

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
June - August 1999

1

Society for Threatened Peoples International

***"Until the Very Last
'Gipsy' Has Fled the
Country"***

*The Mass Expulsion of Roma and
Ashkali from Kosovo
Human Rights Report No. 21
September 1999*

This print version of this documentation is available in English, German and Albanian. It can be ordered for 10 German Marks (plus package and porto) from: Society for Threatened Peoples, Dispatcher (Versand), P.O. Box 2024, D-37010 Goettingen, Phone +49/ 551/ 49906-12, Fax +49/ 551/ 58028, or by e-mail: versand@gfbv.de. Please visit our homepage: <http://www.gfbv.de>

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
June - August 1999

Imprint

"Until the Very Last 'Gipsy' Has Fled the Country - The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo" - Human Rights Report No. 21

Published by Society for Threatened Peoples International

Copyright: Society for Threatened Peoples International

General concept, text and photos: Tilman Zülch

In collaboration with: Yvonne Bangert, Theo Fründt, Inse Geismar, Annelore Hermes, Lulzim L., Felicitas Rohder, Nijazi Sulejmanovic, Heide Thalmaier

Translation: Owen Beith

Print: Fabian Koch

First Edition: Göttingen, 6 September 1999

The Society for Threatened Peoples wishes to thank the writer and journalist Paul Polansky for his inspiration and collaboration. Polansky has published several books on Roma in Eastern Europe. Currently, he is living in a UNHCR camp for Roma and Ashkali in Krushevc/ Krusevac near Obiliq/Obilic in Kosovo.

This documentation is available both in English and German. It can be ordered for 10 German Marks (plus package and porto) from the Society for Threatened Peoples:

Society for Threatened Peoples, Dispatcher (Versand), P.O. Box 2024, D-37010 Goettingen, Phone +49/ 551/ 49906-12, Fax +49/ 551/ 58028, or by e-mail: versand@gfbv.de.

Account: Sparkasse Göttingen, Konto 1917, BLZ 260 500 01

Society for Threatened Peoples

Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker

P.O. Box 2024, D - 37010 Göttingen

Phone +49 / 551 / 499060, Fax +49 / 551/ 580 28

E-Mail: info@gfbv.de. Homepage: <http://www.gfbv.de>

Contents

Until the Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country - The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo

Appeal of Guenter Grass

1. Fact-Finding Mission of Tilman Zülch, President of GfbV International, to Kosovo, 4-18 August 1999

Foreword

Roma and Ashkali: Minorities in Kosovo

Discrimination against the Roma and Ashkali

Eye-Witness Reports

Destroyed Roma Communities

Intact Roma Communities

Conclusions

Recommendations

2. Paul Polansky: The British Solution of the Refugee Problem in Kosovo

3. The expulsion of the Roma from Kosovo: Documented by Relief Agencies, Human Rights Organisations and Journalists

Documented reports of harassment, expulsion and oppression of Roma by Serbian troops up to June 1999

Documented reports of expulsions and threats of expulsion, looting, burning of Roma houses, flight of Roma

Situation of Roma refugees in or outside Kosovo

Reports of abductions of Roma, imprisonment, detention, torture and beatings

Reports of killings

Reports of violence against women and rape

Reports of Roma being forced to cooperate with the Serbian troops; reports of Roma solidarity with Albanians

Failure of KFOR to provide adequate protection

4

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
June - August 1999

4. Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo: Fact Finding Mission, 4 – 18 August 1999

Foreword

People with dark skins, members of the Roma and Ashkali minorities, are unable to walk through the streets and public open spaces of Kosovo's towns without fearing for life and limb. A large part of the Kosovo Albanian population, who for ten years were themselves the victims of a Serbian policy of 'apartheid', are now supporting, advocating or excusing a rigorous policy of "racial" separation.

Within the space of a mere three months the majority of members of minority groups of Indian descent, who have lived in Kosovo for centuries, have been forced to leave their homes and been driven out of their own country¹. Most of their houses and the villages and urban areas where they formerly lived have been destroyed. Roughly three quarters of the Roma and Ashkali have been forced to seek shelter in refugee camps or are living in slum conditions in the neighbouring countries of Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Albania. Thousands of them have risked the dangerous sea crossing to Italy in frail and overloaded ships and boats. A considerable number have drowned in the Adriatic. Many of the Roma and Ashkali still left in Kosovo are living in UNHCR camps for "displaced persons". They are refugees in their own country.

Previously, since March 1998, the Albanian population were the victims of the most appalling crimes. Taking into account the number of those still missing, a realistic assessment must start from the assumption that as many as 20,000 Albanians were killed by Serbian troops. Another 20,000 - the elderly, the sick, the injured, the handicapped, small children and infants failed to survive expulsion to neighbouring countries and their flight through the forests and across the mountains of Kosovo. As far as anyone can tell the fate of these people was not recorded in any statistics compiled within Kosovo, but they too are the victims of genocide. The Milosevic regime is responsible for their deaths as well. In early June 1999, before the K-FOR troops entered Kosovo, the Society for Threatened Peoples (STP) published an extensively detailed report entitled "Genozid im Kosovo" (published in English under the title "Genocide in Kosovo") which showed that the Serbian army, special police and paramilitaries had committed genocide against the Albanian population,

¹ No reliable figures for the numbers of refugee groups in different countries have as yet been published. STP believes that up to 10,000 Roma may have fled to Italy and other Western European countries. A similar number may be in Macedonia. Up to 60,000 Roma and Ashkali may have been forced to cross into Serbia, a further 20,000 to Montenegro. 20,000 may still remain in Kosovo. A further 30,000 left to go to Western Europe during the years preceding the start of the war in March 1998 - roughly 20,000 of them to Germany. There are thought to be 2,000 to 3,000 Roma refugees still in Bosnia..

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
June - August 1999

contravening the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.²

The oppression of Kosovo over the decades since the province was incorporated into the Kingdom of Serbia after the Balkan War of 1912/1913 has fostered a strong community spirit among the Albanians of Yugoslavia and this perhaps explains the aggressive nationalistic attitude displayed by broad sections of the Albanian population since the liberation of Kosovo by the NATO forces.

Following the entry of the K-FOR into Kosovo the Serbian administration collapsed within a few days. Since 1989 all the official institutions of Albanian autonomy have gradually been dismantled by the Milosevic government. As a result, widespread anarchy has prevailed throughout the country during the weeks and months since the war ended in June 1999, only partially restrained by the intervention of K-FOR troops. Acts of vandalism of all kinds, acts of revenge by Albanian civilians, targeted attacks by armed UCK units and the activities of a newly-developed Mafia, partly local in origin and partly directed from Albania, have demonstrated the inadequacies of the police, the courts and the administrative authorities.

Nevertheless there can be no justification for such a large section of the Albanian population engaging in acts of barbarism directed against an unpopular minority. The local Serbian population was unfairly held collectively responsible for the genocide and mass expulsion. The crimes against Roma and Ashkali cannot be excused on the basis of alleged looting and war crimes committed by individual members of this minority.

Within three months a merciless policy of "ethnic cleansing" targeting the Roma and Ashkali ethnic groups was in force throughout most of Kosovo. This "ethnic cleansing" did not involve any campaign of genocide along the lines of the Serbian model but demonstrated instead that a mass exodus of population can be achieved simply through threats and intimidation and individual acts of brutality, rape, abduction and murder. The possibility that expulsion has resulted in deaths on a large scale in refugee camps in neighbouring countries cannot be ignored. Under the terms of Article II (c) of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes of Genocide of 9.12.1948 such mass deaths may form the basis for a charge of genocide against those Albanians responsible for the mass expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali.

Thus for the second time since the Holocaust, European Roma minorities have been the victims of collective persecution. Firstly the Bosnian Roma, together with the Bosnian Muslims, were the victims of a genocide perpetrated by the Milosevic regime. Now we can see that many of the cowardly acts of murder recently

² The STP report published at the start of June 1999 received widespread attention in the German-language media and internationally as well. More than any other European human rights organisation, for more than a decade STP has championed the cause of the threatened Albanian population of Kosovo in a wide range of publications, press conferences and awareness-raising events.

committed in Kosovo remind us to the crimes of Milosevic's forces: the body of a 70-year-old Roma man was recovered from a cellar used as a torture chamber by the UCK; a 50-year-old father is no longer able to walk after being beaten by UCK soldiers; people have been abducted and not seen again since; young children and mothers expelled by Albanians have died in a UNHCR camp as a result of weakness and exhaustion; a 60-year-old man was abducted and his body found in a forest; mentally-ill people have been murdered, burned to death in their own homes.

The Albanian population of Kosovo and its political movement, which under Rugova's leadership spent a decade engaged in non-violent resistance, are at risk of forfeiting their good name. A large part of the population condone the mistreatment and expulsion of the Kosovar "Gipsies". Hundreds of thousands of Albanians must have witnessed the expulsions and the day-by-day annihilation of the Roma communities by their fellow-countrymen which took place before their eyes. Up until now there has been little sign of opposition on the part of Albanian journalists, intellectuals, political parties and the UCK, the armed resistance movement which has frequently been complicit in the pogrom. Two-thirds of the communities where the Roma and Ashkali lived have been burned down. Destructions and expulsions continue daily.

Each and every European should find it intolerable that a minority whose extermination Hitler set in motion - a people who dwelt on our continent for a thousand years - should be experiencing collective persecution in a region of Europe which has been given its freedom through the efforts of European governments and whose expelled population are now able to return to their own homes. It should be particularly intolerable for people living in Germany and Austria, the countries where the persecution of Sinti and Roma began, to accept that fellow Europeans should be persecuted and expelled from their own country, simply because most of them have a darker skin than the other inhabitants of Kosovo.

We would also urge K-FOR troops to be mindful of their particular responsibility, so often inadequately discharged, to give their protection to anyone who may now be expelled. It is incomprehensible how K-FOR can still be unwilling to provide any of the remaining communities of Roma and Ashkali, which exist under constant threat, with round-the-clock protection.

STP has once previously succeeded in influencing the fate of one group of Roma, the German Sinti and Roma. Then we managed to secure worldwide publicity for the cause of this minority and succeeded in bringing about a change in German policy concerning the Sinti and Roma.

We must now renew our efforts today. This report, which appears in German, English, and Albanian versions, aims to set in motion an operation to save the Roma and Ashkali of the Kosovo. At the same time STP is embarking on a campaign focusing on the human rights of the Roma and Ashkali.

Roma and Ashkali: Minorities in Kosovo

The international media coverage of the past year has generally assumed that the population of Kosovo is 90 per cent Albanian and 10 per cent Serb (including Montenegrins). This very rough measure of the diversity of Kosovo fails to give due recognition of the presence of other minorities. The most recent census data (1991) refer to the following ethnic groups living alongside the Albanian majority in Kosovo: Serbs and Montenegrins (10,75%), Bosniaks (3%), Turks (0,5%), Roma (2,5%), Croats (0,4%), "Yugoslavs" (0,15%). These figures take no account of two long-established smaller ethnic groups, numbering at most several thousand members, the Circassians and the Bulgarian/Macedonian-speaking Torbesh or Pomaks

As is the case with national censuses elsewhere in Southern Europe the numbers of the Roma and related groups in Kosovo is very much understated. One reason for this is that a significant number of Roma declare themselves as belonging to other groups such as Albanians, Serbs, Turks or "Yugoslavs".

People are described as Roma in Kosovo if their mother-tongue is predominantly Romanes and they normally have Albanian and Serbian as their second and third languages, although some may also speak Turkish. Roughly half the population of "Indian descent" define themselves as Ashkali. This ethnic group speaks Albanian as their mother tongue, like the majority of the Roma in Kosovo professes the Muslim faith and has in the past sent its children to Albanian schools, in particular during the decade since the Milosevic regime abolished Kosovo's autonomy (1989). During the recent months of war (between the end of March 1998 and the beginning of June 1999) a considerable number of Ashkali, as well as Roma, fled from Serbian troops to places elsewhere in Kosovo or abroad. Some of the Ashkali refer to themselves simply as "Muslims". One version of the origin of the Ashkali holds that they originally came from Egypt. It has been said that they arrived in South-East Europe at the time of Alexander the Great, approximately 300 years before the birth of Christ. This account is not supported by historians and ethnologists.

The Roma in Kosovo have until now been considered as a number of different sub-groups. These ethnological categories are of no relevance to our human rights report. However it is important to note that the Ashkali were closely dependent on the Albanian population and have generally declared their identity as Albanian in censuses. That has meant the official number of Roma and related groups in Kosovo has been halved at least. Many Ashkali said to us in relation to their persecution: "We were afraid of the Serbs. We did not expect this from the Albanians."

The Society for Threatened Peoples (STP) considers a figure of 150,000 for the Roma and Ashkali in Kosovo to be realistic, particularly if we include the approximately 30,000 refugees who left the country during the years before the outbreak of war in March 1998. There must be approximately 20,000 in

Germany with provisional refugee status. The percentage of Roma and Ashkali in the population of Kosovo could be as high as eight per cent.

Hardly any other single minority in Europe have had to struggle against so many prejudices as have the Roma and other related groups (Sinti, Gitano, Ashkali, etc.). The stereotype of the "Gipsy" disappears very quickly with a brief visit to one of the Roma communities in Kosovo. The people living there have all types of skin and hair colouring - fair-haired children who might be from Sweden, a variety of facial appearances which would not stand out in any Albanian village, and people who might come from India or further East.

Under the Serbian 'apartheid' system most of the Roma and Ashkali families in Kosovo had modest incomes, affording a limited degree of prosperity. The majority lived in their own houses or small cottages, which were furnished in a modern style and had their own walled courtyard or garden. Many possessed a car of their own. The children on the whole attended Albanian schools. Often members of the family working abroad contributed economic support, in the same way as the Albanians did. Thousands of Ashkali and Roma worked in the major state-owned enterprises, particularly in mining and the power industry. In many villages Ashkali families had a second source of income through agricultural activities such as owning cattle and market gardening. Members of the Ashkali group who considered themselves as "Albanian" were particularly affected by the loss of jobs following the abolition of autonomy in 1989. Other Ashkali and Roma in particular benefited from preferential treatment in the allocation of jobs by the Serbian authorities following the dismissal of the Albanians.

Kosovo: Discrimination against Roma and Ashkali

The civil rights movement of the European "Gipsies" - the Roma, Sinti, Gitanos, Travellers, Jenische and many other groups - complains of discrimination and the denial of civil rights in all the countries of Europe. There is widespread agreement today that the Roma population of Eastern and South-eastern Europe is particularly subjected to discrimination, economic exploitation and indeed persecution. In the former Yugoslavia Albanians and Roma, as non-Slav minorities, were often underprivileged, disadvantaged and discriminated against, as a result of which the Roma were assigned the lowest position on the ladder of the social hierarchy.

When Roma and Ashkali are questioned about in their situation before the war and also before the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy (1989), their answers differ. Roma are prepared to admit more openly to having frequently been treated as pariahs by the Albanians and the Serbs. Many of them refer to sharing a common interest as minorities who inevitably paid the price when war and civil upheaval afflicted the country. Ashkali who were in a more dependent relationship with the Albanian people and their culture can vouch for the fact that that their position within Albanian

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
June - August 1999

society was only infrequently acknowledged. They never received equal rights, most believed.

From questioning witnesses of specific incidents and many general conversations with Roma and Ashkali, we were forced to conclude that there was no solidarity with the minority as far as the Albanians were concerned. A distinguished Albanian human rights activist, a university professor, told us that at the end of the 1960s he commissioned a Roma man to review a book for him in an academic journal. His colleagues had held this against him for years. In 1998, during the first part of the war in Kosovo, the general council of the leading Albanian human rights organisation in Kosovo, which is made up of the representatives of the human rights committees in the individual towns and districts refused to admit a representative of the Albanian-speaking Ashkali.

Collective attribution of guilt has meant that over the last few months hardly anyone can feel secure. As a result the ranks of the expelled Roma and Ashkali now include long-standing members of the LDK (the political party led by Ibrahim Rugova representing the Kosovo Albanian majority), emigrants who contributed from abroad to the funding of the Albanian underground social system in Kosovo, people who were expelled along with the Albanians to Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Montenegro or who fled from their villages into the forests. In the refugee camps in Macedonia, some said that they were not infrequently greeted by their Albanian fellow-countrymen with the question, "What are you doing here, then?" Roma who had boarded the refugee trains from Pristina were ordered off by Serbian police saying "You stay here!" And after NATO forces entered Kosovo they received numerous threatening comments from Albanians such as "Why are you still here? If you haven't gone I'll be back tomorrow morning with a torch!", or "You must go. This is our town ", or "When none of you are at home we'll bring the petrol bombs!"

The expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo - eye-witness accounts

The camp for "displaced persons" at Krushevc/ Krusevac near Obiliq/ Obilic currently (12.09.99) holds 1.254 Roma and Ashkali refugees who have been expelled from the villages and towns by Albanian extremists, neighbours and members of the UCK/ KLA. Up until the middle of July 1999 the refugees were accommodated in the school at Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje. After two children and one elderly woman died there from the effects of debilitation and exhaustion, the camp was moved to Krushevc/ Krusevac. This camp is under the responsibility of the UNHCR, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

According to information provided by refugees most of the homes of the Roma and Ashkali affected, and usually the entire residential area of each locality where the minority lived, were looted and set on fire or otherwise destroyed either during or after their expulsion. Consequently the Roma have been classified as "displaced persons" in the UN terminology. The camp at Obiliq/ Obilic contains "displaced persons" from the following towns, urban districts and villages:

Berrnice (Albanian name) / Velika Brnica (Serbian name)
Bresje/Bresje
Dobratin/Mala bzw. Velika Dobraja
Doran/Doranja
Doshevac/Dosevac
Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje
Golesh/Goles
Han i Elezit/Đeneral Jankovic
Kolubar/Kulobarska
Lipljan/Ljipljane
Magure/Magura
Malisheva/Malisevo
Medvegje/Medvec
Mitrovica/Kosovska Mitrovica
Obiliq/Obilic
Plementin/Plementina
Podujeva/Podujevo
Pomazatin/Pomazatina
Pristina
Rahovec/Orahovac
Skenderaj/Srbica
Subotic (Sobotic)/Subotica
Uji Kuq/Crvene Vodica
Vranidolle/Vranidol
Vushtrri/Vucitern

The UNHCR assured the people in the camp that the coal-fired power station at Obiliq/ Obilic would not be brought into service. However, the power station is currently producing up to 50 times the permitted level of harmful emissions, according to doctors in Pristina. After a few days the air is agony to breathe,

particularly for anyone of a weak constitution. The makeshift tables in front of each tent have to be wiped clean of soot particles every half hour.

According to our information, UNHCR was only supplying beans, flour and sugar to the camp in Obiliq/ Obilic. The refugees were longing for some fruit, vegetables and fresh meat. They found it intolerable that many tents had only one mattress for every three individuals. In the summer heat severely handicapped individuals, including children and elderly people were suffering from heart conditions and have been enduring a vegetative existence inside their tents. There have also been complaints that many of those who fled, escaping from a mob with only what they stood up in, have not been given any clothing. There are no facilities to enable families who have been torn apart to search for family members or tell relatives abroad about what has happened. We called on the UNHCR official in Pristina responsible for the camp and reported the problems. The sought-after supplies of food arrived a few days later.

The camp administration were in the process of setting up a school. Two teachers were ready to start giving lessons to the Roma and Ashkali. The lessons were to be given in Romanes and Albanian.

The general aim in the camp was to emigrate to a foreign country as soon as possible, because of the fear of further persecution and a sense of hopelessness following the destruction of their homes, farms and lives.

Eye-witness accounts of expelled Roma and Ashkali

1. A.E. from Dobratin/Velika Dobraja, in the town of Lipjan/Ljipljan, is a member of the Ashkali ethnic group. He attended Albanian schools. In the camp with him are 32 family members, among them four of his brothers and their families and including a physically- and mentally-ill adult man, a four-year-old boy and a three-month-old infant. The family used to live in two houses which are now in ruins. According to information provided by K-FOR soldiers they were threatened by the UCK/ KLA and told, "Hand over your guns", although they didn't possess any. Two brothers were beaten by the UCK/ KLA and fled to the Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje camp. There were more than 5,000 Roma and Ashkali living in the camp. When Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje was closed, they moved to the UNHCR camp for "displaced persons" near Obiliq/ Obilic.
2. S.A., 58 years old, from Vranidolle/Vranidol near Pristina, on the road to Podujeva/ Podujevo, is a member of the Ashkali ethnic group. He attended Albanian schools. He is with 20 other family members in the camp, including a 28-year-old woman who is handicapped as a result of chickenpox. The family fled to Albania at the end of March 1999 and have refugee papers issued by the "Albanian Office for Refugees". On their return they found that Serbian troops had looted their homes. Albanian neighbours beat them and drove them out and then the family's four houses were burned down.

3. R.R., 19 years old, an unemployed man from Pristina, used to live in a house near the stadium located in the centre of the town. He is a member of the Muslim (Ashkali) ethnic group and attended an Albanian school for four years. There are nine other family members in the camp, including a nine-month-old infant in a poor state of health. On 21 June 1999 at around two o'clock in the afternoon he was detained while on his way to his aunt's and beaten and harrassed by a crowd of 200-300 people. He was then arrested by uniformed members of the UCK/ KLA and mistreated. He fled to the UNHCR camp in Obiliq/Obilic.
4. E.A., 43 years old, a shop assistant from Uji Kuq/ Crvena Vodica near Obiliq/Obilic, is a member of the Roma ethnic group. He is accompanied by six other family members in the camp, including a six-year-old child. Five of his brothers have been missing since they fled their home. On 11 June 1999 13 people (Albanians) came to his house. They were not neighbours, they were strangers. They insisted that he leave his house. "What have we done to you?", E.A. asked. "We don't want to hear anything out of you", the Albanians said. His wife was threatened with knives. They were allowed just enough time to put some clothes on and forced to flee. Two days afterwards their house was set on fire. E.A. said, "I never want to go back again, I would rather kill myself and my family."
5. A.S., 50 years old, a construction plant maintenance engineer from Uji Kuq/Crvena Vodica near Obiliq/ Obilic, is a member of the Roma ethnic group. He fled along with members of his family including a 30-year-old handicapped brother who suffers from epilepsy. On 12 June 1999 A.S. was returning home from work when a UCK/ KLA soldier accompanied by Albanian extremists told him to disappear. The UCK/ KLA man said to him, "I cannot help you, you must go, even though you have a sick brother." A.S. said, "How can I go back, my house is burned down, no, I never want to return."
6. M.R., 37 years old, a machine minder, used to live in Uji Kuq/Crvena Vodica near Obiliq/Obilic, a mixed community of Albanians, Roma, Ashkali and Serbs. He is a member of the Roma ethnic group and fled with his wife and child and seven members of his brother's family, including a 55-year-old diabetic woman. He was forced to leave the village where he lived on 11 June 1999. Albanian extremists had threatened him. Previously they had been discriminated against and oppressed equally by Serbs and Albanians. During the period of the NATO bombing they were forced by the Serbs to carry on working (M.R. can produce a document which refers to this) in spite of their close proximity to NATO bombing targets. They had had no problems with their neighbours. During the war their relatives had fled to a camp in Macedonia. During their expulsion by the Albanians there were some British K-FOR troops nearby but they did not do anything. "We do not want to go back. We want to go somewhere peaceful where we can earn a living, where we can sleep safely and don't go in fear of being slaughtered", said M.R.

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
 Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
 June - August 1999

7. A.A., 37 years old, a storeman from the village of Pomazatin, near Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje, is a member of the Roma ethnic group. He fled with seven family members including a five-year-old child. He used to live near the airport, near Slatina. 300 metres from his house were some army barracks. In spite of being afraid of the bombing he continued to work until 1 June 1999, from time to time taking flight and moving somewhere else nearby. On 10 June 1999 he discovered the Roma houses in the village had been burned by Albanians. His 63-year-old father was mistreated by members of the UCK/ KLA.
8. I.A., 26 years old, a miner from the village of Asartora near Obiliq/Obilic, attended Albanian schools. He is a Roma and fled with 42 family members including eight infants and young children. Three of the infants are only four, nine and twelve months old. Following the NATO entry into Kosovo the family were threatened by local Albanians. "Now we are going to ethnically cleanse this place", they said, "all the Roma have got to go, only Albanians are going to be left here." As the confrontation deteriorated into a fight, he alerted British K-FOR soldiers. However all they did was "break up the squabble". "After tomorrow you can't stay here any longer", said the Albanian neighbours. The five houses belonging to the five brothers were looted and burned. "We never want to go back", they said, "We used to be afraid of the Serbs, we never expected this from the Albanians".
9. N.E., 50 years old, from Subotic (Sobotic)/ Subotica near Obiliq/Obilic, is a member of the Ashkali ethnic group. He attended an Albanian school. He is accompanied by eight other family members including a sick newly-born child (one week old). N.E. told how there were 50 Roma houses and 200 Ashkali houses in Sobotic. The Ashkali came from Egypt and the Roma from India. Almost all the Roma and Ashkali homes in Sobotic were looted and burned. There were several Roma communities in Obiliq/Obilic - Asartora, where 60 Ashkali houses were destroyed, Obiliq e Vjeter/Stari Obilic (Old Obilic), where 80 houses were destroyed, and the Kosova-B camp. The house where N.E.'s family lived was destroyed by Albanians following the entry of NATO troops into Kosovo.
10. E.D., a 28-year-old unemployed Roma man, is from Obiliq e Vjeter/Stari Obilic (Old Obilic). He has eleven family members with him including two young children aged one and two years. Following the NATO entry he was threatened by Albanian neighbours: "You had better go, or we will shoot you." E.D. says: "Our house has been destroyed, all our trust is gone, we are afraid to go back."
11. S.S., 48-years-old, an electrician from Obiliq e Vjeter/Stari Obilic (Old Obilic) and the Kosova-B camp, a member of the Roma ethnic group. He has twelve family members with him including a three-month-old infant and a mentally-ill brother aged 45. A UCK/ KLA soldier told him, "As far as I am concerned you

can stay." However the family was threatened by other Albanians and were terrified. They have no trust left and do not want to live their lives in fear.

12. U.I. is 31 years old and a lorry-driver. He used to live in a mixed neighbourhood in Obiliq/Obilic near Asartora and is a member of the Roma ethnic group. He has only his uncle with him in the camp and has lost his wife, his three children and his 56-year-old father. He fled on 8 June 1999. During the period of the NATO bombing he was pressurised by the Serbian authorities into continuing working in spite of the presence of military installations nearby. Three Albanian neighbours whom he can identify by name, handed over to him major items of furniture to look after before they fled from the Serbs. When they returned they took their possessions back and thanked him. That same day, 26 June 1999, his cousin's house was burned by Albanians. The next day his own house was also set on fire. He returned from work to find his family gone.
13. V.I., 41 years old, a welder from Obiliq/ Obilic, used to live in a mixed neighbourhood near Asartora. He has five family members with him including a one-year-old child. V.I. was a member of the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK), Rugova's political party, and he still has his party membership card. He spent five years in Germany, returned home in 1998 and spent time in a refugee camp in Macedonia with the members of his family. He said that "For years I have been sending 20 Deutschmarks from Germany every month for our underground schools. I was the last person in our neighbourhood to flee after we came back from Macedonia. Soon all the Ashkali and Roma left, every day another house was set on fire." A neighbour said:"You are all alone here now", and he replied "But I was registered as an Albanian, the Serbs dismissed me from my job in 1990 because I was an Albanian". Even so his 85-year-old father was beaten. "I will never go back", he said.
14. A.R. is 50 years old. He is a businessman, from the Xhamia e Llapit/ Lapska Đamija neighbourhood of Pristina, and is a member of the Ashkali ethnic group. His children attended Albanian schools. He has 17 family members with him in the camp, among them a twelve-month-old child. His own house and his brother's house were looted and destroyed three days after the NATO entry into Kosovo. He wept as he told how they were all driven out and all the Ashkali neighbours were beaten. They were threatened with death by members of the UCK/ KLA, even though none of them had cooperated with the Serbs. Earlier they had been beaten as well. All the goods he had imported from Germany had been stolen. Most of the 150 houses in the neighbourhood had been destroyed. The Society for Threatened Peoples' team visited the district and found only three Ashkali families still there. A.R. reported that the children had also been beaten. They had been accused of having cooperated with Serbs. That was untrue. His nephew was arrested by the UCK/ KLA and beaten. An Albanian neighbour tried in vain to protect them. A relative, R.I., 35 years old, was dragged from her house by men belonging to the UCK/ KLA. She was beaten and threatened with a knife,

- without any consideration for the nine-month-old child she was carrying. 24 of her members of her extended family, who can be identified by name, fled from the Serbs to Macedonia along with the Albanians, and 18 were still there. He produced a refugee identity document.
15. K.H. is 56 years old, a miner from Dobratin/Mala Dobraja (Little Dobraja) near Lipjan/Ljipljane. He is a member of the Ashkali ethnic group and his children attended Albanian schools. He has eleven family members with him in the camp. There were ten Ashkali and 40 Roma houses in Dobratin/Mala Dobraja (Little Dobraja), almost all of them were burned by Albanians. Following the entry of the NATO troops, uniformed UCK/ KLA men put pressure on them to leave the village. A man by the name of U.N. was taken away by UCK/ KLA men and returned after being badly beaten. K.H. said: "We are afraid of both sides, our houses have all been looted and set on fire - how can we go back now?"
 16. D.I., 35 years old, unemployed, in possession of a secondary school leaving certificate, comes from Magure near Lipjan/Ljipljan. He is a member of the Ashkali ethnic group and his children attended Albanian schools. He has five family members with him, one of them a Serb woman. 160 to 170 Roma and Ashkali used to live in Magure. Almost all their homes were destroyed, and in some cases the ruins were cleared away using a mechanical digger. Having fled to the Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje Roma refugee camp on 13 June 1999, on 16 June 1999 D.I. found that his flat had been destroyed. In the Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje camp in the "Aca Marovic" school (Serbian name) two young children and a woman aged between 50 and 60 years old died as a result of the effects of their flight, through lack of food and medical care. The woman who died was obviously traumatised and suffered a heart attack. The Serbian population of the village - 50 households - were also obliged to flee. A 60 year old Serbian woman was burned to death. The Roma and Ashkali were threatened with death for having allegedly cooperated with the Serbs, looted and killed. "We knew nothing about it. Serbian Roma may have taken part in atrocities. I don't see no any future in Kosovo for us."
 17. S.L., a 42-year-old Roma man, is a miner from Magure near Lipjan/Ljipljane. His mother has fled to Macedonia. He has a family of eight. Their home was looted and burned by Albanians when the K-FOR troops entered Kosovo. Nothing is left of the other Roma and Ashkali houses, an estimated 170 of them. On 10 June 1999 they were forced to leave Magure. They were unable to save anything, not even clothes. In the morning UCK/ KLA soldiers ordered them to leave the house by 8 o'clock or be killed. During the war months they were treated like Albanians, they were never able to move freely outside their home. They were forced to hide themselves in cellars, out in the open countryside and in courtyards and keep their wives hidden away from the Serbs. Now they are being beaten by the Albanians too, threatened with death and referred to as Serbs. Previously they were forced at gunpoint by Serbian

paramilitaries to sing Serbian Chetnik songs. Under no circumstances did he ever want to return to Magure. He prayed to God that they would be able to emigrate. He did not want to leave as much as a couple of bones here.

18. B.B., 21 years old, a labourer from Dobratin/ Velika Dobraja, is accompanied by 16 relatives. On 29 June 1999 they fled from a group of unknown Albanians and neighbours who had threatened them, asking "Why haven't you gone, we are going to beat you, don't ever come back again." They were not aware whether their home had been destroyed.
19. M.M. is 29 years old and a housewife from the Xhamia e Llapit/Lapska Ğamija neighbourhood of Pristina. She is a member of the Ashkali ethnic group. Following K-FOR's entry into Kosovo Albanians set her house on fire. Her husband, H.M., aged 36, was mentally ill. He remained behind when they fled and was burned to death in R.I. Street.
20. M.O., 47-years-old, from Pristina, reported that he was kidnapped on 20 June 1999 by Albanian civilians passing themselves off as members of the UCK/ KLA, then driven away and detained for five days in a cellar, where he was mistreated. M.O. is still unable to walk without someone else's support. His relatives maintain that he was in sound health before he was abducted.
21. Z.B., Ashkali, born in 1933 in Bernice e Eperme/Gornja Bernica and a farmer by occupation, went with his family to the Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje refugee camp at the beginning of July 1999 after he was threatened by Albanians. After he had fled his home was burned down. On 21 July 1999 he came to the UNHCR refugee camp near Obiliq/ Obilic. All the Ashkali from his home village had fled to escape from Albanian extremists, and their houses had been burned down. A Serbian paramilitary had wanted to kill them.
22. R.B., born in 1963 in Uji Kuq/Crvena Vodica, a bulldozer driver by profession, was threatened by an Albanian former friend returned from Macedonia (in June 1999) and sworn at for being an alleged collaborator with the Serbs. The friend had been expelled and had left his valuables with R.B. for safe-keeping. After he had given the valuables back to his friend, the friend tried to find out from him who had set his house on fire. The Albanian friend then told him to disappear or else he and his family would be killed. He accused R.B. of having worked for the Serbs, fought in their army and killed Albanians. In the four days that followed all the Roma fled from the village. R.B. closed up his house and went with his family to the Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje Roma camp. A couple of weeks later he drove back to have a look. All the Roma houses had been burned down, including his own and his father's. Only the houses of the Serbs were still standing. There were Albanians living in them now. These had always been the nicest houses in the village. There used to be 400 houses in the village. 100 Roma used to live there, along with 200 Serbian families and 100 Albanian families. The village had been the home of

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
June - August 1999

his forefathers. Thanks to war and flight his family is now scattered across several countries.

23. E.S., an Ashkali from Pristina, born in 1948. At 2 a.m. on 18 June 1999 he was expelled from his home by five Albanians in UCK/ KLA uniform. They came to the house and allowed him 20 minutes in which to disappear. He and his family fled in their night clothes to the Roma camp at Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje.
24. H.F., an Ashkali, born 1930, from Besi/Besia near Podujeva/Podujevo: After the departure of the Serbian troops his house was burned down, and so he fled to the Roma camp. Five houses in his village were burned by Albanian extremists. Albanians had threatened to kill him. All he possessed were the clothes he stood up in, a mattress and a blanket.
25. H.B., an Ashkali, born 1948 in Obiliq/Obilic and a labourer in the local power station, fled on 29 June 1999 after Albanians had threatened him. He went to the Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje camp. Ten days later his house was burned down by Albanians. Every day houses were set on fire.
26. K.B., a member of the Kovarch ethnic group, born 1956 in Uji Kuq/Crvena Vodica, fled his home on 11 July 1999 because Albanians had threatened to kill him and his family. He went to the camp at Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje, and after that camp closed he went to the UNHCR camp near Obiliq/Obilic. Three days afterwards his house was burned down. All he had with him was what he had on at the time he fled.
27. M.D., 53 years old, a labourer from Orlaj/Orlovic, was with his wife and son in the camp. Two sons and four nephews died in a NATO attack on a barracks complex.

Destroyed Roma communities

Pristina: Morava (Albanian)/Moravska (Serbian)

The large Roma neighbourhood ranges across the slopes of a group of hills. There are approximately 300 homes where the Roma lived. The area presents a picture of devastation. The majority of the houses are in ruins, for the most part destroyed after being looted. Some of the belongings of the departed owners, such as photos, papers, clothes, furniture damaged cookers, refrigerators, etc., are lying around, torn, broken or damaged, mixed up with clods of earth, pieces of charred timber and fallen brickwork in front of the houses. Albanians including refugees from other parts of Kosovo, hunt for anything that can be put to use, salvaging bricks, roof-tiles and timber from the rubble. Often there are Albanian refugee families occupying Roma houses which are still habitable. The terrified Roma fled in haste after the entry of the NATO forces into Kosovo. K-FOR forces failed to provide the threatened minority with any form of security.

I spoke to a number of Albanians living in the area. They claimed that Roma had been involved in war crimes and looting. However they had not seen anything themselves and were unable to give any account of crimes they had witnessed. An Albanian professor came past. I was told his name. I spoke to him but he refused to comment.

Pristina: Prugovc Divanolle (A)/ Divanjolli Prugovec (S)

This is a small, rather ordinary neighbourhood of approximately 40 houses. Until recently there were 20 Roma families living here. Now the majority of the houses are burned out and lie in ruins. The Roma were threatened and fled. After they left, the houses were looted. The K-FOR forces obviously did not intervene to prevent their expulsion. In the meanwhile a few Albanian families have settled in the area. When questioned Albanian neighbours level accusations against the Roma but are unable to substantiate them. They have not seen anything specific.

Pristina: Xhamia e Llapit (A)/ Lapska Đamija (S)

Above the Llapit mosque there was a Roma and Ashkali community of approximately 150 houses. The majority of the houses are now burned out or substantially in ruins. The Roma and Ashkali population were threatened and told to leave the district. After the entry of the K-FOR forces into Kosovo the Roma and Ashkali received death threats. Their homes were later looted.

We came across three remaining Ashkali families with eleven, ten and twelve members. There were also some Albanian neighbours, who were not harrasing the

three families. Women and children from the first family were sitting in a walled courtyard, trembling with fear. They pointed to the heaps of large and small stones which had been thrown at them in recent nights. They were terrified. The grandfather was an invalid and other members of the family were ill.

Two or three families may have been involved in the looting of Albanian homes during the war, but all the other families were persecuted too. The Albanians came and said, "Do you have papers permitting you to stay?"

The wife of the second family still ventures out to go to her work at the National Library. However she is able to pass as "Albanian" by appearance, due to her light skin. The third family hoped that 16 members of the family who had fled to Skopje, and the other neighbours as well, would be able to return. They all wanted the UCK and the British to issue them with security documents. They had all attended Albanian schools and, like all Ashkali, have Albanian as their mother tongue. I informed the British K-FOR officers responsible for them, who were stationed in the Opel garage near the city centre, and they promised to call on the three families and provide them with protection.

Vushtrri (A)/Vucitern (S)

In Vushtrri/Vucitern we were welcomed by the local representative of the "Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms" (CDHRF). He had a list of 350 residents of the town who had been killed by Serbian troops and extremists. In addition to this there were 94 names of the 'disappeared'. Much of the oriental Old Town of Vushtrri/ Vucitern had been razed to the ground, like the 18th-century mosque. 90 per cent of the 67 villages in the Vushtrri District are uninhabitable. The three Serbian villages of Gojbula, Preluzhe (A)/Preluzha (S) and Graca have not been destroyed. It is alleged that war criminals who were hiding in the villages were protected by French troops. Nearby is the Smrekovnica school internment camp, which many people pointed out as a concentration camp, and where the human rights activist had been detained along with several thousand other men, youths, elderly men aged up to 80 and even handicapped people. Men are reported to have died under torture on the premises. We wanted to visit the former camp but were refused entry by the French K-FOR troops posted there. We spoke to the human rights activist about the expelled Roma. He promised that he would investigate the situation.

350 people used to live in the Ashkali area of Vushtrri/Vucitern. There are only ten families still left there, 60 to 80 individuals in total. They had all shared the same outlook, identity, culture and religion as the surrounding Albanian population, they spoke Albanian as their mother tongue and the children had always been sent to the Albanian schools.

In spite of that most of the Ashkali were expelled in a violent manner. They were threatened with knives, according to one family told us, whom we are unable to identify by name but who still live there. The wife is a nurse and during the course of

the war she continued to work in a health centre. When the Albanian nurses and doctors fled after the NATO onslaught began, the nurse continued to look after the remaining Albanian families, providing medicines and medical care. In 1991 her husband was dismissed from his job by the Serbian authorities because he was an "Albanian". He was an engineer. He had been unemployed since 1991 as a result, and had spent six years working as a volunteer in the Albanian "Mother Theresa" Centre.

Nevertheless members of his family had still been attacked. On one occasion when the father was not there, someone had held a knife to his son's throat and so he fled to K-FOR, and during the period following the entry of the NATO forces he had been put on a transport to Serbia. Now the man is looking for his son while the mother bursts into tears in front of her three children. Albanian extremists made a sudden attack on their house, threatened to set it on fire, gave them an ultimatum to get out, told them to hand over their guns - when they had none - and tried to get them to make a "statement". At the time K-FOR was providing no form of protection. As a result almost everyone fled. Both K-FOR and the UCK had now promised to provide protection.

There are also 200 Roma families living nearby. However she had not had any dealings with them. The Roma speak Romanes as their mother tongue, and have a command of Serbian and Albanian. Members of two or three Roma families had appeared wearing Serbian police uniforms, but none of them were from Muslim families. However she was grateful to their Albanian neighbours and to the representatives of the UCK. "We longed for our freedom, but not for what the Albanians have done to us, which was what the Serbs did to them."

Obiliq/Obilic: Subotic (a./s.)

We spoke to a young Bosniak doctor. "Before it was the Albanians who were threatened with pogroms and looting, now it is the Roma. Here they set all their houses on fire, after looting them. It happened five weeks ago (beginning of July 1999). The Roma had the lowest standard of living in the community and did all the nastiest jobs. Some of them cooperated with the Serbian police but we should not generalise." One Albanian who was married to a Montenegrin woman, was still living there. He thought he had seen a number of Roma cooperating with Serbian police and provided names. He said they had been involved in the murder of 19 members of the Albanian Rama family. He showed us the houses of the Roma concerned.

We visited the walled property of the murdered Albanian family, now mostly in ruins. We looked at the freshly-dug mass grave. Another Albanian neighbour maintained that the eight Roma accused had worked closely with the men under the command of the Serbian terrorist Arkan, who had been billeted in the village. We were shown the houses. In addition, on 27 March 1999, at around 2.30 p.m., the Roma who had been named had loaded corpses up onto a trailer attached to a tractor, covered them with rubbish and driven off. They were prepared to go so far as to give evidence of this to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

However this did not justify the collective expulsion of the entire village community of approximately 700 people. They are all now in a refugee camp in Macedonia. This snowballing accumulation of injustice, the Bosniak doctor said, always leads to further injustice. All sides have suffered enough. Even those like the Bosniaks in Kosovo, who always stood by the Albanians, are now afraid of Albanian extremists.

During our time in the refugee camp near Obiliq/Obilic, Albanian extremists tossed a hand grenade into a Serbian restaurant. Five men were badly injured.

Of the four Roma and Ashkali communities in and around Obiliq/Obilic three have been almost completely destroyed.

Postscript: Report by Society for Threatened Peoples' worker Theo Fründt

Peja/ Pec: Qungur/ Cungur

Before the war 123 Roma families and 15 Ashkali families lived in Qungur/ Cungur. They owned over 100 houses. There were 5 to 10 people living in each house. The total Roma population of Qungur/ Cungur amounted to an estimated 600 people.

The expulsions began on 15 June 1999 following the entry of the NATO troops. Qungur/ Cungur is situated in the municipality (*opcina*) of Peja/ Pec, in the sector assigned to the Italian contingent of the NATO forces. The last Roma were forced to leave for Montenegro on 26 July 1999.

On 15 June 1999 Italian NATO troops visited the area. After they had gone, during the night masked Albanians passing themselves off as members of the UCK arrived. They proceeded to confiscate the cars belonging to the inhabitants, claiming that all the vehicles were stolen. The Roma were given one hour only to pack up their things. They were able to take with them only what they could carry. All their valuables were taken from them. The abandoned houses were looted by the Albanians, who had arrived with minibuses and tractors.

During the night of 17-18 July 1999 Albanians called at the house of Mrs R.B., aged 64. They forced their way into her house, pointed an automatic weapon at her face and took 50 deutschmark. They said to her, "Get out of here! All the stuff in this house is nicked!" Because she was unwilling to hand over any more money, she was beaten by masked UCK members, like all the other residents of the area. Mrs B.'s husband had only one leg. He died three days afterwards from heart failure. Mrs B.'s daughter, S.B., 38, has been living in Switzerland for the last 20 years.

The V. family tell the same story. The Albanians came during the night of 19 July 1999. One of them claimed to be a UCK commander. The intruders were masked. They cut Mrs F.V.'s arm with a knife. They wanted money and turned the house upside down. They threatened to rape the 18-year-old daughter and kill her

husband if the family did not pay 14,000 deutschmarks. The family is now living in fear of their lives in the deserted village.

During the entire period during which the expulsion of the Roma from Qungur/ Cungur took place (15 June - 26 July 1999) the K-FOR troops spoke to no-one.

Peja/ Pec: Lubeniq/ Ljubenica

Before the war there were 6 Roma families living in Lubeniq/ Ljubenica. The 20 Serbian families all fled before June 1999. Before March 1998 there were 150 Albanian families living in the village.

After March 1998 the Serbian neighbours burned down the vast majority of the Albanians' houses. On 2 April 1999 Serbian paramilitaries (Arkan's "Tigers", units of "Frenki"'s men and Seselj's "White Eagles") carried out a massacre of the local male Albanian population, killing 85 people. The Roma were also attacked by the paramilitaries and fled into the mountains. The women and children returned after a few days. They were mistreated by the Serbian troops. All their valuables were taken from them at the same time as they were questioned about the whereabouts of their menfolk. Knife wounds were inflicted on the women in front of the children.

The Roma men fled into the forests along with the Albanians. On 7 April 1999 the forest was searched by Yugoslav soldiers. The refugees split up, many wandered around on their own, soon it was impossible to distinguish between friend and foe. When the NATO forces entered Kosovo the men returned to their homes.

Mr R.V. had always supported the Albanian Party of Ibrahim Rugova and frequently associated with Albanians. He had also taken part in Albanian demonstrations in Pristina. His Serbian neighbours had commented on this. Now he was afraid to travel into Peja/Pec. Even the pro-Albanian Roma have for weeks now felt that they were no longer safe. "How would anyone in the street know I supported Rugova if they didn't know me?" he asked.

Intact Roma Communities

Obiliq/ Obilic: Plementin (A)/Plementina (S)

350 Serbs, 90 Albanians and 150 Roma live in the village. All three nationalities are still living side by side with each other. Plementin/Plementina could serve as a model of co-existence for the three ethnic communities. However this idyllic picture is deceptive. The Roma cannot step outside Plementin. Outside the confines of the village they are under threat and inside they cannot make a living for themselves. Because there is no more work for them in the coalmines and the factories they have no money and consequently no food. They received no humanitarian relief until the middle of August. The intervention of Paul Polansky (Society for Threatened Peoples/ STP) led to them receiving assistance from the British aid agency Oxfam. Some of them were ready to flee to the UNHCR camp for "displaced persons" near Obiliq/Obilic because they could not feed themselves. The villagers fear the coming of winter because they have no fuel at all.

The night after our visit the house of a Roma family was burned down. Albanian extremists obviously took advantage of the fears of a Roma family, who left their house at the edge of the village at night in order to stay the night with neighbours in the centre of the village. We visited the scene of the fire and noticed that even this humble property had been looted beforehand.

Podujeva (A)/ Podujevo (S)

In this small town in northern Kosovo there is still an intact community of "Muslims". The spokespersons for the community, Isuf Bajrami and Rexhep Sejdiu, describe the community's relationship with most of the town's Albanian inhabitants as good. They are in fact of the same nationality as the "Muslims", they always sided with the Albanians, their mother tongue is Albanian and they always sent their children to Albanian schools. However they are always referred to as Ashkali. Nevertheless it is their religious affinity which has been the decisive factor. Bajrami welcomed us to his comfortable house with its modern furnishings. Between 1981 and 1990 he was in charge of an agricultural cooperative and as an "Albanian", like many other men in the town he lost his job when Kosovo's autonomy was abolished by the Serbs. At the same time other men also lost their jobs as miners, construction work agricultural engineers and brick- and tile-makers. Later they had successfully managed to earn a livelihood in buying and selling.

Within Podujeva/Podujevo there appeared to be no problem. They were well supplied with humanitarian aid but they were unable to work. Outside Podujeva/Podujevo they were harassed as "Gipsies". In order to make a living out of their commercial activities, they had to travel round all the local area.

Today, Bajrami said, there are 1,500 Muslims living in the town. Formerly there were approximately 3,000. However during the years of Serbian oppression, since the ending of Kosovo's autonomy, half of them had been forced to emigrate for economic reasons. Had they been forced to cooperate with the Serbs? No. Had they willingly served them? No. The UCK had assured them that they would be safe in Podujeva/ Podujevo. Nevertheless they were feeling insecure and isolated.

Medvegje (A)/ Medvec (S)

The Ashkali residents of Medvegje/Medvec provided us with precise information about their community. In the village, which is located approximately 25 km from Pristina, live 605 Ashkali, including 230 children, occupying 79 houses. The village is also inhabited by 700 Albanians. Three houses are occupied by Serbs. The Ashkali of Medvegje/Medvec, like all Ashkali it goes without saying, have Albanian as their mother tongue and have always attended Albanian schools. So they have never had any problem with the Albanians. Their houses were not looted or destroyed after the war ended. They have lived here for 500 years. They used to work as miners. They owned cows and so they had extra food. Here in the village only a single Serbian house has been burned. According to information provided by K-FOR troops, Albanians had in fact attempted to threaten and intimidate them on 18 June 1999, but the Albanians concerned had not been their neighbours.

Unfortunately they had received no medical assistance or humanitarian aid apart from nine sacks of flour which they received after the NATO entry into Kosovo. However Albanian families have received humanitarian aid from the Kosovo Albanian Mother Theresa agency on a number of occasions. The agency's representative said that the Ashkali could not receive any assistance. 75 of them were miners and all of them unemployed. They praised the K-FOR spokesman, Terry Stevenson, who had worked hard to ensure that the Albanian and Ashkali families cooperated with one another.

In the neighbouring village of Vrelle/Vrela, which we were unable to visit there are still living numerous Ashkali families. The people in Medvegje/Medvec estimate that there are approximately 300 people in the village.

Pristina: Opel Garage (Garazha e Opelit/Opelova Garaza)

We came across the R. family when we called on K-FOR, who are now stationed in the large Opel Garage on the outskirts of Pristina.

In a small courtyard shared by two tiny houses lives an Ashkali family with 16 members. On either side there are Albanian neighbours who have returned from neighbouring countries. The H. family (who cannot be identified by name) were looking after the Ashkali family, providing them with food and shopping for them. "We are unable to go out in the street", said the grandfather, aged

65, whose five grown-up sons are forced to live in the same little courtyard. Several of them have fled their original homes.

The R. family had saved the life of their Albanian neighbours, the H. family, whose six members include two sons in their twenties, were unanimous in telling us. Arkan's troops (Serbian paramilitary) were about to force an entry into the Albanian-occupied house. The H. family ran to the Ashkali family. "I entrust the fate of my family into God's hands and into your hands", said the Albanian father to the head of the Ashkali family, who answered, "You may stay here. Before they can slaughter you they will have to kill me first." He hid the neighbours and Arkan spared the Ashkali house.

At daybreak Mr R. mixed the Albanian neighbours in among his 16 brown-skinned family members and crouching as they went they walked unmolested to Dardania, the nearest safe area in the town. The H. family fled to Macedonia.

The R. family stayed in Pristina but from time to time were forced to leave the home where it had become dangerous to stay. The head of the R. family provided the names of three members of the family killed by the Serbs. He gave their names - Mrs R.A., an elderly woman, was shot near Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje; an uncle, A.L., was hanged; an aunt, F.A., died as a result of mistreatment. And the gratitude of the Albanian population? - the Ashkali family, speaking Albanian as their mother tongue, are unable to leave their courtyard.

"They make the sign of cutting the throat if we go outside on the street", said the eldest son of the family. He is around 55 years old. They were in tears as they gave us a farewell embrace, even the old man. Seven children under ten years of age are living in that cramped courtyard. One of the brothers spent several years in Germany as an immigrant worker and he showed me a paper issued by the Günsburg mayor. The family are now living in extreme poverty and are dependent on what their equally poor Albanian neighbours are able to give them. "We have always been poor people", said old Mr R., "but now we are utterly destitute. We have no future left."

Conclusions

While international interest following the liberation of Kosovo by NATO forces was, understandably enough, focused on the return home of some 1.5 million Albanians along with the members of various minority groups, including Roma and Ashkali, and while every day new mass graves were being discovered, Albanians were embarking on a new mass expulsion of ethnic minorities - the Serbs, Roma and Ashkali.

Before the expulsions began there were approximately 150,000 Roma and Ashkali resident in Kosovo, although some 30,000 had emigrated to Western Europe as political refugees during the years before war broke out. Some 20,000 of these were granted permission to live in Germany.

Following the NATO intervention Albanian extremists and returning Albanian refugees, frequently accompanied by Albanian neighbours of the Roma and Ashkali and often also by armed and uniformed members of the UCK, turned their attention to attacking minority groups throughout Kosovo. They frequently threatened men, women and children with death, intimidated them and presented them an ultimatum - often at gunpoint - forcing them to leave their homes and the areas where they lived. On numerous occasions they set a deadline of only a few minutes or hours. Many Roma and Ashkali were only able to escape with the clothes they were wearing.

As a rule homes were looted and items of furniture, television sets and stereo equipment, cars and, in a few exceptional cases, even tractors stolen. Ashkali families who had been the only ones not to leave the area remarked ironically to us that the Albanians' approach to looting was a more thorough one than the Serbians', as even the bricks and the roof-tiles were taken. Carts belonging to members of the minority groups were frequently stopped and confiscated.

In the majority of cases the houses were then set on fire or destroyed using other methods, although it was not unusual for neighbours or Albanian returnees whose own homes had been destroyed by Serbian troops to take possession of them. By our rough estimate two-thirds of the houses belonging to the two minority groups were destroyed.

We have received information concerning the complete or partial destruction of areas where Roma and Ashkali lived in the following towns, urban districts and villages:

Berrnice (Albanian)/Velika Brnica (Serbian)
Breko (A/S)
Brest/Bresje
Brestovc/Brestovica
Dobratin/ Mala/ Velika Dobraja
Doran/Doranja

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
 Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
 June - August 1999

Doshevac/Dosevac
 Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje
 Golesh/Goles
 Han i Elezit/Đeneral Jankovic
 Kolubar/Kulobarska
 Landovic/Landovica near Prizren
 Lipljan/Ljipljane
 Magure/Magura
 Malisheva/Malisevo
 Medvegje/Medvec
 Mitrovica/Kosovska Mitrovica
 Obiliq/Obilic
 Plementin/Plementina
 Podujeva/ Podujevo
 Pomazatin/ Pomazatina
 Pristina
 Qungur/Cungur near Peja/Pec
 Rahovec/Orahovac
 Rasadnik bei Mitrovica/Kosovska Mitrovica
 Skenderaj/Srbica
 Subotic (Variante: Sobic)/Subotica
 Uji Kuq/Crvne Vodica
 Vitomira near Peja/Pec
 Vranidolle/Vranidol
 Vushtrri/Vucitern

During their expulsion the members of the minorities were not merely threatened. There were frequent examples of mistreatment and abduction, associated with torture, individual cases of rape, and killings.

Often people disappeared or were reported as missing. In at least one instance a handicapped Roma man was burned to death in his home. The number of those who were murdered or died as a result of their expulsion is as yet hard to determine. This is due in particular to the fact that at present the great majority of Albanian witnesses are unwilling to provide information about such crimes to K-FOR, the representatives of the International Tribunal in the Hague or Western journalists.

The majority of the Roma and Ashkali eye-witnesses are currently living outside Kosovo. For the time being we must assume that the number of deaths among of the members of these minorities is still less than 50 although there are probably several hundred Roma and Ashkali 'disappeared'. There are also thousands of others who have had no contact with relatives since the expulsions began.

On various occasions Albanian neighbours attempted - with some degree of success - to intervene on behalf of Roma and Ashkali who were threatened with expulsion. More usually, though, Albanian extremists, hostile neighbours or members of the UCK carried on doing what they intended to. In some places, such as Podujeva/ Podujevo for example, the local people prevented the expulsion of the local minorities. As a result over 1,500 Ashkali were able to continue living in Podujeva/ Podujevo. In a number of places UCK members also tried to prevent expulsions.

Nearly everywhere individual members of the minorities and minority communities gave in to threats and left their homes in terror. It seems that when Roma or Ashkali groups refused to submit to pressure, threats of extreme violence were not always carried out.

Where Roma or Ashkali communities have been able to continue living in villages or parts of towns, they must nevertheless be prepared to experience discrimination and human rights violations should they venture outside their village or local area. For instance in Podujeva/ Podujevo members of the Ashkali community complain that they are unable to pursue their occupation outside the town and have been very seriously threatened. By way of a further example, an Ashkali family of 16 members who saved the lives of an Albanian family in Pristina during the war months are now unable to leave their own tiny courtyard. At every attempt they make, even only to go shopping, they are overwhelmingly intimidated and sometimes even attacked. Anyone with a dark skin who ventures out onto the streets and open squares of Kosovo must expect to be abused, insulted, jostled and even attacked.

A large section of the Albanian population, even if they have not taken part in attacks, have nevertheless excused, explained away or justified the persecution of this minority group on the basis of alleged Roma or Ashkali participation in looting and the burial or disposal of the bodies of murdered Albanians or of their involvement in the perpetration of war crimes. Only twice however have Albanians who made this type of generalised accusation been able to confirm to Society for Threatened Peoples that they had actually witnessed activities of this nature.

It is the predominantly hostile attitude of the Albanian population towards the minorities that has made collective mass expulsion possible. Further encouragement was provided by the lack of any local policing, courts or other form of official authority over a period lasting months. In many cases K-FOR had provided inadequate protection for the members of minority groups, failed to maintain any obvious continued military presence in their communities, often did not intervene when individual Roma and Ashkali were being harassed or simply stopped "the argumentation" without defending the right of the people threatened to housing or health, and by escorting them to neighbouring countries they frequently assisted in the expulsion.

The extremist element in the Albanian population has been blatantly applying and to a large extent carrying through a policy of "ethnic cleansing" directed at the two long-established minorities of the Roma and Ashkali with the support or connivance of a large part of the UCK. "Ethnic cleansing" as we understand the term here is the mass expulsion of an ethnic group but without the genocidal character which the policy of "ethnic cleansing" assumed in Eastern Slavonia (1991-1992), Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995), the Croatian Krajina (1995) and Kosovo (1998-1999). We are forced to assume that these mass expulsions of the Roma and Ashkali were systematically carried out and controlled or at least tolerated by the UCK leadership.

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
June - August 1999

The mass flight and expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali during the months since the entry of K-FOR troops into Kosovo in mid-June 1999 was accompanied by individual crimes including torture, abduction, rape and killing. So we are not talking here about systematic genocide. On the other hand the authors of those crimes, including a large part of the UCK and probably even their leadership, by their actions or omissions must assume responsibility not just for the mass expulsions but also for the deaths of individuals - infants, young children, the elderly, the sick and the handicapped and injured who have died or will die as a result of the effects of their flight and expulsion. That includes all those who have drowned in the Adriatic while fleeing to Italy. Living conditions in the refugee camps, in particular those located in Serbia and Montenegro, give cause to fear that this autumn and winter there may be mass mortalities. The first cases of hepatitis have already occurred.

The collective attribution of guilt to Roma and Ashkali for the perpetration of human rights abuses against the Albanian population must be reconsidered. Those persons responsible are always individuals. Eye-witness accounts exist who testify to the involvement of individual Roma or Ashkali in the looting of Albanian property, mistreatment or killings carried out by Serbian troops. On the other hand there are other eye-witness accounts which confirm that more than a few members of the Albanian majority have looted and destroyed property belonging to Roma and Ashkali. Moreover those same Roma and Ashkali who were harrassed by the Serbian soldiers lost relatives killed by Serbian units, were forced by Serbian troops to flee to neighbouring countries or other parts of Kosovo and then returned following the NATO intervention have not been spared.

Recommendations

- 1. The representatives of NATO, UN, USA and the European governments can and must bring an end to the policy of "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo. They must publicly condemn the mass expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali ethnic communities and the alarming racist behaviour of a large section of the Kosovo Albanian population. Continued economic assistance for Kosovo must be made conditional on the Albanian population's correct treatment of the minorities.**
- 2. The leading political parties and institutions of the Kosovo Albanians are urged to issue an immediate condemnation of the crimes committed against the Roma and Ashkali ethnic groups, to commit themselves publicly to the protection of those minorities and to mobilise their supporters with a view to preventing all discrimination against or attacks on the minorities in towns and villages. They must strive to achieve reconciliation between Albanians and the Roma and Ashkali population.**
- 3. The UCK must identify those responsible for crimes, both inside and outside their ranks, and notify their names to the relevant international bodies. The UCK must also be required to assist in the repatriation of the Roma and Ashkali refugees and displaced persons with concrete proposals.**
- 4. K-FOR, together with the international police agencies, must identify effective measures to guarantee protection for the Roma and Ashkali communities and act publicly within Kosovo to ensure that Roma and Ashkali are able to move about unhindered in the towns and villages of Kosovo. K-FOR and the police must maintain a day and night presence in all Roma and Ashkali communities in order to protect the population under threat.**
- 5. Roma and Ashkali must be recruited, proportionately to their percentage representation in the general population, into the Kosovo police force currently in the process of formation. In Roma and Ashkali communities mixed police forces must be deployed in which the representation of members of the two minorities is always at least 50 per cent.**
- 6. Roma and Ashkali must be considered for employment in the work force of official and private undertakings proportionately to their percentage representation in the general population. Until such time as public order is re-established the UN Administration must take care to ensure adequate representation of the non-Albanian ethnic minorities in Kosovo in the allocation of employment.**
- 7. The UN Administration in Kosovo must issue immediately a public statement declaring that the property of Roma and Ashkali refugees and displaced persons**

Society for Threatened Peoples International:
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of the Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Reports of Crimes Against Roma in Kosovo
Documented by Human Rights Organisations, Relief Agencies and Journalists
June - August 1999

is inviolable and that any occupation or appropriation of housing or land, business property or other property belonging to the minorities will be deemed to be a criminal act.

8. The UN Administration in Kosovo must make an immediate start on the reconstruction of destroyed Roma and Ashkali communities. The cost of reconstruction must be financed in its entirety from the Reconstruction Fund for Kosovo. The Albanian extremists must be made aware that the resources for reconstruction available to the Albanian majority have been diminished as a result of the destruction of the property of the minorities.
9. The UN and NATO are urged to make a start, in parallel with the commencement of the work of reconstruction, on the repatriation of the Roma and Ashkali refugees who have fled since March 1998 and later since the middle of June 1999 to the neighbouring countries of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina or to Italy and other Western European countries.
10. UNHCR is urged to ensure decent and acceptable living conditions in the refugee camps for "displaced persons" in Kosovo, e.g. at Obiliq/Obilic, Zvecan near Mitrovica and Gjakove/Djakovica.
11. UNHCR is urged to recognise the Roma and Ashkali refugees in Serbia and Montenegro as "displaced persons", register them and care for them. Likewise those who have fled to Macedonia, Italy and other countries of Western Europe must be registered and cared for as refugees with UNHCR status.
12. UNHCR and ICRC must establish a search service for displaced Roma and help them to make contact with relatives in Europe.
13. The governments of the European states are urged to accept expelled or displaced persons from Kosovo and to care for them until such time as their repatriation is possible and justifiable.
14. European governments are urged not to forcibly return those Kosovar refugees belonging to the Roma and Ashkali minority groups who had already been granted full or provisional status in their countries prior to the start of the war in Kosovo, and likewise all those persons admitted during the war period, until such time as the nationality issue is resolved. They are at risk of damage to life and limb there.
15. As many of the refugees and displaced persons reject all suggestion of their repatriation after the persecution they have experienced, we appeal to the governments of Europe, North America and Australia to accept a part of the displaced persons within their refugee quotas.
16. The international community must carefully document all war crimes committed in Kosovo between March 1998 and the present date, irrespective of the ethnic

affiliation of the victims or authors. Only in this way, a collective attribution of guilt can be refuted.

17. In particular we call on the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Federal Republic of Austria, mindful of the persecution of the Sinti and Roma under the Third Reich, to work on behalf of Roma and Ashkali in the European and international institutions. Germany must make use of its influence in Kosovo to promote the welfare of these threatened minorities.
18. In the course of discussions in Pristina, the Society for Threatened Peoples (STP) has asked the Kosovar Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF), founded by Adem Demaci, to make vigorous and urgent efforts to promote the rights of the Serb, Roma and Ashkali minorities. The Council was asked in particular to make use of its extensive network of cooperation in order to ensure the safety of the Roma and Ashkali, to commit themselves publicly to the protection of those minorities, to visit their communities on a regular basis, to document human rights abuses against them and actively to support their return home. STP has also called on the Council to invite members of the minorities to become actively involved in collaborative work with them.

The British Solution for Refugees in Kosovo

By Paul Polansky

The decision by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to evacuate Serbs from Kosovo surprises no one living here. (For several weeks UNHCR has been smuggling Serbs across the border in order to save their lives.) KFOR publicly condemns this evacuation, but privately is relieved, at least in Prishtina, since the British army is reluctant to protect Serbs and Gypsies.

In Kosovo, as in Ireland, the British army openly favors one side--- this time the KLA. While other NATO forces struggle to maintain an even handed approach, at least in public, the British forces encourage random attacks by conveniently withdrawing forces from sensitive areas, or timing their patrols so that „professionals« know when the British are going to be absent. Arriving late on the scene, several hours late, is also a preferred British tactic.

When 14 Serb farmers were massacred several weeks ago, British forces heard the gunshots but didn't arrive on the scene for over an hour. When Serb and Gypsy homes were burned in Prishtina recently, the gawking public and the fire department had left by the time the Brits turned up in their helicopters „to search« for the culprits.

It has always been understood, at least in the British sector, that the Kosovo Serbs would have to leave. Assassinations of Serbs are still running from two to five a day in Prishtina. About the only preventive act the British perform is to warn the public not to be afraid. Two seventy-year-old Serb widows who believed the British, and are now dead, their throats cut.

The Gypsy problem, on the other hand, is not so easy for UNHCR to solve. No country has offered to take the Kosovo Gypsies despite their well-known work ethic and high level of education (many have college degrees). Knowing that KLA gunmen have also marked them for murder (in order to have no minorities in their newly won country), many Gypsies (Roma and Ashkali) have fled to displaced person camps. They are relatively safe in the Italian, Russian and French sectors. In the British sector the Gypsies have been offered to the KLA like sitting ducks on a fair ground shooting range.

Shortly after the war, the Kosovo Gypsies were threatened by the KLA, many in uniform, to leave their homes within minutes if they wanted to save their lives. The Gypsies in the British sector sought shelter in a large school building in Kosovo Polje. Many arrived wearing only their pajamas. Once in the camp, their homes, cars and other possessions were burned or stolen.

The site the Gypsies themselves chose as their refuge had a wall around it and was in a populated area. Because there were so many witnesses to their plight, the Gypsies were protected, at least cosmetically, by one British tank.

Unfortunately, the Gypsies were not allowed to stay in this safe haven. KFOR insisted they be moved because the British army had promised to repair this school for the local Albanians. UNHCR offered five reasonable locations, but the British forces would only accept one site, an abandon, isolated Serb army training camp that was next to a swamp and surrounded by KLA-infested Albanian villages. Militarily speaking, the site was undefendable.

The Gypsy leadership refused to move to the new site until a top-ranking British officer addressed the refugees, promising they would have around the clock British protection. His speech was video-taped by the Gypsy refugees and played over and over again in their tents to reassure themselves that no British commander would say such things unless it were true.

On the day KFOR „escorted« the Gypsies to their new camp, British hypocrisy was revealed. The buses taking the refugees to the new camp stopped half a kilometer short of the entrance. Everyone had to walk the last 500 meters carrying their own luggage. No transport was provided for the old and

crippled who ended up being carried by sons and grandsons. Along the way many Gypsies were stoned by local Albanians who darted in and out of the nearby forest. Once in the camp and seeing how close they were to an Albanian village, the Gypsies revolted and tried to leave. Their way was blocked by British jeeps. After two hours of futile protest, the Gypsies surrendered to their new conditions.

The Gypsies moved into their new camp on July 21st. On the morning of July 30th everyone in the camp (including myself) woke up to find the British troops gone. They had pulled out in the middle of the night. No one was told they were leaving.

It took two days and two nights for UNHCR to arrange for a two-man UN police patrol, unarmed, as the only protection for the camp. The British forces insisted they were still patrolling the surrounding countryside at night, but their armed presence was never permanent in the camp again. To quell protests about their pullout, the British promised to install a field telephone in the camp for direct communication with their tank base half a kilometer away. Two days after installing the field telephone, it was taken away by a British major who said he needed it to protect an abandoned Serbian church. Today the Gypsy camp (with a fluctuating population of between 1,500 and 2,000, mainly small children) is guarded only from 3 PM to 11 PM by one unarmed UN policeman. Sixteen empty Serbian churches in the area continue to have 24-hour armed British security.

Two weeks ago, two Serb homes just outside the Gypsy camp were burned by local Albanians. Although the inhabited homes were only fifty and seventy meters away from the Kings Royal Hussars tank base, British forces claim they never knew the attack took place until they saw the charred ruins the next day. The local Albanian fire department (which is next door to the tank base and whose firefighters are paid by KFOR) refused to put out the flames. Several days later, the homes were still smoldering.

Since the withdrawal of KFOR forces, the Gypsy camp has suffered four attacks, presumably by local Albanians. Although these attacks have only been tent slashings in the middle of the night, the refugees fear fire grenades will soon be tossed among their 180 tents.

Will this be the final solution, the British solution, to the Gypsies in their sector?

American writer Paul Polansky has written three books on the Czech Roma (Gypsies). Since arriving in Kosovo the middle of July, Polansky has been living 24-hours a day with the Roma and Ashkali in their camp in the British sector.

Table of Contents

ÓöÜëíá! Ááí áñÿèçéáí éáóá÷ùñóóáéò ðβíáéá ðãñéá÷íÿíí.

Abbreviations and Sources

AFP: Agence France Press	Serbian Orthodox Church, St. Sava Youth Press Service
AP: Associated Press	Der Spiegel, Hamburg
BBC: British Broadcasting Service, London	Sunday Telegraph, London
Berliner Zeitung	SZ: Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich
CNN, Cable News Network	Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin
Committee for the Protection of Human Rights of Roma, Kragujevac (Serbien)	TAZ: Die Tageszeitung, Berlin
Danas, Belgrade	The Guardian, London
Daily Telegraph, London	UNHCR: United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees
DPA: Deutsche Presse-Agentur	USIA: United States Information Agency
DW: Deutsche Welle	Washington Post
EPD: Evangelischer Pressedienst	Die Welt, Berlin
ERRC: European Roma Rights Center, Budapest	
ET: Electronic Telegraph	
Financial Review	
Frankfurter Neue Presse	
Frankfurter Rundschau	
FRY: Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	
GfbV: Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker [Society for Threatened Peoples]	
Greek Helsinki Monitor	
The Guardian, London	
Helsinki-Komitee von Serbien [Serbian Helsinki Committee]	
HLC: Humanitarian Law Committee, Belgrade	
HRW: Human Rights Watch, New York	
IHT: International Herald Tribune	
The Independent, The Independent on Sunday, London	
Infoblatt, Bulletin of Katholischen Zigeuner-Seelsorge in Deutschland [Catholic Pastoral Care Mission to Gypsies in Germany]	
IPS: Inter Press Service	
IWPR: Institute for War and Peace Reporting, London	
Le Monde, Paris	
NYT: New York Times	
NZZ: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zürich	
ODIHR: OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw	
OSCE: Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe	
OSI: Open Society Institute, Boston	
RFE/RL: Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, Prague	
Reuters	
RNN: Rom News Network	
Rom e.V., Cologne	

Documented reports of harassment, expulsion and oppression of Roma by Serbian soldiers up to the end of the war in Kosovo

Date/ Period	Details	Source
Summer 1998	Execution by decapitation of a Roma man by the UCK. The UCK officer present at the "interrogation" said that the man was a butcher hired by the Serbs to cut up the bodies of dead Albanians. He had admitted everything. According to a UCK officer, "We have done to him what he did to the corpses - chopped off his head". (Additional information: it was Roma who were forced to bury the bodies of the victims of the Serbian massacre at Rahovec/ Orahovac in the summer of 1998. They were also the source of the information concerning the number of victims.)	Die Welt, 26.6.1999
to 14.3.1999	70 per cent of the largest Roma settlements were destroyed during the war and afterwards. The following were formerly major Roma settlements: Pristina - Moravska (1,000 persons), Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje, Mitrovica - "Fabrika" (100 houses), Prizren, Peja/ Pec (300 houses), Qungur/ Cungur (90 houses).	Letter from S.H. to GfbV, 14.3.1999
29.3.1999	All the houses in Novo Selo near Peja/ Pec were burned down by Serbian soldiers and paramilitaries. There were 100 Roma families living there. Anyone still inside their house was burned alive. The survivors were deported to Montenegro on 1.4.1999.	Testimony of a Roma woman who fled to Sarajevo, given to GfbV Sarajevo section
Beginning of April 1999	The Roma district near the stadium in Pristina, with approx. 2000 inhabitants, was cordoned off by Serbian police. No-one was allowed to leave. Anyone who tried was shot at.	Rom e.V., statement over the telephone from Roma refugees
8.4. 1999	A group of Roma from Rahovec/ Orahovac reported that Serbian troops had chased them out of the town because it was alleged they were from Albania. They had observed the killing of 50 Albanians, among them women and children.	USIA Kosovo Update, 19.4.1999
to May 1999	Members of a Roma family from Pristina were led away by masked Serbian units. Along with other Roma they were forcibly deported by train to Belgrade and then onward to Nis.	Testimony given to GfbV Sarajevo section
May 1999	A village near Prizren was burned down. The Roma fled but fell into the hands of Arkan's and Seselj's forces. Some were killed and some injured. 23 people managed to escape to Sarajevo.	Testimony given to GfbV Sarajevo section
Date uncertain	Elderly Roma were forced by the Serbian army to assist them, for example in disposing of the bodies of massacre victims.	Rom e.V., published in "Infoblatt", 9.8.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

Documented reports of expulsions and threats of expulsion, looting and burning of Roma homes, flight of Roma

Date/ Period	Details	Source
June 1999	Three families were burned to death in their houses in the village of Dubrava	RNN (Michael Conachy), 20.8.1999
June 1999, no more precise details	A Roma man said that Albanians came to his house in Magura and told him to leave within two hours. They seized his six-year-old daughter and threatened to cut her throat.	Jim Heintz, AP, 3.7.1999
No details, probably June 1999	A 67-year-old Roma woman reported being knocked to the ground and her house set on fire.	BBC Europe, 5.7.1999
June 1999	The homes of thousands of Roma were set alight and the Roma forced to flee. Roma are easily identifiable, most of them living in their own neighbourhoods ("ghettos") within the towns. The (Spanish) Romany Union has said that the UCK have sworn to eliminate the Roma population of Kosovo.	BBC News Service, 6.7.1999
June 1999	The homes of Roma in Vushtrri/ Vucitrn were burned down. Albanians told journalists that they would only punish those guilty of getting their hands dirty would be punished. However they reported that Roma would also be driven out of their homes if they had themselves fled from other towns. They were said to have been told, "If you don't go, we will kill you." They tried to obtain help from the UCK headquarters, who told them to remain in their houses.	Financial Review, 25.6.1999
June 1999, no precise details	150 Roma houses were destroyed in the village of Uji Kuq/ Crvena Vodica. A group of Albanian paramilitaries from Drenica forced the Roma inhabitants to leave. In the village of Subotice (Sobotic)/ Subotica near Pristina several Roma women were raped.	Testimony of Roma from Kosovo, given to GfbV Sarajevo section
Middle of June 1999	Approximately 4,000 Roma from the villages around Pristina have sought refuge in a school in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje. 350 Roma sought safety in a UNHCR camp near the cemetery in Gjakova/ Djakova and some have asked to be evacuated. Another 1,000 Roma in the town were wanting to remain. Roma families were evacuated from Peja/ Pec by international organisations.	HRW, August 1999
19.6.1999	Expulsion by UCK fighters of almost all the Roma families (200-300 individuals) from a street in Vushtrri/ Vucitrn. The local UCK representative was unable to prevent the expulsion. The French soldiers called to help did not intervene but instead transported the expulsees by road to the town of Zvecane. They were looked after by the Red Cross in the nearby town of Leposavic and then found refuge in Novi Sad.	Report by a relative, living in Germany, passed on to GfbV by a Pax-Christi worker
20.6.1999	N.K., a Roma man from Obiliq/ Obilic, left the town with his family after Albanian civilians came to their house and ordered them to get out of their house.	HRW, August 1999
20.6.1999	Albanians expelled a Roma family from their house in Mitrovica/ Kosovska Mitrovica and "confiscated" a tractor, a car and a cart. A	ERRC, 9.7.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	Roma man from Prizren reported that televisions, stereo equipment, videos, refrigerators, and above all, anything not fixed down, were looted and carried away.	
before 21.6.1999	In Graca (500 inhabitants), 10 kilometres from Pristina, Albanian returnees drove out Serbs and Roma. British K-FOR soldiers stood by without doing anything as the houses went up in flames.	Göttinger Tageblatt, 21.6.1999, report by Erich Rathfelder
before 22.6.1999	Over 500 Roma, driven out by the UCK, have been stranded in Nis for the last few days. However Serbia does not want to find accommodation for these people. On the contrary, the Roma already living on Serbian territory have been threatened and ordered to leave their houses in order to make room for Serbian refugees.	Situation report by S.H.in "Infoblatt", 9.8.1999
22.6.1999	<p>A Roma man from Kosovo living in Germany reported that during the morning of 21.6.1999 he received a telephone call from his sister in Kragujevac (Serbia); she told him that she and their parents had been expelled from Vushtrri/ Vucitrn on 19.6.1999. Those involved were said to be UCK personnel. They were dressed in civilian clothing and with very menacing threats ordered the man's parents and sister to disappear, otherwise the UCK would slaughter them just as the Serbs had done to the Albanians. The men also said that there was no longer any place in Kosovo for gypsies, who were the majority of the families living in the street. Afterwards, according to the Roma man, his sister asked a UCK leader from the village of Cecelija for help, in vain. She then turned to the K-FOR commander who ordered a platoon of soldiers to escort her back to her street. When she got there she found that her family and all their Roma neighbours, apart from three families, had been forced to leave their houses.</p> <p>K-FOR then called up transport to take these 200-300 Roma to the town of Zvecane; from there the expelled Roma made their way with difficulty to the town of Leposavic, where they were looked after by the Red Cross.</p>	Account given by a Roma refugee living in Germany, 22.6.1999
around 24.6.1999	In Mitrovica Albanians particularly targeted houses in the mainly abandoned Roma quarter of the town for looting and burning.	TAZ, 25.6.1999
before 25.6.1999	Thousands of Roma had fled revenge attacks by the returning Albanians. The Roma were suspected by Albanians of having collaborated with the Serbs and taken part in war crimes. Roma had allegedly helped to bury the victims of mass executions in the attempt to conceal crimes. Throughout Kosovo generally, Roma were expelled from their homes and their houses looted and set on fire. Approximately 3,000 Roma refugees have taken refuge in an old school in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje. To date a total of 10,000 are reported to have been expelled. Hundreds who had fled towards Belgrade were stopped at the border by Yugoslav troops and sent back. The number of Roma in Kosovo has been estimated at up to 150,000. The expulsion of the Roma from Mitrovica has taken place under the eyes of the French K-FOR. The opinion that many Roma have of NATO is a hostile one. "NATO has only made things even worse for us, and so we cannot trust them", a Roma man told CNN.	CNN 25.6.1999
26.6.1999	Expulsion of a Roma family by Albanians who set fire to their house	ERRC 9.7.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	in Subotica.	
26/27.6.1999	The houses of two of the leaders of the Kosovo Roma community were set on fire by Kosovo Albanians.	AP, AFP, DPA reports in SZ, 28.6.1999
25.6.1999	According to a report in Financial Review, returning Kosovo Albanian refugees set fire to Roma houses in Vushtri/ Vucitrn. They accused the Roma of having collaborated with the Serbs.	Financial Review, 25.6.1999
28.6.1999	HRW visited the villages of Brestovik and Vitomira near Peja/ Pec and found them in flames. Some tractors had been loaded up with furniture and kitchen fittings. Italian K-FOR soldiers prevented around 20 Albanians from looting the houses. According to an Italian officer the Serb and Roma inhabitants of these villages had left their homes several days previously.	HRW, August 1999
to 29.6.1999	Balkans correspondent Erich Rathfelder reported on the Albanians' campaign of revenge against Roma and Serbs in Kosovo.	Die Tageszeitung TAZ (Berlin), 29.6.1999
to 30.6.1999	Balkans correspondent Erich Rathfelder reported from Prizren that after the Albanians fled many Roma robbed their homes and now the returnees were demanding their property back. The homes of Roma who fled with the Serbs were now occupied by Albanians. The UCK have been ordered by their commanding officers to prevent acts of revenge against Roma, but many of them are themselves among the criminals. UCK forces and the Bundeswehr have been patrolling a suburb of Prizren with a large Roma population.	Göttinger Tageblatt, 30.6.1999
to beginning of July	The ERRC reported that nowhere in any of the Roma population centres that it had visited were more than half of the original Roma inhabitants still in residence. Since the beginning of July 1999, between 150 and 200 Roma had left the area of Peja/ Pec-Klina-Istok and had fled to Montenegro. In Zac 200 Roma had fled to the centre of the village for safety reasons.	HRW, August 1999
First week of July 1999	Albanians in Gjakove/ Djakovica looted approximately fifty houses belonging to the "Egyptian" ³ and Roma residents of Gjakove/ Djakovica. In addition 20-30 motor vehicles were "confiscated". Roma in Prizren reported the looting of two houses in the Ortokol district of the city and of one house in Dushanove/ Dusanova on 4 July.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
Beginning of July 1999	Report concerning the Roma district of Taslidije in Pristina which had been burned and looted. The report said that to date approximately 200 Albanians had been arrested in the German K-FOR sector for serious crimes such as murder and rape. A total of 37 civilian police officers from other countries had so far been seconded to Kosovo. The report identifies differing priorities for future action: Human Rights Watch in Kosovo is calling for the swift punishment of war criminals, while the K-FOR forces are primarily concerned with the demilitarisation of the UCK.	The Independent on Sunday, 4.7.1999
4.7.1999	Around 4.7.1999 UNHCR escorted a column of more than 70 Roma together with Serbs from Kosovo to Montenegro under the protection of Spanish peace-keeping forces. The Roma had asked to be evacuated	SZ, 5.7.1999

³ The "Egyptians" are Muslims who describe themselves as a separate ethnic group but are regarded by the Albanian population as Roma and treated accordingly.

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	from Kosovo after they were threatened with death by Kosovo Albanians. A short time before six Serbs had been killed with shots to the head.	
4.7.1999	Four armed and uniformed UCK officers gained entry to the house of the Roma man L.T. in the Piskota neighbourhood of Gjakove/ Djakovica in the middle of the night. L.T. was interrogated and threatened. Other local Roma (Egyptians) experienced the same thing, their "interrogation" often being accompanied by mistreatment.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
5.7.1999, 14.00 hrs	In the Dushanove/ Dusanova area of Prizren three Albanians, in civilian clothing and armed, threatened a 72-year-old Roma woman by putting a pistol to her mouth. They doused the house with petrol and set fire to it. According to reports there were five Roma in the house. When questioned, the next day K-FOR maintained that they had dealt with the situation and put out the fire. However residents say that they put the fire out themselves.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
5.7.1999	Albanians set fire to a house in the Roma village of Berkoc, near Gjakove/ Djakovica.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
before 5.7.1999	Hundreds of Roma driven from their homes by Albanians have found refuge in a school building in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje.	BBC News, 5.7.1999
5.7.1999	In a letter from the European Roma Rights Center to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in which the Secretary-General was informed that - according to Lieutenant Grotzow of the German K-FOR contingent in Prizren - a Roma house had been burned down in the Roma district of Dushanove/ Dusanova in Prizren. The persons responsible were Albanians.	ERRC, 16.7.1999
before 7.7.1999	A refugee from Gjilan/ Gnjilane at present in Bujanovac, Serbia, reported that there were approximately 3,500 refugees staying in Bujanovac who had been pressurised into leaving their homes by the UCK.	RNN, 7.7.1999
9.7.1999	According to statements from UNHCR in Geneva, Roma, Serbs and other minorities in Kosovo are increasingly frequently being subjected to attacks and acts of aggression. At the same time the behaviour of the Serbian authorities towards the 100,000 refugees from Kosovo, whom they want to force to return to Kosovo, is to be condemned.	RFE/RL, Balkan Report, 13.7.1999
9.7.1999	In Brescovac 360 Roma were forced to flee from their homes to mined open ground in the cemetery.	NZZ, 10/11.7.1999
12.7.1999	According to Roma interviewed in Gjakove/ Djakovica, approximately 30 Roma houses in Brekoc were set on fire and destroyed within 3 hours. A few days earlier men in UCK uniforms had ordered the occupants to leave their homes. HRW visited the Roma neighbourhood on 24.7.1999 and saw the charred ruins. Approximately 600 Roma from Brekoc and other parts of Gjakove/ Djakovica are at present in a UNHCR camp in the town, guarded by Italian K-FOR troops. The Roma are able to leave the camp at any time but do not dare to do so because of their fear of retaliatory action by the UCK. A man in the camp said that "All the Roma who collaborated with the Serbs have left the camp. And we are held prisoner here even though we have done nothing." None of the Roma interviewed wanted their names to be disclosed.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
13.7.1999	Approximately half of the 120-150,000 Kosovo Roma have fled from Kosovo since the middle of June 1999, fearful of the revenge of the	AFP, 13.7. 1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	<p>returning Albanians. Dragoljub Ackovic, Chairman of the Roma Congress Party, admitted that "several dozen« Roma had taken part in looting and robbery in Kosovo. Ackovic estimated the total Roma population of the Yugoslav Federal Republic at 800,000. Some 8,000 Roma from Kosovo have sought refuge in Belgrade and several thousand others in Montenegro. Up to 5,000 Roma wanted to leave the Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje district of Pristina but were unable to because they did not know where to go.</p>	
to 14.7.1999	<p>Report from Mitrovica: The River Ibar divides the town into two halves. The southern part of the town, formerly inhabited by both Albanians and Roma, has been abandoned by the Roma. The mayor, Bajram Rexhepi, appointed by the UCK, condemned the burning of the Roma district by the Albanians as "absolutely unacceptable«, even though the Roma had allegedly looted the houses of the expelled Albanians in the first place. The French K-FOR commander Philippe Tanguy was of the opinion that the destruction of the Roma quarter could not have been prevented; the small houses were crowded up against one another and the fire had spread rapidly.</p>	TAZ (Thomas Schmid), 14.7.1999
14.7- 17.7.1999	<p>At night-time between 14 and 17.7.1999 Roma houses in Landovica, a village 10 km north of Prizren, were destroyed and looted. Seven houses were burned down. On the Saturday morning two Albanians associated with the fire-raising were arrested by K-FOR.</p> <p>Another community of around 200 Roma from the area around Istok asked to leave the area, because when it was announced that the K-FOR contingent there was to be withdrawn the Roma felt they were no longer had sufficient protection.</p> <p>In the area around Mitrovica two groups of Roma (200 and 400 individuals) took refuge in a school and a warehouse.</p> <p>On 17.7.1999 106 Roma left Shtime/ Stimlje for Ferizaj/ Urosevac as they no longer felt safe in their homes.</p>	20.7.1999, Official U.S. Policy Materials on Kosovo
18.7.1999	<p>A Roma extended family with 33 members were forced to leave their home in the village of Dobratin/ Velika Dobraja in Kosovo in the middle of the night by UCK men. Afterwards the Albanians burned the house down. The family fled with a horse and cart and after an epic journey found shelter in an elementary school outside Pristina/ Prishtine serving as a refugee camp for Roma. According to statements made by Ibrahim Hasani, the person "in charge", there were 5,044 Roma refugees in the temporary camp. Hasani reported that after the departure of the Serbian police the Albanians began "to beat, abduct and kill" the Roma. Hasani reported 20 cases of kidnappings of Roma known to him personally.</p>	18.7.1999, Der Tagesspiegel
before 20.7.1999	<p>Approximately 20,000 Roma have been forced to leave Kosovo for Serbia and then forced by the Serbs to return to northern Kosovo again. Greek Helsinki Monitor have appealed to the international community to guarantee the safe return of Roma refugees from abroad. Inside the Yugoslav Federal Republic Roma Organisations have been involved in setting up democratic institutions.</p>	Greek Helsinki Monitor, 20.7.1999
20.7.1999	<p>A boat carrying 541 Roma from Kosovo (208 children, 149 men and</p>	RNN, 21.7.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	184 women) reached Brindisi. The day before 762 Roma from Kosovo had reached Italy. On 19 July the Italian government decided that Italy would not accept any more refugees from Kosovo as the war was over. Anyone arriving now will be regarded as having no right of entry and will be sent back to their country of origin. All the Roma reaching Brindisi and Bari reported that they had been badly mistreated. Their houses had been destroyed and their lives threatened.	
20.7.1999	A boat carrying 541 Roma, 208 of them children, had arrived at Brindisi. The day before 762 Roma refugees had arrived.	RNN, 29.7.1999; HRW, August 1999
before 27.7.1999	There are only approximately 10,000 Roma still in Kosovo. 7,000 have fled from Prizren, 35,000 from Gjakove/ Djakovica and approximately 13,000 from Peja/ Pec. The total number who have fled is estimated at approximately 120,000. The majority have crowded into the Roma areas of towns in Serbia, up to 20,000 persons in Belgrade alone. Approximately 20,000 have fled to Macedonia. The Serbian authorities have told the Roma, as they have told Serbs from Kosovo, that the situation in Kosovo is "completely safe « and they should return home.	Balkan Crisis Report, IWPR No. 61, 27.7.1999
before 30.7.1999	In Qungur/ Cungur, a Roma village with 120 houses approx. 7 km from Peja/ Pec, houses were taken over and the fittings stolen. Several houses were demolished or burned down. Italian K-FOR troops stationed in Peja/ Pec were not deployed. The Roma were not allowed to return to their village.	Cultural Centre of the Cooperative of Travelling Gypsies 30.7.1999
before 12.8.1999	The Roma woman H.K. reported that there were 150 Roma in the village of Uji Kuq/ Crvena Vodica, not far from Pristina, which have now all been destroyed. The Albanians from Drenica had set up a paramilitary group which had expelled the Roma. Her brother had been threatened with a gun and ordered to leave the village immediately. According to her, Roma were also being driven out of Belgrade and Pristina by Serbs.	Eye-witness report, given to GfbV Bosnia-Herzegovina section, 12.8.1999
before 17.8.1999	Before the war there were 150,000 Roma living in Kosovo. This number has fallen drastically; there are now approx. 10-15 per cent Roma left there now, only in the reception centres in Leposavic and in Zubin Potok, under the protection of K-FOR.	Committee for the Human Rights of Roma in Kragujevac, 17.8.1999
19.8.1999	350 Roma from Kosovo have crossed into Macedonia at the border post of Tabanovci.	E-Mail from Roma human rights activist A.E. in Kumanovo, Macedonia, 20.8.1999
before 20.8.1999	It has been estimated that following the departure of the Yugoslavian forces there are now fewer than 7,000 Roma still left in Kosovo. Most of them are confined to enclaves surrounded by K-FOR troops and live in constant fear of attack by the UCK.	RNN (Michael Conachy), 20.8.1999
before 20.8.1999	Most of the Roma houses in the village of Silovi/ Slovinje have been burned down.	RNN (Michael Conachy), 20.8.1999
before	Mr N.A., in charge of the refugee camp in Krushevc/ Krusevac, near	Serbian Orthodox

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

21.8.1999	<p>Obiliq/ Obilic reported that "there used to be more than 6,000 people in this camp, both Roma and Serbs, but since we have been surrounded by Albanians who attack us every day only 2,000 have stayed here, and they do not feel themselves to be at all safe." Mr A. reported that the situation was less than satisfactory, as they only had flour and beans and "no yeast to make bread". There are no trained medical personnel in the camp so that women have to help one another give birth. "Two babies died not long after they were born because there was no milk. We stopped people leaving the camp because we were afraid that they would run away. We are trying to get hold of mangles for the nappies and medicines. Mothers are having to give their babies water instead of food and wrap them up in rags." The camp is under the protection of UNHCR and when Mrs Sadako Ogata visited the camp she promised help as requested, but to date none has been received.</p>	Church, St Sava Youth Press Service, 21.8.1999
before 23.8.1999	<p>Since the K-FOR peace-keeping force entered Kosovo 80,000 Roma have fled. The majority have been living in Serbia under inhuman conditions without a roof over their heads, a representative of the Yugoslavian Roma Association said. Many were afraid of Albanian retaliation for their alleged cooperation with the Serbs during the war in Kosovo.</p>	DPA, 23.8.1999
before 24.8.1999	<p>420 Roma and Serbs expelled from Kosovo were living in factory dormitories in Smederevo, a Serbian town 30 miles south-east of Belgrade, jam-packed into stifling hot rooms with no toilets or running water and swarming with flies. People were complaining that they did not receive enough food - only one meal a day and very small portions - and they were short of medicine and other basic necessities.</p> <p>Vidosava Vlajkovic, a Roma woman, produced a tin tray of greasy macaroni which she was preparing for her husband and three children's lunch. "This is for five of us," said Vlajkovic, who is expecting her fourth child any day now. "How can we survive, having to eat like this?" While she was complaining one of her children sat down on the floor and began chewing a fly-swat.</p> <p>The government is preventing Serbs and Roma from travelling to Belgrade, partly out of anxiety that they may add fuel to the flames of the Opposition movement to force Milosevic and his followers from office.</p>	Washington Post, 24.8.1999

Situation of Roma refugees in or outside Kosovo

Date/ Period	Details	Source
to 7.7.1999	<p>5,000 Roma who wanted to flee from Kosovo to Serbia had been turned back at the border by the Serbian authorities and were camped around a school in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje. A 42-year-old Roma man told TAZ that the Roma in Kosovo were driven out of their houses by Albanians, robbed and beaten. Many of the Roma stated that the UCK had organised what amounted to regular hunts of the</p>	TAZ, 7.7.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	Roma.	
Beginning of July 1999	NYT reported that 5,000 Roma expelled by Albanians were accommodated in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje in a refugee camp in a schoolhouse or in tents in the school grounds.	New York Times, 8.7.1999
July 1999	A Roma man from the south of Kosovo was beaten up by Albanian refugees from the Stenkovec refugee camp	Nordbayerischer Kurier, 31.7.1999, published in "Infoblatt", 23.8.1999
before 15.7. 1999	A total of approximately 120,000 Roma have fled from Kosovo, 90,000 of them to Central Serbia, 30,000 abroad. It is believed that only 10 per cent of the original Roma population is still left in Kosovo. It is feared that the Roma who have fled from Kosovo to Serbia face the threat of famine. The Committee for the Protection of the Human Rights of the Roma in Kragujevac (Serbia) has stated that most of the temporary accommodation for Roma was extremely cramped. The Committee warned of the prospect of epidemics of disease. Cases of hepatitis have already been recorded In Roma settlements in Kragujevac.	Committee for the Protection of the Human Rights of the Roma in Kragujevac, statement in the daily newspaper Danas, 24.7.1999
to 22.7.1999	According to UNHCR statements, 1,800 Gabeli Roma and Maxhupi Roma in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje, who have taken refuge in a school, have moved into a camp newly constructed by the British troops. The Roma were told that water and power would be cut off and the security forces protecting them from attacks would be withdrawn, so that the Roma were forced to agree to move to the vicinity of Obiliq/ Obilic. Approximately 300 m away from the camp is an Albanian village whose inhabitants have protested against the arrival of the Roma by throwing stones at the refugees. A refugee relief worker reported a serious threat on the part of the Albanian villagers to attack the refugee camp with hand grenades. According to the relief worker's report the Roma were living under constant fear of attack.	UNHCR News-Refugees Daily, 22.7.1999
22.7.1999	According to UNHCR statements, Roma and Serbs in Kosovo have been gathering together in enclaves under NATO protection in order to avoid reprisals by returning Albanians. Forgotten by Belgrade and in no position to make their way to a safe third country the Roma and Serbs have congregated in ghettos at a safer distance from their former Albanian neighbours. In Prizren 180 Roma and Albaner took shelter on the premises of an Orthodox seminary. They fled from their homes after they were beaten and tortured by Albanians, having been branded as collaborators.	22.7.1999, UNHCR News – Refugees Daily
before 23.7.1999	The ERRC reported that Roma who had fled from Kosovo were forced to return by the Yugoslav authorities. HRW has received similar reports from Roma leaders in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
before 23.7.1999	Roma have also fled to Montenegro; for example there were 8,500 Roma from Kosovo in the Konic district in Podgorica alone, 3;000 of	SZ, 23.7. 1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	them accommodated in a tented camp. They had no running water and not a single latrine. Diarrhea and respiratory illnesses were rife, according to an worker for the US organisation World Vision who is providing the refugees with advice on health issues.	
to 27.7.1999	The members of the delegation were shocked at the atrocious conditions in several camps for internally displaced Roma, such as those in Obiliq/ Obilic and Gjakove/ Djakovica. It was clear to them that people could not continue living in conditions of this type and that refugee status in a third country was probably the only feasible alternative.	OSCE/ODIHR mission, 27 July to 6 August 1999
28.7.1999	A ship carrying 889 Roma refugees from Kosovo on board was discovered 60 miles off the coast and taken into the southern Italian port of Brindisi.	AP, 28.7.1999
29.7.1999	Italian coastguards stopped a boat in the Adriatic Sea with more than 200 refugees from Yugoslavia intending to enter Italy illegally on board, including 195 Roma.	AP, 29.7.1999
29.7.1999	<p>There are 1,300 Roma refugees from Kosovo in Kragujevac (Serbia), including 700 children and 365 women. 10 per cent of the refugees have been temporarily accommodated in a school. The other refugees have been taken in by local Roma families.</p> <p>The number of Roma refugees in Serbian towns is as follows: Nis - 2,000, Bela Palanka - 800, Raska - 1,000, Kraljevo - 1,500, Krusevac - 800, Vranje 500, Belgrade - 8-10,000. There are 15,000 Roma refugees living in Montenegro.</p> <p>The homes of approximately 70 per cent of the Roma refugees in Kosovo have been burned down.</p> <p>Conditions in the Roma districts of Serbian towns are disastrous: children in particular are at risk from diarrhea and hepatitis.</p> <p>Police road blocks are reported to have been set up round Belgrade to prevent further groups of refugees entering the city.</p>	Committee for the Protection of the Human Rights of the Roma in Kragujevac, Serbia, 13.8.1999
31.7.1999	Police have seized a ship off the Italian Adriatic coast carrying over 700 Roma refugees from Kosovo. The "Milos« was in international waters, en route from Montenegro to Italy. The ship was said to have been taken to the port of Bari and the refugees placed in a transit camp. They are fleeing Kosovo because of the Albanians and in particular the UCK, who have accused them of collaborating with the Serbs.	AFP, 31.7.1999, Frankfurter Rundschau, 2.8.1999, Die Welt, 4.8.1999
before 10.8.1999	According to statements issued by UNHCR, it is becoming increasingly difficult to find accommodation in the Serbian heartland and in Montenegro for the Serbs and Roma refugees from Kosovo. In the area round Bujanovac in the southern part of Serbia 1,000 of 3,000 expulsees are already forced to live in tents, Judith Kumin, UNHCR spokesperson, said in Geneva on Tuesday.	epd, 10.8.1999
10.8.1999	The Italian television reported that a ship carrying approximately 200 Roma refugees from Kosovo was sighted 60 miles from Bari. Four Italian coastguard vessels were reported to be escorting the ship to the port of Bari. In July alone some 5,200 Roma arrived in Italy on board ships from Montenegro.	dpa, 10.8.1999
before	Due to acts of violence, the flight of Serbs and Roma from Kosovo	Berliner Zeitung,

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

11.8.1999	has continued undiminished. According to statements issued by UNHCR accommodation is increasingly difficult to find in the Serbian heartland and in Montenegro for the Serbs and Roma who have lost their homes. In the southern part of Serbia 1,000 of 3,000 expulsees are already forced to live in tents.	11.8.1999
to 16.8.1999	Dennis McNamara, the UNHCR's Special Envoy for Kosovo, describes the position of the Roma who have fled from Kosovo to central Serbia as fundamentally desperate, and likewise that of the Serbs who fled from Kosovo. The consequences of the destruction of power stations by NATO bombing have made prospects for the winter even worse. Serbia's international isolation makes it particularly hard to find donors who will fund projects in Serbia.	Reuters, 16.8.1999
Beginning of August 1999	Figures given in the OSCE/ODIHR report on Roma refugees in the countries bordering Kosovo: Serbia: 20,000 - 100,000 Macedonia: approximately 10,000 Montenegro: 5.000 - 8.000 Italy: several large groups (600 to 1.000) Bosnia-Herzegovina: approximately 150 (according to UNHCR statements)	OSCE/ODIHR mission, 27 July to 6 August 1999
12.8.1999	In a interview with German television ZDF, UNHCR spokesperson Judith Kumin said that the situation of the Serbs and Roma who had fled to southern Serbia was increasingly problematic. The refugees need to be provided with suitable facilities to cope with the winter which, given the difficult economic situation in Serbia, will be difficult without humanitarian assistance.	AP, 12.8.1999
18.8.1999	A group of 1,029 Roma refugees accommodated in the Stenkovec 2 camp in Macedonia organised a peaceful protest. They asked to have Roma looking after them instead of Albanians, of whom they were afraid. Robert Allen of Care International refused their request: he said he could not make his workers redundant on the basis that they were Albanians.	RNN, 20.8.1999
19.8.1999	Over 1,000 immigrants fleeing from Kosovo, half of them children and most of them Roma, arrived in the port of Bari after the ship which had brought them across the Adriatic from Montenegro almost capsized when all the immigrants moved to one side of the ship in order to catch the attention of the coastguards. Another ship with approximately 300 immigrants on board reached Italian waters and was escorted to the port of Brindisi.	RNN, 20.8.1999
before 19.8.1999	According to the Roma Human Rights Committee in Kragujevac there are Roma refugee camps in the following Serbian towns: Bela Palanka: 800 refugees Belgrade: 8,000 to 10,000 refugees Bor/ Borski Rudnik, Knjazevac, Majdanpek, Negotin: 20,000 refugees Kragujevac: 1,300 refugees, including 365 women and 700 children Krusevac: 1,000 refugees Nis: 3,100 refugees Novi Sad: 700 refugees Raska: 150 refugees Vranje: 1,100 refugees	Committee for the Protection of the Human Rights of the Roma, based in Kragujevac

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	In the following towns there are refugees sheltering with relatives: Belosevac, Brenica, Dragobraca, Grosnica and Kolonija. The majority of the refugees are women, one third are children. According to the Committee, the refugees are suffering from hunger. Children in particular are threatened by diarrhoea and hepatitis. The Roma refugees believe that the Yugoslavian Red Cross discriminates against them and distributes relief materials preferentially to Serbian refugees. Of the Western relief agencies only Oxfam has supplied 200 blankets. The Roma are asking for blankets, clothing, medicines, sanitary and personal hygiene items, food and building materials for the construction of temporary accommodation.	
before 20.8.1999	Roma refugees in the Roma refugee camp of Stenkovac have been protesting for 5 days. They are asking to be evacuated to a safe third country and "have no intention of ever returning to Kosovo".	e-mail from the Roma human rights activist A.E. in Kumanovo, 20.8.1999
before 20.8.1999	12 families of Roma refugees arrived in the village of Miladonvci (Macedonia) from Kosovo.	e-mail from the Roma human rights activist A.E. in Kumanovo, 20.8.1999
23.8.1999	The bodies of 17 Roma were discovered off the coast of Montenegro. They were Roma refugees from Kosovo who drowned as they were making the crossing to Italy after their ship sank. The Roma were apparently travelling in company with other refugees, 69 of whom were rescued three days earlier. A report in the daily newspaper "Vijesti" claimed that a gang of criminals who smuggled refugees from Kosovo into Italy was responsible. The smugglers demanded 1,100 US dollars for each adult and 550 US dollars for every child under 10.	RNN, 23.8.1999; Reuters, 23.8.1999

Documented reports of abductions of Roma, imprisonment, detention, torture and beatings

Date/ Period	Details	Source
around 15 June 1999	Hamaya Jusuf, a deaf-mute Roma man in receipt of welfare benefits, born in Rahovec/ Orahovac in 1963 has been missing since mid-June.	HLC, 24.3.-10.8.1999; Greek Helsinki Monitor, 13.8.1999
up to 18.6.1999	According to an HRW report a 71-year-old Serb from Prizren told how he was taken prisoner by UCK soldiers. He was tied up and brutally beaten by them for six hours. The man had a pair of black eyes and a number of bruises on this body. His statements were confirmed by his brother-in-law.	HRW, 20.6.1999
17.6.1999	A Kosovo Roma man living in Britain reported a telephone conversation on 17.6.1999 with his brother who was living in Kosovo. His brother said that members of the UCK members had made extremely menacing threats against the 100 Roma families living in the Roma district of Koljibarska Mahala in Prishtina. The UCK fighters said, in so many words, "Once we have finished with the	RNN, 18.6.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	Serbs we will finish off Hitler's work with you.« According to the Kosovo Roma man resident in Britain a Roma family who wanted to return from Skopje to Prishtina were prevented from doing so by members of the UCK who gave as their reason the explanation that thieves and collaborators were not wanted in the city.	
18.6.1999	When German soldiers occupied a UCK police station they found the body of a 70-year-old man and 15 other men injured. The men who were freed were Roma and Serbs. They reported that they had been beaten and tortured by members of the UCK.	Ewald Trojansky in "Infoblatt", 9.8.1999
around 15-20.6. 1999	30 young Roma were taken away from Suldzuta Street in the Roma district of Terzi Merhala in Prizren. The inhabitants of this area were intimidated and threatened by UCK Albanians. Many have already fled.	Information given by relatives to GfbV over the telephone
21.6.1999	A 23-year-old Roma man from Pristina reported that when he tried to enter the house of members of his family living in the same neighbourhood he was prevented from doing so by Albanian civilians. They threatened him and cut and beat him with knives and baseball bats, abducted him and held him captive. He said that during the time he was detained he was sexually abused but he was so severely traumatised that he was unable to give details. A week later he and his family were driven out of their apartment by men "from Albania" armed with automatic weapons. When interviewed they were living in a camp in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje.	HRW, August 1999
21.6.1999	An expelled Roma man who was living in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje was arrested at his house in Pristina and beaten. While being held at the local offices of the UCK he was repeatedly beaten by UCK soldiers and officers and threatened with knives, pistols and shotguns. He was accused of committing crimes against Albanians. He was shown photographs of 200 individuals whom he was asked to identify, although he was unable to do. Seven hours later he was released.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
27.6.1999	M.L., a Roma man from the Terzi Mahala district of Prizren, was arrested during the afternoon by uniformed UCK officers who took him to the deaf-mute school in the centre of Prizren, where he was beaten with sticks. They asked him about his activities during the war. After four hours he was released but he was threatened with further mistreatment if he told what had happened to him. He reported the matter to K-FOR, who photographed his wounds, interviewed him and conducted a search of the deaf-mute school. They confiscated weapons but did not arrest anyone. The victim referred to another four Roma who had been mistreated like himself. When the UCK came looking for M.L. again, he had gone into hiding.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
27.6.1999	According to an ERRC report, Bekim Ljalja, a 27-year-old Roma man, was kidnapped off the street in Prizren on 27.6.1999 by members of the UCK. Some days later he was seen by other Roma in the UCK's "Junik« headquarters building; he appeared to be in a very bad state. In Rahovec/ Orahovac, a town 70 kilometres south-west of Pristina/ Prishtine five Roma men were arrested by the local UCK. When the relatives asked the UCK concerning their whereabouts, they received no information. The relatives are certain the men had not done	ERRC, 28.6.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	anything wrong. The names of the men who abducted are: Adrian Agim Isaku (19 yrs), abducted on 27.6.1999 Tasim Halimi (26 yrs), abducted on 21.6.1999 Skelzen Hamza (35 yrs), abducted on 21.6.1999 Jusuf Hamza (38 yrs), abducted on 21.6.1999 Mazlun Mursemi (48 yrs), abducted on 21.6.1999	
before 28.6.1999	K-FOR was led to the UCK torture cellar in Prizren raided by German troops (on 18.6.1999) by Roma, all of whom bore signs of injuries.	FR, 28.6.1999, Frankfurter Neue Presse, 19.6.1999
to end of June 1999	A 29-year-old Roma man was picked up by a UCK patrol during the afternoon and brutally beaten in the cellar of a school serving as army quarters. Four assault troopers took turns. When asked by the reporter about the matter of torture one soldier said, "The gypsies should all be put down. They looted our homes and yesterday they confessed to it.«	SZ, 29.6.1999
End of June 1999	The Roma man B.I. was abducted in Gjakove/ Djakovica by three men in UCK uniforms. A family member was a witness to what happened. His current whereabouts are unknown.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
30.6.1999	A Roma man from Rahovec/ Orahovac was seen held in police custody in a private house in Drenovc/ Drenovica; he was said to have been badly mistreated.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
30.6.1999	Berica Afrim (30), a Roma man from Suva Reka, has been missing since 30.6.1999.	ERRC Report, 2.8.1999 in HLC 24.3-10.8.1999
30.6.1999	The 22-year-old Roma man T.L. was abducted by members of the UCK and severely mistreated. He was threatened with death if he spoke about this mistreatment. When released he had obvious marks of mistreatment on his body and on 5 July he was still incapable of walking.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
Beginning of July 1999	HRW reported that the Romany man S.A. (23), who has an Albanian father, was abducted by UCK soldiers in Gjakove/ Djakovica and detained in a house near Qafa e Prushit for five days. He was questioned about his association with Serbs and while being questioned was beaten. He was eventually released with an apology.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
Beginning of July 1999	Halimi Ali Tasim, a Roma man born in Rahovec/ Orahovac in 1974 has been missing since the beginning of July.	HLC, 24.3.- 10.8.1999
Beginning of July 1999	Hamza Halit Skelzen, a Roma factory worker born in Rahovec/ Orahovac in 1965, has been missing since the beginning of July.	HLC 24.3.- 10.8.1999
Beginning of July 1999	Isaku Adran, a Roma man born in Rahovec/ Orahovac in 1979, has been missing since the beginning of July (his father worked with the police in an administrative capacity). He was last heard of staying in Gjakove/ Djakovica.	HLC, 24.3.- 10.8.1999; Greek Helsinki Monitor, 13.8.1999
Beginning	Mersula Maylum, a Roma man born in Rahovec/ Orahovac in 1950,	HLC, 24.3. -

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

of July 1999	has been missing since the beginning of July. His family are living in Germany.	10.8.1999
before 5.7.1999	Along with his father and cousin, the 22-year-old F.G. was abducted from his home in Krusha e Madhe/ Velika Krusa by UCK fighters and so severely mistreated that he was unable to make his way home. The ERRC attempted to inform K-FOR troops but were referred backwards and forwards between one post to another. It was only with difficulty that they were able to persuade K-FOR to come to the village and take the seriously injured F.G. to hospital. Members of ERRC had to go ahead of them on foot because of the danger of sniper action locally. (A K-FOR soldier said "I am not going to risk my life for you, you can be sure of that.«) G. did not want to be taken to hospital unless he was given protection there. After having promised this, as soon as they were at the hospital K-FOR withdrew immediately.	Letter from ERRC to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, 16.7.1999
5.7.1999	A 67-year-old Roma woman from the south of Kosovo told a BBC reporter that her house was burned down by Albanians. She also said that the same Albanians knocked her to the ground.	BBC, 5.7.1999
6.7.1999	A refugee reported that four UCK soldiers had turned up at his house in Qungur/ Cungur, near Peja/ Pec on 6 July 1999. He was forced into a car and driven to a house in Peja/ Pec. There he was assaulted with truncheons and interrogated from 11 p.m. until 11 a.m. The after-effects of his mistreatment are still causing him considerable pain. The soldiers insisted that he should leave Kosovo. "There is no room for gypsies in Kosovo now. The only people living here will be Albanians«, he was told.	SZ, 23.7. 1999
before 7.7.1999	A Roma refugee in Bujanovac (southern Serbia) told how he arrived home in his home town of Gjilan/ Gnjilane in Kosovo to find a group of Albanians wearing black trousers and UCK shoulder insignia waiting for him. They asked him to accompany them. At the UCK's headquarters he was questioned as to whether he or any of his neighbours had any rifles or shotguns. He said they did not and was then very severely beaten with a metal bar. He knows of many other Roma who have experienced the same sort of treatment.	TAZ, 7.7. 1999
7.7.1999	Four men belonging to the Rexha family, Avdyl (50), Besim (28), Zeqir and Raza (55), were abducted by men in UCK uniforms, probably on 7.7.1999. The Roma living in the camp in Gjakove/ Djakovica have no information about their present whereabouts.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
20.7.1999	Bekim Mazdreku and Syl Golluba were abducted on the bridge outside the camp at Gjakove/ Djakovica by men in UCK uniforms.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
before 23.7.1999	Roma were abducted, detained and mistreated by UCK units and Albanians in civilian clothing in the towns of Pristina, Kamenica, Istok/ Istog, Rahovec/ Orahovac, Prizren and Gjakove/ Djakovica.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

		the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
before 23.7.1999	More than one dozen Roma have disappeared according to reports published by HRW and ERRC.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
before 23.7.1999	<p>After being beaten, abducted and detained by Albanians in civilian clothing, H.G., a 47-year-old Roma man from Pristina, fled with his family to a school in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje which served as a makeshift relief centre for hundreds of homeless Roma families. A month previously, on 20.6.1999, 15 men in civilian clothing, armed with rifles, shotguns and truncheons, had entered his house, accused him of theft and beaten him. They then took him away. He reported: "They put me in a car and took me some place for four or five days. All the time they kept beating me. During this time they also brought in five of my friends and beat them. One of them was given a beating early one morning and after that he disappeared. We have not heard anything more about him since. On Sunday, the fifth day that I was held there, they brought me home and let me go.«</p> <p>Enormous blue blotches and knees still swollen a month later bore out what he had had to say. H.G.'s wife, X.G., who was interviewed separately, reported that when her husband returned his clothes were "soaked in blood". During his absence the family were taken for safety's sake to H.G.'s aunt's apartment in the centre of Pristina. According to H.G. a few days after his release, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon, armed Albanians in civilian clothing ordered his family and other people to leave the apartment block.</p> <p>At the time of the interview his family were living in under plastic sheeting in the Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje camp. X.G. would have preferred to return home but she indicated her husband was afraid to.</p>	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
before 23.7.1999	Serbs and Roma in Pristina have received threatening phone-calls and visits from armed men in civilian clothing and UCK uniforms.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
Beginning of June to middle of July 1999	There have been reports of abductions of Serbs and Roma from all over Kosovo. In most cases the men have been detained, questioned and, often severely, beaten. While most of those abducted were eventually released, some are still missing and believed dead. HRW interviewed a large number of Serb and Roma civilians, many of them over 50, who described how they were abducted by members of the UCK and detained.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

before 3.8.1999	According to statements issued by the human rights organisations ERRC and HRW, the UCK are responsible for a large part of the acts of violence committed against Serbs and Roma in Kosovo. Every day Serbs are being threatened, beaten up and killed by militant Kosovo Albanians. Both organisations draw on the statements made by victims concerning the unending sequence of atrocities perpetrated since the Yugoslav troops left in the middle of June. Men in particular have frequently been abducted, mistreated and killed. According to HRW, since the Yugoslav Army left more than 164,000 Serbs and "a significant number « of Roma have fled the province.	AP, 3.8.1999
before 4.8.1999	A German K-FOR soldier in Kosovo discovered a cellar where the Albanian UCK had tortured people. General Fritz von Korff, the officer commanding the German forces, confirmed that three Roma who alleged that they had been mistreated led the German soldiers to the cellar where 130 UCK fighters were accommodated. The Germans also found instruments of torture.	RNN, 4.8.1999
before 5.5.1999	The European Roma Rights Centre in Budapest were told by a Roma refugee from Kosovo that he had been severely tortured. His chest was all black and blue. Others have described similar beatings, threats and intimidation from by people in UCK uniforms who accused them of having spied for the Serbs and assisted them in the persecution of the Albanians.	RNN, 5.8.1999
before 11.8.1999	Two unknown Roma were abducted in Prizren. Witnesses said that three men were responsible.	Berliner Zeitung, 11.8.1999
before 12.8.1999	Official sources and the media report that approximately 6,000 Serbs have returned to Kosovo. The Roma woman H. K. believes that these are not Serbs but Roma. They are now being used as human shields in the conflict between Serbs and Albanians. There are at present between 6,000 and 7,000 Roma in Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje. They have gone into hiding in the elementary school building near the Post Office and have not eaten for two days.	Report by the Roma woman H.K. to GfbV Bosnia- Herzegovina section, 12.8.1999
before 15.8.1999	The Roma man A.G., 47, father of seven children, showed scars on the back of his head inflicted while he was detained in a UCK prison beside a British base in Kosovo. He said "First of all five men came to my house and said that I was a thief. I told them to come in and they said that everything that I had belonged to them. Then they said that I had carried away Albanian bodies during the war." Mr G. and his family are among the 1,400 Roma living in a camp guarded by British troops, several miles from Pristina.	Sunday Telegraph, 15.8.1999
Before 20.8.1999	According to statements issued by RNN there have been numerous reports of the abduction, interrogation and torture of Serbs and Roma, most of them elderly men. The purpose of these abductions and beatings appears to be to terrorise the people into leaving Kosovo, because they are usually released eventually. Many of the victims have shown extensive bruising and knife wounds when interviewed by workers from HRW. It is believed that those who have been abducted by the UCK and not released are dead.	RNN, 20.8.1999
21.8.1999	A Roma man was injured in the neck and one leg in a hand grenade attack in Mali Alas, near Lipjan. K-FOR arrested an Albanian man in connection with this attack. One AK-47, 200 rounds of ammunition,	Reuters, 22.8.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	3 hand grenades and a pistol were confiscated by the K-FOR soldiers.	
23.8.1999	In the locality of Stupelj in central Kosovo two Roma were shot at and wounded. The two sisters were attacked by five armed men.	Reuters, 24.8.1999

Documented reports of killings

Date/ Period	Details	Source
before 23.6.1999	The journalist Bernhard Küppers reported from Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje, where a reception camp for Roma expelled from Obiliq/ Obilic had been set up in the "Aca Marovic« elementary school. The Roma woman Atici Jakupi had died as a result of the stress. Relatives dare not set foot outside the camp without an escort. Around 21 June, in Vranjevac near Pristina, Albanians killed two Serbs and two Roma, one of them the Roma man A.G. The Roma were regarded by the Albanians as accomplices of the Serbs.	SZ 23.6.1999
Third week of June 1999	The relatives of the Roma men B.B. (34) and V.B. (24) told HRW that both these men had been killed in Mitrovica by persons unknown.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
up to 25.6. 1999	HRW learned that members of the UCK had begun engaging in 'acts of violence against Serbs, Roma and Albanians in Kosovo. HRW had evidence of 5 killings by the UCK in Rahovec/ Orahovac, Prizren and Peja/ Pec, as well as 4 abductions, 1 rape and 14 detentions, accompanied by physical mistreatment in 12 of the cases.	HRW: Flash #50, Violent Abuses by KLA Members, Beatings, Killings and Rape Taking Place in Kosovo. 25.6. 1999
Beginning of July 1999	Roma in Gjakove/ Djakovica told HRW that Ibish Beqiri (60 yrs) was abducted by unknown assailants and his body later found in Gramocel.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
Date uncertain	The previous week an entire Roma family was murdered in Landovica, north-west of Prizren.	ERRC, 9.7.1999
21 and 27.7.1999	Abduction of five Roma (Adrian Agim, 19, Tasim Halimi, 26, Skelzen Hamza, 36, Jusuf Hamza, 38, Hazlun Mursemi, 48) by uniformed members of the UCK in Rahovec/ Orahovac. K-FOR were informed but according to ERRC they did nothing about the matter.	Letter from ERRC to UN Secretary- General Kofi Annan, 16.7.1999
12.7.1999	"Prizren has become a hotbed of criminal activity. Almost everywhere anarchy reigns. People simply take whatever they fancy. Unprotected civilians and alleged collaborators are killed and women raped. The Albanian victors in the war are systematically expelling and robbing Serbs and Roma and occupying their houses or setting them on fire.«	Report in the weekly magazine Der Spiegel, 28/1999, 12.7.1999 (Susanne Koelbl)
14.7.1999	K-FOR troops in Kosovo discovered more camps where Roma and	Associated Press,

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	Serbs have been held captive by the UCK. In one camp K-FOR troops discovered bodies, in another camp 4 Roma and 3 Serbs were freed.	14.7.1999
before 23.7.1999	The ERRC reported that it was suspected that three Roma from the town of Gjakove/ Djakovica had been killed there in June.	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
before 23.7.1999	There are unconfirmed reports of three families were killed by being burned alive in their houses in the village of Dubrava (Istok/ Istog).	HRW: FRY, Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo, August 1999, Volume 11, No.10 (D)
around 27.7.1999	A Roma refugee reported that he had been forced to leave Kosovo. He had been beaten by Albanians who tried to abduct his daughter. The next day his house was set on fire. He fled but his mother refused to leave. Ten days later he learned that his mother had been killed (by asphyxiation). Albanians had gone through the neighbourhood calling out "Gypsies, gypsies" before entering his house and committing the crime.	Balkan Crisis Report, IPWR No. 61, 27.7.1999

Documented reports of violence against women, rapes

Date/ Period	Details	Source
20.6.1999	Rape of a 30-year-old mother of two children by six uniformed members of the UCK in her home in Fabriccka Street, Kosovska Mitrovica. The woman was severely traumatised.	ERRC, 9.7.1999; HRW, August 1999
around 26.6.1999	A 65-year-old Roma woman (L.L.), a nine-year-old child (J.Q.) and a 23-year-old women were beaten by Albanians in Fabrika Street in Mitrovica, while they were being driven out of their house. The 23-year-old woman was clearly severely traumatised.	ERRC, 9.7. 1999
29.6.1999	Four armed members of the UCK raped two women in Piskota (a neighbourhood or district of Gjakove/ Djakovica), according to an eye-witness report by the husband of one of the victims. The next day the family fled to Dusanova. A few days later they were driven out from there also together with other Roma by threats from neighbouring Albanians, the Roma district was burned down and everyone who remained behind was killed. K-FOR representatives in Prizren told ERRC that they had not been in a position to provide protection for the area, where they had already come under fire from the windows of nearby buildings.	ERRC 9.7. 1999; HRW, August 1999
before 22.7.1999	The 18-year-old Roma woman M.B. reported that she had been raped by a group as revenge for husband's alleged cooperation with the Belgrade regime	Daily Telegraph, 22.7.1999
before 12.8.1999	The Roma woman H.K. reported that Albanians had raped several Roma women from the village of Subotici near Pristina.	GfbV Bosnia- Herzegovina section, 12.8.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

Before 21.8.1999	Mr N.A., in charge of the refugee camp in Krushevc/ Krusevac, near Obiliq/Obilic, said that 18 Serb and Roma women in the camp had told him that they had been raped by Albanians. "They told me or our helpers, but they do not dare to tell their husbands or say this in public. We believe that many other women are keeping it secret."	Serbian Orthodox Church, St Sava Youth Press Service, 21.8.1999
---------------------	--	---

Reports of Roma being forced to cooperate with the Serbian military; reports of Roma solidarity with Albanians

Date/ Period	Details	Source
Summer 1998	Execution by decapitation of a Roma man by the UCK. The UCK officer present at the "interrogation" said that the man was a butcher hired by the Serbs to cut up the bodies of dead Albanians. He had admitted everything. According to a UCK officer, "We have done to him what he did to the corpses - chopped off his head". (Additional information: it was Roma who were forced to bury the bodies of the victims of the Serbian massacre at Rahovec/ Orahovac in the summer of 1998. They were also the source of the information concerning the number of victims.)	Die Welt, 26.6.1999
18.4.1999	In Ribar i Vogel and Rufc i Ri in the district of Lipjan/Ljipljane at least 40 Albanians were executed, including 4 or 5 women who were raped beforehand. This was reported to OSCE and the correspondent of the New York Times, David Rohde, by expulsees on 24 April. A witness named "Sali« reported that the day after this he saw fresh graves. Four of his uncles were buried in them. The paramilitaries had forced Roma to collect up the bodies and bury them. According to statements issued by the OSCE (Ron Redmond) there are several reports which are all in agreement concerning what happened.	NYT, 25.4.1999 (David Rohde), Frankfurter Neue Presse, 26..4.1999; Reuters, 25.4.1999, Boston Globe 3.5.1999, OSI Kosovo Briefing 70, 4.5.1999
during the war	The members of the mission were of the impression that only very few Roma willingly cooperated with the Serbian aggressors during the war. Many were pressurised or even coerced into working for the Serbian side. Several witnessed violent forms of pressure being applied. The Roma in Pristina for example were forced to take part in a pro-Milosevic demonstration. Others were recruited to serve as Yugoslav Army transport auxiliaries. Several were arrested in their homes and forcibly conscripted into paramilitary groups in the Pristina area. They were used as tools in the commission of atrocities against Albanians.	OSCE/ ODIHR mission, 27 July to 6 August 1999
before 7.7.99	The spokesman for the Roma in the Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje Roma refugee camp, J., acknowledged that some Roma had collaborated with Serbs. "All those involved withdrew along with the Serbian Army. But everyone who remained behind is innocent.« According to the vice-president of the World Union of Roma, Nikolic, "The leaders of the Roma in Kosovo have rendered their people very serious disservice.« However many Roma were forced to work for the Serbian police or in the Yugoslavian Army. Nikolic estimated the number of the Roma in Kosovo at 100,000 to 150,000.	TAZ, 7.7.99
before	The reporter spoke to various Albanians who violently criticised the	NYT, 8.7.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

8.7.1999	<p>Roma- they had shared the lives of the Albanians but had sided with the Serbs. They had collaborated quite openly.</p> <p>Ibrahim Makolli of the Albanian Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms CDHRF reported that during the war he arrived at a "checkpoint« manned by Roma and was threatened by them. He knew all the Roma. Makolli acknowledged that many Roma were forced to do what they did by Serbs. According to Makolli CDHRF also had proof that Roma had taken part in massacres.</p>	
to 5.7.1999	<p>According to a BBC report the Kosovo Roma are trapped between Serbs and Albanians. While Albanian extremists have been expelling the Roma from their homes, the Serbs have driven them back to Kosovo, refugees told the broadcasting agency. The number of Roma in Kosovo according to different estimates amounted to between 60,000 and 100,000. Thousands fled as their homes were set on fire. The Roma often lived in ghettos and so were easily identifiable to their attackers. The Romany Union feared that the UCK intended to expel the entire Roma population of Kosovo. The UCK had tortured Roma to extract confessions of their collaboration from them. A UCK officer told the BBC that he estimated that most of the Roma had collaborated with the Serbs. Contradictorily, a Serbian Red Cross worker told the BBC that "They only come to the refugee camp because the food is free here, so they become accustomed to not working.«</p>	BBC News, 8.7. 1999
to 14.7.1999	<p>Report from Mitrovica: The River Ibar divides the town into two halves. The southern part of the town, formerly inhabited by both Albanians and Roma, has been abandoned by the Roma.</p> <p>The mayor, Bajram Rexhepi, appointed by the UCK, condemned the burning of the Roma district by the Albanians as "absolutely unacceptable«, even though the Roma had allegedly looted the houses of the expelled Albanians in the first place. was of the opinion that the destruction of the Roma quarter could not have been prevented; these small houses were crowded up against one another and the fire had spread rapidly.The French K-FOR commander Philippe Tanguy believed that the destruction of the Roma district could not have been prevented; the small houses were crowded up against one another and the fire spread rapidly.</p>	TAZ (Thomas Schmid), 14.7. 1999
to 22.7.1999	<p>The Serbs and Roma remaining behind in Kosovo gathered together in enclaves or NATO safe havens to protect themselves. They were unwelcome as refugees in Belgrade and could not manage to find their way to a third country. This is how why Serbian ghettos in the northern part of Mitrovica or in the southern part of Prizren (in an orthodox seminary) came into being. In the latter case, 180 people - Serbs, alleged Albanian "traitors" and Roma - gathered around Father Nikola. Many of them had been forced to flee from their homes after which they were beaten and even tortured by members of the UCK. The 18-year-old M.B. reported that she had been raped by a group as revenge for her husband's alleged cooperation with the Belgrade regime. The Orthodox seminary was guarded by German soldiers. Father Nikola was one of 5 monks who stayed behind. According to</p>	Daily Telegraph, 22.7.1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	<p>Father Nikola there were up to 10,000 Serbs who used to live in Prizren and the surrounding area. Of these only 200 remain. Dozens of Serbian houses have been burned down and several people killed. Roma have also been the target of attacks under suspicion that they had allegedly collaborated with the Milosevic government. The alleged Albanian "traitors" are in the worst situation - they have nowhere else to go. According to Father Nikola no-one dares to venture outside without an escort. It is too dangerous even for him to go to church. Many of the residents show evidence of mistreatment. A man by the name of Mustaf reported that he was unable to flee from his home village of Kijevo because of an injury. The Serbs had forced him to work for them. Then he was tortured by the UCK in Prizren. Likewise, X.B., who had returned from Germany reported that he had been tortured by the UCK because he was falsely susected of having spied for the Serbs. Many of those present had stood by and watched as their houses burned.</p>	
before 12.08. 1999	<p>Statements of a Roma refugee from Kosovo in Belgrade: "The Kosovo Roma were loyal to the Serbian state. As a result they are now subjected to acts of revenge by the UCK.« The President of the Roma Congress Party, Dragoljub Ackovic, stated that only 10,000 - 15,000 Roma remain in Kosovo, mostly the old and sick. In Fushe Kosova/ Kosovo Polje, where formerly approximately 6,000 Roma used to live, N.L. said that he was the last Roma left and he is now preparing to leave. Ackovic estimates that around 70-75 % of the Roma would prefer to come back. 15-20 % would like to remain in Serbia and the rest wish to go to a third country. In Serbia refugees from Kosovo have been classified as "internally displaced people", not refugees. This means that they receive no official humanitarian assistance and have no right to have their children educated or obtain employment.</p>	IPS, 12.8. 1999
before 15.8.1999	<p>The Roma man Muja, 18, said "When the NATO bombing began the Serbs grabbed hold of me and pressed a pistol against my head, and they ordered me to load up Albanians' television sets and furniture into a lorry." Mr Muja said that he worked with three other Roma. They dug graves and trenches. After the war ended uniformed Albanians came to his house and forced him to leave.</p>	

Failure of K-FOR to provide adequate protection

Date/ Period	Details	Source
to 29.6.1999	<p>Balkans correspondent Erich Rathfelder reported on the Albanians' campaign of revenge against Roma and Serbs in Kosovo. In Peja/ Pec the outlying districts of the city which were mainly inhabited by Serbs were set on fire. Those responsible first looted the houses and loaded up tractors. Cars were seen carrying registration plates from Kukes (Albania). K-FOR stood by and watched as the crimes took place without doing anything. The Italian forces had a particularly bad reputation. In the German sector K-FOR has set up an emergency telephone number. In Velika Hoca (Serbian name), where 3,000 Serbs used to live, the inhabitants are afraid of acts of aggression by</p>	TAZ, 29.6. 1999

Society for Threatened Peoples International
 Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
 The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
 Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

	returning Albanian expulsees and do not dare venture outside the village. Many of the local Serbs are police officers and paramilitaries; stolen goods have been found in many of the houses.	
before 21.6.1999	In Graca (500 inhabitants), 10 kilometres from Pristina, Albanian returnees expelled the Serbs and Roma. British K-FOR soldiers stood by without doing anything as homes went up in flames.	Göttinger Tageblatt, 21.6. 1999, report by Erich Rathfelder
to 30.6.1999	Balkan correspondent Erich Rathfelder reported from Prizren that following the flight of the Albanians many Roma had robbed their houses, and now the returnees wanted their property back. The homes of the Roma who fled with the Serbs are now occupied by Albanians. The UCK have in fact been ordered by their commanding officer to prevent acts of revenge against Roma, but many are themselves among the criminals. In a suburb of Prizren with a large Roma population UCK troops and German Bundeswehr have been carrying out patrols.	Göttinger Tageblatt, 30.6. 1999
Beginning of July 1999	Report concerning the burned and looted Roma Taslidije district of Pristina. The report stated said that approximately 200 Albanians had been arrested to date for serious crimes such as murder and rape in the German K-FOR sector. A total of 37 civilian police officers have so far been seconded from other countries to Kosovo. The report identifies differing priorities for future action: HRW in Kosovo is calling for the swift punishment of war criminals, while the K-FOR forces are primarily concerned with the demilitarisation of the UCK.	The Independent on Sunday, 4.7. 1999
before 5.7. 1999	Along with his father and cousin, the 22-year-old F.G. was abducted from his home in Krusha e Madhe/ Velika Krusa by UCK fighters and so brutally mistreated that he was unable to make his way home. The ERRC attempted to inform K-FOR troops but were referred backwards and forwards between one post to another. It was only with difficulty that they were able to persuade K-FOR to come to the village and take the seriously injured F.G. to hospital. Members of ERRC had to go ahead of them on foot because of the danger of sniper action locally. (A K-FOR soldier said "I am not going to risk my life for you, you can be sure of that.«) G. did not want to be taken to hospital unless he was given protection there. After having promised this, as soon as they were at the hospital K-FOR withdrew immediately.	Letter from ERRC to UN Secretary- General Kofi Annan, 16. 7.1999
27.7.1999	British K-FOR soldiers protected a refugee camp containing 1,800 Roma from acts of revenge by Albanians. A British officer stated that the soldiers would "for the foreseeable future" be present around the clock. The soldiers were originally supposed to provide protection for the camp for a limited period but the Roma were frightened by threats from Albanians. They had asked the soldiers to stay.	AFP, 27.7. 1999
to 6.8.1999	The delegation reported that the Roma felt that generally they were not sufficiently protected by K-FOR. The K-FOR troops took too long in responding to threats to the Roma. The reason was that the K-FOR soldiers did not know enough about the situation of the in Kosovan society. The delegation found that K-FOR's willingness to protect the Roma increased as soon as they were provided with adequate and detailed information about the alarming position of the Roma.	OSCE/ODIHR mission, 27 July to 6 August 1999
before 21.8.1999	A., the person in charge of the refugee camp in Krushevc/ Krusevac, near Obiliq/ Obilic, reported that when they informed K-FOR soldiers about incidents in the camp, the British soldiers simply replied "We	Serbian Orthodox Church, St Sava Youth Press

Society for Threatened Peoples International
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

| don't understand".

| Service, 21.8.1999 |

Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

An elderly woman, who drowns in her bathtub after being beaten up; a two year-old child who is injured while its mother gets killed by a bullet; two teenagers killed by mortars; a woman who does not want to give her name because she fears that the same people who tried to rape her before will come back to her doorstep.

These are the Serbs of the last four weeks. To those we have to add the many more who are in hiding, closed up in their homes, fearing for their lives in an atmosphere where every noise seems as a threat, where every car that stops outside may belong to those people who have come to take their lives. We have to add the married couple, who have been pensioners for a long time, who remain without food, because they are afraid to go out to the market and do not know how to communicate in Albanian. We have to add those who remain without food because their Albanian neighbors are too afraid to buy them something, fearing that otherwise others will ask: "Why do they feed these Serbs?"

I know how the Serbs feel during the last four weeks, because I and almost another two million Albanians have been in such a situation. Not to speak of the Roma who are additionally exposed to open racism. I know their feelings. Every car that stopped before my door was a potential danger, every sound at the door was the sure sign of death, and I could expect little or no help from my Serbian neighbors. In the news I heard about the special rights that the Serbian government gave to its forces to kill whomever they please, even elderly people and children.

I have to say that I feel ashamed to hear that for the first time in the history of Kosova, now the Kosovar Albanians are committing monstrous atrocities. I cannot stop myself from saying that it should deeply concern our people that for the first time our moral code of untouchability of women, children, and elderly has been broken.

I know that everybody will try to bring forward - as a kind of reflex reaction - that we have gone through a barbaric war in which Serbs were responsible for the most barbaric crimes, in which the intensity of the violence has left an urge for revenge among a part of the Albanian people.

But there is no reason for that. We have seen how the Serbs who collaborated with the Serbian regime have left. They are the ones who took part in the violence against the Albanians. Later we saw how those who remained lived in fear of revenge from returning Albanians who discovered the graves of their families.

But now, two months after the arrival of NATO troops, the issue is no longer one of emotional reactions. What we have to deal with is one or more organized systems of violence, which are viciously directed toward the Serbs. And we also have to deal with a system of thinking that lurks behind the violence and assumes that every Serb must be punished for what happened in Kosova.

That system of thinking is called fascism. It is precisely the system of thinking against which the people of Kosova revolted in their own ten-year conflict with

Society for Threatened Peoples International
Until the Very Last "Gipsy" Has Fled the Country
The Mass Expulsion of Roma and Ashkali from Kosovo
Veton Surroi: The Sounds of Shame

[Yugoslav President Slobodan] Milosevic. In the last phase of the conflict, the Kosova Liberation Army (UCK) was created to fight against that system of thinking and to show that the Albanian people of Kosova is ready to take up arms against it.

The collective threat against the Serbian victims of today - whose lives are marked by danger and fear - cannot only be the shame of a small part of our people. We have to share the shame collectively. It will reflect back on all of us, who only a few months ago filled the international television screens with our suffering. That shame will also fall on the Albanian victims of Kosova - children, women, and the elderly - who were killed simply because they were Albanians.

The other peoples -Europeans and Americans -cannot blame us for not preserving a multi-ethnic Kosova. That is because Kosova was as multi-ethnic before the war as Slovenia is - and nobody would have noted that Slovenia is particularly multi- ethnic. But they will blame us for having moved so easily from the position of being the victims of the biggest persecutor of the end of this century into a position where we have allowed the persecution of others in Kosova - as fascism returns in a different form.

And they will be right. Those who think that all the violence will end when the Serbs have left are fooling themselves. Again the violence will turn against the Albanians, but this time it will be at the hands of other Albanians. Is that what we fought for?

Veton Surroi is the widely respected editor of the Kosovo Albanian daily Kohaditore. The text was published in Kohaditore in Pristina on 18 August 1999. The English version was taken from Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty's Balkan Report Vol. 3, No.33, 24 August 1999. It was translated by Fabian Schmidt.