areas, customary law prevails.

According to customary law children are considered to be the property of the father and, if the father dies, the children belong to the family of the father. This means in practice that the mother is completely dependent on the goodwill of her in-laws, who may choose to keep the children but reject the mother. Further, by tradition women are not allowed to own property or live on their own. This will of course have potentially serious consequences for women who hope to inherit the property which belonged to their husbands, so as to be able to stay in their houses.

Finally, experience of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and of other conflicts has shown that the level of domestic violence rises dramatically in post-conflict societies. There are no indications that Kosovo will be an exception to this rule. Indeed, the problem had already begun to appear in the refugee camps.

Notes

¹ See, however, Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo - A Short History*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 331-32, where he writes that, while the birth rate among Kosovo Albanians is indeed the highest in Europe, this is more likely to reflect the traditional nature of the society rather than a deliberate policy to increase the Kosovo Albanian population. The birth rate among Kosovo Albanian women in paid work in urban areas, who could be expected to be more politicized, is much lower.

² M/1043.

³ A/0833.

⁴ M/1710.

⁵ M/1019.

⁶ M/1280.

⁷ M/0328. The word "Shiptar" is used in the former Yugoslavia as a derogative name for Albanians; it may be compared to the slightly different "Shqiptar" which means an Albanian man in Albanian.

⁸ M/1017.

⁹ M/1711.

¹⁰ M/0236.

¹¹ M/0781.

¹² M/0876.

¹³ M/0395.

¹⁴ M/0179. M/0164, who passed through Pristina station at around the same time heard that five women had given birth on the day he was there, indicating that at least some of the events described above are likely to be separate incidents.

¹⁵ M/0750.

¹⁶ M/0217.

¹⁷ A/0271.

¹⁸ M/1512.

¹⁹ M/1378.

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KOSOVO / KOSOVA As Seen, As Told

OSCE ODIHR



CHILDREN

Children as political objects in the Kosovo conflict

The high birth rate in Kosovo Albanian society has been the subject of considerable negative publicity in official Serbian propaganda. This portrays it as part of a deliberate policy to increase the Kosovo Albanian proportion of the population in the province. However, as Noel Malcolm has written, while the birth rate is among the highest in Europe, this reflects the traditional nature of the society rather than "a deliberate and politically motivated policy", since among working Kosovo Albanian women in urban areas, where other factors, such as economic security and access to reproductive health care, are much more in evidence, the birth rate is much lower.¹ A young mother from Gnjilane/Gjilan described to the OSCE-KVM the problems she faced because she had triplets:

In August 1997 I had triplets (two boys and a girl). From the day they were born until I left Kosovo the police repeatedly came into the house to find and take one or more children away from me because 'you don't need so many babies'. I was forced to keep all three at separate relatives to avoid provoking the 'taking' of any. During our departure by bus to Macedonia, the bus was stopped in Klokot (Gnjilane). One policeman attempted to take one of the babies but did not succeed due to my hysteria and my father's protest.²

Education

Access to education by Kosovo Albanians has been a human rights issues in Kosovo for the past decade. The shortness of the OSCE-KVM deployment inside Kosovo meant that the mission was largely unable to address itself to the issue, so it is not specifically covered within this report. However, background to the issue is included in Chapter 22, Groups in Kosovo Albanian society particularly targeted for human rights violations, in the context of the references to teachers and students, as part of an analysis of the targeting of people for human rights violations because of their occupation.

The impact of the conflict on children

During the period of the escalation of conflict in Kosovo in 1998, and especially in the period from late

March 1999, the suffering of children was often extreme. The elements which follow in this section highlight a number of ways in which children were victims of the conflict.

Children as targets

Among the most atrocious aspects of the conflict are the reports of the deliberate killing of children by the armed forces. Many children who were not killed endured other grave human rights violations, including torture and ill-treatment.

There are many statements which describe Kosovo Albanian children being specifically targeted by Serb forces. Girls were raped³ and boys were killed because they were seen as potential UCK fighters.⁴ One woman described how she heard a Serb paramilitary state how they had to kill the young boys because otherwise they would grow up and seek revenge.⁵

In other instances the purpose of deliberately killing children appeared to be to terrorize and traumatize the parents and other adults, who were then left alive. Many refugees recounted incidents of children being ill-treated or killed in front of their parents, with the apparent purpose of punishing the parents. For example, one interviewee recounted that in Gornje Grabovc (Obilic) the Serb forces gathered all the villagers together in a yard. One family tried to escape, and when they were caught a child from the family was decapitated in front of the parents.⁶ Another interviewee told the OSCE-KVM that he had seen a paramilitary cut off the head of a 3-year-old child in front of the parents. The family was from Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovicë.⁷ An LDK member and intellectual described how his 13-year-old son was separated from the rest of the family as they were fleeing up in the mountains. The son was caught by two "chetniks" who broke both his arms and fired shots in the air causing the parents to panic, as they believed he had been killed. The son managed to escape and rejoin the family.⁸ Another interviewee reported having witnessed how, in mid-April, on the main road from Pec/Peja to Decane/Decani, a Kosovo Albanian woman who was travelling on foot with her son (who was about five to six years old) was stopped by three men, who appear to have been Serb paramilitaries, wearing masks. They asked where her husband was and she replied that she did not know. They told her that if she wanted to save her son, her husband must "be here". They then grabbed the boy. One of the soldiers said to the one holding the boy, "What are you talking to her for, kill him." At this point the soldiers cut the boy's throat and then they completely decapitated him.⁹

One interviewee described seeing a child, aged two or three, who had been impaled on a wooden pole on the road between Pristina/Prishtina and Kolic/Koliq. Written on the pole were the words, "This is Serbia. This is what we are going to do to all Albanians, because I am God and NATO means nothing to me."¹⁰ A 22-year-old man described how he saw a woman being stabbed by a Serbian police officer first in one arm and then in the other, so that the two-month-old baby that she held in her arms fell to the ground. As the baby fell the police officer shot it on the spot.¹¹ As the Serb forces surrounded the village of Padaliste/Padaliste (Istok), they went into the house of a teacher, took three young children and told the

teacher to cut off their heads. When he refused, the police cut their throats; they also killed the teacher.¹² As police, VJ and paramilitaries expelled inhabitants from their homes in Kosovska Mitrovica in mid-April, an interviewee reported seeing one of them hit a six-month-old child with a hammer (the fate of the child is not reported).¹³ Another interviewee described how, in an IDP convoy outside Pec on the morning of 16 April 1999, Serb forces took a five-month-old baby from the arms of its mother and asked: "Do you want to come back to Kosovo?" As the baby - of course - did not answer, they told the mother: "This baby will never go to



"Kosova burning": a drawing by a child in a refugee camp [\[zoom\]](#)

Kosovo!" and they threw it on the ground and killed it.¹⁴

Serb paramilitary forces who entered the village of Zulfaj/Zulfaj (Djakovica) on 5 April 1999, irritated by the cries of terrified children as they searched the village before expelling inhabitants and torching the houses said, "You wanted NATO, now you got them! As long as they kill our children, we will kill yours!"¹⁵

Other conflict-related deaths of children

Very many children died who were not deliberately targeted during the conflict. As recounted to the OSCE-KVM by Kosovo Albanian refugees, many were killed during shelling of civilian houses and other kinds of apparently indiscriminate attacks by Serb forces.

Many children were forced to live under very severe physical conditions that resulted in deaths from hunger or for other reasons.¹⁶ One man described how the train from Pristina was so full that two infants died of suffocation.¹⁷ Another woman described how two babies died as the population from Gornje Streoc/Strellci i Eperm village (Decani) was walking to Kukes (Albania).¹⁸ In one tragic incident in Crnoljevo/Carraleve (Stimlje) Serb forces stopped a convoy. The Serbs detained the driver of a tractor in the convoy, and ordered a 10-year-old boy to drive it instead. There were 20 people on the tractor, the boy lost control and it rolled over, killing the boy, his mother and a baby; another five were injured. The Serbs laughed at this and did nothing to help.¹⁹

Children held to ransom

During the very many reported situations of extortion from Kosovo Albanians (see Chapter 12, Deliberate destruction of civilian property, looting and pillage), children were often used as a means to blackmail parents to give money to the Serb forces. The threats against the children could take very brutal forms, as illustrated by the following examples, and compliance by the parents with what were in effect ransom demands did not always secure the children's safe release.

In the village of Grastica/Grashtice (Pristina) a convoy of IDPs was stopped by police and paramilitaries on or around 20 April. They took small boys and girls, pointed guns or held knives at their throats and asked their parents for money. In some cases the children were killed even though their parents handed over the money that was asked for. About 40 children were killed like this, according to one witness.²⁰

During the expulsion of a family from Pozaranje/Pozzaran (Vitina) in mid-April a paramilitary took a seven-year-old boy and threatened him with a knife, thereby forcing the boy's mother and the interviewee who gave this account to hand over money and jewels. The boy was then released.²¹ In Pristina a 39-year-old man saw how several young men and women were separated from a crowd that was going to the railway station and taken away by masked people dressed in black. In order to get their children, parents gave all their money and gold to the abductors, but to no avail. The interviewee did not know what happened to the young people who had been abducted.²² In the centre of Belanica/Belanica (Suva Reka) on 26 March, with the village crowded with IDPs, VJ wearing black masks demanded money and other valuables from Kosovo Albanians. One soldier took a baby from its mother, and holding a knife next to its body forced the mother to hand over money or else have the baby returned to her dead.²³

Children as human shields

Children were used as human shields together with adults, but there was also at least one occasion when children alone were used. For a short period in April, after the VJ had arrived in the village of Smira/Smire (Vitina), the Kosovo Albanian inhabitants were not allowed to move within the village, being kept under a form of house arrest. Only children were allowed to play outside. The refugee who recounted this to the OSCE-KVM made the observation that the children's presence around the tanks was particularly welcome.²⁴

Torture and ill-treatment of children

In the period after 20 March 1999 children, particularly teenage boys, would sometimes be rounded up with men and taken into detention. There they faced torture and ill-treatment. For example, some of the detainees at Smrekovnica/Smrekonice prison in May-June 1999 who were later interviewed as refugees by the OSCE-KVM report that boys as young as 12 were detained there. Conditions at the prison were cruel and inhumane, and most reports from the prison mention torture and ill-treatment, as described in

this report on Vucitrn/Vushtrri municipality in Part V. One of the most detailed descriptions of what happened to prisoners there is from a boy who had just turned 15 when detained in Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovica as part of a mass arrest on 16 May and taken to Smrekovnica. He describes being beaten with a club on arrival, and during questioning.²⁵ His statement to the OSCE-KVM is covered in more detail in Chapter 9, Arbitrary arrest and detention (see also Chapter 15, Young men of fighting age).

The incidents of rape and sexual violence documented by the OSCE-KVM include rapes of young women and girls. These are dealt with in Chapter 7, Rape and other forms of sexual violence.

Ill-treatment and harassment of children occurred often in the context of forced expulsions and extortion, as is mentioned extensively elsewhere in this report, including many references in the municipality entries. It could also occur outside this context, in situations that were otherwise unremarkable, such as the journey to and from school. The following two examples illustrate how acts of ill-treatment and harassment against Kosovo Albanian children could be perpetrated by the police directly, or the police would look on and do nothing as Kosovo Albanian children were beaten by others.

On 10 December 1998, at around midday, young Serb civilians armed with wooden clubs stopped a 16-year-old Kosovo Albanian secondary school student as he was going home after school in Obilic. They beat him up so severely that he had to seek medical treatment for injuries to his head and for broken teeth. Two policemen on guard outside the nearby police station saw the incident but did not intervene. The same group of Serb youths was reported as having beaten up several other students on their way home from school on about four occasions over the previous three weeks.²⁶

On 24 March 1999 a 17-year-old Kosovo Albanian girl and her 18-year-old male companion were walking home from school in Dusanovo/Dushanovo (Prizren) when police stopped them. They asked the girl's companion what kind of book he had in his hand. When they saw it was in Albanian they snatched it from him and threw it to the ground. The police punched him repeatedly in the face. Two days later the girl was again stopped on the street by a policeman who demanded to see her ID. She told him she did not have one. The policeman insisted she needed one to move about, and told her that if she came with him for two days he would get one for her. She refused and ran off in fear. Later that day she encountered the same policeman, who made unwelcome sexually suggestive comments to her.²⁷

The trauma of the conflict's child survivors

It may take years for the children who lived through the conflict to overcome the traumas that they have undergone. Many were witnesses as their parents were killed, or they watched other people being killed. Among statements given by refugees to the OSCE-KVM there are numerous examples. One woman describes how her husband was killed in front of their three children:

The paramilitaries had been in our building and robbed the inhabitants in their apartments. As they were going to leave our apartment one of them just turned round and shot my husband several times. He did not die immediately, but as the paramilitaries left they shot him again and this time they killed him. My children ran to their father and shouted "Daddy, daddy, don't leave us!" My children, all three boys, had always been closer to their father than to me. My oldest son refused to let go of his father's body. My husband's head was split in two and we had to put a plastic bag around it when we buried his body.²⁸

One interviewee saw how some paramilitaries took a young boy, aged 10 and pointed at the bodies of two young men they just had killed. "They told him that it could happen to him."²⁹ Another interviewee described how the police scared children in Turjak (Orahovac) by firing AK-47s close to their ears.³⁰

As IDPs were hiding in the mountains of Kosovo the parents would constantly hush the children and they would later describe to the OSCE-KVM how they even held their hands over the mouths of their children in order to prevent them from making noise. One man describes how as the children was crying, the Serb forces would threaten: "If you don't silence your children, we will kill them all!"³¹

The conflict certainly also had a traumatic impact on Kosovo Serb children, particularly as it escalated after 20 March. However, the OSCE-KVM, being deployed outside Kosovo at that time and until it was stood down on 9 June, had no access to Serbs inside Kosovo or the rest of the FRY who might have reported Serb children's experiences of human rights violations. There were almost no Serbs among the refugees interviewed by the OSCE-KVM.

Notes

¹ Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo - A Short History*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 331-32.

² M/0808.

³ For the singling out of girls and young women for acts of sexual aggression see Chapter 7, Rape and other forms of sexual violence.

⁴ For more on the specific ways in which young men were targeted for human rights violations see Chapter 15, Young men of fighting age

⁵ M/1016.

⁶ M/0604.

⁷ A/0284.

⁸ M/1705.

⁹ A/0257. The interviewee describes the perpetrators as "soldiers", but the detailed description given is consistent with their having been paramilitaries.

¹⁰ M/1711.

¹¹ M/1528.

¹² A/0640. This case is cited in the indictment against Milosevic and others issued by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), see ICTY, "Indictment Milosevic & Others ('Kosovo')", IT-99-37-I, 24 May 1999.

¹³ A/0727.

¹⁴ M/1507.

¹⁵ A/1084.

¹⁶ For example A/0939.

¹⁷ M/0065.

¹⁸ A/0162.

¹⁹ A/0698.

²⁰ M/1351.

²¹ M/0837.

²² M/0432.

²³ A/0345.

²⁴ M/1126.

²⁵ A/1069.

²⁶ PR/02/0002/98.

²⁷ A/0695.

²⁸ M/0717.

²⁹ M/0249.

³⁰ A/0089.

³¹ A/1084.

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A 13-year-old boy from the town of Suva Reka/Suhareke gave the following statement to an OSCE-KVM interviewer in Albania, a month after the incidents described.¹

[On 25 March 1999] there was a shooting incident between [the] UCK and the police near my neighbourhood. The UCK was trying to prevent the police from coming in. The police finally arrived and kicked into our house. My sister and I and my father were on the ground floor. My mother was upstairs and saw them coming in. She shouted for my dad to leave the house. As my dad opened the door to leave, they shot him. Then the four policemen entered our house. They hit my sister with the big part of the automatic weapon. They turned and pointed the gun at me. I fainted. The police did not shoot me. They were looking for money or they'd kill us. Ten minutes later, I became conscious again. My dad was lying dead on the floor just outside. I shook my dad three times. No reaction. He was not dead yet because he is strong. His arms were destroyed, he was full of blood. I was scared and ran away. I heard two shots at my father. The policemen were going into houses and killing people. They were using silent guns [silencers]. I heard them in a house and later went in and saw five people dead in that house. I left our house but my sister [his 25-year-old half-sister] stayed behind and cared for my dad. She said that a policeman told her to go inside right away. As she did, a bullet flew by her head, just missing her. I went to my neighbour's house. My sister joined me in the afternoon. We went later to my house and my father's body was gone. There

was blood on the stairs like he was pulled. I have not seen him since. My mother is also gone. I don't know where she is.

¹ A/0221.



ELDERLY, DISABLED

While the OSCE-KVM was in Kosovo there were few reports of the specific targeting of elderly or disabled people from either the Kosovo Albanian or the Serb community. One example concerns a 73-year-old Serb who was killed when on 29 January 1999, unknown persons approached a house in Rakos/Rakosh (Istok/Istog) and threw two Chinese-made hand grenades through the window. The man's wife was also injured.¹

After the withdrawal of the OSCE-KVM on 20 March 1999, and the escalation of human rights violations, the elderly or disabled were by no means spared. The following account from the village of Sopina/Sopine (Suva Reka/Suhareke) shows how age was no barrier to even the worst kinds of violations.

On the afternoon of 26 March two Serbian police entered the room of the house where we were staying and started shooting. They were wearing masks and camouflage uniforms. As they shot into the room my daughter was shot in the hip. In the meantime [my daughter's] husband and his cousin were on the floor above and came down to see what was going on. A policeman shot at [the cousin] and missed. Then the policeman took DM1500 from [a 16-year old female relative] in exchange for sparing [the cousin's] life. Nevertheless, when the money was presented the policeman still shot [him] in the chest with a machine gun, killing him instantly. They then called [my daughter's husband] outside and shot him in the head, killing him instantly.

The family was taken out into the yard, where the elderly mother of [my daughter's husband], aged 75, began walking towards the policemen and cursing them for what they had done. They immediately shot her as well, and she died instantly.

I also saw shot dead in their yard, in a kneeling position with their faces to the ground my neighbours [both aged 70].²

Although many elderly people were able to flee and formed a large proportion of those in the refugee camps, the treatment of those who were unable to do so suggests that they were in many cases

specifically targeted, whether for killing, torture or ill-treatment, regardless of the fact that they were unable to resist.

Possibly this was because the intention was to expel the whole population, possibly because the killing of the elderly would preclude relatives from returning to look after them, or possibly because the intention was to kill heads of households and thus weaken the fabric of Kosovo Albanian society. When combined with the particular targeting of young men (as described in Chapter 15, Young men of fighting age), the effect was in any case to leave many extended families without the direction and cohesion traditionally provided by a head of household.

The most common attacks were those on elderly Kosovo Albanians who were also immobile and therefore particularly vulnerable. Relatives often had no choice but to leave them behind in the chaotic and hurried circumstances of mass expulsion under threat of death and they were unable to make their way to the border by themselves. Occasionally families were able to bring elderly relatives with them against great odds, as was the case with a man who fled from Istok/Istog municipality in late March whose tractor was shelled and who then carried his 70-year-old mother across the mountains through the snow on foot to Montenegro.³ However, those who were left behind were frequently shot or burned alive in their homes, while a few statements report cases of abduction or ill-treatment.

The elderly and disabled are treated in the same section of this report because their fates were frequently relatively similar. Their vulnerability had the same roots, since they often could not move, or move fast enough to leave independently and there was usually neither the time nor the resources to transport them.

Killing of old, immobile persons

Almost every extended family in Kosovo had elderly people with them. While it would be the natural instinct to take the whole family with them upon fleeing, the way the forced expulsions were carried out often did not leave the families the time or resources to carry the old people who were not able to walk. Sometimes elderly people refused to leave despite the persuasions of other members of the family. Other elderly who tried to follow their relatives were too weak either to join convoys or to walk to the train or bus station.

In Pristina/Prishtine, on 2 or 3 April a policeman shot a 66-year-old man, who was sick and being carried by his son. The policeman said that he had killed him "just to make it a bit easier for you".⁴ In Pec/Peja, in late March, when the army was escorting a convoy of IDPs, one woman was transported in a wheelbarrow, the two others were carried. One of the men who was carrying an elderly woman was forced to put her down and she was shot dead by a police officer with a pistol.⁵ In Pristina paramilitaries killed old people who were not able to follow the crowd.⁶ On 1 April Serbian forces shot three villagers who were unable to walk when they forced villagers in Drenovce (Kosovska Kamenica/Kamenice) to leave.⁷ In Mirusa/Mirushe (Orahovac/Rrahovec) an old man was shot because he could not walk to

leave his home.⁸ In Marcvec/Marefc (Pristina/Prishtina) paramilitaries shot dead a 90-year-old man who was paralyzed and was therefore unable to leave.⁹

Those who stayed behind frequently found no mercy at the hands of the Serbian forces. When they entered the house - generally either to expel the inhabitants to loot or both - they often killed elderly men and women who had stayed behind. On 28 March in Crnovrana/Gurbardh (Orahovac) 26 people were killed and one interviewee saw four dead bodies of people aged over 70. Paramilitaries had killed them all in one place and spread them over two kilometres apart. Two days later they killed three more people over 70 years old.¹⁰ In Studenica (Istok) an man who was over 100 years old was knifed to death.¹¹

The elderly were not spared from mass killings and occasionally even appear to have been targeted. On 4 April in Pusto Selo/Pastasel (Orahovac) VJ took more than 100 men, all over 50 years old at gunpoint to lower land. The interviewee then heard automatic gunfire from that area. Reportedly only four men survived the massacre by hiding underneath the dead bodies.¹² Also in the Srbica/Skenderaj-massacre where 148 people were killed, a number of (named) old people died, aged 60-81, as well as a 70-year-old disabled person.¹³ In Dragacina/Dragaqine (Suva Reka/Suhareke) special police killed 11 old men (aged from 60 to 90). An interviewee heard that one policeman said: "We killed and massacred the old men and dropped them into a well".¹⁴

Elderly or immobile people were also mutilated when they were killed. When one villager returned on 10 April to Kladernica/Klodernice (Srbica/Skenderaj), he found 35 bodies, including that of a 75-year-old woman (name recorded) who had been cut from her pelvic area to her throat.¹⁵ Among several killed elderly people in the area around Pristina's public hospital, one had a distorted face and a heavily mutilated body.¹⁶ A 70-year-old man captured in Plitkovic/Plitkoviq (Lipljan/Lipjan) had his fingers and toes cut off and was then killed.¹⁷

The burning of elderly and disabled people

Elderly and disabled people were widely reported as being either shot dead and then burned or as being burned alive, often in their homes. On 12 April in Grebno/Greben (Urosevac/Ferizaj) two Kosovo Albanians (aged 105 and 60) were burned to ashes in their houses.¹⁸ On 21 April in Makovac/Makofc (Pristina) three interviewees report finding the burnt bodies of three relatives, all of whom were in their 80s who died in a blaze after the house was set on fire.¹⁹ In Zlatare/Zllatare (Pristina) five old people (one of whom was an invalid) were found burned in their houses.²⁰ On 28 March an interviewee witnessed in Lesane/Leshane (Suva Reka/Suhareke) how a (named) local Serb carried a (named) 80-year-old woman who could not walk and placed her against a pile of corn stalks. He then set the pile on fire and burned her alive.²¹

Even if the elderly had managed to flee some of the way, they were sometimes killed and/or burnt. In mid-April in Vrelo/Vrella (Lipljan/Lipjan) a family had to leave two elderly people during their flight in an empty house because they could not walk any further. Later on, someone found their partially burnt bodies.²² In Slovinje/Silovi (Lipljan/Lipjan), when a series of mass killings were carried out in mid-April, an elderly paralysed woman was killed and burned on a tractor.²³ In Krajlane/Kralan (Djakovica/Gjakove) in early April two elderly women and an elderly man who had been unable to walk with the others the evening before were killed by paramilitaries. The women (one of whom had a broken leg) wanted to get off the tractor but the paramilitaries would not let them. The tractor and the bodies were burnt by the police.²⁴

Conflict-related deaths and death from exposure

The elderly were also incidental victims of the conflict. In Vranjevac (Pristina) a 72-year-old man was among those killed when MUP fired into a crowd of people who had been forced out of their homes.²⁵ In Kojlovica/Kolovice (Pristina) in early April when VJ surrounded the village and ordered villagers to leave, there was a lot of shooting in which an old man (aged 65-70) was wounded in the shoulder.²⁶

The vulnerability of elderly people meant that they were particularly likely to die from exposure, starvation or lack of care. In Kolic/Koliq (Pristina) at the end of April four old women and six disabled people who were left behind died in the harsh conditions in the hills. Another interviewee heard that approximately 20 elderly or paralyzed people died from exposure. It was also reported that old people particularly suffered and sometimes died in the overcrowded trains or at the border.²⁷

Ill-treatment of elderly people

In some cases elderly people were subjected to ill-treatment, which was probably meant either to punish them or their relatives who were forced to watch this. In Drenovac/Drenoc (Pristina) VJ or MUP stripped naked the 73-year-old father of a human rights activist stole his money and beat him with the butts of their weapons.²⁸ In Nakarada/Nakarade (Kosovo Polje) an old, immobile man was left behind after 16 male family members had been abducted and the women had fled. When the women returned, they found him in a house, crying out. He was tied naked to a chair and there was a dangerous dog in the room. The old man said the Serb and "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) neighbours had ill-treated him.²⁹

The elderly were not spared from the prevailing brutality and violence in other cases. In Petrastica/Pjetershtice (Stimlje/Shtime) MUP burned the car of a 65-year-old Kosovo Albanian because he had no money to give to them. After they had set his car alight the police pushed the man's head through a window of the burning car.³⁰ In Donje Gadimlje/Gadime e Ulet (Lipljan) on or around 11 April a Kosovo Albanian witnessed policemen hitting old people in the mouth to extract their gold teeth.³¹

The elderly were also beaten. At the end of April in Pristina/Prishtina a 70-year-old woman was robbed, beaten and kicked all over her body.³² One 74-year-old man taken to Djakovica/Gjakove police station in October 1998 was beaten so badly that he spent the next two months in hospital before he eventually died.³³

Attacks on elderly men for wearing traditional headgear

Elderly Kosovo Albanian men who wore the traditional Albanian crocheted or hard white hat or *plis* were also targeted for doing so, in what can be seen as an assault on Kosovo Albanian culture and traditions.

There is one account of a man being shot dead for doing so.³⁴ Another interviewee explains how the group of Kosovo Albanians he was with was sheltering in a valley near Turjak/Turkjake (Orahovac/Rrahovec) and was surrounded by VJ, who are described as beating more severely than others those who were wearing a *plis*.³⁵ Men were also hit about the head for wearing a *plis*.³⁶ *Plis* were confiscated, thrown on the ground, trampled on, and seen lying beside the road to Prizren "with blood stains and World War Two 'chetnik' symbols scrawled on them".³⁷ *Plis* were also seen on the ground besides 40 dead bodies in Globocica/Gllobocic (Kacanik) in late March.³⁸ In Cirez/Qirez (Srbica/Skenderaj) the Serbian forces gathered all the old men and confiscated their jackets and *plis*.³⁹

Extortion

The extortion of money, which was often accompanied by the killing of those who did not hand over the required amount of money, did not spare the elderly. In early May a 70-year-old woman was beaten and then killed by three paramilitaries who entered her house in Gnjilane/Gjilan. The interviewee presumed that when the woman gave them DM 20 this was not deemed sufficient because the perpetrators kicked her in the stomach. She fell on her knees and they shot her twice, hitting her in the hand and the shoulder. Finally they kicked her again and she died of her injuries in the corridor.⁴⁰ In Podujevo/Podujeve a 75-year-old man (the head of the household) was severely beaten when he was unable to produce the DM 30,000 paramilitaries and other Serbian forces asserted he had.⁴¹

Abduction

A few statements refer to the abduction and subsequent disappearance of elderly people. On 27 March in the Ulpijana/Ulpiana district of Pristina an immobile woman was put on a tractor with 10 other old people who had difficulty walking. At the time the interview was given, the relatives still did not know the whereabouts of these people. A few days later, also in Pristina, police abducted the 72-year-old mother of an interviewee from a convoy going to the train station. The police said they would give her a lift to the station in a tractor, as they were collecting old people, but the tractor never arrived.⁴²

Attacks on disabled people

There are relatively few indications that disabled Kosovo Albanians were a specific target but they were not spared ill-treatment or killing.

On 25 March in Brestovac/Brestoc (Orahovac/Rrahovac) Serbian police went into a home for paralyzed people. Several of the people could not move. A witness saw that at least 16 disabled people were shot dead.⁴³ In Velika Krusa/Krushe e Madhe (Orahovac) one interviewee saw a police officer kill a 25-year-old, deaf-mute man who couldn't say "Long live Serbia", he was ordered to get in a pool of water and then shot in the back, he was then shot a second time with an automatic weapon.⁴⁴ On 6 April in Kozica/Kozhice (Srbica) a 25-year-old mentally handicapped man was taken out of sight of the others and shot by a paramilitary wearing a cowboy hat.⁴⁵ In the main MUP station in Pristina a handicapped man was tied up with handcuffs to a radiator and beaten till he was bloody and unconscious.⁴⁶ In Glogovac/Gllogoc on 20 April a deaf/mute mechanic was shot dead by paramilitaries in front of his wife and his children. Then the perpetrators robbed the dead man.⁴⁷ In a case subsequently confirmed by the OSCE-MiK, a man who needed two sticks to walk was shot once in the back and once in the head in Baraina/Baraina (Podujevo/Podujeve) on 21 April as he was trying to walk up a track away from looting Serbian forces.⁴⁸

Other reports describe how relatives of the disabled or handicapped tried to prevent the Serbian forces from attacking them. Usually the disabled as well as the relatives received beatings before they were released.⁴⁹

Acknowledgement that the disabled did not constitute a threat

Occasionally there was some recognition that the elderly and disabled did not constitute a threat, although this still did not stop them from being ill-treated. They were, for instance, permitted to leave a group of several hundred men held, harassed and beaten by Serbian forces for several days in Kraljane/Kralan (Djakovica) in early April upon payment of DM 5,000-15,000, which they collected among themselves. They were loaded onto trucks and driven directly to the Albanian border in Prizren municipality.⁵⁰ One 65-year-old woman explained how when Serbian forces in Cirez/Qirez (Srbica) seized and started to beat her 28-year-old mentally handicapped son, she was first beaten but then was eventually able to explain his condition so that they stopped.⁵¹ Another interviewee who was in a wheelchair stated that MUP found him near the border and, after questioning him, transported him in their car the rest of the way.⁵²

Notes

¹ Reported by the OSCE-KVM RC3 Police Liaison Officer on 30 January.

² A/0874. All victims mentioned are named in the statement

³ A/0995.

⁴ M/0762.

⁵ A/0736.

⁶ A/0421.

⁷ A/1045.

⁸ A/0834.

⁹ M/1458.

¹⁰ A/1114; A/1121.

¹¹ A/0173.

¹² A/0728.

¹³ A/0676.

¹⁴ A/1124.

¹⁵ A/1024.

¹⁶ M/1728.

¹⁷ M/1314.

¹⁸ M/0173.

¹⁹ M/1302; M/1438; M/1738.

²⁰ M/1770.

²¹ A/0979.

²² M/0433.

²³ M/0103; M/0817; M/1051.

²⁴ A/0065; A/0066; A/0176.

²⁵ M/1722.

²⁶ M/0739.

²⁷ M/1174; M/1235.

²⁸ M/1308.

²⁹ M/0534; M/0537.

³⁰ M/0280.

³¹ A/0285.

³² M/1065.

³³ A/0535.

³⁴ M/0302.

³⁵ A/0209.

³⁶ M/0959.

³⁷ A/0114; A/1027; M/1294; M/1789.

³⁸ M/1128.

³⁹ M/1294.

⁴⁰ M/1446.

⁴¹ M/0864.

⁴² M/0163; M/0377.

⁴³ A/0921.

⁴⁴ A/0118.

⁴⁵ M/1267.

⁴⁶ M/1418.

⁴⁷ A/0921; M/0832; M/1267; M/1418.

⁴⁸ OSCE-MiK, PR/0155/99.

⁴⁹ A/1123; M/1294. A/0569; M/0833 and M/1294 reported that paralyzed people were forcibly left behind.

⁵⁰ A/0112; A/0168; A/0426; A/0560; A/0970.

⁵¹ M/1294.

⁵² A/0728.



KOSOVO SERBS

The situation from deployment to evacuation of the OSCE-KVM

When the OSCE-KVM arrived in Kosovo, the Serb community was frustrated by the inability of the international community to retrieve information from the UCK about the fate of those Serbs who had gone missing following abduction or in unknown circumstances during the events of summer and autumn 1998. The Mission was met with some suspicion by Kosovo Serbs, not least because of the negative coverage of the Mission by the Serbian state media. Much of the initial suspicion waned and was replaced by cautious co-operation. In some cases the authorities obstructed actions which were meant to reach out to the Kosovo Serb Community. For example, Head of Mission Ambassador William Walker had planned to attend the funeral of the six young Serbs killed in Pec/Peja in the Panda Bar incident on 14 December 1998 (see below, and also the entry in Part V of this report for Pec/Peja municipality). The Serbian police, under the pretext of security concerns, denied his request.

Other initiatives to reach the Serb community were more successful, despite the fact that the overwhelming proportion of resources and focus was directed towards the Kosovo Albanian community, who filed a much larger number of complaints of human rights violations with the OSCE-KVM. The OSCE-KVM maintained a presence throughout Kosovo, with the exception of Leposavic/Leposaviq municipality, north of Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovice, where verifiers were driven out by the mayor and Serb civilians.

Displaced Serbs

According to the 1991 census there were 1,954,747 people living in Kosovo, 195,301 of them Serbs.¹ During the aftermath of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina a substantial number of Serb refugees from Krajina and other parts of Croatia and from Bosnia-Herzegovina were forcibly sent to Kosovo. By the summer of 1996 there were some 19,000 Serb refugees living in Kosovo.² After the flare-up of armed conflict in Kosovo from the end of February 1998, however, an estimated 20,000 Kosovo Serbs and 9,000 Serb refugees left Kosovo for Serbia proper during the time of the OSCE-KVM deployment in Kosovo.³ The true number may well be higher. It is very difficult to obtain an accurate number for the Serbs who left the province during the entire conflict. Many Serbs did not registered in

Serbia proper. Furthermore, due to a law that prohibits the selling of Serb property in Kosovo to non-Serbs, many Serbs sold their property on the black market without informing the authorities.⁴

The crackdown of the Yugoslav and Serbian security forces beginning in February-March 1998 in the Drenica region, mainly in Srbica/Skenderaj, Klina/Klina and Glogovac/Gllogoc municipalities, marked the start of the flight of Kosovo civilians from their homes. The number of 100 per cent Kosovo Albanian villages within Kosovo rose from 703 before the beginning of the fighting in February 1998 to 793 in January 1999.⁵

Kosovo Serbs left villages in the municipalities of Decani/Decane, Djakovica/Gjakova, Istok/Istog, Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovice, Obilic/Obiliq, Orahovac/Rrahovec, Pec/Peja, Podujevo/Podujeve, Srbica/Skenderaj, Suva Reka/Suhareke, Urosevac/Ferizaj and Vucitrn/Vushtrri. According to the Serbian government, in 1998, 201 Serb houses were burned and 74 completely destroyed in Kosovo as a result of fighting between UCK and Serbian forces.⁶ Nevertheless, until August 1998, the Serbian government would not admit the existence of any Serb IDPs.

The departure of Kosovo Serbs and members of other minority national communities continued after the arrival of the first OSCE-KVM verifiers in October 1998. Kosovo Serbs abandoned some 90 villages in west and central Kosovo between October 1998 and March 1999. In particular, the fighting in Podujevo and Kosovska Mitrovica municipalities (see the relevant entries in Part V of this report) left many Serb homes empty.⁷

Serb civilians as victims of the UCK

During the time that the OSCE-KVM was in Kosovo the internal conflict between the Yugoslav and Serbian security forces and the UCK was ongoing, and thus both parties to the conflict were subject to the obligations under applicable international humanitarian law.⁸ Provisions under Additional Protocol II to the 1949 Geneva Conventions include prohibitions on the killing of non-combatants, inhumane treatment and spreading terror among the population. One of the main threats to the Serb community was the UCK.

Killings of Serb civilians. There were a number of unidentified victims of seemingly inexplicable killings. In some cases there was suspicion that UCK forces killed not only moderate Kosovo Albanians but also Serbs who were well liked by both communities. Two incidents in particular attracted international attention. On 14 December 1998, unidentified gunmen killed six young Kosovo Serbs in the Panda Bar in Pec. The attack was considered to be in revenge for the killing of 30 UCK members who had been shot while crossing the border illegally a few days earlier.⁹ On 17 December the Serb deputy mayor of Kosovo Polje/Fushe Kosove was abducted and murdered. The UCK claimed that they were not responsible for the killing.¹⁰ The deputy mayor of Kosovo Polje was a moderate Kosovo Serb politician who had done much to improve social conditions in his area.¹¹

More than 40 murders of both Kosovo Albanians and Kosovo Serbs occurred in the first three weeks of February 1999.

Abductions by the UCK. During the period when the OSCE-KVM was present in Kosovo, Serb civilians and some officials developed an increased level of trust as a result of the Human Rights Division's commitment to impartiality and a genuine concern for the plight of many Serb civilians. However, many Kosovo Serbs expressed frustration and anger over what was perceived as a failure adequately to address the issue which most concerned the Kosovo Serb community, namely that of people missing following abductions by the UCK.

Early in December 1998 a group of relatives of missing Kosovo Serbs demonstrated outside the OSCE-KVM headquarters in Pristina and demanded to see the Head of Mission, Ambassador Walker. He agreed, and between December 1998 and March 1999 four meetings between Ambassador Walker and the relatives of missing Kosovo Serbs were held in Pristina. Most of those who attended the meetings were Kosovo Serbs from Orahovac, but people from all over Kosovo were present. The Kosovo Serbs from Orahovac were relatives of a large group of people who went missing during the fighting in that area in the summer of 1998.

The OSCE-KVM Co-ordination Centre (CC) (under the Prizren Regional Centre) in Orahovac dealt extensively with the issues of missing persons from 1998 and with abductions by the UCK. On an initiative by CC Orahovac, a Committee on the Missing was formed. It consisted of representatives of both the Kosovo Albanian and Kosovo Serb communities and of representatives of the OSCE-KVM.

The precise number of people held by the UCK was difficult to determine, since the UCK did not provide public information on those in its custody. In particular, they consistently denied to OSCE-KVM ever having detained or otherwise held Kosovo Serb civilians.¹² However, the detention of civilians occurred regularly before and during the deployment of OSCE-KVM verifiers. According to the Yugoslav Ministry of Internal Affairs in December 1998, 157 Serb civilians had gone missing since the previous February.¹³ According to the ICRC, by mid-March 1999 there were 146 persons reportedly abducted by the UCK or otherwise unaccounted for in areas under UCK control.¹⁴ The fate of most Serbs allegedly abducted by the UCK remained unknown at the time OSCE-KVM evacuated.¹⁵ A number of those Serbs reported missing after the events of summer 1998 were found dead.¹⁶ In meetings in December 1998 between the Human Rights Division and Adem Demaci, the UCK's political representative, Adem Demaci expressed doubt that any Serbs abducted during that time would be alive, and most are now presumed dead.¹⁷

High profile abduction cases include the following.

On 21 August 1998, a journalist from Radio Pristina and his driver were abducted by UCK forces near

the town of Orahovac and have not been heard of since.¹⁸

Two journalists for Tanjug, the Yugoslav state news agency, were abducted by UCK members on 18 October 1998.¹⁹ Their release was finally secured two months later, facilitated by the OSCE-KVM Head of Mission.²⁰

On 15 February 1999, two Serbian policemen were abducted in Kosovo Polje. The relatives of the detained policemen threatened to use violence if the OSCE-KVM did not take measures to free them.²¹ Until the evacuation the OSCE-KVM tried to locate the two men, but the case remained unsolved.

Two Serb residents of Bukos (west of Vucitrn) were abducted by the UCK on 22 February 1999. One of them was beaten to death and the other's release was secured by the OSCE-KVM on 27 February. The UCK "Zone Commander" told the OSCE-KVM that the abductions were carried out by "uncontrolled elements".²²

On 27 February two Serb brothers were abducted near the village of Velika Hoca south of Orahovac. The UCK at first admitted holding the men, but then distanced itself from the incident. On 1 March the dead body of one of the brothers was handed over to the OSCE-KVM by the UCK. The other brother was released alive, but having been beaten severely.

On 3 March two Serb civilians were shot dead by the UCK at a "checkpoint" in the village of Mijalic, located between Pristina and Vucitrn. The two Serbs were relatives searching for a third family member, a VJ soldier who had deserted and who came looking for his family living in Kosovo. The VJ soldier had earlier been detained by the UCK (the case is also covered in Part V in the entry for Vucitrn municipality).

Freedom of movement. One effect of the UCK spreading fear among the Serb population was that their freedom of movement became severely restricted. As abductions mostly took place on the streets or from buses at night or in the early morning, people did not travel at all if they could avoid it and they stayed at home after dark.²³ Streets were deserted in the evening, even in the larger cities. Kosovo Serbs were afraid of attacks and assaults by both Kosovo Albanian civilians and UCK forces.²⁴

With respect to forced expulsions by the UCK, a case was reported by the OSCE-KVM Regional Centre in Kosovska Mitrovica on 6 February 1999, when a supposed UCK leaflet was distributed 10 days earlier in the villages of Gojbulja/Gojbuja and Miroce/Mirace (Vucitrn), threatening the villagers with violence if they did not leave the areas immediately.²⁵ On 6 February an OSCE-KVM patrol met a person who claimed to be the commander of the UCK forces in the area and who said that he had heard of this leaflet. He stated that it was not an official publication and that his forces in the region had no aggressive intentions.

Serbs as victims of Yugoslav/Serbian authorities

Police. In Kosovo police officers work both locally and regionally. There were police officers who lived in the area where they worked, but most of the police forces operated on a six-monthly rotation basis and often came to Kosovo from places in Serbia-proper, where the issues in Kosovo were not necessarily well understood. Being assigned for six months to Kosovo meant changing location within the province every few weeks. For this reason, even Kosovo Serbs did not feel confident that the police would protect them if it came to violent clashes between Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians.

A large number of people reported that the Serbian police kept a very low profile as regards protecting the Serb population in the fighting in the summer of 1998. Throughout June and July 1998 there were many physical attacks on the Serb minority living in Kosovo. Killing, abduction, attacks and looting of houses occurred in villages in predominantly Kosovo Albanian-populated areas. Some of the Serbs were warned by their Kosovo Albanian neighbours about planned assaults and requested the assistance of the local police. According to a Yugoslav Red Cross representative, police forces, however, very often denied any kind of support or protection and were unwilling to intervene. They advised people to defend themselves. Consequently, people relied very much on their own initiative to secure both their families and their properties.

Torture. The OSCE-KVM did not receive any allegations of torture of Kosovo Serbs. This does not mean that it did not occur. According to the Belgrade-based Humanitarian Law Centre, an NGO, throughout 1998 about 500 cases of torture were registered in Yugoslavia, most of them in Kosovo. Although most of the victims were Kosovo Albanians, Kosovo Serbs were also subjected to torture and ill-treatment during police detention. Prosecutors, judges and disciplinary bodies within law enforcement agencies failed to investigate allegations of torture and took no steps to punish the perpetrators.²⁶

Propaganda. It was very much the impression of the OSCE-KVM Human Rights Division that the Yugoslav and Serbian authorities subjected Kosovo Serbs to intense propaganda. The Serb elite in Kosovo most often had ties to political circles in Belgrade or other cities in Serbia proper. Ordinary rural Kosovo Serbs were particularly vulnerable to propaganda and misinformation from Belgrade. The Serb community relied almost exclusively on the existing state-run media from Belgrade.

A bogus information leaflet distributed during March 1999 is an example which indicates great sophistication and organization on the part of those seeking to mislead the Kosovo Serbs. On 10 March this leaflet was distributed in Pristina, and three days later in Prizren and Gnjilane. The document mimicked an OSCE-KVM publication that explained in English, Serbian and Albanian the benefits for the local communities of signing the Rambouillet draft interim agreement. The forged version was strikingly similar in style and layout to the original OSCE-KVM leaflet but the text had been changed to portray a very negative picture and made for ambiguous interpretation. The authors of the document were not identified.

An example of the Kosovo Serbs as victims of their own government's propaganda was experienced in

the meetings held between Ambassador William Walker, the Human Rights Division and a group of relatives to missing Serbs. The vast majority of these people were ordinary Serbs who had lived for generations in Kosovo. The majority of abductions took place during the events during the summer and autumn months in 1998. It was the heart-breaking task of the OSCE-KVM Human Rights Division to meet with the relatives of the missing and explain to them that there was a very slim chance of finding anyone alive who disappeared during that period. And yet, they came back time after time with "new" information that their relatives had been sighted in such and such a town. The OSCE-KVM was met with questions of why they refused to confront the UCK, of why they were hiding information from Kosovo Serbs, and so on. Their own political representatives from Belgrade and the local police both adopted the position of "passing the buck" to the OSCE-KVM and told the Kosovo Serbs that there was nothing they could do to help but that the OSCE-KVM had all the answers. A man who stood out from the others by his appearance, obviously a Belgrade politician, was present at many of the meetings. He refused to introduce himself to the OSCE-KVM and coached the relatives during every meeting.

Military service. Article 137(2) of the FRY Constitution allows the possibility of civilian service as an alternative to regular military service. The Law on the Armed Forces, however, and armed forces practice restrict the constitutionally guaranteed right to conscientious objection. The civilian service lasts for 24 months, twice as long as military service. Conscientious objections can only be made within the first 16 days of military service. Moreover, according to the Supreme Court's recent decisions, men who have finished their military service are not allowed to object for conscientious reasons when they are asked to carry out reserve duties that include military action.²⁷

The situation after the OSCE-KVM evacuated from Kosovo

There can be no doubt that the Kosovo Albanian population suffered proportionally much more than the Kosovo Serbs. Nevertheless, all the events occurring between 20 March and 9 June 1999 (the period from the OSCE-KVM's evacuation from Kosovo until it was formally stood down - see this report, Part I: The OSCE-KVM Human Rights Operation) were undoubtedly also traumatic for the Kosovo Serb population. According to Kosovo Serbs who stayed behind, many felt a sense of insecurity and lawlessness, as well as a general feeling of horror and injustice regarding the numerous crimes committed against the Albanian population of Kosovo.²⁸

Of the 2,764 interviews with mainly Kosovo Albanian refugees conducted by the OSCE-KVM, there are numerous reports of armed Serb civilians taking part in the atrocities committed against the Kosovo Albanian population from 20 March to 8 June 1999. For a description of Yugoslav/Serbian forces involved in human rights relations, see Chapter 3, The military/security context. Kosovo Albanians reported that they recognized the perpetrators as local Serbs, sometimes from their own village and even their own neighbours. Such reports are in evidence throughout Part V of this report, detailing events in individual municipalities. However, it would be misleading to consider these accounts "the whole story". In fact, there are also among the interviews a number of reports of Kosovo Serb civilians who themselves risked human rights violations to help or protect Kosovo Albanians.

Kosovo Serb civilians at risk for protecting Kosovo Albanians

Among the reports of Kosovo Serb civilians trying to protect and help Kosovo Albanians there are a particularly large number involving neighbours. Yet it should be noted that there are many more involving Kosovo Albanians seeing their own neighbours armed, often in uniform, joining other groups of perpetrators.²⁹ The OSCE-KVM was also told on several occasions that Kosovo Serb villagers had been given guns by the VJ or paramilitaries.³⁰

There are a number of refugees who report that Serb civilians warned them that they would be in danger if they stayed and advised them to leave.³¹ Furthermore, there are indications that Kosovo Serbs, genuinely unable to imagine the horrors to come, tried to reassure their fellow Kosovo Albanian villagers that it would be safe for them to stay.³² A resident of a small village in Gnjilane told OSCE-KVM that he was under the impression that the Serbs in his village were not happy to see all the Kosovo Albanians leave.³³ Another interviewee reported being told that a "high profile" member of the Serb community in Orahovac had been trying to protect the local civilian Kosovo Albanian population.³⁴

The following are examples of situations in which Kosovo Serbs faced threats and other human rights violations for trying to protect or help Kosovo Albanians they knew personally.

During the wave of expulsions in Kosovska Mitrovica, Kosovo Albanians living in mixed areas of the town seemed to be particularly targeted.³⁵ One refugee reported that during the expulsion of Kosovo Albanians from the building where he lived, his Kosovo Serb neighbour tried to protect the family by saying that they had already left, but the police returned the following morning and discovered the family was still there.³⁶ There is no report as to the possible repercussions for the Kosovo Serb neighbour who tried to protect the family.

Also in Kosovska Mitrovica, as reported by a refugee, a Kosovo Serb was appointed street controller by the authorities and painted a Serbian sign (a cross and 4 Cyrillic "S's) on house fronts to try to protect the Kosovo Albanian families from the local police and VJ. As the interviewee and his family were being expelled the Kosovo Serb neighbour pleaded their case, but the VJ ordered him back into his house, threatening to kill him.³⁷

In another case in Kosovska Mitrovica paramilitary forces entered the house of a Kosovo Albanian family and started beating two of the men. A Kosovo Serb neighbour intervened and told the paramilitaries to stop. The paramilitaries threatened to kill the Kosovo Serb neighbour along with the Kosovo Albanian family.³⁸

In the municipality of Gnjilane/Gjilan, a Kosovo Serb went over to his Kosovo Albanian neighbours to see if the family needed an ambulance, after two of the men in the family had been beaten and a woman

had been kicked by paramilitaries.³⁹

While walking in the street with his Serb neighbour, a Kosovo Albanian was stopped by armed men in green camouflage uniforms. They insulted him and told him that he would have been killed if his Kosovo Serb neighbour had not accompanied him.⁴⁰

A Kosovo Albanian had 40 IDPs staying in his house. On 28 March, a police reservist and five other heavily armed men, two civilians, two VJ officers and one police officer, knocked on his door. A Kosovo Serb neighbour went over to greet them and invited them for coffee. They went to a nearby bar, and the Serb neighbour then sent someone to the house to tell the Kosovo Albanian family and the IDPs to leave immediately.⁴¹

In Vitina/Viti, a Kosovo Serb police reservist observed an incident in which his neighbour's father was taken away by paramilitaries. The Kosovo Serb offered to escort his neighbour to Pozaranje/Pozzaran, where the paramilitaries were stationed, to look for the father. They found the father in front of the police station where he was being beaten by paramilitaries. The Kosovo Serb intervened and convinced the paramilitaries to let the father go.⁴²

Kosovo Serbs interviewed in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

A small number of Kosovo Serbs chose to leave Kosovo between 20 March and 8 June. Kosovo Albanian refugees reported that they had seen Kosovo Serbs among the Kosovo Albanians moving towards the border, but that these were sent back by Serbian forces. Of those who crossed the border to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the OSCE-KVM Human Rights Division interviewed five. These five people all cited general fear and the particular fear of NATO bombing as a reason for leaving. They also expressed pessimism over any possible future living with Kosovo Albanians in Kosovo. One Kosovo Serb woman reported that in predominantly Kosovo Albanian areas, Kosovo Serbs could not walk on the street for fear of angry Kosovo Albanian youths. Her biggest fear was for her 16-year-old brother, who would have to join the military or be targeted by the UCK. (It should be noted that many Kosovo Albanians also feared the UCK due to high-pressure tactics to join the UCK.)⁴³

Cases where individual members of FRY and Serbian forces intervened to prevent violations of international humanitarian law standards

The references in this report to Serbian forces acting in accordance with appropriate humanitarian law standards are an attempt to include the nuances which add to a more complete picture of the conflict. The following brief extracts from refugee accounts show that some members of the Yugoslav and Serbian forces in some instances acted according to principles of protection of civilians under international humanitarian law, and sometimes tried to prevent human rights violations. Bearing in mind the overwhelming evidence of a systematic campaign against Kosovo Albanians that was planned,

instigated and ordered from the highest levels,⁴⁴ some of the people mentioned below may well have been acting against orders.

It is also notable that many of these accounts indicate that - while the overwhelming majority of refugee statements point to VJ, police, paramilitaries and armed civilians acting in concert - in certain instances there was strong disapproval and opposition on the part of elements in one force about the actions of elements in another.

Six VJ soldiers stopped a Kosovo Albanian man when he got back to his house in Donje Ljupce/Lupqi i Poshtem (Podujevo) at the end of April. Some of them wanted to execute him, but a soldier intervened and prevented it from happening.⁴⁵

A 42-year-old wheelchair-bound Kosovo Albanian woman who had remained in her house in Kozica/Kozhice (Srbica) in late March when Serb forces had shelled and then entered the village asked a young Serb soldier to bring back her mother and sister who had been taken to a yard with others. He did this, gave his name and asked about a woman who had been killed in mortar fire and "said his heart was aching as he heard that she had left three children behind". When paramilitaries seized their documents, he returned them, and his men brought the woman in her wheelchair to the mosque where elderly and disabled people stayed for eight days. He arranged for two tractors to be brought to transport other wounded and disabled. The VJ brought food, water and medicine to the mosque where villagers were sheltering. They then moved them to another village, saying that it was for their own safety as "many shit people have got hold of arms now".⁴⁶

One refugee recounted to the OSCE-KVM how in Zegra/Zheger (Gnjilane) in early April he had witnessed a police commander intervene to prevent a Serb, possibly a paramilitary, from killing a Kosovo Albanian.⁴⁷ At Laplje Selo/Fshati Llap in mid-April two young women were taken off by Serb civilians, but the police forced the civilians to let the women go and they were brought back to the refugee's family in a police car. (Actions at Zegra by an uncontrolled VJ volunteer unit are mentioned in Chapter 3, The military/security context.)⁴⁸ Other refugees told the OSCE-KVM about incidents in which one police officer would intervene to stop human rights violations by a colleague.⁴⁹

Notes

¹ 1991 census, which is reliable as concerns the Serb population in Kosovo. For the Kosovo Albanian population, numbers are only approximate ones, because the census was boycotted by the Kosovo Albanians.

² Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo - A Short History*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 353.

³ UNHCR Pristina.

⁴ Humanitarian Law Centre, Pristina.

⁵ UNHCR Report from 30 January 1999, information provided by FRY authorities.

⁶ Numbers provided by director for regional development, government of Serbia.

⁷ OSCE-KVM, "Monthly Report on the Situation in Kosovo pursuant to the Requirements set out in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1160 and 1203 - Mid-February 1999 - 20 March 1999".

⁸ For a legal definition of the state of armed conflict see Chapter 2, The OSCE-KVM human rights operation.

⁹ Humanitarian Law Centre, Human Rights Report 1998.

¹⁰ OSCE-KVM Report "Destabilization in Kosovo", 31 January 1999, Fusion.

¹¹ OSCE-KVM Report "Destabilization in Kosovo", 31 January 1999, Fusion.

¹² OSCE-KVM, Human Rights Division (HQ), Meetings with Adem Demaci, Political Representative for the UCK, December 1998.

¹³ Yugoslav Ministry of Internal Affairs, December 1998.

¹⁴ OSCE-KVM, "Monthly Report on the Situation in Kosovo Pursuant to the Requirements Set Out in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1160 and 1203 - Mid-February 1999-20 March 1999".

¹⁵ Human Rights Watch.

¹⁶ On 9 September 1998, the police discovered the bodies of 34 Serbs and Montenegrins in a mass grave at Glodjane village near a UCK base. Authorities claimed that on 27 August 1998 they had discovered mass graves of Serbs and Montenegrins, of partly cremated bodies near Klecka village and at a mine in Volujak.

¹⁷ Meeting report.

¹⁸ Human Rights Watch, "Serbian Journalist and Driver Missing in Kosovo", Press Release August 1998.

¹⁹ Human Rights Watch, "Serbian Journalists" Detention Condemned", Press Release October 1998.

²⁰ Humanitarian Law Centre, Human Rights Report 1998.

²¹ OSCE-KVM, Operations, "Daily Sitrep 15 February 1999" (internal document).

²² OSCE-KVM, "Monthly Report on the Situation in Kosovo Pursuant to the Requirements Set Out in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1160 and 1203 - Mid-February 1999-20 March 1999".

²³ UNHCR.

²⁴ Human Rights Watch.

²⁵ OSCE-KVM Report, Period covering 6-7 February 1999.

²⁶ Committee against Torture, "Conclusions and recommendations", 18 November 1998.

²⁷ Amnesty International, *Concerns in Europe*, EUR 01/02/97.

²⁸ OSCE-MiK, Human Rights Officer, 6 October 1999

²⁹ Among others A/0295; A/0342; A/0656; A/0634;A/0995;A/1104; M/0011; M0111; M/0124; M/0284; M/0392; M/0534; M/0797; M/0928; M/1098; M/1107; M/1171; M/1614.

³⁰ A/0295; A/1023; M/0162; M/1287.

³¹ A/0027; A0361; A/0426; A/0436; M/0018; M0460; M/0605.

³² A/0192; M/1180.

³³ M/0261.

³⁴ M/0366.

³⁵ A/0158; M0207.

³⁶ M/1507.

³⁷ A/0191.

³⁸ M/1181.

³⁹ M/1239.

⁴⁰ M/0112.

⁴¹ M/0493.

⁴² M/1499.

⁴³ M/0974; M/1056; M/1531.

⁴⁴ See ICTY, "Indictment Milosevic & Others ('Kosovo')", IT-99-37, 24 May 1999, Charges.

⁴⁵ M/0859.

⁴⁶ M/1267, comprising the statements of three sisters including the disabled woman.

⁴⁷ M/0401.

⁴⁸ M/1085.

⁴⁹ For example A/0531.

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KOSOVO "GYPSIES" (*Maxhupet*) - ROMA

Explanatory note: terminology¹

The decision to use, within this report, the formula "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) reflects problems with group identification in Kosovo of persons who might otherwise, in OSCE terminology, be classified generically - by outsiders - as Roma. As is explained below (see "Background"), only one such group self-identifies as "ethnic Roma", the others being self-identified by a variety of names and affiliations. The decision on terminology reflects the probable artificiality of using the terms Rom, Roma, Romani to convey descriptions of and information about people from those various groups which is derived from statements coming neither from the groups' own members, nor from people for whom Roma is a term present in common parlance. The choice of the formula "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) [singular: "Gypsy" (*Maxhup*); adjective "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*)] is felt to best convey the kind of terminology, reflective of generic group identification by outsiders, that would have been used in the local context by Kosovo Albanians in their statements to the OSCE-KVM.²

(The English term "Gypsy" most closely approximates to the Albanian term *Maxhup*, the most commonly used among Kosovo Albanians for this kind of generic identification based on attributes such as skin colour and cultural differences, although there are other Albanian terms of equivalent connotation used in parts of Kosovo, as well as the Serbian *Ciganin*.)

As noted below, virtually all of the information in this chapter of the report derives from information provided by Kosovo Albanian refugees.

Where reference is made to OSCE-KVM reporting about and contacts with the groups who are the subject of this chapter, however, the terms Roma and Romani (the standard terminology of the OSCE, as used by the OSCE-KVM) is retained. The formula Roma/"Gypsies" is also used here in regard to references in the Yugoslav official census.

Background

The several groups generically described here as Kosovo "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) have different

allegiances and different linguistic and religious traditions.³ The groups identify themselves quite distinctly.

The so-called "**ethnic Roma**", identify themselves as Roma and use Romani as their mother tongue, and also speak Albanian and Serbian. They have proud cultural traditions and align themselves with Roma communities in other countries (they include a small Catholic Romani community living near the Kosovo Croat communities in Lipljan/Lipjan municipality,⁴ as well as one group which has a nomadic lifestyle, known as the Cergari, who follow the Orthodox faith and speak Serbian).

The **Ashkaelia** are Albanian-speaking and live close to the Kosovo Albanians with whom they have always been identified.

The **Egyptians**, whom many consider to be Ashkaelia, speak Albanian but claim to have originally come from Egypt. They are perceived by Kosovo Albanians to be *Maxhupet* for whom a separate identity was created roughly 10 years ago by the Yugoslav regime in order to further the image of a multi-ethnic, rather than an Albanian-dominated Kosovo. It is also believed to be an effort of self-identification in order to escape the derogatory qualification of *Maxhupet* in Kosovo and to differentiate themselves from the Romani-speaking "ethnic Roma". Both the Ashkaelia and Egyptians follow the Muslim faith.

Kosovo Albanians and Kosovo Serbs alike generally treat the "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) population and groups as separate from themselves, despite their varying levels of integration. As is the case with majority populations in other central and east European countries, the Kosovo Albanians and Kosovo Serbs consider *Maxhupet/Cigani* as second-class citizens.⁵

Population numbers

Although it is difficult to assess the exact numbers of Roma/"Gypsies" living in Kosovo before the conflict and up to early June 1999, it was estimated by some Romani refugees from Kosovo and Serbia living in third countries to be around 100,000-150,000 people.⁶ In the 1991 Yugoslav census, the number of Roma/"Gypsies" in Kosovo was calculated at around 45,000. Many did not declare themselves as Roma/"Gypsies" in the census either because of a feeling of being fully integrated in the Kosovo Albanian or Serb communities, or because their registration as Romani/"Gypsy" could prevent their integration within the community and therefore deprive them of their basic rights.⁷ Based on data from the 1991 census, Romani/"Gypsy" communities could be found in almost all municipalities of Kosovo.

OSCE-KVM data collection

Little of the data gathered by the OSCE-KVM prior to 20 March 1999 concerned violations of the

human rights of members of the Romani community,⁸ and none of that data concerns complaints made directly by Roma to the OSCE-KVM Human Rights Division. Efforts were made by OSCE-KVM human rights officers to establish relationships with Roma representatives. Such contacts, however, did not develop to the extent required for a mutual exchange of information prior to the OSCE-KVM evacuation. The OSCE-KVM was often viewed with suspicion by the Romani communities.⁹

After 20 March the mass forced expulsions by Yugoslav and Serbian forces overwhelmingly targeted Kosovo Albanians, although Roma are known to have also been caught up in forced expulsions or to have fled. Most of these are believed to have gone north to Serbia and Montenegro and then to third countries. It is difficult to determine the extent to which Kosovo Roma were present in the population of refugees from Kosovo in Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia - among whom the OSCE-KVM human rights division conducted its human rights interviewing after 20 March - since many are believed to have registered as Kosovo Albanians out of fear of setting themselves apart. The Roma who arrived in Albania or the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the course of the mass displacements from late March were in general either too afraid to talk to anyone, or else they were forced to move on.

For these reasons, no data was gathered by the OSCE-KVM from the Romani population of Kosovo concerning their own situation during the period covered in this report.

A number of reports from Kosovo Albanian refugees who crossed the borders into Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia mention Kosovo "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) men playing an active and willing role alongside Yugoslav and Serbian forces during the conflict. Kosovo "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) are mentioned as police, as paramilitaries, or as armed civilians. Many of these reports are compelling and credible.

Accusations that some Kosovo "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) aligned themselves with Serbs, particularly during the period of the NATO air campaign and the state of war in Yugoslavia up to June, and took part in human rights violations against Kosovo Albanians, have tainted the Romani population of Kosovo as a whole. These accusations have, since then, in the period beyond the scope of this report, placed the Roma of Kosovo in an extremely precarious position.

Kosovo "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) victims, 20 March to 9 June

Although, as noted above, there were no statements to the OSCE-KVM from Roma about human rights violations against themselves or other members of their communities, very occasionally references to Kosovo "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) victims of human rights violations appear in statements given to the OSCE-KVM by Kosovo Albanians. A "Gypsy" (*Maxhup*) was one of two men reportedly mutilated and killed after he had tried to intervene to stop a Kosovo Albanian colleague being taken away by police on or around 17 March 1999 in Pristina/Prishtina.¹⁰ A Kosovo "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) family and a Kosovo Albanian family were reported killed at the same time by paramilitaries in Nagovac/Nagafac (Orahovac)

on 26 March 1999.¹¹ An interviewee from Kacanik/Kacanik recounted that a Kosovo "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) neighbour had been killed by snipers on 28 March.¹²

Allegations against "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*)

Kosovo Albanians have accused the Kosovo "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) population collectively of collaboration with the Yugoslav and Serbian forces. They have implicated them in such acts as murder, "opportunistic" looting and pillaging, extortion of money and valuables, and the transportation and burying of bodies in mass graves.

*"Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) involvement in human rights violations*

In all cases where "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) police officers, paramilitaries and armed civilians are implicated in killings of Kosovo Albanians, they are described as acting alongside or in the presence of Yugoslav and Serbian forces.

In a few statements where "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) are implicated in human rights violations they are named. One interviewee claimed that in Pristina on 18 April about 10-15 men were taken from a crowd of about 3,000-4,000 villagers and killed, mainly with machine-guns. There was a group of five paramilitaries doing the killing which including a "Gypsy" (*Maxhup*) whose name is recorded.¹³ One Pristina policeman, described variously as a "Gypsy" and a Serb "Gypsy", is mentioned by first name in three statements (one also identifies his police station) as being involved in expulsions, extortion, beatings or killings in April and early May.¹⁴ In Ribnik/Rimnik (Vitina) on 18 April an interviewee saw paramilitaries and a "Gypsy" (*Maxhup*) (name recorded) looting houses.¹⁵ In an incident on 27 March where six or seven Autobinders (armoured wheeled vehicles) and 15 Pinzgauers surrounded the village of Crkvena Vodica/Palaj (Obilic); of the 16 police and paramilitaries involved, two "Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) paramilitaries were named among the perpetrators.¹⁶

I saw a policeman in plain blue uniform and one soldier in camouflage uniform entering the house of [name recorded] across the street and take him behind the building... I saw them taking the ID from him and then ask him to go into the stream. When he walked into the stream the soldier shot at him with a rifle ... The policeman lived in my building (seventh floor). [First name recorded] (a "Gypsy").¹⁷

Many statements implicated "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) as joining with Serbian forces in the expulsion, and robbing, of Kosovo Albanians. In Pristina on about 24 March during the expulsion of Kosovo Albanians, police and VJ looted the vacated premises, then ordered "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) to destroy them.¹⁸ Police arrived at the house of a Kosovo Albanian in Djakovica/Gjakova on 28 March and told all of the occupants to leave immediately and started to steal belongings. "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) were also taking part in the stealing.¹⁹ In the Suncani Breg/Bregu i Diellit district of Pristina city on 29 April,

"Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) were seen looting goods from Kosovo Albanian-owned shops, with the protection of the police.²⁰

Four of them kicked our door in and called everybody out into the yard. One was a Serbian Gypsy (son of [name given]) from the same street. He is a reservist.²¹

*Problems with identification by Kosovo Albanians of "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) as perpetrators*

As noted, on the basis of the statements given to the OSCE-KVM persons identified as Kosovo "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) were involved in incidents of human rights violations. However, it should also be noted that there was clearly prejudice against and negative perceptions of "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) among Kosovo Albanians. Some Kosovo Albanians believed that the "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) had aligned themselves with Serbs over recent years in the hopes that they would get the better jobs (Kosovo Albanians also believed, however, that the Serbs also did not like the "Gypsies", and merely used them). Aspects of this prejudice cannot be ruled out as a factor in the identification of "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) by Kosovo Albanians as perpetrators in some of the reported incidents.

In some instances perpetrators were merely identified as "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) by Kosovo Albanians by the colour of their skin. Such "colour identification" is problematic. In one interview, a 13-year-old boy described a series of events beginning with a skirmish between the police and the UCK. After the UCK withdrew police entered his house and his father was shot and killed:

Four police came in. Two were in black/green camouflage uniforms with Serbian flag at the shoulders [statement notes "police insignia with two eagles inside - same as Yugoslav passport"]. No masks. The other two had no uniforms on but were in civilian clothes with black masks (interviewee thinks they were Gypsies). Interviewee is quoted in testimony as saying "I recognized the dark skin around the eyes, like those next to your office [the OSCE-KVM's office in his home town], the Gypsies behind the [police] station. These Gypsies, I saw them before with the police uniform on and Grey Wolves."²²

In another incident where a "Gypsy" (*Maxhup*) was implicated alongside Serbian forces and paramilitaries in the extortion of money and the killing of one man the description of perpetrators was given: "One of the paramilitaries was short, fat with a moustache and two thick necklaces like a Gypsy. Another Gypsy would always be on his right."²³ This should be considered alongside the account of a Kosovo Albanian man who told one interviewee that paramilitaries had ordered him, along with others, to dig a mass grave. The Serbs, he said, had thought he was a "Gypsy" (*Maxhup*) because of his dark skin.²⁴

*"Gypsy" (*Maxhupi*) involvement in the collection and burial of Kosovo Albanians*

A large number of statements describe "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) collecting and burying dead Kosovo Albanians in mass graves. The role the "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) played in the burying of bodies is not surprising, since even before the conflict in Kosovo escalated in March 1999, Roma were often employed to carry out unpleasant or menial tasks. These included digging graves and performing burials.

There remains, however, the issue of the degree to which "Gypsies" (*Maxhupet*) involved in the disposal of bodies can be said to have been complicit in the violation of principles in humanitarian law which require that the burial of the dead be done respectfully and in a manner to facilitate subsequent identification (see also Chapter 5, The violation of the right to life).

In Usevac, on about 2 April, about 30 to 50 metres from the graveyard in the direction of Gjilan [Serbian: Gnjilane], I saw a big yellow truck stop. On the truck were about 20 bodies. About 20 Gypsies in civilian clothes and unarmed were engaged in taking the bodies off the truck. A bulldozer dug a big hole near the truck and the Gypsies threw the bodies in the hole. The bulldozer filled the hole with dirt. ²⁵

Notes

¹ Derived from recommendations made to the OSCE/ODIHR project team responsible for this report by the OSCE Contact Point on Roma and Sinti Issues (CPRSI). OSCE/ODIHR internal memoranda, 15 and 18 October 1999.

² The statements taken by the OSCE-KVM were not recorded in Albanian but in English, so there is no record of the terms actually used by the interviewees. The terms "Gypsy" and "Roma" both appear in the written statements, but the choice of which term was used to convey what the interviewee said can be assumed to have been that of either the OSCE-KVM interviewer or the interpreter through whom the interview was conducted.

³ UNHCR/OSCE "Second Assessment of the Situation of Ethnic Minorities in Kosovo", para. 38, 6 September 1999.

⁴ UNHCR/OSCE Second Assessment of the Situation of Ethnic Minorities in Kosovo. 6 September 1999.

⁵ OSCE CPRSI note to the project team responsible for this report, OSCE/ODIHR internal memorandum, 15 October 1999.

⁶ Provided at the Balkan Roma Peace Conference, 18-19 June 1999, Sofia, Bulgaria, organized by the Human Rights Project and the European Roma Rights Centre.

⁷ UNHCR, internal document on Kosovo Minority Communities in 1991 and "The Roma in Serbia", Centre for Anti-War Action, Institute for Criminological and Sociological research, Belgrade, 1991.

⁸ The OSCE-KVM reported the killing of three Roma in Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovice in December 1998 and the discovery of the body of a Rom near Pec/Peja in February 1999, albeit the circumstances of the killings were unclear (see relevant municipality entries).

⁹ Explanatory note to the OSCE/ODIHR project team responsible for this report from the Director of the former OSCE-KVM Human Rights Division, 16 October 1999.

¹⁰ M/1421 claims to have seen the bodies, and gave a hearsay statement about the circumstances of their arrest. M/0458 gave a hearsay statement apparently referring to the same victims, but with a date of about a week later.

¹¹ A/0135. A/0937 may also refer to the same incident.

¹² M/0090 (hearsay).

¹³ M/1142.

¹⁴ M/1142, M/1610 (describes him as a Serb "Gypsy" and names his police station); M/1817.

¹⁵ M/1779.

¹⁶ M/0569.

¹⁷ M/1731, Kacanik, 30 March 1999.

¹⁸ A/0040.

¹⁹ A/0395.

²⁰ M/0331.

²¹ A/0885, Kosovo Polje/Fushe Kosove, 4 April 1999.

²² A/0221.

²³ M/0832.

²⁴ M/0933.

²⁵ M/0187.

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KOSOVO / KOSOVA As Seen, As Told

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OTHER NATIONAL COMMUNITIES AND MINORITIES

In addition to the Kosovo Albanians, Kosovo Serbs and Roma, there are a number of other groups in Kosovo which had the status of "national communities" in the FRY. There were also small ethnic groups not designated as "national communities", one of which is mentioned here.

Among the information gathered by the OSCE-KVM there is only limited data on the impact the conflict had on these other national communities and minority ethnic groups, although it is clear that some members of these communities and groups were subjected to the kind of human rights violations that were commonplace across Kosovo in the period covered by this report.

Kosovo Turks

The 1991 census in Yugoslavia put the number of Kosovo Turks at 10,833, but that figure is not thought to reflect the true size of the population.¹ The Turks in Kosovo continue to use Turkish as their mother tongue (in the 1974 Constitution of Kosovo, repealed in 1989 by the federal government, Turkish was recognized as the third official language of Kosovo),² and there are a number of Turkish schools in the province. The Turks have traditionally taken a neutral stand between the Albanians and the Serbs and they have traditionally had good relations with both.

There are contradictory reports about how Kosovo Turks experienced the conflict up to June 1999. In the predominantly Turkish village of Mamusa/Mamushe (Prizren), which was attacked by Yugoslav and Serbian forces in late March 1999 (this is covered in more detail in the entry for Prizren municipality), people interviewed by the OSCE-KVM reported that the inhabitants of Turkish origin were allowed to stay as the Yugoslav and Serbian forces expelled the Kosovo Albanians.³

In other parts of Kosovo, Turks were reportedly attacked and expelled together with Kosovo Albanians,⁴ or otherwise left the province. Many found refuge in Turkey.⁵

Kosovo Croats

The Kosovo Croats are also known as Janjevci after the village of Janjevo/Janjeve (Lipljan), where they made up two-thirds of the population. As well as Janjevo, Lipljan/Lijpan town also had a sizeable Croat population, and four villages at the eastern end of Vitina/Viti municipality - Letnica/Letnice, Sasare/Shashare, Vrnavokolo/Vrnakolle and Vrnez/Vernez - had Croat majority populations.

In the data collected by the OSCE-KVM there are no references to human rights violations against Kosovo Croats.

Gorani

This community consists of persons of Slav ethnicity and Islamic faith from Gora/Dragash municipality in the south of Kosovo (the term Goran roughly translates as "Highlander"). They are distinct from the group described as Muslim Slavs (see below). A survey conducted jointly by UNHCR and the OSCE found that "Despite their shared religion, their relationship with [Kosovo] Albanians is not always easy given their ethnic and linguistic links with the Serbs, as well as their political attitudes."⁶

The entry in this report for Gora municipality describes the security and human rights situation there as monitored by the OSCE-KVM. It is also noted in that entry that after it evacuated from Kosovo, the OSCE-KVM took only one statement from a Goran refugee, in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. This interviewee, who left Kosovo on 18 June 1999, stated that the UCK were destroying and robbing Dragas/Dragash village and the surrounding area, were ordering Serbs to leave or be killed, and had blocked the roads. Unlike the multitude of Kosovo Albanians who were expelled from Kosovo the interviewee was still in possession of his ID.⁷

Muslim Slavs

This group consists of Serbian speaking Slavs who are associated with the "Muslim nationality" as classified within the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Many of them describe themselves as Bosniac. In the data collected by the OSCE-KVM there are no references to human rights violations against Muslim Slavs. In Ozrim/Ozdrim (Pec/Peja) Muslim Slavs are described as having been spared when Kosovo Albanians were attacked and expelled in May (see the entry for Pec municipality).⁸

Cerkezi

The Cerkezi, who are a tiny minority group not recognized as a national community in the FRY, are of the Cherkess nationality from the north Caucasus region of Russia. The Cerkezi arrived in Kosovo more than 80 years ago and settled in Milosevo/Milloshve in Obilic/Obiliq municipality. They number around 100 persons, are Muslims, and speak Albanian, Serb and Cerkess. None of the data gathered by the OSCE-KVM specifically referred to the Cerkezi of Malisevo, but it is known that at some point during the period between late March and early June 1999 they were expelled and some of their houses

were burned by Serbs, and that all of them became refugees in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.⁹

Roman Catholic Kosovo Albanians

These are a religious, not an ethnic minority, numbering an estimated 70,000 people. They live mainly in the municipalities of Djakovica/Gjakova, Klina/Klina, Prizren/Prizren and Vitina/Viti.

It is difficult to determine whether their experience of the conflict differed significantly from that of the majority of Kosovo Albanians who are Muslim. There are reports about Roman Catholic Kosovo Albanians being detained, ill-treated and expelled that are entirely consistent with the general patterns of human rights violations against Kosovo Albanians.¹⁰ However, a very limited number of statements from refugees suggest that there were members of the Yugoslav and Serbian forces who tended to distinguish Roman Catholic Kosovo Albanians and treat them better. For example, a Roman Catholic Kosovo Albanian who had fled Djakovica/Gjakova town on 25 March 1999 and was at the village of Meja/Meje recounted how he and his family had felt relatively safe there because a local VJ commander had assured them that they did not have to worry as long as he was in charge, because they were Catholics. Only when this commander was gone after 27 April did their situation deteriorate and they decided to leave for Albania.¹¹ There is also one statement from a Kosovo Albanian Muslim, describing expulsions from the village of Karasindjerdj/Karashengjergj (Prizren) on 31 March 1999, in which it is claimed that about 90 households of Roman Catholic Kosovo Albanians were allowed to stay.¹² From the data gathered by the OSCE-KVM, it cannot be determined whether this kind of relatively favourable treatment was repeated anywhere else.

Notes

¹ Based on figures including estimates from community leaders, as cited by the UNHCR/OSCE Second Assessment of the Situation of Ethnic Minorities in Kosovo, 6 September 1999. Also "Informative Note on the Turkish National Minority in Kosovo", Turkish Permanent Mission to the OSCE, Vienna, 21 September 1999.

² UNHCR/OSCE, "Second Assessment of the Situation of Ethnic Minorities in Kosovo", para. 64.

³ A/0035; A/0114; A/0548; A/0994.

⁴ For example, OSCE-MiK, MI/22/99.

⁵ UNHCR/OSCE, "Second Assessment of the Situation of Ethnic Minorities in Kosovo", para. 64.

⁶ UNHCR/OSCE "Second Assessment of the Situation of Ethnic Minorities in Kosovo", para. 55, 6 September 1999.

⁷ M/1524.

⁸ OSCE-TFK human rights officer, reporting on a visit to Ozrim in late June.

⁹ UNHCR/OSCE "Second Assessment of the Situation of Ethnic Minorities in Kosovo", para 71, 6 September 1999.

¹⁰ PE/04/042/99 and PE/04/123/99, relating to incidents in January and March 1999 in Djakovica/Gjakova police station; M/0454, containing an eyewitness account of the beating of three young men in front of a house in Kabas/Kabash (Vitina).

¹¹ A/0465.

¹² A/1076.

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GROUPS IN KOSOVO ALBANIAN SOCIETY PARTICULARLY TARGETED FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Individuals or groups who in some way played a part in public life in Kosovo Albanian society were liable to be harassed, ill-treated, arrested, subjected to unfair trial proceedings and/or killed. Those affected extended from politicians to prominent individuals, religious leaders, medical professionals, journalists, teachers, students, human rights activists, those working in non-governmental organizations (NGOs), those associated with the OSCE-KVM, and the wealthy.

From the early 1980s Kosovo Albanian politicians had called for full republican status within the then Yugoslavia, and later, as Kosovo's autonomous status was curtailed from 1987 and then when Yugoslavia broke up in 1992, they called for full independence. After the effective revocation of Kosovo's autonomy, through the adoption of a new constitution in Serbia in September 1990, followed by a Kosovo Albanian boycott of Serbian elections, "emergency measures" were imposed in most of the public sector. Tens of thousands of Albanians were dismissed from their jobs, generally to be replaced by Serbs and Montenegrins. Kosovo Albanians, in a general policy of pacifist civil disobedience, started to establish parallel institutions, including their own president, a parliament, taxation and their own education system. (Further details on these political developments are given in Chapter 1, Kosovo: The historical and political background.)

Those working in the media became targets with the withdrawal or closure of publicly funded Albanian-language media from 1989 and the banning of key Albanian-language publications. Kosovo Albanian teachers were targeted when a parallel system of Albanian-language education was established in response to the 1990 publication of a new school curriculum for Kosovo to bring Albanian-language teaching into line with that in the rest of Serbia. It ended teaching in Albanian in most secondary schools in 1992, and cut Albanian-language teaching at Pristina University. Some 6,000 secondary school teachers and 800 university teaching staff, who failed to adopt the new curriculum, were sacked. Parallel health systems were established, often with the assistance of humanitarian groups such as the Mother Teresa Society, leading to the targeting of medical personnel. As the security situation deteriorated in 1998 Kosovo Albanian medical personnel were also presumed by the Serbian authorities to be providing medical assistance to the UCK.

By 1998 the polarization was complete and, in conjunction with an armed security crackdown against areas of UCK activity, many arrests were carried out. A notable case was in Urosevac/Ferizaj in June 1998, when some 11 human rights activists and LDK politicians, mostly the higher ranking in these organizations, were arrested in one operation (this case is described in greater detail in Chapter 10, Violation of the right to a fair trial, and in Part V in the entry for Urosevac/Ferizaj municipality.)

Following the deployment of the OSCE-KVM there were few political trials of prominent politicians or human rights activists, with the exception of the trial of the "Urosevac group" mentioned above and the case of Fatima Boshnjaku, who was executive manager of the Djakovica chapter of the Mother Teresa Society. Her trial is described below.

There were a number of killings and arrests of public figures during this period, notably the killing of a member of the Pristina branch of the Albanian Democratic Party (LBD), who on 27 February 1999 was found shot dead near a lake east of Batlava/Batlave (Podujevo). The OSCE-KVM went to investigate the site and found that the politician had been shot five times, and assumed that his body had been dumped there, since there was no evidence of shooting. Further indications as to who carried out the killing could not be found at the time.¹

The severity and number of incidents changed rapidly after the OSCE-KVM evacuated on 20 March. Given the history of the previous 10 years, it did not come as a surprise that many prominent figures were immediately targeted. These individuals can be grouped according to their respective professional responsibilities and status in Kosovo Albanian society.

First, they were the "professionals" and activists, such as politicians, religious leaders, lawyers, doctors, journalists, professors, teachers, students and human rights activists. Secondly, they were the people who were associated with the OSCE-KVM and other international organizations which were perceived as "the enemy". The last group of individuals who were specifically targeted were the rich, either because they were prominent in Kosovo society or by virtue solely of their wealth. Several statements refer to these groups as being especially vulnerable to Serb oppression.²

Different explanations can be given for this targeting. In general, the Serbs might have seen these different individuals as the "enemy" or as subversive elements, undermining Serb authority and dominance in the province. In other cases, especially where doctors or Mother Teresa Society workers were involved, they might have been connected with the UCK, which the Serbs viewed as a terrorist organization. The Serbs might have used their prominence in society to set a public example, to take revenge, or to terrorize the population and discourage future disruptive action. Lastly, the Serbs might have tried to break down the Kosovo Albanian leadership, and in this way leave Kosovo Albanians without representation in the future.

The UCK was held responsible for the abduction of among others seven Serbian Orthodox monks and a nun in July 1998.³ During the period of the OSCE-KVM's presence in Kosovo, the UCK was

responsible for the abduction of some Kosovo Albanian politicians (mostly because of their presumed Serb alliances or sympathy).⁴

This section concentrates on those persons who were persecuted whose cases came to the attention of the OSCE-KVM. Other cases, where the individual and his or her fate were prominent enough to be recorded by the media or other sources and which later could be confirmed, are described only briefly.

Targeting of politicians and prominent individuals

Kosovo Albanian politicians were targeted throughout Kosovo. Serb perpetrators were responsible for the persecution of politicians at the "national", regional and village level. Most accounts are of victims who were members of or activists for the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK-Lidhja Demokratike e Kosoves), which was founded officially in December 1989 and led by Ibrahim Rugova. Given the prevailing political climate, all Kosovo Albanian politicians belonging to either the LDK or to the smaller Kosovo Albanian parties had a well-founded fear of persecution and in many instances, once the OSCE-KVM evacuated, the politicians were the first victims of gross human rights violations.

Leading politicians, such as Ibrahim Rugova, were reported in the press to be under house arrest;⁵ others went into hiding.⁶ Later Ibrahim Rugova emerged in Belgrade, where he was shown on television shaking hands with Slobodan Milosevic. At the time, the media reported that he was coerced into doing so. He was later allowed to leave for Italy with his family.

One of the most prominent members of the LDK was Fehmi Agani, aged 66, a former vice-president of the party, who was a sociology professor, a member of the Kosovo academy and one of the co-founders of the party. He belonged to the inner circle of LDK leader Ibrahim Rugova, and was working on the outline of a new constitution for Kosovo and a philosophy for a new and more just Kosovo society. One interviewee relates when he last saw the politician.

"... On 6th May 1999 the group was on a train and heading for the Macedonian border from Fushe Kosove [Kosovo Polje]. The train was stopped near the Macedonian border by Serbian forces and forced to head back to Fushe Kosove at about 13:00. Near Fushe Kosove the train was stopped and the passengers were forced out of the train and forced to lie in a muddy ditch after having the[ir] documentation taken by the police forces that were involved in the operation. The police had red and white ribbon on their left arms. The police then separated 20 men from the group and it appeared they were planning to kill these 20. The women and children started to scream and cry and the police officers seemed to change their minds. Two buses pulled up and half of the 20 were put on the first bus. In this first bus was Fehmi Agani, one of the leaders of the LDK and a member of the Rambouillet peace delegation. These buses headed for Prishtina [Pristina]. Three more buses were loaded with three hundred people and those people were taken to Lepane [Lebane]. Each passenger was forced to pay DM 50. Then they went on to Suhareke [Suva

Reka]."⁷

Arrest, detention, torture and death of LDK secretary in Kosovo Polje/Fushe Kosove

Some 20 to 30 men (described as paramilitaries, MUP and VJ - wearing different uniforms, some masked) took into custody the local LDK secretary, his wife and a neighbouring Kosovo Albanian family, including the children, from their homes in Kosovo Polje on 27 March. In the police station all of the detained had to face the wall for about six hours. Apparently police from Serbia and/or State Security officers were present. The men were severely beaten, all in the same room.¹ The wife of the LDK secretary was made to clean the police station. Three hours later this woman asked a local policeman for help. The policeman answered that he had no competence over the police and paramilitaries from Serbia. However, the children and the woman were released that day after their money and jewellery had been stolen.²

The four men, including the LDK secretary, were released the next morning, 28 March, at 08:30 hours. The LDK secretary was not able to walk and his hands were black from the beatings. He had a large wound on his neck from cigarette burns. His stomach was distended and his ribs appeared to be broken. He vomited blood.³ Other relatives reported that he had said that the police demanded that he put on a Serbian military uniform and kill his family and accused him of being an UCK commander. He told his relatives that the police drove him several times somewhere for a mock execution.⁴ The family took the injured man to a village just outside Kosovo Polje, where he received medical assistance. On 3 April the family left to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, where he died of his injuries on 4 April in hospital in Tetovo.

¹ M/0527.

² M/1024; M/0142.

³ M/0641; M/0678.

⁴ M/0640 and M/0458 also include the name of the commander of the police station in Kosovo Polje.

This story is corroborated by other witnesses,⁸ that is, Fehmi Agani was seen by others getting on the bus; one interviewee says that Fehmi Agani was then taken off the bus by a civilian.⁹ Other versions of the story emerged to the effect that Fehmi Agani had got out of the train, was waiting in a field and was put in a private car and driven off.¹⁰ There were no witness statements from refugees as to what actually happened to him. He was later found dead. His son gave an emotional press conference in the Hotel Alexander Palace, Skopje, in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, announcing the death of his father but he was not able to give details of the circumstances.

One of the most widely reported incidents after the first night of the NATO air strikes, 24 March 1999, was the killing of the prominent Kosovo Albanian lawyer Bajram Kelmendi. Although not a politician, he had strong ties with the LDK. He acted as a defence lawyer in almost all the "terrorist" trials which took place in Pristina and was also active in the local human rights non-governmental organization, the Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms. His wife (also a lawyer) was a secretary of the LDK. The day before his abduction, Bajram Kelmendi defended the Kosovo Albanian newspaper *Koha Ditore* in court, as described in Part V, in the entry for Pristina city.

On the night of 25 March, two cars stopped near Bajram Kelmendi's house. Around six men in blue camouflage approached the house, of whom around five actually entered by breaking the door.¹¹ The men demanded money and weapons; they then abducted Bajram Kelmendi and his two sons, one of whom had worked for the OSCE-KVM. On 26 March a relative found Bajram Kelmendi and his two sons on the road from Pristina to Kosovo Polje. Both sons had 15 bullet holes in their bodies; one had a finger cut off. The lawyer's body had 18 bullet holes. The same day a bomb was discovered underneath the staircase of Bajram Kelmendi's house; it was later removed by friends.¹²

There were many other accounts of regional and local politicians from around Kosovo who were targeted for particularly cruel treatment. A few were killed, notably the LDK president in Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovice and the LDK secretary in Kosovo Polje.¹³ Many political figures were arrested and beaten,¹⁴ or had their houses looted, burned or blown up.¹⁵ In one interview reference is made to a Serb "hit-list" of people who were to be executed.¹⁶ Prominent politicians were followed and visited by Serb police and civilians.¹⁷ The accompanying text box gives an example of the cruel treatment politicians received in police custody. It recounts the arrest on 27 March, the torture in detention and the subsequent death of the LDK secretary for Kosovo Polje.

There are many statements describing the arrest and interrogation or detention of Kosovo Albanian politicians in the various municipalities in Kosovo. Well-documented were the arrests and treatment of some 10 Gnjilane/Gjilan political and human rights activists, who were rounded up and arrested around 10 May 1999. All of them were taken to prison, where they were ill-treated for weeks,¹⁸ suffering physical and mental torture, intimidation, malnutrition and extremely poor conditions of detention. Another well-documented arrest and imprisonment concerns a Kosovo Albanian politician from the Parliamentary Party (one of the smaller Kosovo Albanian political parties), who mentioned the names of other politicians who were incarcerated together with him in Lipljan prison.¹⁹ One interviewee stated that a Serb police officer mentioned a list of people who were to be arrested.²⁰

Position of religious leaders

Religion plays a major role in the cultural identity of the Serb nation, and was widely used in the nationalist campaigns of Serb politicians from the end of the 1980s. From the point of view of the

Serbian Orthodox Church, emerging from the communist era at the end of the 1980s, its religious leaders suddenly found a willing ear and a means to re-establish their position in society. For this reason they started to associate with ethnically divisive forces. The Serbian Orthodox Church backed Milosevic in his campaign for "Greater Serbia" from the beginning of the 1990s. In Kosovo itself, "the cradle of the Serbian Orthodox Church", local Serb politicians were never consulted with regard to Serbian policy, and the bishop of Raska and Prizren, Artemije Radosavljevic, was the only local Kosovo representative in Belgrade with any authority. He gave the Orthodox Church in Kosovo an extra, political role. By 1998, fearing that Kosovo's Serbs would be the principal, long-term victims of conflict with Kosovo Albanians, the Church attempted to moderate Belgrade's hard-line position. Together with the leader of the Serb Resistance Movement in Kosovo, Momcilo Trajkovic, Bishop Artemije presented himself as an alternative Serb voice from Kosovo, calling for Serb-Kosovo Albanian co-existence and mutual tolerance.

On the part of the Kosovo Albanian "nation", religious identification was not particularly strong. Although most Kosovo Albanians are Muslim, there are Catholic and Orthodox Christian Kosovo Albanians. Religion did not play a major part in everyday life for most Albanians. There was a ceremonial role for the imam and *hodja* (also rendered as *hoca* or *hoxha*) at weddings, burials and other ceremonies. Islam exercised more moral authority in the villages than in the larger towns and cities. The Muslim religious leadership was nevertheless involved in organizing the parallel system of government which developed in the early 1990s, but their involvement faded for several reasons. The Rugova "government" did not want to be associated with the Islamic world, because it thought that the involvement of religious leaders would be a liability with regard to getting Western support. Further, their marginal role in society did not give the Muslim leaders the popular support needed to play a leading role in organizing the parallel system.

During the OSCE-KVM presence there were few reports of persecution of religious leaders or of those with a religious affiliation (although there are cases of the arrest, beating and harassment of Catholic Kosovo Albanians in Djakovica/Gjakove municipality, as described in the entry for that municipality). However, after the OSCE-KVM evacuation on 20 March 1999 there were a number of incidents reported where imams and *hodjas* were involved or where religious property was destroyed. The imams of Lausa/Llaushe (Srbica/Skenderaj) and Vlastica/Llashtice (Gnjilane/Gjilan), and the *hodjas* of Bela Crkva/Bellacerke (Orahovac/Rrahovec) and Pojatiste/Pojatishme (Urosevac/Ferizaj) were reportedly killed.²¹ An imam from Prilepnica/Perlepnice (Gnjilane) was reportedly taken hostage in order to persuade the villagers to leave,²² and another imam from Velania district of Pristina was allegedly beaten and abducted.²³ Also in Pristina, a hand grenade was thrown into the house of the mufti of the Kosovo Islamic Community.²⁴

Although the above incidents are significant, it has to be noted that the persecution of religious leaders does not appear to have been widespread. There does not seem to have been a concerted plan to undermine the Muslim religious leadership of Kosovo. There were also cases mentioned where the imam was able to negotiate on behalf of a group or to provide burial services.²⁵

The destruction of mosques was more widespread. They were destroyed during shelling campaigns²⁶ or when military equipment was put in the building,²⁷ or when there was a deliberate attack on a mosque.²⁸ Some 200 mosques were allegedly damaged or destroyed.²⁹

Targeting of doctors and other medical professionals

Persecution of medical personnel

International humanitarian law is clear: medical personnel can not be prevented from, targeted because of, or prosecuted for rendering medical assistance to the sick or wounded in armed conflict, regardless of who the beneficiaries may be.

Doctors and medical personnel were nevertheless targeted for human rights violations in Kosovo. The persecution of health professionals extended beyond their involvement as a leading group in society; they were also prosecuted for allegedly rendering medical assistance to the UCK.

Under the Criminal Code of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (KZSRJ), rendering assistance to those committing the criminal acts of "terrorism" (Article 125) or "subversive activity" (Article 136) was in itself a criminal act under Article 137, punishable by imprisonment of not less than one year.³⁰ The Yugoslav authorities considered medical supplies to be materials "rendering assistance", and prosecuted doctors under this charge. Fatima Boshnjaku, an activist of the Mother Teresa Society, was arrested on 12 July 1998 while delivering aid to a village in Djakovica, found guilty of organizing hostile activities under the KZSRJ and sentenced to seven months' imprisonment (as is also described in Chapter 10, Violation of the right to a fair trial). The examination of the accused focused primarily on whether the supplies being delivered were medical supplies or not; the court concluded that medical supplies had been among the assistance delivered.³¹

"Medical and religious personnel shall be respected and protected and shall be granted all available help for the performance of their duties. They shall not be compelled to carry out tasks which are not compatible with their humanitarian mission...."

Under no circumstances shall any person be punished for having carried out medical activities compatible with medical ethics, regardless of the person benefiting therefrom...."

Medical units and transports shall be respected and protected at all times and shall not be the object of attack."

Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II), Articles 9(1), 10(1) and 11(1).

Regardless of the other violations of the defendant's right to a fair trial in this case and the lack of evidence provided by the authorities, pursuing these charges violated international humanitarian law standards in themselves. The defendant should not have been put in a position where she faced imprisonment for ensuring that the wounded or sick had supplies necessary for their recovery, regardless of whether they were UCK or civilians of any ethnicity or nationality.

In another trial monitored by the OSCE-KVM, a doctor who had been arrested with 13 others in Orahovac/Rrahovec was prosecuted in Pec/Peja under Article 136 KZSRJ for "subversive activities," for allegedly joining the UCK and becoming a "terrorist doctor." The defendant denied he had been part of the UCK and said that he had worked in a local clinic which treated civilians, although he admitted that on one occasion in 1998 he had treated one person in uniform. Since he had "admitted" assisting the UCK, he was found guilty and sentenced to seven months' imprisonment.³²

On 28 February 1999 the OSCE-KVM was informed that an Albanian doctor from Sinaje (Istok) had been beaten and arrested by police, apparently only because he gave medical assistance to a Kosovo Albanian man earlier shot by police officers. As a result he sustained a broken rib and several chest injuries, and was accused of assisting terrorists and transferred to Pec prison.³³

Doctors were also beaten on account of their work. On 14 January 1999 a Kosovo Albanian doctor on his way to visit an elderly woman patient was stopped at a police checkpoint on the Obilic-Podujevo road. Nine police in combat gear stopped him and started beating him with their weapons. When one policeman found his ID and doctor's bag he said, "He's a doctor. Kill the motherfucker! He is treating the terrorists." He was beaten until he lost consciousness, when the police left. Shortly afterwards the victim was able to drive home. When he reported the attack to the OSCE-KVM the following day he still had pains in his groin and abdomen, and abrasions on his neck were visible.³⁴

Targeting of medical personnel after 20 March

When the NATO air strikes began on 24 March 1999 a Kosovo Albanian ambulance driver in Vucitrn was told by police that he should no longer show up for work because he would treat UCK soldiers.³⁵ Other Kosovo Albanian medical staff, who had managed to keep their jobs were also dismissed from their jobs at this time.³⁶

Interviewees frequently reported that doctors were specifically sought out for expulsion or other human rights violations when armed forces came to their district or village.³⁷ In Gladno Selo/Gllanaselle (Glogovac) Serbian forces who entered the village on 26 March specifically sought out a local doctor, who was later among those killed in the village.³⁸ On 1 April Serbian forces came to Varos Selo/Varosh (Urosevac) in a civilian vehicle, shooting and searching for three doctors who lived on one interviewee's street. When the car returned the next day, the population fled in panic.³⁹

In other places the killing of doctors left a particular impression on the interviewees, although they may not have been killed specifically because they were doctors. For example, in Slatina/Sllatine (Kacanik), an interviewee witnessed a doctor being killed. He said: "I saw from 200 metres the doctor being captured with his family. He was tied to a tree, beaten, his face was cut up with knives and then he was killed. All this was in front of his wife and children."⁴⁰ There are numerous other accounts of doctors being killed.⁴¹

Medical personnel were also targeted in other ways. In Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovica, a woman reported that armed masked paramilitaries in dark grey uniforms with bullet proof jackets came to the hospital in where her husband worked, looking for him. When they found him they took him into a room, accused him of helping the UCK, and beat and kicked him for about 10 minutes, when he was released and ordered to leave Kosovo within two hours. He reported the incident to the police, but they refused to help and told him and his family to go to the hospital and stay there because they "might" have to leave the following day. The couple then took a bus to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.⁴²

In another case, three masked men dressed in black came to the house of one interviewee, a prominent doctor in Pristina, and beat the family members, including the interviewee's 70-year-old mother who was kicked all over her body. The men tried to rape the 44-year-old interviewee, but did not succeed, although the woman was kicked in the abdomen and trampled upon after the failed attempt. They also extorted money from the family.⁴³

One interviewee, a (female) nurse for the Mother Teresa Society, went to the Society's office in Urosevac/Ferizaj as normal on 25 March. Four masked men in green camouflage came into the office and asked whether the drugs they had there were for the UCK. They then locked the nurse and a young female doctor in the bathroom, threatening them with a knife, drinking, and saying, "We'll fuck them." After an hour, they opened the door and released them, and they were able to go home. Later in the day, the office was mined.⁴⁴

Arrests of doctors continued after the OSCE-KVM evacuated from Kosovo. One interviewee reported that his colleague, a doctor from Gnjilane, had been arrested for collaboration with the UCK in early May because he had given medical treatment to UCK members.⁴⁵

Serb doctors sometimes tried and were prevented from providing medical assistance to Kosovo Albanians. Kosovo Albanians fleeing an offensive in the Shala area fled to Gornje Sudimlja/Studime e Eperme (Vucitrn), where they were subjected to repeated attacks before being moved on to a farm on the outskirts of Vucitrn town. When doctors (reported to be Serb doctors from the Red Cross) came to the farm the following day, the police refused to let them see the wounded.⁴⁶

Targeting of journalists

Freedom of the media

The Media Development Department within the OSCE-KVM generally dealt with freedom of the media issues. It only became a priority of the Human Rights Division when the closing down of the major Kosovo Albanian newspapers began in mid-March 1999. Apart from this major crackdown on the media, Kosovo Albanian journalists were to a certain degree harassed and intimidated before the declaration of the state of war, although this became much more systematic and brutal during the war.

Closure of Kosovo Albanian newspapers

The prosecution of the newspapers, which started on 11 March 1999, accompanied the general deterioration of the situation in Kosovo. It could also be possible that the prosecution was part of a general preparation for the war, because the papers were suddenly charged in relation to editions from some time previously. One of the leading daily newspapers, *Kosova Sot*, was fined in absentia by the Municipal Court for Misdemeanors (Sud Za Prekrasaje Opstinski Organ) on 12 March, only one day after the editors and publisher were summoned for the hearing.⁴⁷ The Minister of Information charged the paper with causing "national, racial or religious intolerance or hatred" by publishing a calendar with a UCK picture.⁴⁸ The paper was not able to pay the fines and their bank accounts were frozen. After some editions of *Kosova Sot* were confiscated on 17 March, the paper stopped publishing.

The biweekly *Gazeta Shqiptare* was similarly prosecuted and fined for supporting the UCK under Articles 42 and 67 of the Public Information Law. However, the newspaper did not recognize Serbian law and therefore did not prepare a defence.⁴⁹

After the OSCE-KVM evacuated, the most prominent Kosovo Albanian newspaper, *Koha Ditore*, was fined under Articles 42 and 67 of the Public Information Law, reportedly for having published recent statements made by the UCK leader, Hashim Thaci.⁵⁰

Regardless of whether the Serbian authorities applied the Public Information Law correctly, there are strong indications that these procedures were intended to restrict unlawfully the freedom of expression of Kosovo Albanian newspapers. Especially in the case of *Kosova Sot* the sudden prosecution within 24 hours appeared surprising, since the contested publications were from 31 December 1998 and 2 January 1999. Furthermore *Koha Ditore* had frequently published statements by Hashim Thaci, as the UCK leader and one of the negotiators at the Rambouillet talks. The Public Information Law itself and the way in which it was applied places restrictions on freedom of expression that go beyond what is permissible under international standards.

In late March the printing houses of *Koha Ditore* and *Kosova Sot* were both looted and then burned down.⁵¹

Assaults on journalists

While the OSCE-KVM was in Kosovo it did not receive specific complaints from or about journalists who had been particularly targeted, except for the murder on 11 January of Enver Maloku, the director of the Kosovo Information Centre (a Kosovo Albanian news agency). This prominent figure, journalist and LDK supporter was shot in front of his house in the Suncani Breg/Bregu i Diellit district of Pristina when he returned from work. He died shortly afterwards in hospital.⁵²

After the evacuation of the OSCE-KVM, journalists were attacked either because they collected evidence material or because they were suspected of writing pro-Albanian propaganda.

On 25 March three police officers arrested the editor of *Magazine Kosovare*, robbed him of money, documents and office keys, kicked him and beat him up with their rifles. Then another three men in black masks and in grey combat uniforms asked him his profession. He denied being a journalist and said he was working in a bar, but the masked men did not believe him and beat him with metal bars with screws attached to them. One of the men pointed a gun at his head, but the others said they wanted to beat him longer. The journalist was able to escape when they were distracted by something happening outside. At the end of March police allegedly also beat up a journalist from *Kosova Sot* for "doing good for the UCK".⁵³

In Urosevac in late March or early April a former journalist of RTV Pristina was abducted, reportedly by police, and shortly afterwards police planted an explosive device in his house. One interviewee found his body on the side of the road to Pristina.⁵⁴ Several other journalists, notably from the *Rilindija* newspaper and RTV Pristina were harassed by Serbian forces, for example in Vrbica/Verbice (Gnjilane/Gjilan), Srbica/Skenderaj, Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovica and Blace/Bllace (Suva Reka).⁵⁵

Others managed to stay safe by going into hiding. Veton Surroi, editor of the Pristina daily newspaper *Koha Ditore*, hid in Pristina throughout the period of NATO bombing. Baton Haxhiu, editor-in-chief of the same newspaper, also hid in Pristina for many weeks before eventually escaping to Tetovo in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Targeting of teachers and students

Kosovo Albanian teachers and students were only able to teach and learn under the most difficult circumstances. While it was present in Kosovo, the OSCE-KVM started a survey on the school situation and found that there were problems with respect to school accommodation for primary schools. There was a virtual system of "apartheid". Primary schools were either homogeneously Serb, with the Kosovo Albanian children situated in makeshift sheds or small housing, or there were mixed schools, where a small group of Serb children took up as much space or more in the building as a larger group of Kosovo Albanian children. As for secondary schooling, the situation was even more bizarre. There was no

official secondary schooling in the Albanian curriculum. Albanian secondary schools were located in private houses, and the teachers, poorly paid through the "shadow system", were often not well qualified. Both teachers and students were reported to be harassed on their way to school, or they would be taken to the police station for "investigative talks".⁵⁶

After the OSCE-KVM evacuated on 20 March, according to one statement police and paramilitary were looking for teachers in general.⁵⁷ In another statement it is narrated that the people in the village were forced to tell where the intellectuals lived, including teachers.⁵⁸ Yet another statement says that Serb paramilitary forces used a list with names of so-called "intellectuals" to identify individuals to be killed. Among those on the list were teachers.

On approximately 13 April I witnessed the execution of two [male Kosovo Albanian] teachers from Pristina who were in the school in Glllogofc [Glogovica, Pristina] ... Four paramilitaries entered the school and said that the teachers were on the list for execution. They were killed 100 metres away from the school. I heard the shots and saw the bodies later.⁵⁹

One example of the way in which teachers could be treated is given in the following account:

On 27 March 1999, at approximately 15:00, 43 tanks arrived and surrounded the village of Cerkoz [Crkolez (Istok)]... Police and paramilitaries, wearing masks, entered Padalishte near Cerkoz [but in Srbica], and went into the house of the teacher [name mentioned]. The forces took his three young children and told the teacher to cut off the heads of the children. The man refused, and the police killed the three daughters by cutting their throats.⁶⁰

Several statements referred to the profession of the victim, as a teacher or an "intellectual", when the motivation for a killing was given.⁶¹ In other cases teachers were mentioned as victims, but as part of a larger group which was being assaulted. In the latter case it is apparent that although the profession of teacher made the victim stand out for the interviewee, this was not necessarily the case for the assailant. Altogether some 30 statements refer to the killing of teachers. They were also beaten,⁶² arrested⁶³ or expelled.⁶⁴

Students were targeted in Pristina. There are several accounts of students who were visited in their student quarters by police or paramilitary forces.⁶⁵ Male students were reportedly beaten and interrogated.⁶⁶ Some were expelled,⁶⁷ some arrested,⁶⁸ and some were killed.⁶⁹ Some female students were allegedly sexually assaulted.⁷⁰

The most prominent of the students was the student leader and spokesperson, Albin Kurti. On 25 March,

police forced him and his father, who was a member of the Parliament Party, and two others (including a 10-year-old boy) out of a house and abducted them. They subsequently were seen in Lipljan prison, but their fate thereafter was not known.⁷¹

Targeting of human rights activists and NGO workers

People who worked for NGOs, especially those associated with the Kosovo Albanian human rights NGO, the Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF), and the Mother Teresa Society (MTS) were targeted by Serbs, because they were considered to be subversive elements.

The CDHRF was closely linked to the LDK, and activists of the organization had been arrested and tried before, indicted with subversive activity.⁷² After the OSCE-KVM evacuated, human rights activists were among the first group of people to be targeted. Their houses were burned⁷³ and some were killed,⁷⁴ while others were arrested, beaten and imprisoned.⁷⁵ Several statements refer to the generally precarious position of human rights activists.⁷⁶

MTS workers were accused of collaborating with the UCK, by bringing them food, medicines and information.⁷⁷ In one account an MTS worker from Vrnica/Vernice (Vucitrn) states that he had heard from his Serb neighbour that he was on a list to be executed.⁷⁸ In other statements MTS workers are mentioned as being a specific group in society targeted by the Serbs.⁷⁹ MTS offices and warehouses were reportedly looted and burned, or otherwise destroyed.⁸⁰ There are a few accounts of the individual targeting of MTS workers, notably the president of the MTS in Kosovo Polje was killed in his yard on 24 March. There are reports of the killing of three MTS workers in Leskovcic/Lajthishte (Obilic) on 18 April, two in Crkvena Vodica/Palaj (Obilic) on 17 April, and one in Novo Cikatovo/Cikatove e Re (Glogovac) on 22 March.⁸¹ In Urosevac, a female nurse and a female doctor were assaulted by paramilitaries.⁸² Others went into hiding, such as the head of the MTS in Djakovica.

Targeting of OSCE-KVM associates⁸³

While the Kosovo Albanian population explicitly welcomed the OSCE-KVM presence, the attitude of Serb civilians was only initially tolerant. After the Racak massacre on 15 January 1999, the attitude of the Serbs became more obstructive and sometimes even violent, since the mission was perceived as being pro-Kosovo Albanian. In Pristina on 20 January Serb civilians attacked a local OSCE-KVM interpreter. In Podujevo/Podujeve on 21 February the police physically assaulted two international staff members. On the same day Serb civilians in Lipljan/Lipjan threatened Kosovo Albanian local staff. During March a few OSCE-KVM patrols were attacked in Pristina municipality, and on 12 March a vehicle was stoned. In Kosovska Mitrovica/Mitrovica an aggressive attitude was noted. The harassment was mostly not very serious and appeared primarily intended to intimidate and/or inflict minor injuries.

For its part the UCK started to threaten Russian, Belarussian, and Ukrainian international staff.⁸⁴ Although both sides were constrained by the presence of the international community at this stage, there was nevertheless no doubt that local Serb as well as local Kosovo Albanian interpreters were in some situations afraid for their own security and preferred not to work in particular places.

Days after the OSCE-KVM evacuated on 20 March, Serbian forces killed the owner of the OSCE office and accommodation in Suva Reka/Suhareke together with his whole family (see Part V, entry for Suva Reka municipality). The son of the owner of the OSCE-KVM office in Kacanik/Kacanik, a pharmacist, was killed. An OSCE-KVM interpreter from Djakovica was reportedly killed and another was among a group of 120 IDPs who were arrested in Vrani Do/Vranidholl (Pristina/Prishtina) and then detained in the main police station in Pristina in early May. What happened to this man is unknown. At the time of writing this report, one former OSCE-KVM security guard from Pristina was still in detention in a prison in Serbia proper.⁸⁵

On 1 April, VJ and a special anti-terrorist unit arrested a local OSCE-KVM employee in Pristina "because he worked for Walker" (i.e. Ambassador William Walker, the head of the OSCE-KVM). They brought him to the "Army Club", the VJ Centre near the Grand Hotel, and VJ forces kept him in the basement and interrogated him about other OSCE-KVM staff, asking him to write a list with all local staff of international organizations still in the area. Since he did not do so, he was beaten by the VJ. They drove him to the Grimija district of Pristina and subjected him to a mock-execution. Then he was brought back to Pristina and summoned to the police station for the next day, when an inspector of the State Security Police (DBS) told him to leave the country.⁸⁶

OSCE-KVM premises were usually among the first to be completely looted. The destruction of the OSCE-KVM office and house in Stimlje/Shtime was a typical example. On 25 or 26 March 30-50 policemen, VJ and Serb civilians raided the house. They looted everything the verifiers had left and took the owner of the house to the Urosevac/Ferizaj police station, saying that he had to put on his jacket, "because Walker was waiting for him". The man was beaten, kicked and released later the same day. A couple of weeks after this incident, the house was totally reduced to rubble.⁸⁷ The OSCE-KVM office in Urosevac/Ferizaj was mined and blown up.⁸⁸ In Dakovica/Djakova the first immediate consequence of the OSCE-KVM evacuation seems to have been the systematic targeting of local staff and local Kosovo Albanian with close relations to the OSCE-KVM.⁸⁹

Any Kosovo Albanians who were somehow connected with the mission faced the possibility of being attacked because of their ties to the OSCE-KVM. Even Kosovo Albanians who had been seen reporting an incident to the OSCE-KVM were "punished".

"... Police came [on 22 March] to my house and asked why I had been going into OSCE building in Mitrovica [Kosovska Mitrovica]. They took me without clothes to the police station and they beat me. They put me in a tank of water for 24 hours and demanded to know why I had been going in the OSCE building. They showed me photographs of me

going into the building... They also had pictures of my wife going to OSCE. I told "We were going to OSCE to try to get medical help for our son." The police told me if I reported to OSCE that they had beaten me, they would kill me... I also saw the police shoot and kill the ... family. They killed this family because the family owned stores where many OSCE internationals shopped. The police who did this were wearing masks."⁹⁰

There are other examples of "punishment" for even tenuous links with the OSCE-KVM. One concerns the only Kosovo Albanian employee of an investment company (Sluzba Drustvenog Kontabiliteta), who was found dead on 24 March. A week before his death he was constantly harassed at checkpoints in Pristina, where he was asked whether he was related to Ambassador William Walker's personal interpreter (which was in fact so). One day he did not come back from a night shift and his body was found on the road from Pristina to Kosovo Polje.⁹¹ Another example concerns a man in Pristina whom the VJ beat up severely and accused of being a terrorist because they found the visiting card of an international staff member in his wallet, which had been given to him when he worked as a waiter in the Hotel Dea in Pristina.⁹²

Targeting of the wealthy

Rich people in general made for abundant loot and were therefore targeted by both Serbian/Yugoslav forces and Serb civilians. Shop-owners and businessmen were particularly targeted, because of the abundance of loot in the shops and factories (see also Chapter 12, Deliberate destruction of civilian property, looting and pillage).⁹³ Rich people were also known to support the "parallel system" by providing funding and accommodation, for instance for secondary schooling and offices, and they were in general more prominent and visible in society. The international media reported on lists of rich people which had been drawn up with the help of the local authorities long before OSCE-KVM had evacuated,⁹⁴ but there are no witness accounts that directly corroborate this. However, it was not surprising that wealthy Kosovo Albanians were targeted. One victim felt that "he was maybe targeted because he was rich".⁹⁵ One interviewee describes how on 23 April he saw masked Serb paramilitaries force a man and a woman to take off their clothes in Konjuh/Konjuh, a predominantly Kosovo Albanian village just outside Lipljan. The paramilitaries tied them up and then put a hand grenade in their son's mouth. Then they forced the couple to tell them where the richest Kosovo Albanian families lived in the village, who were then beaten.⁹⁶

Envy could also be a motive. One man describes how 10 paramilitaries in various uniforms killed three members of his family when they were gathered in his yard in early April in Sojevo/Sojeve (Urosevac). They were heard saying "... look what nice shoes you have and what crappy shoes we have. You all lived abroad and got rich. Now you have to leave."⁹⁷

Notes

¹ OSCE-KVM, RC5, CC-01 "Weekly Report No.1, 26 February-4 March 1999".

² A/0414; M/1164; M/1504.

³ They were later released after representations from the International Committee of the Red Cross and Crescent Societies. Amnesty International *"A Human Rights Crisis in Kosovo Province: Orahovac, July-August 1998 - Deaths, displacement, detentions: many unanswered questions"*, August 1998.

⁴ See, for instance, the entry on Kacanik municipality.

⁵ M/0276.

⁶ Examples are (i) Adem Demaci (founder of the CDHRF, and a general political representative of the UCK whose influence diminished, however, after the Rambouillet negotiations); (ii) Hydajet Hyseni (a leading figure in the Albanian Democratic Movement (LDSh), itself part of the United Democratic Movement (LBD), currently "deputy foreign minister" in the "provisional government" of Kosovo); (iii) Bajram Kosumi (leader of the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo (PPK), also part of the LBD, and "minister for information" in the "provisional government").

⁷ A/0440.

⁸ A/1111; M/1714.

⁹ OSCE-KVM, SK-814 Statement.

¹⁰ OSCE-KVM staff member account.

¹¹ M/1620, The perpetrators were described as police. They were in blue camouflage uniform, with white eagle patches on the arm. The police also had automatic guns with silencers and masks.

¹² A/0249; A/0550; M/0052; M/0139; M/0150; M/0167; M/0335; M/1222; M/1354; M/1620.

¹³ Killed: A/0405; M/0140; M/0168; M/0435; M/0597; M/0646, referring to a politician from Urosevac, disappeared and was later found dead. M/0641, referring to an LDK secretary and member of CDHRF; M/0265; M/0510; M/0614, referring to the president of the Mother Teresa Society in Kosovo Polje; M/1457; M/1723.

¹⁴ Arrested and tortured: A/0708; M/0700; M/1467; M/1712; M/1777; M/1786.

¹⁵ House destroyed: M/0237; M/0260; M/0325; M/0417; M/0529; M/0597; M/0614; M/1100; M/1446.

¹⁶ M/0140.

¹⁷ M/0346; M/1526.

¹⁸ M/1786; OSCE-MiK, GN/0001/99.

¹⁹ M/1712. The story is corroborated by M/1739.

²⁰ M/1786.

²¹ M/0025; M/0457; M/0792; M/1333.

²² M/0218; M/0219; M/0221; M/0500. Similarly, in Oraovica (Presevo municipality of Serbia proper, bordering south-east Kosovo) the *hodja* had to announce from the minaret that all villagers were to stay in their houses, M/1489.

²³ M/1113.

²⁴ M/1354.

²⁵ M/0647; M/0814; M/1484.

²⁶ A/0742; M/0296; M/0591; M/0947; M/1016; M/1215.

²⁷ M/0212; M/0289.

²⁸ A/0103; M/0201; M/0404; M/0457; M/0565; M/1460; M1540.

²⁹ Statement of the Presidency of the Islamic Community of Kosovo on 25 August 1999.

³⁰ "(1) Whoever conceals, shelters or gives food, material, money and other means to the perpetrator of a criminal act referred to in [Article] 136 ... of this law, whoever serves him in maintaining liaison, undertakes actions aimed at obstructing the discovery or apprehension of the offender, or renders him assistance in any other way, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than one year." (Article 137, KZRSJ). See also Chapter 10,

Violation of the right to a fair trial.

³¹ Djakovica Municipal Court, trial of Fatima Boshnjaku, 17 February 1999.

³² District Court Pec K 144/98, OSCE-KVM, RC3, "Pec Trial Monitoring Case 19", 15-17 February 1999.

³³ PE/05/022/99.

³⁴ PR/0023/99.

³⁵ A/1123.

³⁶ For example, M/0320 (27 March, Pristina city); M/0823 (29 March, Kacanik town). See also Gnjilane municipality for harassment of Kosovo Albanians in Gnjilane hospital. No others specifically said that they were dismissed because they might render assistance to the UCK.

³⁷ M/1164 reported that villagers in Vladovo/Lladove (Gnjilane) were beaten on 24 March 1999 because they refused to supply the addresses of doctors and other prominent personalities lived in the village.

³⁸ M/1294. M/1023, M/1423 and M/1774 were also from villages in Glogovac municipality and described a man of a similar name being killed, although in a different place. They did not mention whether the individual was a doctor, and so could be referring to a different incident.

³⁹ M/0189.

⁴⁰ M/0759. M/0370 and M/0963 had also heard about the killing of this doctor, and a killing described by M/0417 may have referred to the same incident (the interviewee provided a different surname, but the account, which was hearsay, was similar in all other respects).

⁴¹ A well-known doctor was also killed in Kosovo Polje town with 11 other people in his clinic on 29 March 1999 (M/0627). Doctors were killed in other locations where interviewees did not provide information on whether they believed they had been specifically targeted because of their profession, but where the fact that doctors had been killed was clearly registered. In Velika Krusa/Krushe e Madhe (Orahovac) on 26 March 1999 (A/0136); in Djakovica/Gjakove (A/0845; A/1109; A/0242, these may have been different incidents) and in Grastica/Grashtice (Pristina) on 20 April (M/1229).

⁴² M/0708.

⁴³ The interviewee implied, but did not state, that she believed that the reason they came to her house was because of her occupation. M/1065.

⁴⁴ M/0514.

⁴⁵ M/1706. M/1786 saw the doctor in Gnjilane prison before he was released on 5 June 1999.

⁴⁶ A/0577.

⁴⁷ The editor and the publisher of the newspaper were summonsed through the media, which is in accordance with Article 72 of the Public Information Law. However, summonsing through the media is not a reliable system for bringing the imminent hearing to the attention of the publisher, see Council of Europe, "Expert Opinion of the Serbian Public Information Law (1998), Strasbourg, 19 November 1998", <http://www.freeb92.net/media/legalrepression/word/andrew-nicol.doc> The Council of Europe in this expert opinion and the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, in "Human Rights in Yugoslavia 1998", Belgrade 1999, argue that the law is inconsistent with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

⁴⁸ Article 67 (1) Public Information Law states that for publicizing information which calls for the forceful overthrow of the constitutional order, jeopardizing the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, violating guaranteed freedoms and rights of Man and the citizen, or causing national, racial or religious intolerance or hatred (Article 42), punished for the misdemeanour will be (i) the founder and publisher - with a fine of 400,000.00 to 800,000.00 new dinars; (ii) the party responsible to the founder and publisher and the editor-in-chief - with a fine of 100,000.00 to 400,000.00 new dinars. Article 72 of the Law on Information states that appeal does not suspend the execution of the judgement.

⁴⁹ OSCE-KVM, RC 5, "Weekly Report 13-19 March 1999"; OSCE-KVM, RC 5, "Incident Report 18 March 1999".

⁵⁰ Associated Press: "Leading ethnic-Albanian newspaper in Kosovo accused of inciting "racial hatred", 22 March 1999. Allegedly Thaci accused the Serb state of genocide against the Albanians in Kosovo in the contested article.

⁵¹ M/0163; M/0167; M/0432; M/0525.

⁵² PR/00/0002/99; OSCE-KVM, "RC 5 Weekly Report 11-17 January 1999". In July 1998 someone had already tried to kill the journalist. The OSCE-KVM found that the police failed to investigate the crime scene properly.

⁵³ M/0239; M/0355.

⁵⁴ M/0237; M/0417; M/0818 (explosion caused by four masked paramilitaries); M/0920.

⁵⁵ M/0769; M/1117; M/1314 (the journalist was also a LDK supporter); M/1477 (the journalist was allegedly

abducted by UCK); M/1700.

⁵⁶ OSCE-KVM, RC5, CC Urosevac, "Human Rights Weekly Report", 3 March 1999; OSCE-KVM, RC5, CC Urosevac, "Human Rights Weekly Report", 18 March 1999.

⁵⁷ A/0931.

⁵⁸ M/1164.

⁵⁹ M/1411.

⁶⁰ A/0640.

⁶¹ Including A/0414; A/0640; A/0644; A/0931; A/1100; M/0540; M/0565; M/1055; M/1106; M/1159; M/1292; M/1293; M/1411; M/1457; M/1460.

⁶² A/0644.

⁶³ M/1293.

⁶⁴ A/0971; M/0417.

⁶⁵ "113"; A/0322; A/1046; M/0578; M/1521.

⁶⁶ "113"; A/0322; M/0578; M/1120; M/1243; M/1521.

⁶⁷ "113"; A/0322; M/0578.

⁶⁸ A/1046; M/1101; M/1120; M/1521; M1801.

⁶⁹ M/1186; M/1495.

⁷⁰ M/1155; M/1521.

⁷¹ M/1101; M/1712.

⁷² For further details see Chapter 10, Violation of the right to a fair trial.

⁷³ A/0045; M/0176.

⁷⁴ M/0641, most notably the LDK Secretary of Kosovo Polje/Fushe Kosove, who was also CDHRF member. Case is mentioned under subheading "Politicians" above; A/1122, killing of member of CDHRF in Klina/Kline.

⁷⁵ M/1734, Lipljan prison; M/1786, Gnjilane prison.

⁷⁶ A/0045; M/0597; M/1373.

⁷⁷ M/0514; M/1230.

⁷⁸ M/0140.

⁷⁹ A/0006; A/0062; M/1504.

⁸⁰ M/0563; M/1124, Pristina/Prishtina, on 30 March or 01 April; M/0529, Obilic/Obiliq, around 27 March; M/0717, Glogovac/Glllogoc, around 03 May; M/0525 Kosovo Polje/Fushe Kosove, around 25 April; M/0112; M/0349, Stimlje/Shtime, on 25 or 26 March; M/0180; M/0191; M/0417 (medical centre); M/1100, Urosevac/Ferizaj, around 27 March.

⁸¹ M/0350; M/1125; M/1149.

⁸² M/0514, see also under subheading "Targeting of doctors and other medical professionals".

⁸³ An earlier mission of the OSCE was aborted in July 1993; it also had an immediate negative impact on the human rights situation in the region. Former local staff of the mission and other Kosovo Albanians who were associated with the mission were interrogated, detained and beaten. Stefan Troebst, *Conflict in Kosovo: Failure of Prevention? An Analytical Documentation, 1992-1998*, European Centre for Minority Issues, 1998, p. 38.

⁸⁴ OSCE-KVM, RC 5, "Weekly Report 27 February- 6 March 1999"; OSCE-KVM Headquarters, "Fusion Report Blue Book", 8 January, 21 February, 2,3,5,13 and 14 March 1999.

⁸⁵ A/0103; A/1100 (Suva Reka); M/0259; M/0544; M/0565 (Djakovica); M/0777; M/0924; M/1602 (Kacanik); M/1780 (Pristina).

⁸⁶ M/0335.

⁸⁷ M/0104; M/0112; M/0114; M/0861; M/0935; M/1022.

⁸⁸ M/0233; M/0322; M/0400; M/0843; M/1079; M/1192; M/1607.

⁸⁹ A/0008; A/0010; A/0283; A/0368; A/0457; A/0693; M/0910; PE/0014/99.

⁹⁰ A/0335.

⁹¹ M/0241.

⁹² M/1050.

⁹³ A/0312; M/0379; M/1149; M/1311; M/1405; M/1722.

⁹⁴ Newspaper article on paramilitaries by Petra de Koning, *NRC Handelsblad* (The Netherlands), 17 July 1999.

⁹⁵ M/0877.

⁹⁶ M/0873.

⁹⁷ M/1406.

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