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COUNTRY ASSESSMENT

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FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA  
COUNTRY INFORMATION AND POLICY UNIT

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I INTRODUCTION

II GEOGRAPHY

III HISTORY

IV POLITICAL SITUATION

V ECONOMY

VI HUMAN RIGHTS: GENERAL

VII HUMAN RIGHTS: SPECIFIC GROUPS

VIII OTHER ISSUES

IX KOSOVO SUPPLEMENT

ANNEX A - CHRONOLOGY

ANNEX B - POLITICAL PARTIES

ANNEX C - PROMINENT PEOPLE

ANNEX D ABBREVIATIONS

ANNEX E - BIBLIOGRAPHY

**1. INTRODUCTION**

1.1 This assessment has been produced by the Country Information & Policy Unit, Immigration & Nationality Directorate, Home Office, from information obtained from a variety of sources.

1.2 The assessment has been prepared for background purposes for those involved in the asylum determination process. The information it contains is not exhaustive, nor is it intended to catalogue all human rights violations. It concentrates on the issues most commonly raised in asylum claims made in the United Kingdom.

1.3 The assessment is sourced throughout. It is intended to be used by caseworkers as a signpost to the source material, which has been made available to them. The vast majority of the source material is readily available in the public domain.

1.4 It is intended to revise the assessment on a 6-monthly basis while the country remains within the top 35 asylum producing countries in the United Kingdom.

1.5 An electronic copy of the assessment has been made available to the following organisations:

Amnesty International UK

Immigration Advisory Service

Immigration Appellate Authority

Immigration Law Practitioners' Association

Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants

JUSTICE

Medical Foundation for the Victims of Torture

Refugee Council

Refugee Legal Centre

UN High Commissioner for Refugees

## 2. GEOGRAPHY

### Location & Climate

2.1 The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), which comprises the two republics Serbia and Montenegro, lies in south-eastern Europe. The FRY is bordered to the north by Hungary to the east, by Romania and Bulgaria; and to the south by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Albania. Montenegro, to the south-west, has a coastline on the Adriatic Sea and the FRY's inland western border is with Bosnia and Herzegovina and with Croatia. The province of Kosovo occupies the south-west portion of the Republic of Serbia and Vojvodina occupies the northern part. Belgrade is the capital of the FRY, as well as being the capital of the Republic of Serbia. Podgorica, formerly known as Titograd, is the capital of the Republic of Montenegro. [1]

2.2 The climate is continental in the hilly interior and Mediterranean on the coast, with steady rainfall throughout the year. The average summer temperature in Belgrade is 22 C (71 F), the winter average being 0 C (32 F). [1]

### Population, Language & Religion

2.3 The territory of the FRY has an area of approximately 102,173 square kilometres (approx. 39,449 sq. miles). Official estimates (based on the last official census on 31 March 1991) indicate a total population of about 10.5 million, (mid-1995) with over 9.7 million living in Serbia. Of the total population 63% are Serbs and 17% are ethnic

Albanians, most of whom live in Kosovo, where they account for well over 90% of the province's population of about 1.8 million. The remaining 20% are made up of various minority groups including Bosniak Muslims, Croats, Hungarians and Roma. The principal language is Serbian (sometimes known as "Montenegrin" in Montenegro, and formerly known as Serbo-Croat). It is written in a Cyrillic script. Other languages, most notably Albanian and Hungarian, are also spoken in the FRY. [1]

### 3. HISTORY

3.1 A summary of the complex history of Yugoslavia before the Second World War has not been attempted for the purposes of this assessment but may be found in Europa Eastern Europe Survey if required. (ref. Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States 1999, Fourth Edition) However, some historical context is provided in the following brief history of the region from 1945 onwards.

3.2 On 29 November 1945, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was declared. Josip Broz "Tito", leader of the Communist Partisans during the war, became President and remained in power until his death 35 years later. In 1946, a Soviet style constitution was adopted, establishing a federation of six republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro; and two autonomous provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. Further new constitutions followed in 1953, 1963 and 1974. These reflected political and social changes such as the move away from a command economy and the introduction of "socialist self-management" after the 1948 break with Moscow. With the 1963 Constitution, the country's name was changed to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). After Tito's death in 1980, his responsibilities were transferred to the collective State Presidency. The position of head of state rotated annually between the Presidency's eight republican and provincial members. [1]

#### War in the Balkans 1991-1996

3.3 After Slobodan Milosevic became President of Serbia in 1989, relations between Serbia and the other republics and provinces began to deteriorate. In 1990, Milosevic moved to consolidate Serbia's power and his own by abolishing the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina. In June 1991, after political relations with Serbia had broken down, the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence. The Federal Army entered Slovenia in response, but was soon forced to retreat after a relatively unsuccessful campaign. Macedonia then declared its independence in September 1991 and Bosnia-Herzegovina followed suit a month later. In December 1991, the Federal President Stipe Mesic declared the old SFRY non-existent. [1]

3.4 The Federal Army retreated from Slovenia via Croatia, where it backed local Serb militias fighting against Croatian forces. The Serb-Croat conflict continued until an UN-sponsored cease-fire came into effect in January 1992, at which point Croatia was recognised by the EC. UN peacekeepers were deployed to monitor the cease-fire. Nearly one-third of Croatia was occupied by the "Republic of Serbian Krajina". [1]

3.5 The Bosnian civil war began in March 1992 when the Bosnian Serb delegates of the Assembly in Sarajevo walked out and declared their own republic based in Pale. The conflict drew in Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats and was to last for nearly four years. [1]

3.6 In April 1992 The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was declared, consisting of

the only republics now remaining from the SFRY, Serbia and Montenegro, and a new constitution was adopted. [1]

3.7 In January 1995, the Croatian government announced that it would not renew the UN mandate in March 1995. A re-armed and re-trained Croatian Army took back most of the Serb occupied territories in two operations in May and August 1995. In November the same year, the Dayton Peace Accord brought peace to the region. [1] The FRY was only officially recognised by member states of the European Union on 9 April 1996.

## Kosovo

3.8 Under the 1974 Constitution, both Kosovo and Vojvodina enjoyed considerable autonomy, and had representation at Federal level, which in practice equalled that of the republics. Kosovo was permitted to use the Albanian language and the administration in Pristina was largely composed of ethnic Albanians. Although ethnic Albanians (aka Kosovars) formed the overwhelming majority of the population (over 90%), Serbs living in Kosovo disapproved of the power granted to them, claiming that it undermined their own cultural identity.

3.9 Serbs and ethnic Albanians both claim Kosovo as the cradle of their respective civilisations and provide their own accounts of the region's history in order to justify their claims. Two historical events are of particular importance to the consciousness of their respective ethnic identities. For the Serbs, it was their battle at Kosovo Polje in 1389, which they lost to the Ottoman Turks, effectively ending the independent Serbian kingdom based in Kosovo. For the ethnic Albanians, it was the foundation of the ethnic Albanian League of Prizren in 1878, which began the Albanian national revival movement and also took place in Kosovo.

3.10 By the early 1980's, ethnic Albanians had become deeply discontented about the discrimination they suffered from the Serb authorities and with the lack of economic development in Kosovo. They began to demand full republican status and widespread nationalist agitation led to a series of violent clashes with the Serbian authorities during the spring of 1981. There followed several years of almost continuous civil unrest, accompanied by the migration from Kosovo of many Serbs and Montenegrins, both for economic and political reasons.

3.11 When President Milosevic came to power in September 1987, the level of repression towards Kosovan Albanians escalated sharply. In 1989-90 Serbia introduced constitutional amendments which stripped Vojvodina and Kosovo of their autonomy. [4] The Serb government forced the Kosovo Assembly to approve the amendments to the Serbian Constitution, thus abolishing the autonomous status of the region.

3.12 The removal of Kosovo's autonomy in 1990 began a period of increasing Serb repression of the ethnic Albanian majority. Serbs and Montenegrins had been encouraged to settle in Kosovo (with little success) and Belgrade's long term policy seemed to be to exert political, economic and psychological pressure on Kosovars to emigrate. [4] This included routine harassment by the police, the dismissal of 15,000 ethnic Albanians from official positions and the closure of all Albanian language schools. These moves provoked widespread social unrest, which met with brutal retribution and a number of ethnic Albanians were killed by Serb forces during this time.

3.13 The government's decision to change the school curriculum, with teaching in Serbian only, and history from a completely Serbian viewpoint, led to a boycott of state schools by Kosovars. They started to operate a virtually parallel society, with people

contributing to a separate social welfare and education system through a local tax collected by the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK). Kosovars boycotted Serbian elections and, in 1992, they elected their own Republic Assembly and Government. The parallel education, health and political system was deemed illegal by the FRY authorities and was frequently used as a pretext for the continued systematic abuse of the human rights of Kosovars.

### **Armed conflict**

**3.14** By 1994 the situation had become very tense with growing reports of armed resistance from Kosovars and a large Serbian special police and military presence in the region. The situation escalated with the emergence of the Kosovan Liberation Army (KLA) or Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves (UCK in Albanian) which carried out a series of murders of Serbs during 1996 and 1997. In January 1998, the KLA announced its intention to achieve independence for Kosovo.

**3.15** From late February 1998, Serb special police force actions increased in areas known for their KLA presence. Three villages in the Drenica area were attacked, killing at least 28 people. This incident was a watershed in the Kosovo conflict, with thousands of ethnic Albanians who had been committed to the non-violent politics of their political leader Ibrahim Rugova joining the KLA. The KLA enjoyed some success for a while and established "no-go" areas across large tracts of western Kosovo during the Spring. But by July, the security forces had extended their operations to reclaim the "liberated zones" and KLA resistance eventually faltered against a series of co-ordinated attacks that included the use of heavy armour and artillery.

**3.16** In the ensuing months, Serb forces systematically destroyed towns and villages and farmers' crops and livestock to drive out the ethnic Albanian population and discourage any return. The Serb forces carried out widespread atrocities, including mass rapes and summary executions, with the majority of victims being civilians. Within months, at least 250,000 ethnic Albanians had been displaced or fled abroad, with an estimated 35,000 particularly at risk of exposure to the elements. The Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms reported that 1,934 ethnic Albanians, including women and children, were killed in Kosovo during 1998 and more than 40,000 homes were destroyed. [5] The KLA also committed serious violations of international law, including the taking of hostages and extra-judicial executions. [6]

### **Kosovo Verification Mission and Rambouillet**

**3.17** Following pressure from the UN, Milosevic agreed to a cease-fire on 16 October, the partial withdrawal of Serbian forces and the presence of a 2,000 strong OSCE Kosovan Verification Mission (KVM) to monitor the cease-fire.

**3.18** The cease-fire was scantily observed and fighting between Serb and KLA forces quickly escalated until the discovery on January 15 1999, of the massacre of 45 ethnic Albanians at the village of Racak. This event appeared to galvanise the West into pushing the protagonists towards a political solution. [8] The six country Contact Group (USA, UK, France, Germany, Italy and Russia) summoned the two sides to negotiations at Rambouillet, France. After several weeks of negotiations the talks were suspended because the chairmen, Robin Cook and Hubert Védrine, concluded that the Serbian side was not negotiating in good faith. The ethnic Albanians had signed the peace accord on 18 March but the Serbs refused to do so.

### **NATO bombing**

**3.19** Before the bombing, despite Serbian commitments made during the peace negotiations, Serb forces continued to operate in Kosovo with increasing brutality towards ethnic Albanians. On 24 March 1999, after repeated warnings, NATO launched air strikes against military targets in Serbia and Serb forces in Kosovo. Serb militia activity escalated in Kosovo, systematically forcing the ethnic Albanian population from their homes, sexually abusing women and abducting and executing men. [5] Within days, ethnic Albanians began to arrive in Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in huge numbers. In addition to those who made their own way, the Serbs expelled thousands of people by special "refugee trains" to Macedonia. [10]

### Refugees

**3.20** During April and May 1999, international agencies, governments and a special humanitarian task force from NATO called AFOR began to construct dozens of camps for refugees. Some 444,600 refugees fled to Albania; 244,500 to Macedonia and 69,900 to Montenegro. Because of the political pressures on the Macedonian government, more than 90,000 ethnic Albanians were airlifted to 29 countries for temporary safety. The UK accepted 4,346 on the Humanitarian Evacuation Programme.

**3.21** Nato continued intensive bombing of targets in Serbia and Kosovo for 78 days, until on June 3, FRY accepted a peace plan requiring the withdrawal of all forces from Kosovo and the entry of peacekeepers under a UN mandate. The international peacekeeping force, known as KFOR, entered Kosovo on June 12, followed the next day by UNHCR and other humanitarian forces. Despite appeals by NATO and UNHCR to be patient, refugees began to flood back into Kosovo, with 600,000 returning within 3 weeks of the end of the conflict.

Information about Kosovo since the conflict provided in a separate section at chapter IX.

## 4. POLITICAL SITUATION

### Legal Framework

**4.1** Under the 1992 Constitution, federal legislative power in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) is vested in a bicameral Federal Assembly, comprising the 138 Chamber of Citizens (the members of which are directly elected), and the 40 member Chamber of Republics (comprising 20 representatives each from Serbia & Montenegro). Executive power is held by the Federal President who is elected by the people and is responsible for proposing the Federal Prime Minister. [1] Slobodan Milosevic was President of the FRY from 23 July 1997 - 5 October 2000, when he was replaced by Vojislav Kostunica.

**4.2** Republican legislative power is vested in the respective (directly elected) republican assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro. Each republic has its own elected President as well as its own government. The Serbian and Montenegrin Presidents propose Prime Ministerial candidates who are then elected by the respective assemblies. [1] The Serbian province of Vojvodina has an elected assembly. The assembly of the province of Kosovo, was dissolved by the Serbian government in 1990. Since June 1999, Kosovo has been directly administered by the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), chapter IX. [1]

## Serbia

4.3 Until October 5 2000, FRY was dominated by Slobodan Milosevic, who controlled the country through his role as President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and 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. As a key element of his hold on power, President Milosevic effectively controlled the Serbian police, a heavily armed and well-paid force of some 100,000 officers. [2]

4.4 Following the war in Kosovo and the destruction of Serbia by the NATO bombing, some opposition parties combined to form the Alliance for Change, a movement which organised a series of large scale rallies demanding elections and Milosevic's resignation. The US and EU states sought to bolster the anti-Milosevic movement in Serbia by supplying oil to opposition-run towns and promising substantial aid for reconstruction if Milosevic was removed. However, for several months, the opposition's efforts were undermined by a lack of unity.

4.5 In the early part of the year 2000, a new opposition movement called Otpor emerged. [10] A large student based resistance movement, Otpor demanded political change and gained support from all age groups. Despite constant harassment from the regime, Otpor helped to organise large scale protests, street marches, distribution posters and leaflets, and concerts in support of the opposition.

4.6 In April 2000, a law passed by the Serbian parliament gave Milosevic's allies control over the upper house, allowing him to change the constitution. This move allowed Milosevic to run for a second term as President and he called for early elections to be held on September 24 2000. [11] Despite an initial call from the Serbian Renewal Movement to boycott the elections, many opposition parties put aside their differences and united as the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), a coalition of 18 parties. DOS put forward a single presidential candidate, Vojislav Kostunica.

4.7 The election took place on 24 September. The results, announced on 27 September, were disputed by both Milosevic and Kostunica, with both sides accusing the other of fraud. Although the regime's results showed Kostunica leading with 48 per cent of the votes compared with Milosevic's 40 per cent, this was still less than the fifty per cent required by the constitution for an outright win and would mean the election going to a second round. The opposition's results had Kostunica at 55 per cent and Milosevic with 37 per cent of the votes. The opposition demanded a recount and immediately called for further protests and the instigation of strike action until their demands were met.

4.8 On October 5, following several days of protests, large crowds of opposition supporters stormed the parliament building and effectively installed Kostunica as president. The army did not intervene. During the strikes following the election results the police displayed restraint and during the mass rally held on October 5, the police were seen to hand over weapons and join the crowds. [12] On October 7, Milosevic appeared on television, admitted defeat in the elections and congratulated Kostunica on his victory.

4.9 The international community reacted quickly to the change of government. EU economic sanctions were lifted and the United States lifted its oil embargo and flight ban. In November, FRY was restored to the UN; diplomatic relations were restored with the USA, France Germany and UK; and FRY was admitted to the OSCE. FRY was also admitted to the Stability Pact for South East Europe. [13]

**4.10** On December 23 2000, DOS won a landslide victory in the republic level legislative elections, winning 64% of the vote (176 seats), with the SPS polling only 14% (37 seats). **[14]** Following the election, which consolidated DOS's position, there was a purge of Milosevic's allies in senior positions in the administration, military and diplomatic service, leaving the ex-president increasingly isolated. President Kostunica resisted calls to co-operate fully with the Hague based UN International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) which had indicted Milosevic and four other senior Serb leaders on war crimes charges. It is likely that he took this stance believing that public opinion would not allow foreign interference in Serbian affairs, which could be seen as humiliating so soon after the NATO bombing. However, Zoran Djindjic, the Prime Minister of Serbia (who is generally recognised to be the more powerful figure) and other senior government figures gave more encouraging signals.

**4.11** Financial aid for FRY from the US was made specifically conditional upon Milosevic being handed over to the Hague by 31 March. Milosevic was eventually arrested on domestic charges of corruption, fraud and embezzlement in the early hours of April 1. Although no promises were made to extradite Milosevic to the Hague, his arrest was sufficient for the US to release aid of \$50m to FRY. **[15, 16]** Milosevic was extradited to the Hague on June 28, just one day ahead of an international donors' conference in Brussels, called to raise money for the reconstruction of FRY. Again the importance of pressure from the international community was a key factor, with the USA threatening to withhold donations unless cooperation with ICTY was forthcoming. The FRY donors' conference generated \$1,280m in pledges for aid. Milosevic was initially indicted with charges relating to his actions in Kosovo, but further charges in respect of activities in Croatia have since been added.

**4.12** The decision to extradite Milosevic was taken by the Serbian government, despite a ruling by the FRY constitutional court that no such action should be taken. Milosevic's extradition highlighted the growing differences between FRY President Kostunica and Serbia Prime Minister Djindjic. Kostunica's Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) said that it would separate from the 18 party DOS alliance and press for a reshuffle in federal and republican governments. Zoran Zizic resigned as FRY Prime Minister, and his party (SNP) ended their coalition with DOS. A few thousand Milosevic supporters demonstrated in the streets of Belgrade, but support for the former president was relatively muted, suggesting that public resistance to his extradition had faded as evidence of Serb atrocities emerged over the preceding weeks.

**4.13** DOS and Montenegro's "Together for Yugoslavia" coalition eventually reached agreement on a new government, which was formed on 24 July, with Montenegrin Dragisa Pesic as Prime Minister. However, bickering between Kostunica and Djindjic has continued, leading to concerns that this is weakening the government and distracting from the urgent need to drive forward essential reforms.

**4.14** On 10 September, the UN Security Council lifted the arms embargo against FRY, removing the last of the international sanctions imposed against the Milosevic regime.  
**89-91**

## Montenegro

**4.15** With its population of just 600,000, Montenegro may be seen as the junior sister republic to Serbia within the FRY. Milosevic sought to exploit the relative size of Serbia's population and economy compared to that of Montenegro. Despite this, Montenegro made progress in its democratisation process and is now a multi-party, multi-ethnic

parliamentary democracy under the leadership of President Milo Djukanovic. The OSCE broadly endorsed the presidential elections in 1997, the parliamentary elections in 1998 and the parliamentary elections in April 2001. [2]

**4.16** In the months following the crisis in Kosovo, the Montenegrin government began to demand more control and to move away from the federal control of the Milosevic regime. [2] In August 1999, Djukanovic called for the federation structure to be revised into a confederation, and for the federal governing bodies to be dissolved. He also asserted the Montenegro authorities' right to control the army on its soil and to establish its own currency. When Montenegro introduced the German Deutschmark as a parallel currency to the Dinar, Milosevic responded with a partial economic embargo, which later became a full economic blockade. [17,18] This was followed in December 1999 by a stand-off between the Federal army and the Montenegrin police at Podgorica airport. Although this ended quickly and peacefully, the situation remained tense until Milosevic's fall in October 2000.

**4.17** Seeking to consolidate the move away from Milosevic's Federal control, Djukanovic chose to boycott the elections held on 24 September 2000. With the opposition securing control of the Federal Presidency, this tactic backfired, leaving Montenegro represented only by Milosevic's Socialist allies in the Federal Parliament. Kostunica was therefore obliged to enter coalition with Milosevic's allies in Montenegro for the Federal Government. [19]

**4.18** Djukanovic called an election for 22 April, seeking a mandate for his party (the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS)), to proceed with a referendum on independence for Montenegro in late June/early July. His electoral platform was based on independence for Montenegro and then a new negotiated federation with Serbia on equal terms. The pro-independence coalition did less well than expected and achieved a narrow win over pro-federation parties. The results revealed the split in Montenegrin opinion over the issue. It is not clear that Djukanovic has a mandate to proceed with a referendum and, with a drop in public support for him, he has been placed in a difficult position. His standing was undermined further by allegations, published in a Croatian magazine, that he was directly involved in cigarette smuggling activities. Djukanovic may decide to press ahead with a referendum regardless or may now instead focus on renegotiating Montenegro's status within the Federation with Serbia.

**4.19** In 1999 and 2000, EU states and the US provided considerable financial support to Montenegro and encouraged its resistance to the Milosevic regime. However, Western leaders have made it clear that they do not support independence for Montenegro, largely because of fears that this could precipitate similar moves in relation to Kosovo and Bosnia and destabilise the region. Montenegro already has many of the attributes of an independent state. It controls its own borders and its own economic and foreign policies. Its 15,000 strong police force is effectively an army. Unlike other former Yugoslav republics, Montenegro has previously existed as an internationally recognised independent state (1878 - 1918). [20,21]

## 5. ECONOMY

**5.1** Following the formation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in 1945, Tito's Federal Government established a soviet style collective agricultural and industrialised economy. This was modified in 1950 with the introduction of self-management for the state-owned industries. The SFRY's economy was based chiefly on

industry (including mining), agriculture and tourism. However, following a period of serious economic decline during the 1980s and the highly destructive break up of SFRY in 1991, all sectors of the FRY's economy were in a state of crisis from its inception in 1992. [1]

**5.2** With its reconstituted borders, FRY lost access to most tourist areas, thus depriving it of much needed foreign currency from tourism. The economy also suffered severely as a result of UN-imposed trade sanctions during the war in Bosnia and its exclusion from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in June 1992 and from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in December 1992. [1] FRY's gross domestic product, based on figures from all sectors of the economy, declined significantly in the period 1990-1996. As a result of the UN trade sanctions, the deprivation of foreign investment and poor economic strategy during the 1970s and 1980s, FRY experienced hyper-inflation, which was eventually controlled by the introduction of a new unit of currency. The suspension of UN sanctions following the Dayton Agreement in December 1995 failed to stimulate growth significantly and high levels of unemployment and underemployment remained.

**5.3** With the corruption and economic mismanagement of the Milosevic regime, the FRY economy continued to decline in the latter part of the 1990s. Additional taxes were imposed and a major devaluation in 1998 was followed by renewed inflation. Following events in Kosovo, new economic sanctions were imposed by the EU and the FRY continued to be excluded from international financial institutions. The NATO bombing also impacted upon the economy. According to an estimate by the German Bundeswehr University in Munich, industrial and infrastructure damages caused by the bombing amount to some 18 billion Euros.

**5.4** It is believed that the economy is operating about 50% of the level in 1989. The government has often resorted to printing cash to pay pensions and wages, in order to stave off social turmoil and it is estimated that money supply grew by 60% in 1999. GDP per capita is \$820. Average monthly salaries are about \$40 - \$50 per month [2,22] The cost of food and utilities alone for a family of four is estimated to be \$120 per month. Unemployment and underemployment remain high at about 30%. [2] The social security system no longer functions effectively and has ceased to pay out benefits. [2]

**5.5** FRY is in default on virtually all its external debt, which totals nearly \$13 billion. However, FRY was readmitted to the IMF and other financial institutions in November 2000, giving it further access to credit. The IMF approved an emergency loan of \$155m to help stabilise the economy. International donors have pledged over \$400m in aid. The lifting of sanctions will also ease pressure on the FRY economy. [14,15,16, 23,24, 25,26,] The new Government includes senior economic experts who have instigated a tough programme of reform including tax adjustment and spending cuts. They are eager to work with the international financial institutions on national economic reform. Stanley Fischer, the IMF's deputy managing director noted that the Yugoslav authorities had "embarked with impressive speed and commitment on the extremely difficult task of reconstructing their devastated economy".

**5.6** However the economy remains in a very fragile state. Following the extradition of Milosevic in June, a total of \$1,280m aid was pledged at the FRY Donors' Conference, but over a third of this will go to paying foreign debt. The World Bank estimates that FRY will require \$4bn in foreign financial assistance over the next four years. There are signs that the Serbian people are becoming impatient at the perceived lack of progress. With inflation reaching nearly 80%, prices are significantly higher than a year ago, especially for electricity which is no longer being artificially subsidised. The Association of Serbian Trade Unions recently began a general strike in protest at a new labour law which

freezes salaries at state owned companies. 89,90,92-95

## Montenegro

5.7 The Montenegrin economy is in transition from a Communist system to a market-based system. The industrial sector remains largely in the hands of the republic Government and is very inefficient. The republic's tourism-dominated economy suffered as a result of the NATO air campaign against Serbia. Although Montenegrin sites were largely unscathed, tourist activity fell sharply. The government estimated that the economy contracted by 13.8%, tourism fell by \$60m and industry declined by \$75m. However Montenegro was exempted from most of the sanctions applied to FRY.

5.8 Unemployment is officially estimated at 42% but many work in the black economy, so that the true figure is likely to be about 22%. Large government enterprises, including all the major banks industrial and trading companies generally observe the minimum wage standard, which is \$47 per month. This figure is comparable to unemployment benefits. The gross average wage is approximately \$175 per month or \$90 net; insufficient to provide a decent standard of living for a family. GDP per capita (including the unofficial economy) is estimated at \$937 for the year. [2]

5.9 In November 1999 the Deutschmark was introduced as a parallel currency; a year later the dinar was dropped altogether. [27] There are also plans to privatise a number of state businesses, including telecommunications and electrical companies. [2] Sanctions were imposed by Serbia in February this year which banned the export of food products to Montenegro. After Montenegro had received \$20 million credit from Germany in March, Serbia closed the border for all goods and allowed only coal, steel and aluminium to cross from Montenegro. [18] The government was forced to import from Slovenia and Croatia which was considerably more expensive.

5.10 The Government's budget deficit grew as it raised the minimum wage and strove to pay pensions on time to ensure social peace. Western governments continue to provide substantial financial backing to Montenegro and the anticipated budgetary shortfall is likely to be made up by financial aid from foreign donors. Smuggling has been a key element of the Montenegrin economy for centuries and remains so, with the involvement of senior elements of the Montenegrin ruling establishment. [2]

## 6. HUMAN RIGHTS: GENERAL

### Judicial system

#### Serbia

6.1 The Constitution provides for an independent judiciary. 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 may be appealed. There is also a military court system. 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.

**6.2** In practice, Federal and Serbian courts were largely controlled by the Milosevic regime and rarely challenged the will of the state security apparatus. Serbian authorities frequently denied fair public trial to non-Serbs and persons whom they believe oppose the regime.

**6.3** Judicial corruption was widespread. **[2]** From 1998, republic-level judges no longer had mandates for life and were required to seek office periodically through election. This provision effectively made judges functionaries of the regime, easily removed if they did not co-operate. Many judges were sacked or resigned during 1999 and 2000. **[28]**

**6.4** The new government has taken major steps to reform the judicial system. In February 2001, the Serbian parliament voted to remove hundreds of supreme and municipal court judges, public prosecutors and other judicial officials in a complete overhaul of the judicial system. Sixteen Judges removed last July for supporting the pro-democracy movement were reinstated. The government also released large numbers of political prisoners and others who had been wrongly detained under the Milosevic regime.

**6.5** The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia believes that in addition to wholesale changes of personnel, the independence of the judiciary must be constitutionally guaranteed via a new legal framework and that a new Act on Courts of Law must be passed. The Committee has also raised concerns about the fact that none of the judicial personnel removed by the new regime were brought to account for their actions; about the lack of senior judicial staff (so that legal preconditions for the functioning of the highest courts are not satisfied); and about the low rate of pay for judges, which makes them vulnerable to bribery and intimidation. **[15,29,30,96]**

**6.6** Prison standards do not meet minimum international standards. There were riots in several prisons during November 2000 about poor conditions. In response, the government released several prisoners and pledged emergency funds to improve conditions which it conceded were "medieval". **[2,15,31]**

## Montenegro

**6.7** The Constitution provides for an independent judiciary and the government respects this provision in practice. The judiciary provides citizens with a fair judicial process. However, there is a backlog of cases, the system suffers from a lack of resources, and minor corruption remains a problem. Judges are poorly paid patronage appointees. However, the Justice Minister promotes legal reform and has made some progress in reforming the Criminal Code. There are no reports of political prisoners. The court system consists of local, district and supreme courts at the republic level. There is also a military court system under the control of federal authorities. Prison standards in Montenegro are generally adequate. **[2]**

## Political rights and freedom of political opinion

### Serbia

**6.8** Federal and Serbian Constitutions provide for the right of citizens to change their

government. However, in practice they were prevented from exercising it by the Milosevic regime's domination of the mass media and manipulation of the electoral process. The regime also sought to undermine the effectiveness of the opposition leadership of most major cities through its control of funding. The Milosevic regime took repressive measures against all citizens who challenged or criticised its authority. Police abuse against those publicly demonstrating against the government was a common occurrence throughout the year.

**6.9** Milosevic attempted to falsify the results of the FRY election in September 2000. However, the Serbian elections on 23 December were considered to be free and fair. Since consolidating its position the new government has introduced a number measures in relation to improving political freedom and key figures in Milosevic's security apparatus have been removed.

**6.10** On 26 February, the FRY parliament passed an Amnesty law, which pardoned about 34,000 people accused of crimes against the state during Milosevic's regime. The main beneficiaries were up to 28,000 draft evaders. Of the 2000 ethnic Albanians imprisoned in connection with the Kosovo conflict, 580 remained in prison at the time the Act was passed, the rest having been pardoned by President Kostunica under a separate provision. Of these, 108 were to be released under the terms of the Amnesty. [32-36]

**6.11** Kostunica has also pardoned and released several high profile prisoners, including Dr Flora Brovina, the prominent paediatrician and human rights activist in Kosovo; opposition activist Bogoljub Arsenijevic "Maki"; and several journalists. [2,37,39]

**6.12** In February 2001, the Yugoslav Constitutional Court ruled as unconstitutional several decrees issued by the Milosevic regime. These included a decree authorizing the police to remand citizens in custody for 24 hours in certain circumstances; a decree authorizing the Interior minister to ban movement in public places; and a decree which permitted the restriction of the inviolability of citizens' correspondence. [38]

## Montenegro

**6.13** The Montenegrin Constitution provides citizens with the right to change their government peacefully, and citizens exercise this right with respect to republic institutions, but not with federal-level institutions. In 1998, President Djukanovic became the first president popularly elected in free and fair elections. OSCE observers reported that local elections in Herceg Novi and Podgorica in June 2000 were well conducted. In Herceg Novi, Djukanovic's coalition was defeated by the pro-Milosevic opposition party. [2]

**6.14** The constitution provides for freedom of peaceful assembly and the Government generally respects this right. In February 2000, the police broke up a small opposition rally when the demonstrators appeared to be moving on the main government building. The opposition held rallies without problems during the local and federal election campaigns in June and September 2000 and in the April 2001 elections, at which they achieved a strong result. [2]

## The Media

## Serbia

**6.15** Federal law provides for freedom of speech and of the press. However, the Milosevic regime severely restricted this right in practice. State controlled media was severely biased in favour of the government. The 1998 Law on Public Information, which was used to muzzle the independent media during the Kosovo war, continued to be applied to journalists and opposition politicians. During the 2 year enforcement of the Public Information Law, there were sixty seven prosecutions, the Serbian media paid fines of DM2.5m, 17 journalists died and several were sentenced to heavy prison terms. The regime took over some independent broadcasting organisations and closed down others. It also severely restricted international media coverage by denying entry visas to foreign journalists.

**6.16** B92, the main source of independent news in Belgrade since its founding in 1989, was shut down in late March 1999. Police detained the editor in chief for questioning and confiscated some of the station's broadcasting equipment. It was back on the air in April, but under a pro-Milosevic management. The opposition owned company was re-opened under the name B2-92. In March 2000, the government claimed that station B2-92 owed £800,000 for the use of TV and radio frequencies, a debt its owner said was 'non-existent'. B-92 reopened as an independent station immediately after the October "revolution". [2,40, 41]

**6.17** The media climate improved greatly with the change of government and the media began presenting a more realistic picture of domestic events. Kostunica pardoned journalists who had been imprisoned by the former regime. However, the major publishing and TV houses still lack independence and now tend to favour the current regime. Most of the highest positions in the media have been maintained from the previous regime or were awarded according to allegiance to the current regime. The quality of reporting and analysis tends to be poor following the run down of independent media in the Milosevic years. Milosevic's 1998 oppressive media laws have now been repealed, but criminal defamation laws remain which can be applied used to restrict the media and the campaigners for press freedom are reserving judgement until press rights have been guaranteed in new legislation. [2,15,42,43]

**6.19** In June 2001 Milan Pantic, an outspoken journalist, critical of the DOS government, was shot dead in front of his own home. For journalists, this incident was ominously reminiscent of a similar one in 1999 when Slavko Curuvija, critical of the Milosevic regime was killed in front of his home.<sup>97</sup>

## Montenegro

**6.19** The Constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press. However, this right was restricted by republic Government in some areas and by interference from the Milosevic regime. [45] Libel laws tend to discourage a free press and media and information laws do not provide protection. Djukanovic exerts significant control over the print media as well as the state broadcasting station, Radio/TV Montenegro. The opposition have accused him of using the media to promote pro-independence views while not allowing them to make the case for remaining in Yugoslavia.

**6.20** However, independent newspapers such as Monitor and Dan have repeatedly published articles critical of Djukanovic without repercussions and the opposition press publishes freely. Also, the government continued to take steps to encourage a freer press by allocating more frequencies to independent radio stations and reducing the fees

charged to them. [2]

**6.21** Lack of professionally trained staff, low professional standards and lack of funds all hinder the development of an independent media. State TV and radio stations are working with the BBC and other respected international organisations to develop their capacity.

## **7. HUMAN RIGHTS: SPECIFIC GROUPS**

### **Race/Nationality**

#### **Serbia**

**7.1** While Federal and republic-level laws provide for equal rights for all citizens, regardless of ethnic group, religion, language, or social status, in reality the legal system provided little protections to such groups under the Milosevic regime. Generally, problems are more likely to consist of police inaction in the case of attacks by skinheads or discrimination by individuals than direct examples of violence or discrimination on the part of the authorities. As a result of the Balkan wars in the last 10 years, FRY has a total refugee population of between 700,000 and one million, many of whom are from ethnic minority groups. [26,37]

**7.2** In terms of their size, there are three categories of minorities in Serbia. The largest are Croats, Bosniaks (Muslim Slavs), Hungarians and Albanians, who experienced a great deal of pressure over the years in the drive for a mono-ethnic Serb state, so that many of them emigrated. Despite their numbers, Croats and Bosniaks are not officially recognised as national minorities. The second grouping is made up of Ruthenians, Slovaks, Romanians, Vlachs and Bulgarians. Of these, only Bulgarians were harassed and intimidated to leave because they lived in border areas. The third category is the Roma, who were always an ethnically distanced and socially subjugated group. [15]

**7.3** There are indications that the new government will seek to improve the position of ethnic minorities. The new government has appointed a federal minister for national and ethnic minorities, Rasnik Ljajic (a Bosniak) and a team has been established to deal with ethnic minority issues. [46] Most of the 2000 ethnic Albanians arrested in relation to the Kosovo conflict have been released. [2,32,34] And Serbian Republic Deputy Prime Minister Covic has promised a range of measures to improve the position of ethnic Albanians in Southern Serbia. (see para 7.11 below)

#### **Hungarians and Croats in Vojvodina**

**7.4** Of the 26 different ethnic groups in Vojvodina, Hungarians constitute the largest minority, accounting for approximately 17% of a total population of 2.4 million, while the Croats represent approximately 3.7%. Vojvodina had enjoyed autonomous status within the old SFRY, but this was removed under the 1992 constitution of FRY. Nevertheless, Vojvodina retained its provincial assembly and the great variety of ethnic minorities are all represented by their own political parties and organisations. The largest of these is the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians (DCVH). With a Serb majority in the province, the republican authorities were more tolerant of manifestations of cultural autonomy in Vojvodina than they were in Kosovo. [1]

**7.5** The situation in the Vojvodina became tense following the influx of large numbers of ethnic Serb refugees to the FRY, 150,000 of whom were from the Krajina region of Croatia. Estimates suggest that Vojvodina accommodates up to half of FRY's total refugee population. In the mid 1990s there were signs that opposition was increasing among the inhabitants of Vojvodina and in 1996 a total of 17 political organisations signed a Manifesto for Vojvodina Autonomy, calling for the province's autonomous status to be restored. [1]

**7.6** Both the Hungarian and the Croat communities in Vojvodina have been subjected to discrimination, in terms of access to employment in certain official and public capacities, and low level harassment. These groups have begun to receive some police protection from the undisciplined element of Serb refugees and have some access to their own schools and TV programmes. However, under Milosevic the Serb authorities in Belgrade still restricted the use of Hungarian as an official language. During 1999, Vojvodina Hungarians complained that the Government was eroding the principle of minority language education during the year, by banning foreign books and moving Hungarian schools far from the Hungarian population. Vojvodina Croats reported no progress during the year on their demand for a separate curriculum in schools or programmes in the media in the Croatian language. [2]

**7.7** Good results were achieved by the Croat parties and the alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians at the September 2000 federal elections. The latter won a seat in both chambers of the Federal Parliament and 17 seats in the provincial assembly. Hungarians also hold many of the official positions in the provincial assembly and either have a majority or share power in nine Vojvodina municipalities. Many in Vojvodina would wish to see the province's autonomy restored or for it to be given full republic status. Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindic supports greater autonomy for Vojvodina but believes it could be achieved without constitutional changes. The constitution of Serbia requires a two-third majority or 50 MPs in the Serbian assembly to propose such a change, many fewer than Vojvodina has. [15]

**7.8** There is no significant "ethnic problem" in Vojvodina, partly because the Serb group is in the comfortable majority (65%) and partly because the multi-ethnic character of the population is long established in the region. Also Vojvodina has rich agricultural land which is productive enough to feed all its inhabitants and export food products and an industrial base to provide employment for the non agri-based population.

#### Muslims in the Sandzak

**7.9** The Sandzak is an area that straddles the Serbia/Montenegro border. Of its 11 municipalities, 6 are in Serbia and 5 in Montenegro. It has a population of about 400,000 of which Bosniak Muslims make up 54% and Serbs and Montenegrins the remainder [47] The Muslim population has been subjected to repression by the Serb minority over recent years, though this was more intense in the early 1990s. The repression was backed by a state-sponsored propaganda campaign which, in an effort to destroy it as the legitimate voice of the Sandzak Muslims, portrayed the main Muslim political party, the Party for Democratic Action (SDA), as an anti-Serb and separatist organisation. As with Vojvodina and formerly Kosovo, the Serb authorities limited the teaching of non-Serb culture and history, and blatantly removed Muslims from official duties and public institutions. Attempts by the FRY authorities to ethnically cleanse the Sandzak of its 200,000 Muslims at the height of the Bosnian conflict in 1992, resulted in large numbers fleeing the area. During the NATO intervention about 20,000 Bosniaks from Sandzak left for Bosnia and on their return about 2,000 were sacked from their jobs for malingering.

[2,15,47]

7.10 There have been few reports of inter-ethnic intolerance or state pressure on Bosniaks in the past 2-3 years. Rapprochement between ethnic Serbs and Bosniaks is visible in the economic and social spheres but not in relation to political issues. No parties attract the support of both groups. Most Bosniaks voted for "Sandzak - Dr Sulejman Ugljanin list", whereas most Serbs voted for Milosevic's party the SPS. Some radical elements in the FRY parliament criticised the appointment of the Bosniak Rasim Ljajic as Minister for Ethnic and National Minorities.

7.11 Sandzak parties have not demanded that the status of Sandzak and Bosniaks should be addressed since the election. But Sandzak leader Sulejman Ugljanin has hinted that his party would first seek recognition of Bosniaks as a national minority and then look for regional autonomy. [2,15,47]

#### Ethnic Albanians in Serbia

7.12 There are no upto date figures on the numbers of ethnic Albanians living in Serbia. But estimates suggest that there likely to be about 70,000 ethnic Albanians living in the municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medveda, about 5,000 in Belgrade and other much small communities throughout the Republic. Under Milosevic, ethnic Albanians were generally subject to harassment and discrimination, which escalated during the war in 1999, when shops owned by ethnic Albanians were destroyed and employees of public utilities and large companies were dismissed on spurious grounds. [48]

7.13 Before the change of government, it is estimated that about 2,000 ethnic Albanian prisoners from Kosovo were being held in poor conditions in Serbian prisons. Often their release could only be secured by the payment of large ransoms by the prisoners' families. Since the Amnesty Law was passed in February 2001, most have now been released. [2,32-34]

#### The Presevo Valley

7.14 The Presevo Valley is an area in southern Serbia close to the border with Kosovo, which comprises the municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedje. It is estimated that there are about 70,000 ethnic Albanians living in the area, where they form the substantial majority of the population.

7.15 Although disadvantaged in social, political and economic terms, ethnic Albanians showed a high degree of integration and cooperation with the Serb population and authorities until late 1999. From December 1999, a growing number of violent attacks on Serb police targets started occurring in the area, causing considerable unrest. The attacks were carried out by an ethnic Albanian military group called the UCPMB, whose name, in Albanian, derives from the initials of the main towns of the area, Presheve, Medvedje and Bujanovac. The group is thought to have been an off-shoot of the KLA/UCK and its aim appears to have been to gain greater autonomy for ethnic Albanians in the Presevo area.

7.16 Following the Kosovo conflict, a three mile Ground Safety Zone (GSZ) was established along the Kosovo border. Under the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 1244, Serb forces were prohibited from entering the zone, apart from lightly armed police. The UCPMB exploited this situation, using the GSZ to conduct training, bring in weapons from Kosovo and mount attacks on Serb police in Serbia. During the year, attacks by the UCPMB on Serb forces escalated, with over 30 Serb police officers killed.

Fearing an escalation of the fighting, several thousand ethnic Albanians fled the area for Kosovo during this period.

7.17 In the months following the change of government in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in October 2000, Serb forces were widely praised by the international community for their restraint in the face of regular attacks from the UCPMB. The Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Mr Covic, acknowledged that ethnic Albanians in the Presevo area had some genuine grievances in relation to the discrimination they suffered and indicated that the situation could only be resolved by negotiation. Mr Covic put forward a detailed peace plan, which was welcomed by UN Security Council member states and ultimately formed the basis of a negotiated settlement with the ethnic Albanian leaders in the area.

7.18 In May 2001, the UCPMB accepted an amnesty from the Serb authorities. The organisation handed over significant quantities of weapons, disbanded and withdrew from the Presevo area. By the end of May, with the agreement of the international community and ethnic Albanian leaders, the Serb armed forces were able to complete their phased return to the GSZ.

7.19 The Serb authorities undertook to implement a series of "confidence building measures" in Southern Serbia. These included:

- Making the ethnic balance of those employed in state services, business and social activities reflect that of the population of the area.
- Guaranteeing ethnic Albanians "an appropriate level of representation" in municipal councils and assemblies, as well as Serbia's parliament.
- Making the police force in the area ethnically mixed, with one ethnic Albanian police officer for every Serb.
- Economic regeneration of the area, including the repair of all Albanian houses to accommodate displaced Albanians who wish to return to the area.

7.20 Implementation of these measures is underway. In particular, a training centre for the multi-ethnic police force has been established with the assistance of the OSCE. Ethnic Albanians who fled to Kosovo are now returning to the area, with UNHCR assisting returns and organising "go-see" visits for those considering return. A number of other international organisations including UNICEF, OCHA, ICRC, WFP and UNDP are also working in the area. The World Bank has provided a \$1million grant to a programme supporting municipal development, economic recovery and social rehabilitation.

7.21 The positive developments in the Presevo area have been hailed by the international community as a great success for the Serb administration and the local ethnic Albanian leaders. Given the recent history of the area, the potential for conflict to flare up again remains. But the willingness of all parties to engage in negotiation and the Serb authorities' commitment to addressing the needs of the local population mark a radical change of approach and give cause for optimism. However, some concern has been expressed by ethnic Albanian leaders that quicker progress needs to be made in implementing the confidence building measures to ensure that certain elements among their community do not revert back to violent tactics.98-103

## Roma

7.22 There is no official discrimination against the Roma population. Roma have the right to vote and there are two small Roma parties in Serbia. In Kragujevac one of the deputy mayors is Roma. However, prejudice against Roma is widespread. Local authorities have

often ignored or condoned societal intimidation of the Roma community. Roma are sometimes victims of violent attack by skinheads. Recent incidents included the attempted murder of a 15 year old boy and the stabbing of a 13 year old girl: the police were unhelpful on both occasions. In Leskovac a group of 13 men attacked Roma members of a Pentecostal church with sticks and chains. In Belgrade, Roma street cleaners are often attacked by skinheads. The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia reported that during 2000, Roma were victims of over 100 violations of human rights, though the nature of these is unspecified. Roma have often been harassed or insufficiently protected by the police. In 2000, Fund for Humanitarian Law filed charges against 9 policemen for unlawful harassment and detention of Roma.

**7.23** The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia reported in May 2001 that attacks on Roma had increased in recent years and there was no political interest in these cases even in the post Milosevic era. The Committee noted that while the police would often take quick action in such cases, the prosecuting authorities had not instituted criminal proceedings.

**7.24** There are 45,000 Roma refugees in FRY. Local municipalities are often reluctant to accept them and refugees have been deprived of humanitarian assistance because "as a nomadic people" they allegedly do not require it. In Belgrade and other towns in Serbia and Montenegro, many Roma IDP's live in illegal settlements, without access to electricity, drinking water or sanitation. Such living conditions give rise to a higher incidence of ill-health and infant mortality than among the general population. Occasionally local authorities evict Roma from illegal settlements, often when they have been present there for several years. Registration and attendance of Roma at schools is very low.

**7.25** For several years, Roma organisations have been demanding recognition of their minority status, as is enjoyed by Roma in Romania and Hungary. In November 2000, several Roma organisations founded the Democratic Union of Romanies.  
[2,15,26,37,57,104,105]

#### Mixed Ethnicity

**7.26** Members of ethnically mixed marriages and their children have suffered abuse throughout the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and its aftermath. While a child's ethnicity is determined by that of the father, partners of different ethnic background have been pressurised into supporting their own ethnic groups. Generally, people of mixed ethnicity may have difficulty being accepted by any ethnic community and may be very isolated.

#### Montenegro

**7.27** Montenegro has a notably good record on pluralism when compared to its neighbours. It was the only place in the region where refugees from Kosovo of every ethnicity (Serbs, Roma, Albanians and others) were accepted. At one point after the war, refugees made up 20% of the population of Montenegro, though this has dropped now to 10% (50-60,000). [61] Although Serbs/Montenegrins predominate, there are substantial Albanian and Bosniak Muslim populations and the different groups live in relative harmony.

**7.28** The government has committed itself to policies of ethnic inclusion. Ethnic Albanians, who make up about 7% of the population, are guaranteed representation in the Montenegrin government and the Minister for Ethnic Minorities is Albanian, though

**7.29** Societal discrimination against minorities persists and they are underrepresented in public sector employment. There were some reports of abuses committed by federal VJ troops stationed in the republic during 2000, including harassment and intimidation of Muslims in the Sandzak region of the republic. There is no official discrimination against Roma, but prejudice is widespread. Local authorities often ignore or condone societal intimidation of the Roma community. Roma refugees tend to fare worse than those from other ethnic backgrounds, living mostly in collective centres, with little or no access to health care or education.

## Freedom of Religion

**7.31** The law in both FRY and Serbia provides for freedom of religion. However, in practice both the Government and the legal system have provided very little protection for the religious rights of minority groups. The religion of the ethnic Serbs majority is Orthodox Christianity, which is represented by the Serbian Orthodox Church. Although there were some reported incidents of violence against the Muslims in Sandzak and the Catholic Hungarian and Croat minorities in Vojvodina, these were as much on the basis of ethnicity as religion.

## Montenegro

7.34 Apart from the tensions between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Montenegrin Orthodox Church, relations with and between religious minorities are peaceful. Orthodox,

Catholic and Muslim generally communities coexist co-operatively and often share the same facilities to conduct their services. Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses are also registered religions in the republic. Their followers have reported some difficulties with persons believed to be loyal to the Serbian Orthodox Church. [61,62]

## **Women**

### **Serbia / Montenegro**

**7.35** There are no legal restrictions on the participation of women in government and politics, and women are active in political organisations. However women are under-represented in party and government positions, holding less than 10% of ministerial-level positions in the Serbian and federal governments. [2] The traditionally high level of domestic violence still persists. The few official agencies dedicated to coping with family violence have inadequate resources and are limited in their activity by social pressure to keep families together at all costs. Few victims of spousal abuse ever file complaints with the authorities and spousal rape is not recognised as an offence. The Centre for Autonomous Women's Rights in Belgrade offers a rape and spousal abuse hotline and sponsors a number of self-help groups. The Centre also offered help to refugee women (mostly Serb), many of whom, experienced extreme abuse or rape during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. [2]

**7.36** Women do not enjoy status equal to men and relatively few women obtain upper level management positions in commerce. Traditional patriarchal ideas of gender roles, which hold that women should be subservient to the male members of their family, have long subjected women to discrimination. In some rural areas, particularly among minority communities, women are little more than serfs without the ability to exercise their rights to control property and children. However, women are legally entitled to equal pay for equal work and are granted maternity leave for 1 year, with an additional 6 months available. Women are active in political and human rights organisations. Women's rights groups continue to operate with little or no official acknowledgement.

**7.37** FRY is a known source, transit and destination country for women and girls trafficked to other parts of Europe for forced prostitution and this is a growing problem. Italian police intercept illegal immigrants from Montenegro on a weekly basis. Although there are laws specifically forbidding trafficking, prosecutions are rare. The governments of Serbia and Montenegro do not provide any victim support services, though there are NGOs engaged in this area. [2,63]

## **Children**

### **Serbia**

**7.38** The state attempts to meet the health and educational needs of children. The educational system provides 8 years of mandatory schooling. Economic distress has spilled over into both the education and health care system, adversely affecting children. [2] Scarce funds have been deployed on police and security rather than education and health and the education system is in a state of collapse. For much of 2000 over 50% of

teachers were on strike for an increase in their salaries, which were only \$50 per month. Striking teachers risked losing their jobs and were being replaced by undergraduates. The NATO air strikes damaged many schools and the year ended without the curriculum being completed. Illiteracy is growing, with 9.5% who have never been to school and 25% dropping out of elementary school. Only 5.5% of the population are university graduates. More than 60 Belgrade university professors lost their jobs in 1998 following the enactment of a law allowing the dismissal of academics on political grounds, though they have now been reinstated by the new government. It is thought that it will take 20-30 years to restore the country's school and university system, although the new Government has made the payment of teachers' wages a priority. [2, 64]

7.39 The country served as a source, transit and destination point for trafficking of girls for forced prostitution. Roma children are particularly at risk. [2]

### Montenegro

7.40 The government attempts to meet the health and educational needs of children, but insufficient resources at times impede this goal. The education system provides 8 years of mandatory schooling. When refugees began arriving from Kosovo in 1998, the republic government initially refused to extend this educational benefit to Kosovar Albanians. However, after having consulted with and received promises of assistance from international organisations, it was agreed that displaced children could attend schools. Although ethnic Albanian children have access to instruction in their native tongue, the government was criticised for not developing a curriculum in which they could learn about their own culture and history. Most Roma children do not receive education.

7.41 The country served as a transit point for trafficking of girls for forced prostitution. [2]

### Homosexuals

#### Serbia

7.42 Homosexuality is not mentioned in any law or in the constitution of Serbia except when the age of consent is concerned (18 for homosexuals and 14 for heterosexuals). Despite this, there have been several forms of discrimination. Under the Milosevic regime, police stations held files on gays and lesbians, with their photographs and fingerprints. These were collected through raids of gay meeting points or through blackmail of gays and lesbians the police were already aware of, as well as through methods such as phone tapping or interception of mail. If a person was discovered at work to be homosexual, the usual outcome was dismissal and possibly being reported to the police. [65]

7.43 There were suggestions that homosexuals, particularly those belonging to their own human rights organisations, had joined the ranks of the Belgrade regime's "certified enemies", after Dejan Nebragic who headed a gay and lesbian rights association was found strangled in his apartment. [66]

7.44 It is not yet clear whether the position for homosexuals has improved under the post - Milosevic regime. However, gay and lesbian activists who took part in a march through Belgrade on 30 June 2001 were attacked by skinheads and right wing nationalists. Although police intervened, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia

considered their action inadequate. The Committee has also called for amendments to the Constitutions of Serbia and FRY to guarantee rights for sexual minorities. 107,108

## **Military Service**

### **Serbia**

7.45 Military service is compulsory for men between the ages of 18 and 27 and lasts for 12-15 months. Military service for women was introduced in 1993. However, a citizen who does not wish to participate in military service (on the basis of religious or other valid conscientious objection) may participate in civilian national service or in the Yugoslav army without the use of weapons, though this does not apply during a state of war. Those granted conscientious objector status can do either unarmed military or civilian service and are required to serve for 24 months - twice the length of armed service.

7.46 Draft evasion is covered by both the Military Code and the Federal Criminal Code. The Criminal Code provides for terms of imprisonment on conviction. There was no general mobilisation during the Kosovo war but a large percentage of young men were either drafted or summoned by individual calls. Thousands of young men avoided military service during the war, many of them fleeing abroad to Hungary and other countries.

7.47 The new Government passed an Amnesty Act in February 2001 which granted amnesty to all draft evaders / deserters. The Act applies to all offences before 7 October 2000 and it is estimated that 28,000 people benefited from the amnesty. [32-37,67]

### **Montenegro**

7.48 During the conflict in Kosovo, the FRY Government attempted to draft Montenegrin citizens into the Yugoslav Army (VJ) for service in Kosovo. These notices were largely ignored or protested against by the Montenegrin populace. As a consequence, there were reports that VJ troops broke into houses of young Montenegrin men and forcibly conscripted them. However, such efforts were largely ineffective since some 14,000 Montenegrins ignored the conscription orders and under the law were permitted to remain at liberty pending judicial action [2]

7.48 To counteract the draft, the government implemented an "obligatory working duty", which possible recruits could cite as a reason why they could not enter into military service. Others simply ignored the draft notices and risked being called up before a military tribunal. The republic government also defied VJ draft orders and the republic police refused to hold resisters in jail. In November, the Montenegrin assembly passed a law granting amnesty to persons who had evaded the draft from June 1998 to June 1999. Some 14,000 received amnesty as a result of the legislation. The FRY Amnesty Law mentioned above also applies to Montenegro. [2]

## **8. OTHER ISSUES**

### **Health Service**

8.1 A recent UNICEF report concluded that the public health system in Serbia does not

meet the minimum needs of the population. Although Serb citizens are legally entitled to free health treatment, years of neglect and corruption under the Milosevic regime have virtually destroyed the health service. "Hospitals are ruined, doctors impoverished and corrupt and patients are compelled to pay for all services and medicines." (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia) In hospitals, as well as paying for the bed and food, patients have to pay for everything else they need for their treatment. Pregnant women have to pay for check ups, even though the birth rate in Serbia is almost zero. Most hospitals are very old, some lacking running hot water and heating. The ratio of hospital beds to patients is very low (1 bed for 184 patients) and yet they are under-utilised (70%) because of inefficiency.

8.2 There have been extreme shortages of drugs. Substandard and "expired" medicines have been imported from China and India, including dangerous pig-based insulin for diabetics. Medicines supplied directly by international aid organisations were repackaged and then sold by corrupt administrators in the Milosevic regime. When the new government took over in October 2000, it found widespread abuses and misappropriation of funds, describing the situation in the health service as "critical". In late 2000, the entire health system subsisted on foreign aid in kind.

8.3 The collapse of the health service in Serbia is paralleled by the deterioration in the health of its population. As well as inadequate treatment, likely causes are stress, poverty and poor living conditions. The 1999 statistics indicate the highest death rate, the highest suicide rate and the lowest birth rate since 1945. Infant mortality is up by 3% in the last ten years. Cases of tuberculosis, heart disease and cancer have also increased in recent years. In 2000 there were outbreaks of flu, salmonella and hepatitis. The mental health of the population has also deteriorated. Four million packages of Bensadine are sold per year, suggesting that one in every two people in Serbia are reliant upon sedatives. [15,118]

## Citizenship

### Serbia

8.4 Under the Milosevic regime, many inhabitants of FRY who were born in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, as well as large numbers of refugees, have not been able to establish their citizenship in the FRY, leaving them in a stateless limbo. Citizenship laws enacted under the Milosevic regime adversely affected the rights of many people living in FRY, including those born in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, refugees and citizens who migrated to other countries to seek work or asylum.

8.5 The new government has introduced changes, which will make it possible for citizens of other former Yugoslav republics to hold dual citizenship and become Yugoslav citizens after one year's residence in the country. Any foreigner will be able to apply for dual citizenship after 3 years of marriage to a Yugoslav citizen. There is a large backlog in dealing with applications for citizenship. [2,68,69]

### Montenegro

8.6 A new citizenship law was passed in 1999. While stringent in its requirements, the law provides an equitable means for persons to acquire Montenegrin citizenship. [2]

## **Freedom of Movement**

### **Serbia**

**8.7** The Constitution provides for freedom of movement and the Government makes passports available to most citizens. The Milosevic government was very slow to issue passports to refugees. Ethnic Albanians and Bosniaks from the Sandzak have encountered problems obtaining and renewing of passports and are sometimes called for interrogation by state security officers before passports are issued. Generally, Serbs received more favourable treatment in the issuance of passports than ethnic minorities. There were some reports that refugees from Kosovo were obliged to remain in Southern Serbia. [2]

### **Montenegro**

**8.8** The republic Constitution provides for freedom of movement and the government generally respects this right in practice. However, the need to pass through frequent police checkpoints is a restriction to freedom of movement. [2]

## **Repatriation**

**8.9** The FRY authorities imposed travel restrictions in November 1994 that made it more difficult for returnees (including voluntary) to re-enter the FRY. In particular, the FRY made it clear that asylum seekers abroad would not be re-admitted unless or until a bilateral readmission agreement was in force.

**8.10** Discussions are in progress with the new FRY government on how the UK could recommence making returns of failed asylum seekers and others to FRY. It is not yet clear whether it will still be necessary to sign a readmission agreement. However, the FRY authorities have indicated that they will accept the return of individuals whom they accept as being FRY nationals. It should therefore now be possible to return individuals with expired travel documents or other ID confirming their nationality.

**8.11** FRY has recently concluded readmission agreements with Slovenia and Bulgaria. [70]

## **INTRODUCTION**

**1.1** Although a part of FRY, Kosovo is administered on an interim basis by the UN. For ease of reference, issues related to Kosovo have therefore been dealt with in this separate section.

## **GENERAL SITUATION**

2.1 On 9 June 1999, FRY signed an agreement requiring the withdrawal of all forces from Kosovo and the establishment of an international security presence under a UN mandate. An interim civil presence, the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) was established shortly after. Within weeks, over 800,000 of the million or so ethnic Albanians who left Kosovo had returned. Urgent work began to help hundreds of thousands of people to rebuild their homes and find access to food, water and electricity before the onset of the harsh winter. Fearing revenge attacks, more than half of the 200,000 population of Serbs and Roma left the province in the following months. [71,72]

2.2 Kosovo is administered by UNMIK in cooperation with the OSCE and the EU; and in consultation with the local population via the Joint Interim Administration Structure (JIAS). Following municipal elections on 28 October 2000, local politicians have assumed a greater role in the administration of the municipalities. Elections to a Kosovo Assembly will be held on 17 November 2001. The future status of Kosovo and the eventual relationship between Kosovo and FRY remain uncertain.

2.3 Levels of violent crime have reduced considerably over the two years since the conflict ended. However, there are frequent incidents of violence, discrimination, harassment and intimidation, often directed against non-Albanians. Inter-ethnic tension remains particularly high between Serbs and ethnic Albanians in the northern town of Mitrovica. The town is divided along ethnic lines by the river Ibar, with the Serbs in the northern part and the ethnic Albanians to the south. [51,52,56,74,75]

2.4 Much work has been done to establish the civic structures (police, judiciary, legal system etc) and to rebuild the physical infrastructure of the province. Water, electricity and heating supplies have improved greatly but are still not wholly reliable. Much reconstruction has taken place and "the emergency reconstruction phase" is now considered by UNMIK to be complete.

[ 51,52,56,74,75,109,110]

## POLITICAL SITUATION

3.1 Under UN Security Council Resolution 1244 [73], UNMIK, as the international civil presence, is responsible for performing basic civilian administrative functions and promoting the establishment of provisional self-government. KFOR is responsible for security. UNMIK is led by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General (SRSG), Hans Haekerrup, who replaced Bernard Kouchner in January 2001. The organisational structure of the administration is arranged in four distinct "pillars", run by the following organisations respectively: Law and Order - UN; Civilian Administration - UN; Institution Building - the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE); and Reconstruction - EU..

3.2 Until the municipal elections in October 2000, the involvement of the local population in the official administration was limited to their participation in various advisory bodies, the highest being the Joint Interim Administrative Structure (JIAS) and Kosovo Transitional Council (KTC).

3.3 The two main ethnic Albanian political parties in Kosovo are the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) and the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK). The PDK evolved from the political arm of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA/UCK) and is headed by a former KLA

commander Hashim Thaqi. The KLA was officially disbanded on 20 September 1999, with many former members being absorbed into the newly formed Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC/TMK) a civil emergency service led by former KLA commander Agim Ceku.

3.4 The LDK predated the existence of the KLA and they formed the main focus for resistance to the Serb regime in the years before the conflict. Led by Ibrahim Rugova, the LDK always advocated the achievement of their aims by peaceful means. They were critical of the violence against ethnic minorities following the conflict, much of which was alleged to have been perpetrated by extremists associated with the KLA. Both parties, (as well as the third most popular ethnic Albanian party, the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK)) have independence for Kosovo as their principal policy.

3.5 There is considerable tension between the LDK and PDK and this was manifested in politically motivated violence in the run up to the municipal elections, though the elections themselves passed off peacefully. The LDK won a resounding victory, securing approximately 58% of the vote, with the PDK gaining 27% and the AAK 8%. This outcome was seen as victory for moderation over extremism and as a rejection of the violence which had been associated with the PDK. The LDK are expected to achieve a similar result in the Assembly elections next month.

3.6 The Serb community is divided in two distinct camps. The more moderate element, based largely in Gracanica, wish to take part in the political structures to ensure that they have an influence in the way the political process evolves. The more "hard line" element, mostly based in Mitrovica, suspect UNMIK of favouring the ethnic Albanian community and of condoning what they see as the gradual drift towards an independent Kosovo. In their view, participation in the elections would be seen as endorsing a process that will inevitably lead to independence.

3.7 The Kosovo Serbs boycotted the municipal elections and the SRSG appointed members of municipal assemblies in the three Serb-majority municipalities of Leposavic, Zvecan and Zubin Potok, where no election had taken place. However, over 170,000 Kosovo Serbs were persuaded by UNMIK and the FRY government to register for the Assembly elections. It is not yet clear whether they will actually vote.

3.8 The Assembly elections represent a key step in the development of the provisional institutions of self-government. Although the SRSG will retain control of matters relating to law and order and KFOR will remain responsible for security, the establishment of the office of President and the provincial assembly will mark a significant hand-over of powers to Kosovar politicians. UNMIK is seeking to encourage the active involvement of all communities in Kosovo in this process. This remains difficult because of the highly fractionalised political landscape, which is fragmented along political and ethnic lines.  
[2,51,52,109-112]

## SECURITY/POLICING SITUATION

4.1 Policing in Kosovo is being undertaken by a combination of KFOR troops, UNMIK civilian police and local Kosovo Police Service (KPS) officers. There are approximately 40,000 KFOR personnel in the province. [76] UNMIK police are nearly up to strength with 4446 of the 4700 complement now in place and have assumed full responsibility for criminal investigations throughout the province, though they still rely upon KFOR support. To date there have been 4302 graduates of the academy training the KPS, with continuing efforts being made to increase the level representation from ethnic minority

communities (currently 15%).[51,52]

**4.2** The figures for serious crime have dropped significantly over the past eighteen months (the murder rate was down from 32 in January 2000 to 2 in July 2001. During the year 2000, a total of 245 civilians were killed, including 146 Albanians, 55 Serbs 9 Bosniaks, 12 Roma and 23 of unknown or "other" category, including 2 KFOR soldiers. Most attacks on Serbs and other minorities were ethnically motivated (see section 6). The majority of the attacks on Albanians were connected to family and economic rivalries, criminal activities or politics. [77]The general crime rate remains high in Kosovo and there is evidence that the province has become a centre for trafficking of drugs and women for prostitution.

**4.3** UNHCR note that a general improvement can be discerned in the number of serious security incidents and attribute this in large part to the growing effectiveness of the police and judicial system. In particular, decisive action has been taken to curb abuses of power by certain elements within the KPC/TMK, demonstrating that criminal behaviour will not be tolerated and that none can act with impunity. [109,110]

### **Mitrovica**

**4.4** The area of greatest ethnic tension and hostility in Kosovo is the city of Mitrovica. Divided by the river Ibar, the city has about 9,000 Serbs controlling the north bank and more than 90,000 ethnic Albanians living on the south side. The presence of 2,000 Albanians in the north, living under great pressure to leave from extremist Serbs, adds to the tension. Violence first swept the city after a rocket attack on a UNHCR bus killed 2 elderly Serbs in the south of the city on 2 February 2000. Revenge attacks left 2 ethnic Albanians dead and soon afterwards grenades at two Serb cafes injured 25. Others died in a series of clashes and shootings across the city. [2, 51, 52, 74, 75, 78]

**4.5** A curfew was introduced in the city and a large KFOR presence installed at the bridge across the Ibar. Ethnic Albanians held a series of mass protests against the partition of the city. The most dramatic of these was a march from Pristina to Mitrovica by a crowd estimated at about 70,000 people, which had to be kept at bay by KFOR using tear gas. Demonstrations by both ethnic Albanians and by Serbs required the intervention of KFOR troops with several injuries sustained.

**4.6** In August 2000, UNMIK assumed responsibility for and subsequently shut down the Zvecan lead smelter, (part of the Trepca mining complex, once the main source of Yugoslavia's mineral wealth.) because of concerns about high levels of lead pollution. Together with KFOR, UNMIK is seeking to reinforce the influence of the international community in the entire northern (Serb-dominated) part of Kosovo. UNMIK hope that their success in assuming control over the Zvecan smelter and subsequently cultivating the confidence with the facility's Serb workforce may provide a platform for gradually securing the support of the population of the northern part of the province.

**4.7** The security situation in Mitrovica improved during the second half of the year 2000. However, in late January and early February 2001, violent protests by the ethnic Albanian population following a grenade attack against the "little Bosnia" neighbourhood in the north resulted in the burning of KFOR and UNMIK police vehicles.

**4.8** The situation in Mitrovica municipality has remained tense in recent months. UNMIK and KFOR are seeking to develop a comprehensive strategy for the municipality, with concrete measures in a number of key areas, including local government and public administration; security; economic development and job creation; and returns. An integral

part of the strategy will be to develop a cooperative relationship and political dialogue with Belgrade. [ 51,52,78,109,110]

### **Legal system/Judiciary**

**4.9** It has taken UNMIK time to establish an effectively functioning independent judicial system. The climate of revenge made it difficult to recruit impartial judicial personnel, but the numbers are now up to target levels. It has been difficult achieve and maintain an ethnic balance in the judiciary. There have also been concerns that members of the judiciary are subject to intimidation and harassment.

**4.10** UNMIK have introduced international judicial support, which is taking the lead in processing the large number of war/ethnic/organised crimes as well as other cases that may affect the security situation. There are now twelve international judges and five international prosecutors in place, who take part in judicial proceedings at all levels. An additional seventeen judges and prosecutors are being recruited. It is hoped that these appointments will remedy concerns that the courts have shown bias in their treatment of ethnic minorities[2,51,52 79]

**4.11** As part of the drive to raise the quality of the domestic judicial system, the first disciplinary hearings against local judges and prosecutors, resulting from investigations conducted by the Department of Justice's Judicial Inspection Unit began in mid-September 2001. Most cases arose from complaints against Kosovo Albanian judges by other Kosovo Albanian judges.

**4.12** A working group has been set up to expand the availability of legal aid and to guarantee access for minorities. Also, the institution of the Ombudsman has been established to investigate cases pertaining to employment disputes, property rights, social rights, access to public services and discriminatory practices.

**4.13** The penal system now has seven detention establishments at its disposal with a capacity of 664 places. A further 900 places will be available when work on a new EU-funded Quick Build Prison and the renovation of an existing facility at Dubrava Prison is complete. [109,110]

### **ECONOMY AND INFRASTRUCTURE**

**5.1** The economy inherited by UNMIK had been reduced to near collapse by 10 years of deliberate neglect from Belgrade and there was no administrative structure to build upon. The economy before the conflict had a substantial agrarian sector, which continues to support a large percentage of the population. Key industries were mining, metallurgy and related manufacturing enterprises, particularly centred around the Trepca mine complex which is currently inactive. Remittances from relatives abroad were and continue to be an important source of income. [2]

**5.2** The economy of Kosovo remains dominated by the presence of the NGOs and other international organisations and their highly paid staff. For Kosovo Albanians, unemployment runs at about 70% and salaries are very low (the average public service employee earns about £90 per month). GDP is approximately \$400 per capita. Most Kosovo Albanians with language skills seek jobs as interpreters for international organisations, which has led to a shortage of language teachers at schools. Many

survive by trading in the thriving black market.

**5.3** UNMIK believe that the emergency reconstruction needs of Kosovo have now largely been met, with the emphasis shifting to economic sustainability and capacity building. Reliance on donor support has decreased as regulated and revenue generating commercial economy has begun to take root. The capital budget for 2001 still anticipates donor contributions of DM 1.346 billion, principally from the EU and US. However, UNMIK expects to raise about 70% of the total consolidated budget via revenue collection. During the period August 20 - 27 alone, UNMIK collected DM14 million at its collection points.

**5.4** Policies that encourage the development of a market-oriented business environment have been pursued and progress has been made to establish an appropriate legal environment to support newly emerging enterprises. About 70% of private small and medium businesses have now restarted. The agricultural sector is also recovering: although about 50% of Kosovo's farm assets were destroyed as a result of the conflict, thanks to NGO project support, recent wheat harvests have been higher than recent pre-conflict harvests.

**5.5** The newly created banking sector is expanding with the approval of new branches of banks in Orahovac and Djakovica and Mitrovica. UNMIK is working with the banks to resolve logistic issues involved in switching from the deutsche mark to the Euro as the currency of the province, from 2002.

**5.6** An estimated 83,000 residential units were in need of essential repairs or reconstruction at the beginning of 2000. With donor support, UNMIK met its target of reconstructing 20,000 housing units in 2000. A similar number were rebuilt by members of the local population themselves. Nearly half of all families whose houses had been damaged or destroyed are now in decent accommodation. UNMIK provides temporary community shelters for those with no alternative accommodation.

**5.7** A regulated social assistance system has been introduced, targeted at up to 50,000 families from vulnerable groups. Centres for Social Work, located in almost all municipalities, are responsible for selection of around 250,000 remaining beneficiaries of food aid. Pensions are provided for people of over 70 years old, though these amount to only £10 per month.

**5.8** Most schools and hospitals have been reopened, though facilities are sometimes basic and access for ethnic minority groups is problematic (see paragraph 6.1). Significant improvements have been made in the civic and administrative infrastructure, as demonstrated by the successful completion of the municipal elections at which over 70% of the population voted. 977,000 identification cards have been issued and vehicle registration is continuing with over 185,000 vehicles registered so far.

**5.9** With extensive reconstruction works, there have been significant improvements in the physical infrastructure of the province. The basic utilities of power and water are continuing to improve. Over 80% of the population now have a chlorinated water supply. Communications have been improved: an international postal service operates with computerised functions and the telephone network has been expanded.

**5.10** Transport links are improving and a plan to overhaul and reorganise the public transport system is being prepared. A freight railway system became operational in March and this is expected to alleviate congestion on the main road routes. Pristina airport has been upgraded and remained operational throughout the winter apart from

minor disruption for severe weather. The airport processed more than 100,000 passengers in July and August 2001.

**5.11** It is estimated that the task of clearing or marking all mines and unexploded ordnance (UXO) in Kosovo will be complete by December 2001. Casualties from mines and UXO have decreased significantly as a result of mines awareness training and a change in strategy that has increased the rate at which cluster bomb units are cleared. [2,51,52,80]

### **Health service**

**5.12** The health services are capable of providing satisfactory primary care and are improving. But some conditions requiring more complex or long term treatment are beyond current resources. These include; cancer (requiring radiotherapy or chemotherapy); heart surgery; intra-ocular surgery; severe and chronic mental illness; hormonal dys-functions; and HIV/AIDS.

**5.13** All hospitals are working but the capacity of their laboratories and x-ray departments is limited. Also, patients with conditions that require regular laboratory control (eg. transplantation patients taking immuno-suppressive drugs) may not be able to find the necessary laboratory tests. [129] All health houses (large health centres in the main towns of the municipalities) are working but their diagnostic capabilities are very limited. Out of the 308 ambulances (small health centres in the rural villages), only 200 are open. Their level of equipment is very basic and many do not have permanent physicians. Certain medical specialists are in particularly short supply (eg. Anaesthesiologists). Three community mental health centres were constructed during 2000 as part of a plan to shift the focus of mental health care from hospitals to community based care. [2,51,52,80,81,119]

### **Returns**

**5.14** The numbers of persons returning to Kosovo continued to decline during 2000. Most states observed a moratorium on returns during the winter period. During 2000 over 104,000 ethnic Albanians returned to the province, including some 12,500 forced returns, mainly from Germany and Switzerland. From January - August 2001, there were approximately 11,000 returns of which about 50% were enforced. [51,52]

### **Depleted Uranium**

**5.15** There has been concern about the potential health risks of depleted uranium (DU) contamination in Kosovo. An UNMIK review of hospital records found that the incidence of leukaemia had not risen over the past four years among adults in Kosovo. Also, reports by the WHO, EC and United Nations Environment Programme concluded that the threat to public health and the environment from DU was minimal. However, the reports recommended an information campaign, currently ongoing, to encourage public reporting of DU ammunition findings and improved health data. Marking of DU sites is underway with the situation being closely monitored. [51,52,113-115]

## **HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES**

### **Ethnic minorities**

**6.1 UNMIK / KFOR is committed to preserving Kosovo as a multi ethnic society; and to protecting the rights of ethnic minorities and the safe return of refugees. There has been a decrease in ethnically motivated crimes. However, certain minority groups continue to suffer harassment, intimidation, arson, looting, eviction and physical assault and murder. It is assumed that the perpetrators are radical ethnic Albanians seeking revenge and/or pursuing the aim of a wholly Albanian state. Before the conflict, ethnic Albanians made up over 90% of the population of Kosovo. The percentage is even higher now, as large numbers of the ethnic minority population, particularly from the Serb and Roma communities, have fled from Kosovo. Those who have remained have tended to concentrate in mono-ethnic areas. The number of incidents of violence against minorities has decreased significantly since the period following the conflict and there has also been a notable improvement in the security situation during the year 2001. However, while there has been an improvement as measured by reference to the number of fatalities, lesser threats and incidents of intimidation against minorities remain common. [2,74,109,110]**

**6.2 In addition to attacks on ethnic minorities and their property, these groups have suffered in many less visible ways. There is reluctance among the majority population to give evidence against those responsible for these crimes. Because of threats received many of the majority population are afraid to associate with minorities in any way, refusing to serve them in shops etc for fear of reprisals. Minorities in the province face isolation and restrictions on their freedom of movement. Very few have jobs and most are heavily dependent on humanitarian assistance for survival. Many also face obstacles to accessing health, education and other public services, most of which are run by ethnic Albanians. It can be sometimes be dangerous to speak Serbian or even to speak Albanian with a Slavic or Roma accent in public. [2,51,5274,109,110]**

### **Serbs**

**6.3 Ethnic Serbs have been the principle targets for ethnically motivated attacks. Estimates vary as to how many have left the province, but it is likely that less than half the 200,000 who lived there before the conflict now remain. The influx of returning Albanians has increased the pressure on Serbs etc to leave. Most of the remaining Serbs have collected in the northern part of the town of Mitrovica, the municipalities of Leposavic, Zupin Potok and Zvecan to the north of the province, and Strpce in the South, where they form the majority of the population.**

**6.4 Of the 245 murders in Kosovo during 2000, 147 were of ethnic Albanians and 55 were of Serbs. To put this into context, it is important to note that Serbs make up less than 5% of the population of Kosovo. Incidents during 2000 included a number of murders including a 67 year old woman killed in a drive by shooting and an elderly man shot while tending to his cattle in Gnjilane. Other attacks included the shooting of a Serbian Orthodox priest and his two assistants in Klokot; the burning of Serb homes in Orahovac and Vitina; and mortar attacks in Velika Hoca and Grazdevac. During August 2000, Serb children were the victims of two violent incidents: in Obilic handgrenades were thrown at a group of children playing basketball; and in Lipljan, two Albanian men were arrested after their car ran into a group of Serb children leaving one dead and three injured.**

**6.5 A spate of serious attacks targeting Serbs occurred in mid February 2001. On 13 February, six shots were fired at the weekly KFOR - escorted Serb convoy en route to Strepce, killing one Serb man and injuring another. It appears that the ambush intended to kill the driver of the bus and thus force it off a steep embankment, causing maximum**

casualties. In the Mitrovica region, one Serb died and three were injured after their tractor drove over a recently laid landmine. And on 16 February, the attack on the KFOR-escorted convoy of civilian buses from Nis in Serbia to Gracanica (the "Nis Express") resulted in 10 deaths and over 40 injured. In August 2001, the body of a Serb man riddled with bullets was found in Strpce; and incidents in September include the murder of a 78 year old Serb woman in Ferizaj and the killing of a Serb farmer in Vitina. [2,51,52,56,74,109,110]

6.6 Many remaining Serbs, some elderly and alone, are subject to constant verbal and physical harassment, often by children who are immune to prosecution. In some areas they are terrorised to leave their homes and rely upon 24 hour protection from KFOR and deliveries of food and other essentials from aid agencies. Travel in some areas is only feasible with an armed escort. Where medical conditions require hospital attendance, there have been concerns about patient safety and the quality of treatment, where it is available at all. A high proportion of Serbs were formerly employed by state run institutions and are now without jobs.

6.7 As part of the aim of promoting a multi-ethnic Kosovo, UNMIK, UNHCR and OSCE are trying to encourage the return of Serbs who fled to Serbia and have organised "go and see" visits. But very few returns have taken place so far. [109,110]

#### **Croatian Serbs and Bosnian Serbs**

6.8 Serb refugees from Croatia and Bosnia who were located in Kosovo following the Balkan wars in the early 1990s suffer from the same difficulties as the Kosovan Serbs, but with the added disadvantage of being already displaced and foreigners. As Serbs who are also foreigners, this group is particularly vulnerable. UNHCR has been assisting with their voluntary repatriation to Serbia and Montenegro, though many have already left the province. [74]

#### **Roma**

6.9 Kosovo Roma have been targeted as a group because they are seen as having collaborated with Serb mistreatment of ethnic Albanians during the conflict. Allegations that some Roma took part in criminal acts with Yugoslav forces or opportunistic looting seem to have blackened name of innocent others. Many have fled from Kosovo to Serbia, Montenegro or Macedonia and those who remain have tended to move to Roma enclaves. Some estimates suggest that a community that once numbered 100,000 to 150,000 in the province has been reduced to about 10,000, though other estimates suggest a higher figure remain. [2]

6.10 Roma are not a homogenous or cohesive group - they are made up of various groups with different allegiances, linguistic and religious traditions. Most have a settled rather than nomadic lifestyle. Although sometimes categorised together, Roma are distinct from the groups known as Ashkaelia or Egyptians.

6.11 All Roma groups occupy a marginalised position in Kosovar society. Some Roma families are well integrated with their neighbours and do not wish to be separately identified, but this may depend on a denial of their ethnic origins. In general, living and security conditions continue to be precarious for many Roma and access to vital services such as health and education is often difficult. There have been reports that Roma in Serb dominated areas are increasingly less accepted as the communities have become polarised and the need has arisen to make room for further Serb arrivals. Displacement continues and levels of tension and hostility remain high. During the year 2000, twelve

Roma were murdered and the Roma community has frequently been targeted for rocket and grenade attacks. Four Ashkaelia returnees were victims of "execution-style" killings within 48 hours of returning to their village in Skenderaj / Srbica in November 2000. [2,51,52,56,74,109,110]

### **Muslim Slavs**

**6.12** This group consists of Serbo-Croat speaking Slavs who are associated with the "Muslim nationality" created within the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Their remaining population is estimated at about 35,000. Although many describe themselves as Bosniaks, this does not necessarily mean that they, nor their ancestors, come from there, but rather that Bosnians are seen as successors to the old Muslim nationality group. In reality, these communities originate from a variety of regions, including modern-day Bosnia, Sandzak and even Macedonia. Although some are dispersed within towns, most live in predominantly Muslim villages. Within the Muslim community, there is a distinct group of Torbesh / Torbesi found mainly in Prizren and Orahovac/Rahovec areas.

**6.13** UNHCR describe the security position for Muslim Slavs as being relatively stable in comparison to other minority groups, but still hazardous. In general, they appear to be tolerated by both ethnic Albanian and Serb communities. However, Muslim Slavs may experience harassment and intimidation from ethnic Albanians in some areas, particularly the south part of Mitrovica town, where they tend to keep a low profile and avoid using their language in public. In other areas such as Prizren where there is a large community of about 25,000, they live peacefully with the Albanian population, but their language makes them appear different and limits their access job market. They have some access to education in their own language but more school hours are conducted in Albanian. A Torbesh family of four was murdered in their own home on January 12, 2000 and the attack was condemned by all sectors of society, with 10,000 Muslims attending a protest in Prizren central square. This was the most serious incident reported but violence, harassment and discrimination has led to significant displacement. Some reports have suggested that about 40,000 (over half of the original population in Kosovo) have left the province in recent months. 9 Muslim Slavs were murdered in 2000. [2,56,74,77,82]

### **Gorani**

**6.14** The Gorani community consists of persons of Slav ethnicity from the Gora region who, unlike Serbs, follow Islam. The overall Gorani population is estimated at 10,000 - 12,000. They are a distinct group from the Muslim Slavs described above. Despite their shared religion, their relationship with Albanians has not always been easy because of their ethnic and linguistic links with Serbs.

**6.15** The Gora region comprises 18 geographically linked villages within Dragash municipality inhabited by Gorani. The region was largely unaffected by the conflict in terms of damage to housing. Many Gorani live in peace with their ethnic Albanian neighbours, but there have been reports of house burnings and intimidation against Gorani. In January 2000 the Gorani community in the village of Vraniste issued a statement saying that unless the UN police protected them from KLA harassment, they would find a way of defending themselves or leave the province. UNHCR considers that the security risks facing Goranis are significantly greater than those facing Muslim Slavs. UNMIK police statistics show that there were no murders of Gorani during the year 2000, though the US State Department report for 2000 notes the murder of a 13 year old Gorani boy in November. Since February 2001, there has been a series of bomb attacks

targeting Gorani.

**6.16** Most Gorani were previously employed in the public service sector and many are now unemployed. Most villages have dropped the Serb school curriculum in favour of instruction in Bosniak, the language of Bosnian Muslims. There have also been reports of difficulties in access to medical facilities. Initiatives to encourage dialogue between the Gorani and ethnic Albanian communities are being developed.

**6.17** Small numbers of Gorani live in other parts of Kosovo where they experience few problems, apart from those living in the southern part of the town of Mitrovica, who try to maintain a low profile. [2,51,52, 56,74,77,82,110]

### **Turkish**

**6.18** The long established Turkish community continues to use Turkish as its mother tongue, though most members also speak Albanian and Serbo-Croat. They are politically organised, represented mainly by the Turkish Democratic Union, though their participation in the municipal elections was limited owing to divisions within the community.

**6.19** The Turkish community enjoys access to primary and secondary education in the mother tongue. Some elements of the Turkish leadership have rejected UNMIK's proposals designed to ensure the use of the Turkish language in municipalities where the community reside and continue to demand the reinstatement of Turkish as the third official language ( as recognised by the 1974 Constitution of Kosovo, which was repealed in 1989).

**6.20** Many members of the Turkish community left for Turkey during the conflict and some of these are now returning. They may face discrimination in securing access to services and employment. There have been some reports of low level harassment in north Mitrovica from Serbs but in general there are no significant security problems for this group. [2,56,74,110]

### **Croats**

**6.21** In Vitina / Viti, almost the entire Croat population of 450 left for Croatia in a single movement organised by the Croatian government in October 1999. Janjevo / Janjeve and Letnica/Letnice are the only two remaining locations with significant concentrated pockets of ethnic Croats. The Croat community in Janjevo, remains stable with about 370 persons. There are generally good relations with the Roma and ethnic Albanian population, but they experience a sense of insecurity and are concerned about the education available for their children. For the few that remain, relations with the local ethnic Albanian population appear to be reasonably friendly and no security incidents have been reported recently. There are only 50 Croats remaining in Letnica. Some of the empty homes in the village have been temporarily occupied by refugees from FYRMacedonia, though the absent owners are far more concerned about the the danger of more permanent appropriation by Catholic Albanian neighbours. [2,51,52,56,74,110]

### **Mixed marriages**

**6.22** People of mixed ethnicity or in mixed marriages can face security problems as well as discrimination. Those in mixed marriages with people from ethnic minorities may face the same difficulties as those groups, particularly where one partner is a Serb.

Sometimes ethnic Albanians who are married to Serbs are considered "worse than Serbs". Unlike other minority groups, mixed families are unable to resort to the relative security of mono-ethnic enclaves and may be excluded from all communities. [2,51,52,56,74]

### **Kosovo Albanians from "minority" areas**

**6.23** Kosovar Albanians are in the overwhelming ethnic majority in the province and are generally not subject to persecution from non-state agents on the basis of their ethnicity. However, there are some parts of Kosovo, particularly in the north of the province, where Serbs are in the majority and ethnic Albanians may be subject to harassment and persecution. These areas include the northern part of the town of Mitrovica - i.e. north of the river Ibar; the northern municipalities of Leposavic, Zvecan and Zubin Potok; and the southern municipality of Strpce. [56]

### **Religion**

**6.24** Religion in Kosovo is often inextricably linked to ethnicity. Most ethnic Albanians are Sunni Muslims, but there is a Catholic minority who live mostly in the Southern and Western parts of the province. Serbs are almost exclusively Serbian Orthodox Christians.

**6.25** Most ethnic Albanians are not strongly identified with their religion and their animosity towards Serbs is essentially on the basis of ethnicity, with the difference in religion a coincidental factor. However, Serbian Orthodox churches hold symbolic significance and over 100 have been destroyed in retaliation for the mosques destroyed by the Serbs. UNMIK have taken steps to ensure that all religious communities could worship safely and deployed extra security at Orthodox religious sites. Nevertheless, there have been concerns for the safety of Orthodox priests and many have been forced to relocate.

**6.26** It is estimated that some 70,000 Kosovar Albanians are Roman Catholic. Generally, they tend to be wealthier, better educated and better connected abroad than many of their Muslim neighbours. There is no evidence of Catholic Albanians being persecuted specifically on religious grounds, but there are certain areas within Kosovo where they may have come under suspicion of collaboration with the Serb regime (see below). Such suspicion was fuelled by the fact that Catholic Albanian villages suffered relatively little damage during the conflict. A high number of Catholic Albanians feature in reported cases of harassment against ethnic Albanians. Recent reports indicate that the Catholic church may be growing in strength in Kosovo. [2,75, 83,84]

### **Political freedom**

#### **Those accused of involvement with the previous Serb administration**

**6.27** There have been reports of ethnic Albanians being the targets of harassment and violence in retribution for alleged association or collaboration with the Serbian regime. In some cases such accusations may be based on little more than the fact that a person had done business with Serbs in the past or that his house was not targeted by Serb forces. It is possible for people who have had no significant involvement with the Serbian regime to become victims on this basis. This phenomenon has been exacerbated by the local press by publishing inflammatory articles on the subject. [2,56]

**6.28** Individuals have also been targeted for disobeying laws and directives from the self

proclaimed authorities. In particular, there appears to be a campaign in place to deter people from buying Serb property or doing any kind of business with Serbs. Publicity material warned that anyone doing so would be held accountable. There have been several cases of ex-Serb houses and businesses bought by ethnic Albanians being bombed and of violent personal attacks. Also, failure to pay unofficial "taxes" can bring violent reprisals. [2,54]

**Those who have been outspokenly critical of the former KLA and the former Provisional Government of Kosovo and supporters of political parties not aligned with these groups.**

6.29 There have been reports of harassment, intimidation and violent attacks by extremist elements allegedly associated with the former KLA directed at supporters of the rival LDK party and others expressing moderate views. The LDK, led by Ibrahim Rugova has always advocated a peaceful, moderate approach and has been critical of the violence perpetrated by ethnic Albanians following the conflict. Politically motivated attacks on LDK members continued, including the murders of a member of the Istok LDK presidency, whose body was discovered on 5 August 2000 in Srbica, of Xhemal Mustafa, co-founder of the LDK, who was killed by unknown gunmen on 23 November and of the President of the Municipality Assembly of Klina, Mr Ijmel Raci, 24 April 2001. Journalists who have published critical statements about the violence directed towards Serbs and other minorities and the activities of the Provisional Government have also been attacked, threatened or harassed. [2, 54, 75, 85]

6.30 It is notable that the LDK achieved an overwhelming majority in the municipality elections last year, suggesting that they enjoy wide support within the province. While prominent members of the LDK may be at risk of political violence, this is generally unlikely to affect rank and file supporters of the organisation. There have been relatively few incidents of politically motivated violence in the run up to the central elections to be held in November 2001. [85]

#### **"Draft evaders" and "deserters" from the former KLA / UCK**

6.31 UNHCR and Amnesty International have stated in the past that persons who refused to join the KLA or who deserted during the conflict may face protection concerns in Kosovo. The only known incidents of this kind remain one case of abduction, though the men were subsequently released, and one where a student was denied university admission because his father had not fought for the KLA. However, it is possible that other cases have gone unreported. Generally, it is difficult to separate this category from those who are suspected of collaborating with the Serbs, or those who are unsympathetic to the KLA cause. [2, 56,75, 86]

#### **Media**

6.32 With the establishment of UNMIK, the OSCE set up a Department for Media Affairs, which is responsible for promoting openness, fact-based reporting and providing access to the media for a broad spectrum of political views and information for all ethnic groups. By the end of the year 2000 there were seven daily newspapers and seven monthlies or weeklies with a broad circulation. The print media has often acted irresponsibly, publishing articles which could incite violence against political personalities and listing names and addresses of individuals who allegedly collaborated with the Serb regime. UNMIK have made regulations to allow legal action to be taken against media outlets that tolerate irresponsible journalism. Action was taken against *Dita* following that daily's publication of names of Kosovo Serbs it accused of war crimes. Warnings were issued to

the newspaper *Rilindja* and the women's magazine *Kosovarija*, both of which published the names of alleged war criminals. On 1 December 2000 *Bota Sot* was fined DM 45,000 for breaking the regulation on press conduct and on 20 February 2001 *Epoke E Re* was sanctioned for publication of an article that could have incited injury. The only Serb newspaper is now published in northern Kosovo and distributed in Serbian enclaves.

6.33 There are a 92 radio stations, which broadcast in Albanian, Serbian, Turkish and Bosnian and 24 TV stations. Three licences to broadcast television on a Kosovo-wide basis have been issued including to the station Radio Television Kosovo (RTK), which was awarded a prize in December 2000 for objective reporting. [2,51,52,75,109]

## Women

6.34 The ethnic Albanian community is strongly patriarchal and women are expected to be subservient to men. In rural areas women may have little ability to control their property and children. Women widowed by the war risk losing custody of their children due to an Albanian custom requiring children to be given to the deceased father's family. The widow is often returned to her own family, with her property passing to her husband's family.

6.35 Rape and a high level of domestic violence are serious problems. There is severe stigma attached to rape, which affects the victim's entire family and this leads to under reporting. It is culturally acceptable for men to beat their wives and such crimes also tend to go unreported.

6.36 In major towns, the presence of UNMIK and many NGOs has opened a large number of previously unavailable jobs to women. UNMIK police and the OSCE launched a campaign to recruit women for the Kosovo Police Service, where they make up 17-20% of the force. Women are also increasingly active in political and human rights organisations. Women are legally entitled to equal pay for equal work and are granted maternity leave for 1 year, with an additional 6 months available. There is a wide range of women's initiatives run by various organisations operating in Kosovo. [2,56, 63]

6.37 UNMIK has determined that one third of candidates for the central elections should be women. Through the Office of Gender Affairs, UNMIK supports women representatives who are not currently in decision-making positions to make them part of the process by which legislation and policy are reviewed. The Office of Gender Affairs is also working to address concerns that women minority groups have insufficient access to employment, education, and medical facilities because of lack of freedom of movement. [109]

## Children

6.38 Since the end of the conflict, schools reopened under UNMIK administration. The Department of Education and Science, with over 30,000 employees and 400,000 students in over 8000 institutions, accounts for 28% of the Kosovo consolidated budget. UNMIK aims to ensure that children from all ethnic groups receive free and universal education; school is compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 15. All schools opened on time for the 2000-2001 academic year.

6.39 Access to education has been problematic for some minority groups and they tend to attend separate schools. UNMIK has developed a strategy to build a sustainable Kosovo Serb education system, with full recognition of the structures under the Constitutional Framework and maintaining strong ties with educational reforms in Serbia.

[109]

**6.40** Economic problems have affected the health situation for children, which has remained poor. High infant and child mortality and increasing epidemics of preventable diseases have resulted from poverty leading to malnutrition, poor hygiene and pollution. A successful polio immunisation programme was successfully carried out with 69,579 children immunised. As noted above, the province has been a source of trafficking of girls for prostitution. [2,51,52,56,80]

## FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

**7.1** As noted above, many people from ethnic minorities have limited freedom of movement because of security fears, some requiring escorts or special deliveries to access basic supplies. A FRY government office in Pristina continues to issue FRY passports, though there have been some reports of intimidation towards people who avail themselves of this service. The Head of the FRY Office was killed by a bomb attack in April 2001. UNMIK have issued 77,500 travel documents to Kosovo residents, which are recognised by 22 countries including the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and all Schengen States. [2,51,52,109]

## ANNEX A

### CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: 1992 - OCTOBER 2001

**1992** Remainder of EU States recognise Croatian and Slovene independence. Bosnia and Herzegovina declares its independence from Yugoslav Federation. Armed clashes between Bosnian Muslims and Serbs follow declaration. Bosnian Serbs declare establishment of their own republic, effective from date of international recognition of Bosnia. Referendum on independence held in Bosnia. Majority of Muslims and Croats in favour, although majority of Serbs boycott referendum. The Federal assembly of the newly established Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), consisting of Serbia and Montenegro approves a new constitution. 20,000 people attend anti-war demonstration in Belgrade. Further anti-government demonstrations occur, led by opposition alliance, DEPOS.

Elections to a 130 seat Kosovo Assembly in May are declared illegal by Serb authorities. The Government of the self-declared Republic of Kosovo, under the leadership of President Dr Ibrahim Rugova, is prevented from sitting by Serbian security forces. State of emergency in Kosovo is revoked in August. Federal and Republican Presidential and Parliamentary elections take place in December. Both Federal President Dobrica Cosic and Serbian President Milosevic are re-elected. Moderate Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic is ousted in vote of no confidence.

**1993** DEPOS begin boycott of Serbian Assembly. SPS form new government lead by Nikola Sainovic. Momir Bulatovic is re-elected as Montenegrin Republican President in second ballot in January. Bulatovic's DPMS and Milosevic's SPS form new Federal Government, under Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic. Cosic is removed from office following vote of no confidence. Anti-government demonstrations follow, leading to arrest of Montenegrin coalition government leader, Milo Djukanovic, and his wife, in June. Both are released in July. Evidence indicates that they were tortured while in detention. Pro-

Milosevic Zoran Lilic is appointed as Federal President. Elections to the 250 seat Serbian National Assembly in December leaves SPS without an outright majority.

**1994** First session of new Serbian Parliament fails to elect President. SPS form coalition government with New Democracy (ND). Serbian parliament elects government headed by Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic. Milosevic supports international peace plan and publicly announces decision to cut political and economic ties with Bosnian Serbs. Borba newspaper is placed under FRY government control. Nationalist parties hold demonstration in protest over Milosevic's support for Dayton agreement.

**1995** FRY government passes a decree granting advantageous loan terms to Serbs and Montenegrins settling in Kosovo. In Serbia the Democratic Party, Democratic Party of Serbia and Serbian Radical Party sign an electoral co-operation agreement. Man shot dead and five wounded in Kosovo by Serb policemen. Vojislav Seselj is jailed for 20 days for causing a disturbance in Kosovo. His sentence is later increased to 60 days.

## 1996

**April** In April the death of an ethnic Albanian student in Serbia sparks massed protests in Kosovo, with reprisal attacks against Serbs leading to several deaths. Dragoslav Avramovic is removed from post of Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and chief negotiator with IMF, following his criticism of Federal and Serbian economic policies. LDK leader Rugova announces ethnic Albanian boycott of federal parliamentary elections in November. Zajedno opposition group (comprising SRM, DP, DSP and Civic Alliance of Serbia) emerges.

**October** The UN Security Council officially lifts all sanctions against FRY. Following a complaint by the SPS after the second round of Serbian municipal elections in November, SPS-dominated municipal courts annul most opposition victories. Mass demonstrations follow.

**December** Radio B92 and Radio Indeks, are closed by Serbian Ministry of Transport and Communications on the grounds that they are broadcasting without valid licence. Both resume broadcasting, although B92 is still officially classified as illegal. The Ministry of Internal Affairs bans further anti-government demonstrations after previously peaceful protests become violent. OSCE report upholds opposition election victories.

## 1997

**February** Municipal election results reinstated by Serbian National Assembly. Patriarch Pavle leads Belgrade Sveti Sava march. Leader of National Movement for Liberation of Kosovo, Avin Klinaku, arrested.

**March** Serbian Minister of Information presents draft media law allowing State more extensive coverage than private media.

**April** Second draft of Serbia's media law diminishes restrictions on private media outlets. Serbian deputy Interior Minister, General Badza Stojicic, is assassinated in Belgrade.

**July** Milosevic formally assumes FRY Presidency. Serbian Parliamentary and Presidential elections announced for 21 September.

**August** In Montenegro, President Bulatovic's faction of the DPS elects its own Main

Board, Executive Board and 3 party Vice Presidents.

**September** Attacks on 12 Kosovo police stations: KLA claims responsibility.

**October** Kosovo student demonstrations broken up by police using tear gas, water cannon and truncheons. Albanian attack on Kosovo police station leaves one Albanian dead. Gypsy boy is beaten to death in Belgrade. Djukanovic wins second round of Montenegrin Presidential election by 5,500 votes. Trial begins of 19 Albanians charged with KLA membership and terrorism. Albanian student demonstration passes off peacefully in Pristina.

**November** FRY Telecommunications Ministry bans new Sandzak station, Radio Sjenica, on the grounds that it lacks proper licence. An Albanian SPS deputy in the FRY Assembly is shot and wounded. The KLA claims responsibility. 2 Killed, others wounded, during 2 nights of armed clashes including Kosovar Albanian attack on Serb police station.

**December** Adem Demaci sends PKK appeal to KLA to call three-month cease-fire to give a chance to negotiated settlement. Rugova announces parallel elections for 22 March 1998.

## 1998

**January** The Council of Europe condemns Serbian repression of the ethnic Albanian population in Kosovo, after security forces had used violence against protesting students in the province in late December.

**February** The UN further relaxes international sanctions against the FRY, in recognition of its support for the continuing peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**March** International arms embargo is imposed on FRY, in response to a major offensive by Serbian forces against the separatist insurgents of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) - up to 80 Kosovars die, some civilians. The Serbian Prime Minister, Marjanovic, announces the establishment of a coalition Government comprising 13 SPS members, four from the Yugoslav United Left and 15 representatives of the SRP, including Seselj, who becomes a deputy Premier.

**April** The leadership of the 'Republic of Kosovo' Rugova and the DAK, refuse to negotiate with the Serbian President, Milutinovic, reiterating that it will only deal with the federal authorities, and with foreign mediation.

**May** Milosevic meets Rugova in Belgrade; the US-brokered meeting is followed by the opening of negotiations between delegations from the two sides in Pristina. President Milosevic appoints Bulatovic the federal premier, having dismissed Kontic the previous day (the federal Government had lost a confidence vote); Djukanovic, the President of Montenegro, immediately declares the administration to be illegal. In elections to an enlarged, 78-seat Republican Assembly in Montenegro, For a Better Life, an alliance led by Djukanovic's DPMS, gained an outright majority (42 seats); Bulatovic's Socialist People's Party of Montenegro won 29 seats.

**June** The Contact Group threatens the use of force to bring about an end to the fighting in Kosovo and the withdrawal of Serbian troops, which are allegedly attacking civilians. Fighting and attempts at mediation by the international community continue throughout July and August. The new Republican Assembly withdraws all 20 Montenegrin members

of the upper Chamber of Republics in the Federal Assembly and replaces them with delegates loyal to Djukavovic, to ensure that President Milosevic could not command the two-thirds majority necessary for constitutional amendments.

**July** A new Montenegrin Government is appointed, headed by Filip Vujanovic and comprising representatives of the DPMS, the People's Party of Montenegro and the Social-Democratic Party of Montenegro. Milosevic announces that fighting in Kosovo will end, but reports of continued violence, including massacres of civilians and the fall of KLA strongholds, persisted throughout August.

**September** Yugoslav Airlines (Jugoslovenski Aero-transport - JAT) banned by the EU from flying to its member countries. UN Security Council Resolution 1199 demands an immediate cease-fire in Kosovo, the withdrawal of Serbian troops, unrestricted access for humanitarian aid and meaningful negotiations. The following day NATO forces are placed on stand-by for possible air strikes.

Serbian Government announces the end of military activity in Kosovo and promises amnesty to any remaining KLA members and agrees to establish multi-ethnic Interim Executive Council in the province. There are reports of a new Serbian offensive, in which ethnic Albanian civilians including women and children have been massacred.

**October** International community issues ultimatum that military force will be employed against FRY unless UN demands met by 27 October. Following intense negotiations between Milosevic and US envoy, Richard Holbrooke, Milosevic agrees to the presence of a 2,000-strong OSCE 'verification force' (the KVM). The KVM are to monitor implementation of the Security Council's demands, and to NATO surveillance flights in FRY airspace; in return, Serbia would retain sovereignty over Kosovo pending negotiations on autonomy for the province. Serbian National Assembly approves controversial legislation further restricting media freedom. NATO suspends threat of air strikes after President Milosevic agrees to accelerate withdrawal of Serbian troops from Kosovo.

**November** Talks beginning on 25th result in the "Pristina Declaration".

**December** Six Serbian schoolboys killed in a cafe on 14th. 30 ethnic Albanians killed, 12 more wounded, attempting to cross illegally into Yugoslavia from Albania with large quantities of arms, also on 14th. Fighting around Pudujevo, north Kosovo, on 22nd - 27th leaves 9 ethnic Albanians dead.

## 1999

**January** Eight Yugoslav army conscripts kidnapped by KLA on 9th, released on 13th in return for ethnic Albanians held by Serbs. 45 ethnic Albanians killed during a security operation in Racak on 15th; approximately 2000 people displaced from Racak itself and a further 3300-3500 from surrounding villages. Twentyfour ethnic Albanians killed in Rugovo by Serbian police on 29th.

**February** Peace talks begin in Rambouillet on 6th. Bomb in Pristina kills 3 people on February 6th. Bomb explodes in Urosevac on 13th, forty arrests made. Fighting around the village of Vucitrn, 16 miles n/w of Pristina, causes 9000 people to flee to neighbouring villages. Sylejman Selimi appointed commander-in-chief of the KLA.

**March** Peace talks reconvened in Paris on 15th, ethnic Albanians sign peace accord on 18th. Talks suspended on 19th, due to Serb intransigence. KVM depart Kosovo on 20th.

Violence reaches Pristina on 22nd. Holbrooke announced on 23rd that last ditch talks with Milosevic have failed to produce an agreement and NATO bombing commences.

**April** NATO continue their series of air attacks on targets in the FRY throughout the month. 460,000 ethnic Albanian Kosovar refugees flood into Albania and Macedonia this month. On April 26 EU foreign ministers approve an embargo on oil and refined products to Yugoslavia.

**May** Throughout May, NATO forces continue air attacks against targets in FRY. On May 7 bombers mistakenly hit the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, killing four Chinese nationals and injuring 20 others. On May 16, Yugoslav troops seize 150 male Kosovo refugees as they try to flee to Albania and Bosnia via Montenegro. Anti-war demonstrations erupt in two towns in southern Serbia May 17. The UN International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia on May 27 announces the indictment of President Milosevic and four other senior Serb leaders on charges of war crimes against humanity.

**June** On June 3 Milosevic accepts peace plan from EU and UN envoys. Yugoslavia and NATO sign Military Technical Agreement on June 9. NATO secretary announces formal halt to the bombing campaign on June 10. Between June 11-13, K-For troops enter Kosovo. June 20, Yugoslav forces complete withdrawal from Kosovo, many ethnic Serbs leave and ethnic Albanians return to Kosovo. The first major anti-Milosevic rally since the end of the NATO air campaign held in Cacak on June 29. Attended by 10,000 people and led by the Alliance for Change, an umbrella opposition group.

**July** Bernard Kouchner, appointed head of the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Preliminary results of a UNHCR survey of the destruction inside Kosovo released on July 8 found high levels of damage to housing, widespread food shortages, the contamination of water supplies and a serious lack of health facilities. 14 Serb farmers shot dead at a village south of Pristina on July 23. At an EU donor conference on July 28 reports that economic support will be provided for Montenegro, whilst Serbia to receive humanitarian aid only. Anti-government protests continue throughout the month.

**August** Mounting violence towards Serbs by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, forcing thousands of Serbs to flee the capital Pristina. On August 5, Montenegro put forward proposal to abolish the federation and replace it with an Association of the States of Serbia and Montenegro, a loose "commonwealth". On August 12, President Milosevic brings in new ministers in a government reshuffle to shore up his power base. A rally held on August 19 in Belgrade is attended by over 100,000 anti-Milosevic protesters. The rally is marred by opposition disunity.

**September** Violence flares in Mitrovica on September 10, when Serbs and Albanians clash in shootings and grenade attacks, which leave dozens injured, including 15 French soldiers. A grenade attack on September 28 on a market south of Pristina leaves two Serbs dead and 40 wounded. The Alliance for Change launches a concerted campaign against Milosevic, which opens with a series of simultaneous rallies in 32 cities and towns, including Belgrade.

**October** Violence between Serbs and ethnic Albanians continues during October in Kosovo. Mass rallies are held throughout the month in Belgrade and other towns and cities across Serbia. Representatives of Milosevic's Serbian Socialist Party and Montenegro's ruling anti-Milosevic Democratic Party of Socialists meet on October 25 to discuss the future relationship between Serbia and Montenegro.

**November** The post-war "ethnic cleansing" of Kosovo's Serb population continues throughout November as armed ethnic Albanians roam the province kidnapping and murdering the dwindling minority population of Serbs. Montenegro moves further towards independence from Serbia on November 2 when it adopts the German Mark as its official currency. On November 9 the Serb police attack and beat a number of student demonstrators marching in Belgrade.

**December** The Yugoslav army seize control of Montenegro's main airport on December 8 for "security reasons". The stand off ends peacefully and flights resume on December 9. China announces on December 9 that it will give aid to FRY to help rebuild its infrastructure destroyed by NATO bombing.

## 2000

**January** On January 5, the Deputy Prime Minister of Montenegro calls for a referendum on independence from Serbia. Sixteen anti-Milosevic parties draw up a unified strategy calling for early elections and street protests. Zeljko Raznatovic (aka. Arkan) war crimes suspect and long term ally of President Milosevic is murdered on January 15.

**February** On February 7, FRY defence Minister Pavle Bulatovic becomes the latest high ranking victim of the spate of Mafia-style killings. Milosevic is re-elected as President of the Socialist Party of Serbia. On February 14, the EU suspends their ban on commercial flights to FRY. A series of violent clashes takes place in the ethnically divided town of Mitrovica, in which 5 ethnic Albanians are killed, and many people including peacekeeping troops sustained injuries. On February 21 a crowd of 60,000 ethnic Albanian marchers attempts to cross the bridge over the Ibar to the Serb held north side of the town. KFOR troops deploy tear gas to restore control. It is suggested that the unrest is being fuelled by Milosevic backed influences. NATO announces plans to increase the troop presence from 30,000 to 37,000. On February 29, a UN worker is shot and wounded by ethnic Albanians while driving near Presevo.

**March** On March 3, Serbia tightens its blockade on Montenegro. 1000 ethnic Serbs in Kosovo protest in Gnjilane against the murder of a Serb doctor. FRY authorities step up action against independent media in Serbia, destroying equipment and issuing large fines. On March 14, 2,000 army reservists protest against their call-up. On March 15, US Kfor troops conduct raids in eastern Kosovo to close down bases used by the UCPMB, an ethnic Albanian rebel group active in Serbia.

**April** Ethnic Serbs in Kosovo (Gracanica) agree to join Joint Interim Administration Structure (JIAS) as observers. On April 14, the Alliance for Change opposition parties stage a rally in Belgrade, attended by 100,000. A law passed by the upper house in the Serbian parliament paves the way for Milosevic to change the constitution to allow himself to run for a further term as President. Ethnic Serbs clash with KFOR.

**May** May sees an escalation in demonstrations and protest marches. The closure of the non-state owned Studio B and radio station B2-92 brings out over 10,000 demonstrators, leading to violent clashes between the police and protestors, some of whom are badly injured. Milosevic's government claims that the youth group Otpor and the SPO are responsible for the death of the Vojvodina provincial government chief. A Serb court in Nis on May 22 sentences 143 ethnic Albanians to a total of 1,632 years in prison for terrorism. It is claimed that the sentences had been imposed "only because they were ethnic Albanians". Goran Zugic, senior security advisor to President Djukanovic of Montenegro, is killed on May 31 outside his home. His murder is subsequently laid at

Milosevic's door by the opposition. In Kosovo, the detention of AAK leader Haradinaj by Russian troops provokes protests.

**June** On June 4 Serb leaders withdraw from the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo in protest at the killing of Serb civilians by Kosovan Albanian extremists during April and May. UK troops seize 67 tonnes of ammunition and weapons in Kosovo on June 15. Milosevic accused of trying to kill opposition leader Vuk Draskovic, who was shot on June 16. Vuk Draskovic suffers a head wound and insists that the attack was carried out by Serbia's state security. On June 29 the Serb ultra-nationalists in Milosevic's ruling coalition refuse to support a new anti-terrorism law which was reportedly aimed at curbing dissent and any opposition to the Milosevic regime. The draft law threatened prison terms of at least five years for 'acts' that threaten constitutional order. Kosovo Serb leaders withdraw from JIAS in protest at killing of Serb civilians by ethnic Albanian extremists. 67 tons of weapons and ammunition discovered and seized by UK troops.

**July** July 6 the Yugoslav legislature approve constitutional changes that give Milosevic the potential to govern until 2009. Under previous rules the Yugoslav President was elected by the legislature for only one term. The constitution is also altered to make the upper house of the legislature, which has considerable veto powers, directly elected. On July 26 Serb journalist, Miroslav Filipovic is sentenced to seven years imprisonment by a military court for reporting allegations of army atrocities within Kosovo during 1999. He is convicted of espionage and spreading false information. Milosevic announces on July 27, that presidential, federal and legislative elections to be held early on September 24. In Kosovo, further clashes between ethnic Serbs and KFOR / UNMIK police - one policeman taken hostage. Kosovo census and voter registration completed. 40 representatives of Serb and Albanian communities meet in Airlie, Virginia, USA and support pact against violence.

**August** Two UK police officers seconded to OSCE and two Canadians are arrested and accused of spying on August 3 just after crossing the Montenegro border. The Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) risks splitting the opposition vote on August 6 when it proposes its own candidate for the September elections, although polls show that the SPO candidate, Vojislav Mihailovic, had not even appeared on pollsters' lists. On August 13, Bernard Kouchner, head of UMIK, calls for the "first free democratic and well controlled election" to be held in Kosovo. The date for the election is set for October 28. Ethnic Serb children are killed and injured in two separate attacks.

**September** Milosevic calls the elections earlier than anticipated. Many of the opposition parties unite under the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), with their presidential candidate Vojislav Kostunica, from the Democratic Party of Serbia. The run-up to the elections on 24 September sees an escalation of persecution of Otpor members and the few independent media outlets. Otpor members are arrested on site for wearing Otpor T-shirts or putting up opposition posters. There are reports of beatings at some police stations.

**October** Milosevic claims that Kostunica did not achieve more than 50 per cent of the votes needed for an out-right win and that a second round is required. Kostunica calls for a general strike and continued street protests until Milosevic steps down. Large numbers of workers strike and huge demonstrations are held in the streets. On October 5 the demonstrators lay siege and gain entry to the parliament building. The police give little resistance with a number joining with the demonstrators. On October 7, Milosevic admits defeat on television and admits Kostunica's victory in the elections. With many of Milosevic's allies still holding important posts within the Serbian government, Serbian

elections are called for 23 December.

**November** November 1 sees Yugoslavia to the UN. On 4 November a new transitional Cabinet is sworn in to govern until the December elections. Diplomatic relations are restored with the UK, USA, Germany and France on 6 November. Yugoslavia is admitted into the OSCE on November 27.

**December** The 18-party Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) alliance, headed by President Vojislav Kostunica wins a landslide victory in the legislative elections held on December 23, winning 176 seats out of 250. Former President Slobodan Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia only gains 37 seats.

| <i>Party</i>                    | <i>Seats</i> |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Democratic Opposition of Serbia | 176          |
| Socialist Party of Serbia       | 37           |
| Serbian Radical Party           | 23           |
| Party of Serbian Unity          | 14           |
| <i>Total</i>                    | <i>250</i>   |

## 2001

**January** During January conflicting messages emerge concerning the government's future plans for former President Slobodan Milosevic and other suspects wanted by the Hague-based UN International Criminal Tribunal, for war crimes during 1999. President Kostunica states that to extradite Milosevic and others would run counter to the constitution.

**February** The campaign for the Montenegro general election to be held on April 22 starts on 19 February. In Serbia, several judges and prosecutors loyal to the former president are replaced. An amnesty law is approved which will cover over 28,000 draft dodgers and others accused of crimes during the former regime. On 27 February, amendments to the Yugoslav Citizenship Act are adopted to enable refugees from former Yugoslavia to acquire Yugoslav citizenship. On 16 February, the "Nis Express" bus service carrying Kosovo Serbs between Kosovo and Serbia is attacked near Podujevo on its return to Gracanica with 10 Serbs killed and many injured. On 18 February, three Serb policemen are killed when their truck ran an anti tank mine in the village of Lucane in Southern Serbia.

**March** The South East European Media Organization (SEEMO), calls on the Serbian government to repeal laws affecting press and speech freedoms enacted during the Milosevic era. On 7 March, three VJ soldiers are killed by an anti-tank mine in Presevo. Demonstrations are held across Kosovo in support of ethnic Albanian rebels in Macedonia. COMKFOR signs a "technical agreement" with Serb Deputy PM Covic for the return of FRY forces to part of the Ground Security Zone.

**April** Elections to Montenegrin Republican Assembly take place. Pro-independence alliance, led by Djukanovic secured 36 seats, narrowly defeating Bulatovic's alliance opposing independence with 33 seats. Klina LDK President, Ismet Rraci, shot dead. FRY charges 183 VJ soldiers for crimes committed in Kosovo against the Albanian population during the conflict. UNMIK police arrest KPC commander Ruzhdi Saramati on charges of attempted murder.

**May** FRY forces return to demilitarized zone in Presevo valley. Belgrade newspaper Vecernje Novosti describes how refrigerator lorry from Pec containing 50 corpses was

pulled out of Duabe on 6 April 1999. N UCPMNB leader Shefget Musliu signs statement on demilitarisation of key villages Lucane and Turija near Bujanovac. FRY Joint Security Force completes return to Ground

**June** Federal Govt approve decree providing for the extradition of Milosevic to the ICTY. 10,000 supporters demonstrate at his proposed extradition. Following the temporary suspension of the government decree by the federal Constitutional Court, Milosevic is extradited. Federal Prime Minister, Zoran Zizic resigns in protest. Haekkerup visits Belgrade to open new UNMIK office. 70,000 refugees from Macedonia accommodated in Kosovo in homes of host families.

**July** Milosevic formally charged at ICTY with crimes against humanity. He refuses to acknowledge the authority of the tribunal. Founding of Serbian Democratic Council of Kosovo, based in Gusterica, put forward as alternative to Serbian National Council. Parties registering for Kosovo elections include 16 Albanian parties, 4 Serbian parties, 2 Turkish, 3 Bosniac, 3 Roma, Egyptian and Ashkali and 1 coalition. KFOR intercept mule train attempting to cross Dragash area of Kosovo from Macedonia to Albania, resulting in arrest of 59 Albanian men.

58 relatives of missing Serbs end hunger strikes following appeal from FRY authorities.

**August** FRY/Serbian governments approve appointment of DPM Covic as Head of FRY/Serbian Coordination Centre for Kosovo; adopt programme for dealing with issues such as missing persons and return of DPs. Five members of Kosovo Albanian family killed in machine gun attack outside Pristina - motive may have been linked to father's previous employment for Serbian MUP. 2,000 Kosovo Albanian residents of Istok protest against return of 54 Kosovo Serbs.

**September** UN arms embargo against FRY lifted. Kosovo Supreme Court rules that genocide was not committed during the Kosovo conflict but that war crimes and crimes against humanity were. Following exhumation of mass grave discovered in Lake Perucac near Uzdice, south west Serbia, 48 bodies of Kosovo Albanians identified. Exhumation and autopsy of further 269 bodies, discovered in 5 mass graves, completed in Belgrade. Three people, including two policemen, shot dead when police attempt to stop vehicle for inspection near Gnjilane.

## ANNEX B

### MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES

#### SERBIA

##### Alliance of Peasants of Serbia Party:

Founded in 1990 originally as Peasants Party of Serbia. President Milomir Banic.

##### Civic Alliance of Serbia:

Contested elections in 1996 in an opposition alliance, known as Zajedno. Leader Vesna Pesic.

##### Democratic Party (DP):

Formed in January 1990, it is one of the two leading opposition parties making up the three members of the

Zajedno opposition coalition. Supports free media, market economy, democracy, and was previously supported by Bosnian-Serb leadership. President is Zoran Djindjic.

#### **Democratic Party of Serbia (DPS):**

Formed in July 1992 by a breakaway, and more nationalistic, faction from the Democratic Party. Supports the full transformation to a democratic society. Led by Vojislav Kostunica.

#### **Democratic Union of Albanians:**

Founded 1990, President Ali Ahmeti.

**Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS):** Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, Christian Democratic Party of Serbia, Civic Alliance of Serbia, Coalition Sumadija, Coalition Vojvodina, Democratic Alternative, Democratic Centre, Democratic Party (DP), Democratic Party of Serbia, League of Social-Democrats of Vojvodina, Movement for Democratic Serbia, New Democracy, New Serbia, Party of Democratic Action, Reform Democratic Party of Vojvodina, Serb Resistance Movement-Democratic Movement, Social-Democracy, Social Democratic Union:

Formed in August 2000, a coalition of 18 opposition parties, in response to early elections being called by Milosevic. Led by President Vojislav Kostunica.

#### **Liberal Party:**

Favours a free market economy, founded in 1989. Leader Predrag M. Vuletic.

#### **New Democracy (ND):**

Formally part of the opposition group, Depos. Now junior member of ruling Coalition. Business orientated with little electoral support. President Dusan Mihailovic.

#### **Nikola Pasic Serbian Radical Party:**

Founded in 1995 following a split in the Serbian Radical Party. President Jovan Glamocanin.

#### **Otpor (translates as Resistance):**

Although not a political party, Otpor were the most publicly anti-Milosevic organisation, which gained support from all levels of society. Formed in October 1998, initially as a student resistance group.

#### **Party of Democratic Action:**

Party of ethnic Albanians, founded in 1990. Leader Riza Halili.

#### **Party of Serbian Unity:**

Ultra Nationalist, party leader was Zeljko Raznjatovic "Arkan". Commander of the 'Tigers' paramilitaries. Holds no seats in parliament.

#### **People's Assembly Party:**

Founded in 1992 as Democratic Movement of Serbia (Despos), a coalition of four parties and a party faction; reconstituted as a political party and renamed in 1995. President Slobodan Rakitic.

#### **Predevo-Bujanovac Democrat Coalitions:**

#### **Radical Party of the Left "Nicola Pasic":**

#### **Regeneration of Serbia Party:**

Milovan Drecun.

**Serbian Liberal Party:**

Leader Nikola Milosevic.

**Serbian Popular Party:**

Leader Zelidrag Nikcevic.

**Serbian Radical Party (SRS):**

Founded in 1990 by Vojislav Šeselj. Hard left national party, which had a paramilitary wing known as the 'White Eagles'.

**Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO):**

Founded in January 1990 and was one of the two main members of the coalition Zajedno. Favours a multiparty democracy, a market economy, reintroduction of the monarchy and freedom for the media, and has a nationalist dimension. President is Vuk Draskovic.

**Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS):**

Formed in July 1990 from the League of Communists of Serbia and the Social Alliance of Serbia. Nationalist in outlook. Formerly led by President Slobodan Milosevic; acting President Zivadin Jovanovic.

**United Radical Party of Serbia:**

Leader Slobodan Jovic.

**The Yugoslav United Left (JUL):**

An alliance of 23 Left-wing organisations. Formed in July 1997. Led by Milosevic's wife, Mirjana Markovic.

**Yugoslav Green Party:**

Founded 1990, open to all citizens regardless of national, religious or racial affiliation. Leader Dragan Jovanovic.

**MONTENEGRO**

**Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Montenegro:**

Chair Mehmed Bardhi.

**Democratic League of Montenegro:**

As above, Mehmed Bardhi.

**Democratic Party of Montenegrin Socialists (DPMS):**

Name changed from League of Communists of Montenegro in 1991; supports continued federation; division within the party emerged in mid-1997. Chair. Milo Djukanovic.

**League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia of Montenegro:**

Chair Rade Lakusic

**Liberal Alliance of Montenegro:**

Pro-independence party. Leader Miodrag Zivkovic.

**Party of Democratic Action - Montenegro:**

Slav Muslim party affiliated to the PDA of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Leader Harun Hadzic, Chair Dragan Soc.

**People's Party of Montenegro:**

**Peoples Socialist Party of Montenegro:**

Leader Dusko Jovanovic.

**Social-Democratic Party of Montenegro (SDP):**

Leader Zarko Rakcevic.

**Socialist People's Party of Montenegro:**

Leader Momir Bulatovic. Pro - Milosevic party.

**KOSOVO**

**Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK)**

Party founded by key ex-KLA figure Ramush Haradinaj

**Albanian Democratic Movement:**

Founded in 1998 by former members of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, ethnic Albanian party; Chair Redzep Cosja.

**Christian Democratic Party (CDP):**

An Albanian party with close links to the LDK. The party is led by Mark Krasniqi, formerly with the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo. The CDP advocates more extreme methods, but has less maximalist aims than the LDK. This party also boycotts Serbian elections.

**Democratic Reform Party of Muslims:**

Party of left-wing ethnic Muslims. President Azar Zulji.

**Lbd (Ievizja e Bashkuar Demokratike) - United Democratic Movement.** Includes the following parties: LDSh (Levizja Demokratike Shqiptare), Albanian Democratic Movement PPK (see below), Albanian Unification Party PUKSh/ UNIKOMB, Albanian Liberal Party PLSh, Albanian National Party PLSh, Greens, Albanian Republican Party PLSh:

Coalition, headed by Rexhep Qosja - on good terms with KLA and contains many ex-LDK.

**LDK (Democratic League of Kosovo aka Democratic Alliance of Kosovo DAK):**

Founded December 1989. In September 1991 the party held an unofficial referendum on independence,

which had an overwhelming vote in favour. Unofficial elections were held in May 1992 in which the chairman, Dr Ibrahim Rugova was elected President of the Republic (of Kosovo). Member of JIAS.

**LKCK (Levizja Kombetare per Clirimin e Kosoves) - National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo**

KLA - based party. Radical.

**LPK (Levizja Popullore e Kosoves) People's Movement of Kosovo:**

Radical party.

**PBD (Partia e Bashkimit Demokratik- Democratic Union Party):**

KLA - based party but key figures such as Thaci not members

**PKD (Democratic Party of Kosovo) Formerly PPDK (Party for a Progressive and Democratic Kosovo):**

Party established following the demilitarisation of the KLA, headed by Thaci. Member of JIAS

**Parliamentary Party of Kosovo (PPK):**

Political wing of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).

**Party of Democratic Action of Kosovo and Metohija (PDA-KM):**

Party of ethnic Muslims affiliated to the PDA of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Chair Numan Balic.

**Central Liberal Party of Kosovo (PQLK)**

Small party.

**Serbian Democratic Council of Kosovo:**

President Svetozan Grnjic.

**Serb National Council:**

Leader Rada Trajkovic.

**Serb Resistance Movement:**

Ethnic Serb group, led by Momcilo Trajkovic.

**Turkish Democratic Union:**

Parties representing interests of ethnic Turks.

**Turkish Peoples Party of Kosovo:**

**SANDPAK**

**Lista for Sandzak:**

A coalition of five ethnic Muslim political parties based in Sandzak, including the PDA-S.

**Party of Democratic Action of Sandzak (PDA-S):**

A Muslim party, aligned with the Bosnian PDA, and advocates autonomy for the Sandzak region. Chairman, Sulejman Ugljanin.

**VOJVODINA****Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians:**

Advocates autonomous status for Vojvodina. Founded in 1993 following split in DZVM. Chair Jozsef Kasza.

**Coalition Vojvodina:**

Leaders Dragan Vasejinov and Nenad Cenak.

**Democratic Hungarians: (Demokratska zajednica Vojvodjanskih Madjara - DZVM) Community of Vojvodina**

Founded in 1990 and supports interests of ethnic Hungarian minority in Vojvodina. Chair Sandor Pal.

**Democratic League of Vojvodina:****Reform Democratic Party of Vojvodina:**

Founded in 1992; President Ratko Filipoviã.

**Vojvodina Democratic Opposition:****ANNEX C****PROMINENT PEOPLE**

**Agani, Fehmi (deceased)** Moderate leader, former Vice President of LDK

**Artemije, Radosavljevic** Bishop, Head of Serb Orthodox Church in Kosovo, moderate

**Balic, Numan** Bosniac member of Transitional Council (KTC).

**Bokan, Dragoslav** Ultra-nationalist politician. Serb paramilitary leader.

**Brovina, Flora** Kosovar human rights activist, now presidential candidate for PDK

**Buja, Rame** PDK member. Former KLA political directorate and former member of LDK.

**Bukoshi, Bujar** Founder member of LDK with Rugova but since have become rivals. Also bitter rivals with KLA. Prime Minister of parallel Government 1991.

**Bulatovic, Momir** Leader of Montenegrin opposition party. Previously President of Montenegro until 1997.

**Ceku, Agim** Former KLA commander, now heads Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC). Has

been cited for war crimes when in Croatian army. Supervised demilitarisation of KLA.

**Cosic, Dobrica** Influential Serbian nationalist writer seen as spiritual father of Serbs. President of FRY from 1992-93.

**Covic, Nebojsa** Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia

**Demaci, Adem** Leader of the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo until 1998. Relatively moderate, has been critical of Thaci. Influence declining.

**Djindjic, Zoran** President of Democratic Party (DP) and Prime Minister of Serbia.

**Draskovic, Vuk** Charismatic Serbian politician, now marginalised

**Djukanovic, Milo** President of Montenegro.

**Haekkerup, Hans** UN Special Representative of the Secretary General in Kosovo - Head of UNMIK

**Hajrizi, Mehmet** Former LDK leader now in LDSH. Member of Transitional Council.

**Halimi, Riza** Mayor of Presevo and ethnic Albanian political leader

**Haradinaj, Ramush** AAK leader, ex-KLA commander. Member of Interim Administrative Council

**Haxhiu, Baton** Editor of newspaper *Koha Ditore*

**Hyseni, Hydajet** Leading figure in LBD

**Ivanovic, Oliver** Leader of Serb National Council, Mitrovica

**Kavaja, Burhan** Ethnic Albanian Head of Trepca mine, imprisoned after miners' strike of 1989.

**Kostunica, Vojislav** President of FRY.

**Kosumi, Bajram** Leader of PPK, Vice President of AAK.

**Kouchner, Bernard** Former Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Kosovo - Head of UNMIK.

**Krasniqi, Mark** Leader of Christian Democratic Party.

**Lilic, Zoran** Former President of FRY (from 1993-97).

**Mahmuti, Bardyl** PDK Secretary for Foreign Relations.

**Markovic, Mirjana** Slobodan Milosevic's wife. Was powerful and influential figure. Belgrade university professor. Leader of the JUL.

**Mihailovic, Dusan** President of New Democracy (ND), Serbian Interior Minister.

**Milosevic, Slobodan** Former President of FRY, now awaiting trial for a range of charges.

**Mladic, Ratko** General Commander of Bosnian Serb Army from 1992. Previously Commander of Knin Corps. Indicted for war crimes.

**Morina, Zef** prominent Christian Democratic Party member.

**Qosja, Rexhep** Former leader of LDSH and overall leader of LBD coalition. Former member of Transitional Council (KTC). Former member of Interim Administrative Council, influence declining. Now with PDK.

**Rakitic, Slobodan** President of Democratic Movement of Serbia (Depos).

**Rexhepi, Bajram** Self- appointed major of Mitrovica (PDK)

**Rugova, Ibrahim** LDK founder and President, who advocated peaceful resistance. Principal moderate ethnic Albanian figure in Kosovo. Member of Interim Administrative Council.

**Rev. Sava Janjic** Aka Father Sava and "Cybermonk". Voice of tolerance. Member of KTC.

**Selimi, Rexhep** Prominent KLA member.

**Selimi, Sylejman** Former Commander in chief of the KLA, appointed February 1999

**Seselj, Vojislav** Leader of ultra-nationalist Serbian Radical Party. MP in Serbian Parliament. Commanded paramilitary unit during the war.

**Shala, Blerim** Editor of magazine "Zeri". Member of KTC.

**Shala, Shaban** KPC Commander Zone1.

**Sherifi, Bilal** Close associate of Thaci.

**Shukriu, Edi** Member of LDK presidency.

**Solevic, Miroslav** Kosovo Serb activist.

**Surroi, Veton** Publisher of "Koha Ditore" newspaper. Politically independent. Founder of the PPK, but has been critical of all parties.

**Tahiri, Edita** Close associate of Rugova, key LDK figure.

**Thaci, Hashim** Key political leader associated with KLA. Now PDK. Was PM of Provisional Government. Member of Interim Administrative Council.

**Trajkovic, Momcilo** Caiman of FRY Committee for Co-operation with UNMIK. President of Kosovo Serbian Resistance Movement (SPO) Critic of Milosevic, would like to see cantonisation of Kosovo. Member of KTC.

**Trajkovic, Rada** Kosovo Serb representative on Interim Administrative Council. Member of Democratic Xion Party of Serbia (PMSS). Former member of Serb Radical Party.

**Vllasi, Azem** Ethnic Albanian Kosovo Party leader. jailed in 1989 after Milosevic pledged to arrest him at mass rally. Released in April 1990. No influence.

## **ANNEX D**

### **ABBREVIATIONS**

**DOS** Democratic Opposition of Serbia

**EU** European Union

**FRY** Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

**IAC** Interim Administrative Council

**ICTY** International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

**JIAS** Joint Interim Administration Structure

**JNA** Former Yugoslavia Peoples' Army

**JUL** Yugoslav United Left Party

**KFOR** Kosovo Force

**KLA** Kosovo Liberation Army (aka UCK)

**KPC** Kosovo Protection Corps

**KPS** Kosovo Police Force (local police force)

**KTC** Kosovo Transition Council

**KVM** Kosovo Verification Mission

**MUP** Serb Special Police

**NATO** North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

**NGO** Non-Governmental Organisations

**OSCE** Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

**PDK** Democratic Party of Kosovo

**SDS** Serbian Democratic Party

**SFRY** Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

**SPS** Socialist Party of Serbia

**SRS** Special Representative of the (UN) Secretary General

**TMK** Albanian abbreviation for KPC

**UCK** Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves (Albanian for KLA)

**UCPMB** Ushtria Clirimtare e Medvedja, Presheve Bujanovac

**UN** United Nations

**UNHCR** United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

**UNIP** United Nations International Police

**UNMIK** United Nations Mission in Kosovo

**UNSCR** United Nations Security Council Resolution

**VJ** FRY Army

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