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## SERBIA-MONTENEGRO

Serbia-Montenegro is dominated by Slobodan Milosevic, who continues to control the country through his role as President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and more importantly, as President of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS)--a dual arrangement proscribed by the federal Constitution--and his domination of other formal and informal institutions. Although the SPS lacks majorities in both the Federal and Serbian Parliaments, it controls governing coalitions and holds the key administrative positions. Since federal authority is exercised effectively only over the Republic of Serbia, and even there, not in Kosovo, the human rights situations in Montenegro and Kosovo are dealt with in separate annexes following this report. The Milosevic regime effectively controls the judiciary and respects the country's legal framework only when it suits the regime's immediate political interests.

Serbia abolished, in all but name, the political autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina in 1990; all significant decisionmaking since that time until 1999 had been centralized under the Milosevic regime in Belgrade. Starting in 1998, republic authorities in Montenegro clearly began to increase their efforts to assert their authority incrementally in Montenegro. Milosevic's control over Kosovo ceased in June 1999, when it came under the authority of the United Nations Interim Administrative Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). The Milosevic regime's oppressive policies toward Kosovo's ethnic Albanians quashed any prospect of interethnic cooperation and subsequently led to a full-fledged separatist insurgency that erupted in early 1998. In response the regime undertook a brutal police and military crackdown against the separatist insurgents and civilian population in Kosovo. After talks in February and March 1999 in Rambouillet failed to resolve the matter diplomatically, Serbian forces continued a full-fledged campaign of ethnic cleansing against civilians and forced 850,000 Kosovar Albanians to flee the province, and hundreds of thousands of Kosovar Albanians were internally displaced. NATO forces began an air campaign against the Serbian forces and regime on March 24. The NATO campaign succeeded, forcing Milosevic to withdraw his troops from Kosovo in early June and allowing refugees and displaced persons to return to Kosovo.

The international community does not recognize the FRY--Serbia-Montenegro--as the sole successor state to the former Yugoslavia. Accordingly, the "FRY" still is not permitted to take the Yugoslavia seat in the U.N. or to participate the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) or other international organizations and financial organizations.

As a key element of his hold on power, President Milosevic effectively controls the Serbian police, a heavily armed force of some 100,000 officers that is responsible for internal security. Milosevic effectively has destroyed the constitutional role of the Supreme Defense Council, essentially establishing himself as commander-in-chief of the Yugoslav Army (VJ), which also was employed in the brutal campaign prosecuted against the citizens of Kosovo. Serbian police and military forces committed numerous serious and systematic human rights abuses, especially in Kosovo.

Economic performance was anemic as a result of general inefficiency in the economy, corruption, and continued resistance to reform and privatization, the imposition of strengthened international sanctions in response to the situation in Kosovo, the country's increased pariah status following the conflict, its continued exclusion from international financial institutions, and the damage inflicted on infrastructure during the conflict with the international community. Unemployment and underemployment remained high,

reaching at least 60 percent, since the Government was unable or unwilling to introduce necessary restructuring measures. The Government failed to implement needed sweeping economic reforms, including privatization, which could help the economy but also could undermine the regime's crony system.

The Government's poor human rights record worsened significantly, and there were serious problems in many areas. In practice citizens cannot exercise the right to change their government. Serbian police were responsible for numerous serious abuses, including extrajudicial killings, disappearances, torture, brutal beatings, rape, arbitrary arrest and detention in Kosovo. Impunity for those who commit human rights abuses remains a serious problem. The judicial system is not independent of the Government, suffers from corruption, and does not ensure fair trials. The authorities infringed on citizens' privacy rights. The Government severely restricted freedom of speech and of the press, and used overbearing police intimidation and economic pressure to control tightly the independent press and media. Most journalists practice self-censorship. The Government restricted freedom of assembly and association. While under the Constitution citizens have a right to stage peaceful demonstrations, in practice police seriously beat scores of democratic opposition protesters throughout the republic of Serbia, sending many to hospitals. The Government infringed on freedom of worship by minority religions and restricted freedom of movement. The Milosevic regime has used its continued domination of Parliament and the media to enact legislation to manipulate the electoral process. The most recent electoral manipulation by the regime was in the Serbian parliamentary and presidential elections in the fall of 1997. The Federal and Serbian Governments' record of cooperation with international human rights and monitoring organizations was poor. The Government routinely hindered the activities of human rights groups. The Federal Government remained uncooperative with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY): it failed to meet its obligations under numerous U.N. Security Council Resolutions to comply fully with the Tribunal's orders, failed to issue visas to allow ICTY investigators into Kosovo and the rest of Serbia, and failed to transfer or facilitate the surrender to the Tribunal of persons on Serbian territory indicted for war crimes or other crimes against humanity under the jurisdiction of the Tribunal. Instead, the Milosevic regime openly harbored indicted war criminals--three of whom the Government openly acknowledged were present on Serbian territory--and publicly rejected the Tribunal's jurisdiction over events in Kosovo. In May Milosevic and four top lieutenants were indicted by the ICTY in connection with the regime's brutal campaign against the citizens of Kosovo. Violence and discrimination against women remained serious problems. Discrimination and violence against ethnic Albanians, Muslims, Roma, and other religious and ethnic minorities worsened during the year. Police repression continued to be directed against ethnic minorities and police committed the most widespread and worst abuses against Kosovo's 90 percent ethnic Albanian population. Police repression also was directed against Muslims in the Sandzak region and other citizens who protested against the Government. The regime limits unions not affiliated with the Government in their attempts to advance worker rights. There was some child labor and the country served as a transit point for trafficking in women and girls.

## **RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

### **Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom From:**

#### **a. Political and Other Extrajudicial Killing**

Political violence, including thousands of killings by police, became a significant problem in the first 6 months of the year as a result of the conflict in Kosovo (see Sections 1.a. and 1.g. in Kosovo annex). In addition instances of apparently politically motivated killings occurred in central Serbia. In April Slavko Curuvija, the publisher of the independent Belgrade-based tabloid, Dnevni Telegraf and the news biweekly Evropljanin was murdered outside his apartment by unidentified assailants. On October 3, a suspicious accident occurred involving a car transporting prominent Serbian opposition politician Vuk Draskovic. Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement claimed credibly that the incident was an attempt on his life by the regime. Although Draskovic sustained only

minor injuries, Draskovic's brother-in-law Veselin Boskovic, director of the Belgrade Directorate for Construction, and three of Draskovic's bodyguards died in the crash.

VJ troops in Montenegro committed extrajudicial killings (see Section 1.a. in Montenegro annex).

According to an international human rights NGO, at least five persons died from abuse in prison during 1998 in Serbia. The number of deaths from prison abuse during the year was probably significantly higher.

The Federal Government, in contravention of repeated U.N. Security Council resolutions, denied investigators from the ICTY access to any part of Kosovo during the first 6 months of the year and prevented them from undertaking a thorough and independent investigation into atrocities committed in Kosovo during 1998 and the first half of 1999, which fall under the Tribunal's jurisdiction (see Section 4).

In November a Serb police car hit a land mine near the Serbian side of the border with Kosovo, resulting in three deaths and leaving six persons injured. In the border region near Kursumlija since June, there were 16 attacks attributed to Kosovo Liberation Army members (KLA) or ethnic Albanians, who killed 6 persons (including the 3 policemen) and wounded 7 others.

#### b. Disappearance

There were reports of thousands of disappearances of individuals from Kosovo during the first six months of the year (see Section 1.b. of Kosovo annex). Thousands of Kosovar Albanians reportedly were incarcerated in prisons in Central Serbia during and following the conflict in Kosovo. Federal and Serbian government authorities have not cooperated fully with efforts to account for the missing or allowed the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) or other international organizations access to many detention facilities, but have released some prisoners in return for cash payments from relatives. However, the ICRC was allowed to visit more than 1,600 prisoners.

VJ troops in Montenegro abducted Kosovar refugees (see Section 1.b. in Montenegro annex).

#### c. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

The law prohibits torture and other cruel forms of punishment; however, Serbian security authorities regularly and systematically used torture, beatings in detention, and other forms of abuse against citizens, especially the ethnic Albanian population in Kosovo during the first 6 months of the year. Serb security forces engaged in rape of Albanian women in Kosovo (see Section 1.c. of Kosovo annex). Aside from the brutal conduct of security forces against the Albanian Kosovar community, the worst police brutality takes place during the 3 to 4 day period of incommunicado detention allowed by law. At least five men died in custody in 1998--all individuals who were in good health prior to their detention by Serbian police, according to international human rights groups. It is likely that the number of deaths in custody during the year was much higher. Evidence of torture in detention is widespread.

In the first half of the year, in addition to and prior to the regime's brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing, ethnic Albanians continued to suffer at the hands of security forces conducting searches for weapons, ammunition, and explosives. The police, without following proper legal procedures, frequently extracted "confessions" during interrogations that routinely include the beating of suspects' feet, hands, genital areas, and sometimes heads. The police use their fists, nightsticks, and occasionally electric shocks. Apparently confident that there would be no reprisals, and in an attempt to intimidate the wider community, police often beat persons in front of their families. There has been virtually no prosecution of those responsible. According to various sources, while Kosovo

remained under Serbian control, ethnic Albanians frequently were too terrified to ask police to follow proper legal procedures--such as having them provide written notice of witness interrogation. In some cases, Serbian police also used threats and violence against family members of suspects and held them as hostages (see Section 1.c. of Kosovo annex).

On July 6, police beat and used tear gas on some 2,000 protesters who assembled at a police station in Leskovac to call for Milosevic's resignation and the release of a local television broadcaster, Ivan Novkovic. Novkovic was detained for broadcasting allegations of corruption against a regional official and for urging protests that occurred on July 6 and drew some 20,000 participants (see Section 2.b.). According to media reports on July 8, Leskovac district governor Zivojin Stefanovic threatened a human rights activist with a gun, and police detained the activist's brother, who had organized the demonstrations (see Section 1.d.).

On September 29, riot police in Belgrade used batons and water cannons to disperse some 30,000 demonstrators who were calling for greater democracy in the country. Dozens of demonstrators, and several journalists were injured. Reportedly cameramen for international news agencies were beaten and their cameras were destroyed. After 8 days of peaceful protests, police used force after demonstrators started marching toward the Dedinje district, where Milosevic's residence and office are located. According to the Interior Ministry, "hooligans" attacked police officers with bricks, stones, and sticks and injured five officers. Police subsequently arrested several members of the opposition Social Democratic Party in their Belgrade offices, along with other activists (see Section 2.b.).

On September 30, Belgrade police again used force against antigovernment protesters. According to press reports, some 50,000 persons demonstrated, and police beat protesters and injured some 30 persons, including a 7-year-old girl, as they tried to disperse the crowd. According to an official government statement, "hooligans" attacked police officers with stones, bricks, and glass bottles, and police arrested some 21 persons.

On October 13, police officers in Belgrade rushed into a crowd of demonstrators and beat three persons, including a photographer for a foreign news agency. According to press reports, police officers beat a few other persons when a small scuffle broke out.

On October 14, riot police beat some 10 protestors in Nis, who had gathered along a street in Nis along which buses full of SPS supporters were to pass. The SPS supporters came to Nis to listen to Serbian President Milutinovic, who was reopening a bridge that was damaged by NATO air strikes. Reportedly one protestor was taken away in an ambulance.

On October 13, some 30 young men attacked antigovernment protestors in Belgrade and injured at least 5 of them. Some 100 protestors had gathered in front of a Belgrade hotel, when a few cars stopped, and young men jumped out of the cars and started beating and kicking the protestors.

On October 17, a leader of the opposition Democratic Party in Valjevo reported that a bomb exploded on the balcony of his home and damaged the entrance to the house.

Prior to the conflict with NATO, prison conditions met minimum international standards. Nevertheless, according to human rights monitors based in Belgrade, prison conditions are deteriorating, in part due to declining state resources. There were few confirmed reports of the abuse of prisoners once they were sentenced and serving time. The vast majority of cases of torture occur before detainees are charged with offenses or during the period between the filing of charges and the commencement of the trial.

Although the Government generally had permitted prison visits by human rights monitors with sporadic access often subject to the whim of local officials, access was poor for much of the year, although it improved slightly after the conflict. On several occasions, outside

monitors, including representatives of the ICRC, were denied access to individuals reportedly held by Serbian police, especially draft evaders and Kosovar Albanians--perhaps several thousand--whom retreating security forces transferred from Kosovo after hostilities ceased. However, the ICRC had no access to or information about persons detained in military detention facilities at year's end. The Government acknowledged that it held as many as 1,900 Kosovar Albanians in Serbian jails, most of whom were transferred there from Kosovo in early June before NATO's arrival in the province. The 1,900 ethnic Albanians, some 200 of whom were released by year's end, were being held in 13 facilities, and all of them were visited by the ICRC at least once during the year.

#### d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

Police use of arbitrary arrest and detention was concentrated primarily in Kosovo and, to a lesser degree, in Sandzak. Serbian police often apply certain laws only against ethnic minorities and used force with relative impunity. Sandzak Muslims as well as Kosovo Albanians were subjected to trumped up or exaggerated charges, ranging from unlawful possession of firearms to willfully undermining the country's territorial integrity (see Section 1.d. of Kosovo annex).

Laws regarding conspiracy, threats to the integrity of the Government, and state secrets are so vague as to allow easy abuse by the regime. Two Australian aid workers for Care International and a local employee were charged with spying in April. Following their convictions and after serving part of their sentences, the Australians were released in the fall and the local employee was released in December. The case was widely regarded as an attempt by the Government to coerce the Government of Australia to withdraw its support for the NATO bombing campaign.

Federal statutes permit the police to detain criminal suspects without a warrant and hold them incommunicado for up to 3 days without charging them or granting them access to an attorney. Serbian law separately provides for a 24-hour detention period. The police often combine the two for a total 4-day detention period. After this period, police must turn over a suspect to an investigative judge, who may order a 30-day extension and, under certain legal procedures, subsequent extensions of investigative detention up to 6 months.

Defense lawyers and human rights workers complained of excessive delays by Serbian authorities in filing formal charges and opening investigations. The ability of defense attorneys to challenge the legal basis of their clients' detention often was hampered further by difficulties in gaining access to detainees or acquiring copies of official indictments and decisions to remand defendants into custody. In some cases, judges prevented defense attorneys from reading the court file. Investigative judges in Serbia often delegated their responsibility for carrying out investigations to the police or members of the state security service and rarely questioned their accounts of the investigation--even when it was obvious that confessions were coerced from the accused. Results of such sham investigations then were used in court to convict defendants on trumped up charges.

Dozens of foreign journalists who were reporting on the beginning of NATO airstrikes in March were detained by authorities, had their operations shut down, and were deported (see Section 2.a.).

In July local television broadcaster Ivan Novkovic was detained in Leskovac for broadcasting allegations of corruption involving a district official and encouraging citizen protests which occurred on July 6 and drew some 20,000 participants (see Section 2.b.). Pavic Obradovic, the brother of Social Democracy leader Vuk Obradovic, was detained briefly in connection with the protest.

On July 1 police in Novi Sad arrested four members of the opposition League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina. The four were distributing leaflets calling on residents to participate in a demonstration in Uzice on July 2.

On July 1, the Office of the Military Prosecutor issued a warrant for the arrest of Democratic Party leader Zoran Djindjic for not responding to the draft call during the Kosovo conflict. Djindjic instead went into hiding in Montenegro. In early July Djindjic returned to Belgrade, and in August military prosecutors dropped the draft evasion charges against him. Also in July, a military court in Uzice sentenced Goran Vesic, a Democratic Party activist and Belgrade city councilman, to 2 years in prison for evading the draft and for high treason. Vesic denied that he had received a draft notice.

On July 8, following several days of protests against the government in Leskovac, police detained one of the protest's organizers (see Sections 1.c. and 2.b.). On July 15, a Leskovac court continued proceedings against nine participants in an antigovernment protest. The nine were charged with allegedly damaging the home of a pro-Milosevic official during a recent demonstration.

After police used force against antigovernment protesters in Belgrade on September 29, police detained several members of the Social Democratic Party, including Pavic Obradovic, as well as other opposition activist (see Sections 1.c. and 2.b.).

In December police arrested Teki Bokoshi, an ethnic Albanian defense attorney, who is defending many Kosovar Albanians detained in Serbian prisons. Bokoshi was arrested as he was traveling back to Belgrade after visiting clients in Sremska Mitrovica.

VJ troops in Montenegro detained Kosovar refugees and journalists (see Section 1.d. in Montenegro annex).

An estimated 1,900 to as many as 7,000 prisoners from Kosovo still are detained in prisons in Serbia. Following the conflict, the ICRC, the only international organization with access to Serbian prisons, was able to secure the release of 166 Kosovar Albanian prisoners on June 27 and 54 prisoners on October 4.

Exile is not permitted legally, and no instances of its use are known to have occurred. However, the authorities attempted to ethnically cleanse Kosovo of its ethnic Albanian population in the mass expulsion of citizens during the spring campaign, during which authorities confiscated the identity documents of citizens who fled the province to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and Albania. Also, the practical effect of police repression in Kosovo and Sandzak has been to accentuate political instability, which in turn has limited economic opportunity. As a result, many ethnic Albanians and Bosniak Muslims went abroad to escape persecution even before the outbreak of hostilities. In only a few cases could direct links to police actions be identified.

#### e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

The Constitution provides for an independent judiciary; however, in practice, Federal and Serbian courts largely are controlled by the Government and rarely challenge the will of the state security apparatus. Judicial corruption is also widespread. While judges are elected for fixed terms, they may be subjected to governmental pressure. Serbian authorities frequently deny fair public trial to non-Serbs and persons whom they believe oppose the regime. The fraud that followed the November 1996 municipal elections was perpetrated mainly through the regime's misuse of the judicial system.

The court system comprises local, district, and supreme courts at the republic level, as well as a Federal Court and Federal Constitutional Court to which republic supreme court decisions, depending on the subject, may be appealed. There is also a military court system. According to the Federal Constitution, the Federal Constitutional Court rules on the constitutionality of laws and regulations and relies on the constituent republic authorities to enforce its rulings.

The Federal Criminal Code of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains in force. Considerable confusion and room for abuse remain in the legal system because the 1990 Constitution of Serbia has not yet been brought into conformity with the 1992 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Under federal law, defendants have the right to be present at their trial and to have an attorney represent them, at public expense if needed. The courts also must provide interpreters. The presiding judge decides what is read into the record of the proceedings. Either the defendant or the prosecutor has the right to appeal the verdict.

Although generally respected in form, defense lawyers, especially those representing minority clients, have filed numerous complaints about flagrant breaches of standard procedure, which they believed undermined their clients' rights. Even when individual judges admitted that the lawyers were correct, the courts ignored or dismissed the complaints.

The Government continues to pursue cases previously brought against targeted minority groups under the Yugoslav Criminal Code for jeopardizing the territorial integrity of the country and for conspiring or forming a group with intent to commit subversive activities--that is, undermining the "constitutional order." Most of the cases involved alleged violations under the Federal Penal Code's Article 136 related to "association to conduct enemy activity, or Article 125 concerning "terrorism." There is no clear estimate as to how many persons remain imprisoned on these charges (see Section 1.d.). Among the most prominent is the case of Dr. Flora Brovina of Pristina, who was transferred from Kosovo to Nis in early July, tried and convicted on such charges, and in December sentenced to 12 years of incarceration.

Generally, the evidence in such cases was inadequate, and the defendants largely were denied timely access to their attorneys. In Kosovo in the first 6 months of the year, Serb judges in the municipal and district court system reportedly lacked impartiality in trying ethnic Albanian defendants and much evidence appeared to have been obtained by authorities through forced confessions of defendants under duress (see Section 1.e. of Kosovo annex).

Many legal scholars have expressed concern over the Act on Lawyers, passed in July 1998, which they believe restricted the freedoms of lawyers and interfered with the independence of lawyers in their dealings with clients. They believed that the law gives too much authority to the lawyers' chambers--both at the republic and federal levels--which the Helsinki Committee alleges would enable the regime to exercise stricter control over the profession. According to a Serbian Constitutional Court judge, the law also enabled the regime to interfere with the lawyer-client relationship, which, even during the Communist era, was upheld to a greater degree.

Ukshin Hoti, leader of UNIKOMB, a political party that advocates Kosovo's unification with Albania, was in detention for the entire year. Hoti was in a Nis jail and was reportedly in poor health. His lawyers have been denied access to him since February 1998. Hoti was serving a 4-year sentence in a prison in Nis and was to be released on May 17. However, the Pristina-based Council for Human Rights was unable to locate Hoti as of July.

Since 1998 republic-level judges no longer have mandates for life and are required to seek office periodically through election. This process involves obtaining Justice Ministry approval for each judge's candidacy. Local observers fear that the provision in effect makes judges functionaries of the regime, easily removed if they do not cooperate.

The Government continues to hold some ethnic Albanians as political prisoners, with estimates ranging from 1,900 to 7,000.

#### f. Arbitrary Interference With Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

The authorities infringed on citizens' privacy rights. Federal law gives republic ministries of the interior sole control over the decision to monitor potential criminal activities, a power that routinely is abused. It is widely believed that authorities monitor opposition and dissident activity, eavesdrop on conversations, read mail, and wiretap telephones. Access to international e-mail has been granted exclusively to one server, a company controlled by an associate of President Milosevic's. Although illegal under provisions of federal and Serbian law, the federal post office registers all mail from abroad, ostensibly to protect mail carriers from charges of theft.

Although the law includes restrictions on searches, officials often ignored them. In Kosovo, prior to the establishment of U.N. authority over the province, and in Sandzak, Serbian police systematically subjected ethnic Albanians and Muslims to random searches of their homes, vehicles, shops, and offices. Police explained their actions by asserting that they were searching for weapons. The police carried out scores of such raids on homes, including in areas not affected by the fighting. Police used threats and violence against family members of suspects (see Section 1.c.).

Serbian security forces systematically destroyed entire villages in Kosovo by burning and shelling houses, contaminating water wells, and killing livestock (see Section 1.g. of Kosovo annex).

A government law requiring universal military service is enforced only sporadically; it was not enforced vigorously during the year. The informal practice of the military has been not to call up ethnic Albanians. However, in Montenegro VJ troops forcibly conscripted youths (see Section 1.f. of Montenegro annex). Of approximately 100,000 draft evaders living abroad at the start of the year to avoid punishment, 40 percent were estimated to be ethnic Albanian. This number in part reflects the large number of conscription-age men in the FRY's Albanian community. Leaders of Kosovo's Albanian and Sandzak's Muslim communities maintained that when forced compliance of these groups with universal military service did occur, it was an attempt to induce young men to flee the country. According to an amnesty bill passed in 1996, up to 12,000 young men for whom criminal prosecution for draft evasion already had started were granted amnesty. Others who did not fall into this category were told that if they returned to the FRY their cases would be reviewed on a "case-by-case" basis, a policy that has not inspired confidence among offenders. A law passed in October 1998 stated that draft dodgers who did not report for military service would forfeit their right to inheritance. In many cases FRY officials have refused to issue proper travel documents to children born to asylum seekers (see Section 2.d.).

#### g. Use of Excessive Force and Violations of Humanitarian Law in Internal Conflicts

The conflict in Kosovo placed civilian populations on both sides of the ethnic divide in an unusually vulnerable position. The excessive and indiscriminate use of force by Serbian police forces and the Yugoslav Army resulted in widespread civilian casualties, and the mass forced displacement of up to 1.3 million persons (see Section 1.g. in Kosovo annex).

### Section 2 Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

#### a. Freedom of Speech and the Press

Federal law provides for freedom of speech and of the press; however, the Serbian and Federal Governments severely restricted this right in practice. During the year, the Milosevic regime continued its unprecedented repression of these freedoms that it began in 1998.

The regime cracked down on the independent media. On April 11, Slavko Curuvija, the publisher of Dnevi Telegraf, was shot and killed by unidentified gunmen outside his apartment building (see Section 1.a.). He had been harassed numerous times by Serbian

authorities during the preceding months; his newspaper had been fined in March, and he had been sentenced to 5 months in jail for refusing to pay the fine, although he was still waiting for the results of his appeal at the time of his murder. Several days before his murder, a commentary that was broadcast on state television attacked Curuvija and accused him of supporting NATO's bombing of Serbia. The newspaper was closed down following Curuvija's death.

The federal and Serbian authorities' efforts at intimidation also spread to Montenegro, where Miodrag Perovic, head of the independent weekly Monitor and Antenna M Radio, went into hiding in April to avoid capture by the VJ. Radio Free Montenegro head Nebojsa Redzic also went into hiding in May. The army had issued warrants for both men's arrests.

On September 29, police in Belgrade beat and injured several journalists who were reporting on antigovernment protests. Cameramen for international news agencies were beaten and their cameras were destroyed. Dozens of foreign journalists who were reporting on the beginning of NATO airstrikes in March were

