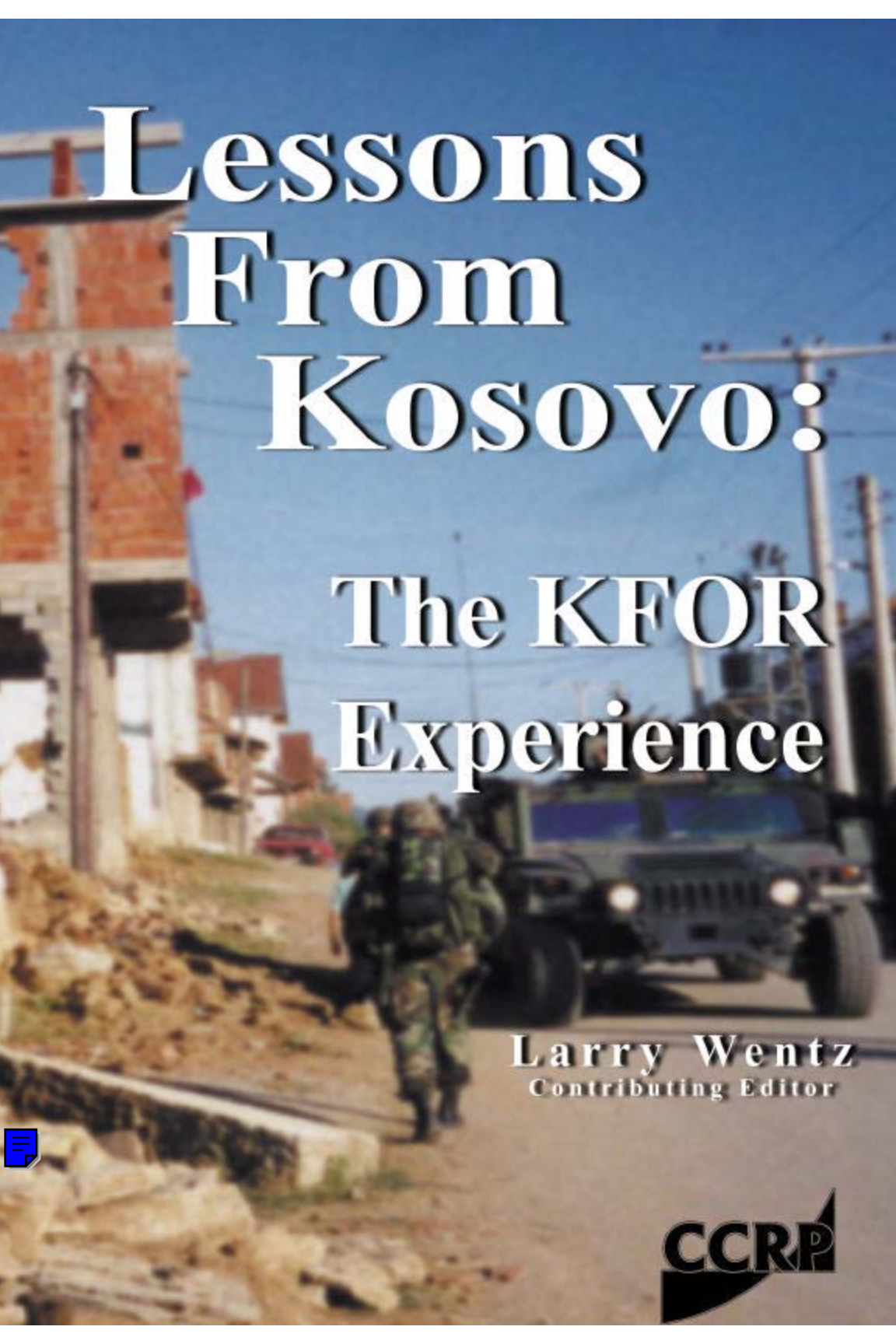
Lessons From Kosovo:
The KFOR Experience
Larry Wentz
Contributing Editor
CCRP

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July 2002

Lessons From Kosovo:

The KFOR Experience

Larry Wentz
Contributing Editor


A
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E
1
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SLOVENIA
HUNGARY
PANNONIAN BASIN
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Serbia
Sarajevo
Federation of Bosnia
and Herzegovina
DALMATIA
Republika
Srpska
Nis
BALKAN MTS
Montenegro
Kosovo
BULG
CROATIA
Skopje
Adriatic
Sea
THE FORMER YUGOSLAV
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
Tirana
ITALY
ALBANIA
Thessaloniki
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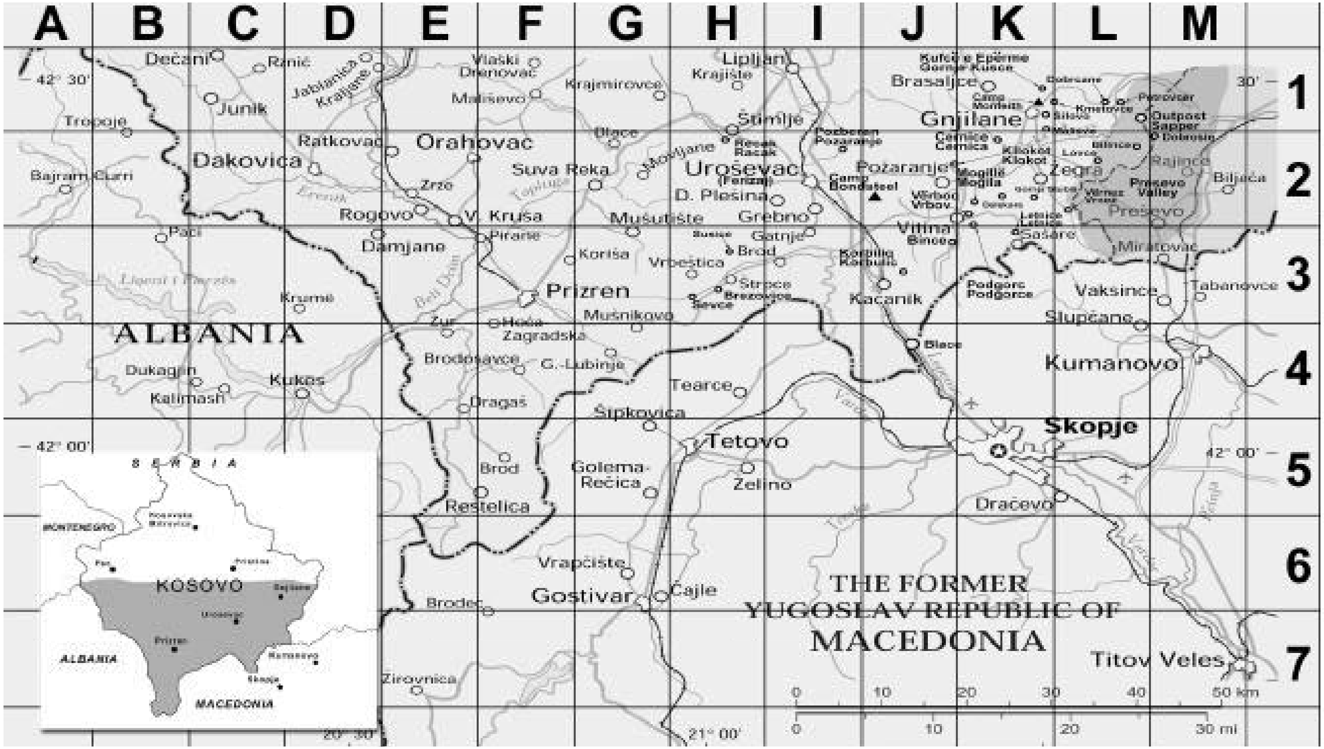

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Gatnje
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Prizren
Mušnikovo
Zagradska
Kačanik
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Sašare
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Vaksince
Tabanovce
Slupčane
Kumanovo
Skopje
Tetovo
Zelino
Golema-Rečica
Dračevo
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The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
SERBIA
MONTENEGRO
KOSOVO
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
YUGOSLAVIA
SERBIA
MONTENEGRO
Rataje
Grcak
Aleksandrovac
Usce
Josanicka-Banja
Brus
Zlatari
Pavlica
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Raška
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Leposavić
Žitni Potok
Sočanica
Bojnik
Tutin
Banjska
Trepca
Kosovska Mitrovica
Podujevo
Zubin Potok
Zvecan
G. Lapaštica
Glavnik
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Istok
Rakos
Rudnik
Nevoljane
Belo Polje
Vrela
Kladarnica
Srbica
N. Selo
Durakovac
Poljance
Propastica
Ravna Banja
Lausa
Dobrusa
Cirez
Pec
Vitomirica
Obilic
Priština
Marevce
Zlokućane
Dobrosevac
Klina
Glogovac
Kosovo Polje
Ogoste
Rausic
V. Belacevac
Novo Brdo
Plavica
Eagles Nest
Streoc
Barane
Oglarevo
Komorane
Janjevo
Kosovska Kamenica
Lapusnik

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section 2—Political Dimensions

CHAPTER III

Kosovo and Bosnia: Different Products of Yugoslavia's Disintegration

Jusuf Fuduli

In June 1999 an international peacekeeping mission known as Kosovo Force (KFOR) along with a United Nations civil mission were deployed to the formerly autonomous Serbian province of Kosovo. This mission marks the second time that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has been the vanguard of a non-U.N.-led peacekeeping force in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The deployment of a NATO led peace Implementation Force (IFOR) to the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia in December of 1995 began the start of large-scale operations in the Balkan peninsula with no end date established. These facts have lead many to conclude that both the mission to Bosnia and Kosovo are essentially no different from one another and that applying the experience obtained from the first mission will lead to success in the second. This assumption is erroneous. Bosnia and Kosovo represent very different situations that have evolved from separate histories and demand specific approaches in order for stability and peace to be achieved. While the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo share similarities, both are products of Yugoslavia's disintegration and have suffered from Serbian aggression, there are several pronounced differences that make the Kosovo experience unique from the Bosnian one.

These include the ethnicities of the people involved, their proportion of the total population, the status of these entities as federal units in the former Yugoslavia, and the relations between the inhabitants before open conflict erupted. In terms of political definitions, the most pronounced differences between Bosnia and Kosovo are the political statuses afforded to each. While both Bosnia and Kosovo are subject to international oversight and the presence of an international

peacekeeping force, the fact is that Bosnia requires an international mission to preserve its status as an independent state. This political status originates in its current form from the peace agreement known as the Dayton Accords signed in 1995 by the interested parties in the Bosnian conflict. Essentially, the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia will be required until the cement mixed at Dayton dries. Kosovo, unlike Bosnia, is not an example of a military solution being implemented to augment a political one. In Kosovo, U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244, which provides the mandate for the international mission recognizes it as an interim solution until a final political settlement is achieved. This is the fundamental difference— Bosnia has a political solution defining its status and thereby guaranteeing the independence declared in 1992 that led to war, while Kosovo is still waiting for a settlement to answer its people's own conflict ridden drive toward independence.

In order to understand the dynamics that have led to the conflicts in both regions and the differences in the international solutions applied, Bosnia's and Kosovo's status in both the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1945), and the socialist federation of Yugoslavia (1945-1991) have to be examined. Because the conflicts that arose from both these states involved more than just Bosnia, Kosovo, and their relation to Serbia, the special role of Croatia as the leading competitor of the Serbs in both Yugoslavias has to be taken into account in order to explain the unique nature of Bosnia's conflict. In the process of reviewing these disparate, and at the same time linked histories, an answer can be given to the question, "How do Kosovo and Bosnia differ?"

Misconceptions of Bosnia

Although Bosnia has been called a case of war along ethnic lines, the three protagonists in that conflict, the Croats, Bosnians, and Serbs do not represent different ethnic groups at all. All three are Slavic peoples with a common origin and language. The one true divisive factor that has led to the idea of separate ethnicities amongst the peoples of Bosnia is religion. The Croats are Roman Catholic, the Bosnians are Muslim, and the Serbs are Christian Orthodox. It is religion, regardless of the level at which it is practiced, that has come to define ethnicity in Bosnia.[1]

It was this difference that allowed nationalist politicians in neighboring Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman

respectively, to seek a division of Bosnia along religious/ethnic lines. The territorial ambitions of these two neighboring states, and the large concentration of Croats and Serbs within Bosnia, complicated the conflict and made it a long and bloody affair. According to the 1991 Yugoslav census, no group was in a clear majority. Muslims made up 43.7 percent, Serbs 31.3 percent, and Croats 17.3 percent of the total population.[2] Contrary to the belief popularized by early books written on the subject of the emerging war, Bosnia was not the site of centuries old hatreds that resulted in countless wars. While great powers including the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, and the Germans have sponsored warfare there before, the 1992-1995 Bosnian war was the first time that the modern Serbian and Bosnian nation states found themselves in conflict with one another.

Bosnia and Serbia have been part of the same state twice. The first was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (officially renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929) that existed from 1918 to 1940, and the second, possessing the same territory and name as the first was a socialist federation from 1945 to 1991. The violence that served to unravel royal Yugoslavia in 1940, and then socialist Yugoslavia in the 1990's stemmed from the historical rivalry between the Croats and Serbs, and did not originate from Bosnia. Although it was primarily Croats that favored joining with Serbia in order to form the Yugoslav state,[3] the Croats did not believe that Serbia's 40 years of independence by 1918 should allow it to play the dominant role in Yugoslavia. Croatia was to become wary of the lead role Serbia played, first in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and later with the socialist federation, while most Bosnians came to see their political future tied to the Yugoslav federation and did not share these misgivings to the same degree. Croatia, by virtue of its connections to the Austro-Hungarians, had fancied itself socially and economically superior to its Slavic brethren—the Bosnians and the Serbs. This opinion was not shared by Serbia since, other than Montenegro, none of the small provinces that formed the first Yugoslavia had been states in the modern sense of the word; this left Serbia as the first independent Slavic state in the region to assume the role of a protector or patron.

Increasingly, the Croats viewed Serbia's role as protector as more of a burden than a blessing. This fomented a political conflict that completely fractured Yugoslavia. Bosnia's position in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the relationships between its Serbian, Muslim, and

Croatian inhabitants did not represent a truly integrated society, but it was not the cause of Yugoslavia's disintegration. The most disruptive issues in Bosnia stemmed from the Ottoman system under which the Muslim Bosnians were privileged landowners. This fact did incite resentment and violence from their exploited Serbian Orthodox peasants, but centuries of ethnic strife was a misnomer. Material privileges granted under a religious caste system prompted economic strife, but the idea that this was a continuous process unaltered by the Ottoman Empire's collapse, Bosnia's incorporation into Yugoslavia, and the advent of socialism is erroneous. Bosnia had been removed from Turkish influence in 1878 and placed under Austrian administration. As a result of the end of Ottoman rule, Bosnians had come to realize, however reluctantly, that without Turkish governance it had to find a place amongst its Slavic brethren.

Bosnia remained close to Yugoslavia, and by default Serbia, because adhering to the supranational idea of Yugoslavism and cutting deals with the Serbian nationalist parties allowed Bosnia's Muslims to avoid Serbian and Croatian attempts at assimilating them. While WW II put an end to the first Yugoslavia and spurred on episodes of communal violence (unlike Croatia whose active opposition to Serbian domination of Yugoslavia motivated it to support the Axis powers), Bosnia was more or less caught up in the events as opposed to actively ensuring their development. While the Germans may have provided the opportunity to latch on to another patron, their defeat and removal from the Balkan Peninsula necessitated Bosnia's renewed relationship with Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Kosovo in Serbia and Yugoslavia

Like Bosnia, Kosovo had been firmly under the dominion of the Ottoman Empire and a majority of her residents were converted to Islam. While this conferred upon them special rights and privileges, the Albanians of Kosovo retained a separate identity from the Turkish occupiers, which had manifested itself as an Albanian drive for autonomy in the empire on the basis of ethnicity and language.[4] While the Bosnians were primarily identified as Turkish subjects, they were Slavs in terms of language and origin. The various confessional groups in Bosnia shared a mutually intelligible language that the Turkish authorities allowed them to learn. Albanians on the other hand were forbidden to be educated in Albanian, with a few specific exceptions in the case of

foreign missionary schools. Not being a Slavic language, Albanian is unintelligible to Serbian speakers. The effects of the linguistic and non-Slavic origins that differentiated the Albanians from the Serbs provided for a different experience in the two Yugoslavias than the Bosnians had.

Lands in the Balkans that had primarily Albanian inhabitants were divided into four separate *Vilayets*, or Turkish administrative units. On the verge of the first Balkan war of 1912, the Albanians of Kosovo and other Albanian inhabited provinces in the peninsula mounted a revolt against Ottoman Turkey to ensure their political, linguistic, and administrative autonomy.[5] Ultimately, their efforts failed as the encroaching armies of the first Balkan Alliance[6] made the Albanians turn to the Turks to avoid being governed by a Serbia hostile to the Albanian and Muslim character that Kosovo had developed in the 500-year absence of Serbian rule necessitated a change in strategy.

While WWI disrupted the conquests made by the emerging Slavic nations in the Balkan Wars, the victory of the Allied powers over the central powers in WWI confirmed Serbia's earlier gains. While Bosnia had been placed under Austrian administration as early as 1878, and thus realized that without Turkish governance it had to find a place in Yugoslavia with the Serbs, Kosovo's annexation by Serbia and later incorporation into Yugoslavia did not motivate a redirection of the national ambition because opportunities for the Albanians to exist as a distinct nationality did not present themselves.

Although only the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were recognized as distinct nationalities in this new state (the Montenegrin kingdom that had existed before WWI had its identity and territory conspicuously swallowed by the Serbs) there were large minorities of Hungarians, Germans, Albanians, Roma, and Macedonians, all of whom with the exception of Macedonia, were neither Orthodox or Slavic in origin, that were not included in the official title of the new state. The Bosnians and the formerly sovereign Montenegrins were also omitted from official terminology, but it was understood by ethnographers at the time that they were to be considered members of one of the three predominant Slavic groups mentioned in the Kingdom's name.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was primarily a Slavic construct envisioned as satisfying the needs of the fractured Slavic peoples of the Balkans. Ultimately the notion of Yugoslavism became to be regarded by the

Slovenes, and particularly the Croats, as nothing more than a mask for greater Serbian hegemony. The non-Slavs (Macedonians once again being the exception to this rule) did not join this state of their free will and were not granted equal rights in it. While this was primarily due to the dictatorial nature that the monarchist state adopted, in regards to Kosovo there was a Serbian administration intent on making the living conditions of the Albanian inhabitants untenable.[7]

As was stated, the Bosnians had experienced the loss of Turkish administration and accepted their place in the new Yugoslavia. While the Albanians had more recently been removed from the Turkish sphere of influence, they had already been agitating for a redefinition or complete withdrawal from that system for some decades. The Albanians of Kosovo and western Macedonia looked toward the Albanian state created in 1912 as their future. In both these cases Serbia, which had retained its separate administrative boundaries in Yugoslavia and to which Kosovo was assigned, engaged in a policy of forced assimilation and property confiscations[8] designed to ensure that the external ambitions of the Albanians would not be fulfilled.

It is important to note that while current Serbian nationalism has been pre-occupied with defining their modern state based on medieval borders, Bosnia was for the most part separate from the Serbian kingdom of the middle ages. Kosovo had, however, been the center of medieval Serbia's kingdom. After its forcible incorporation into modern Serbia and Yugoslavia, Kosovo lost its geographic identity and was officially referred to as Old Serbia. While modern Serbian nationalists used similar arguments in Bosnia's case, their arguments were without merit as Bosnia had existed separately from the medieval Serbian kingdom and pre-WW II Serbian politicians rarely utilized this argument. This is important because in order to ensure that the old Serbia (which had now lost its Serbian majority) remained part of the state. The Albanians had to be removed from Kosovo and be replaced with Serbian colonists.

Ultimately, the Serbian character of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia proved too much for her non-Serbian subjects. While the Albanians in Kosovo were subject to organized campaigns of physical oppression, it was the more subtle conflict between the Serbs and the second largest group in Yugoslavia, the Croats, with their demands for a federated Yugoslavia with a Croatian republic that guaranteed the dissolution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on the eve of WW II. Unlike Croatia and Kosovo, where in the former the political class made up the parliamentary opposition,

and in the latter a political class was not developed, Bosnia's major political parties formed coalitions with the Serbian government in order to safeguard their membership's large land holdings, and particularly to avoid the disappearance of Bosnia through partition and assimilation of its Muslim citizens.[9]

World War II

The acrimony between the Serbs and the other peoples in this first Yugoslavia resulted in Croatia becoming an Axis client state and Kosovo being placed in an enlarged Albania with an Italian sponsored puppet government. There was a large communist Partisan movement in Croatia during the war swelled by Serbs defending their communities from fascist Croatian atrocities.[10] A majority of the Croatian population were not supporters of Nazism even though they favored independence over a return to Yugoslavia. For the better part of the war, the Croatian Peasant Party, the largest political organization in Croatia, remained neutral and Croatia's fascist government imprisoned its leaders. Kosovo's Albanians welcomed Axis occupation as liberation from Serbian domination without any of the misgivings many Croatians had, or indeed those harbored by the Albanians of Albania proper, who resented the Italian and German occupiers and began their own indigenous Communist Partisan resistance to them.

Bosnia was far more muddled. While the landowning elite that retained the bulk of political, social, and economic power had been instrumental in retaining Serbian control of the parliament in the early Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the dissolution of the parliament in 1929, and the assumption of full dictatorial powers by the Serbian monarchy removed their influence and brought about the dismemberment of Bosnia they had hoped to avoid.[11] During WW II, Bosnia was incorporated into an independent Croatia, albeit separated into two zones of occupation; one German and the other Italian. At the same time that Croatian fascists and Italian and German occupiers could be found in Bosnia, the communist Partisan movement had established its headquarters and began its largest recruiting drive there. Prominent Bosnian leaders could be found in all three camps and the situation was so fluid as to defy a concrete determination as to which camp the Muslims of Bosnia supported.

As history has recorded, it was the Partisans led by the half-Croat, half-Slovene Josip Broz Tito that emerged victorious from the war and

embarked on a reconstruction of Yugoslavia with a socialist framework guaranteeing an end to the old ethnic chauvinisms that ensured her destruction. While the Partisans had to rid the country of its occupiers, their collaborative organized militias and the monarchial loyalists, they were not faced with a uniform national resistance to their program of Yugoslav renewal except in Kosovo. While every other large ethnic group in Yugoslavia had been part of the Partisan movement, the Albanians in Kosovo were militantly opposed to all things Yugoslav in nature, and would not consent willingly to being returned to Serbia as a region.[12]

Even before the war had ended, the Partisans and their Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) met in Jajce, Bosnia in 1943 and decided on the structure of the future Yugoslavia.[13] Aside from declaring the dissolution of the monarchy, Tito hoped to alleviate the ethnic problems of the first Yugoslavia by transforming the state into a federation with republics representing the different groups. In this way in addition to Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes that had been granted official recognition in the first Yugoslavia as separate peoples, the Jajce conference declared that Montenegro and Macedonia would also be recognized as individual republics. Bosnia at this point was to be an autonomous territory of Serbia, but three months later it was elevated to a republic so as to avoid conflict between Serbs and Croats over it, and to also recognize the individuality of the Muslims.[14] Kosovo was to become an autonomous region, less than the autonomous province of Vojvodina, and remain part of Serbia.

Bosnia was now being granted a greater position than the one it had, but the Albanians of Kosovo were to remain a part of the state they had consistently opposed; Serbia. The post WW II developments in this new socialist Yugoslavia set the stage for the developments that are most pertinent to the modern conflicts in Kosovo and Bosnia. While Bosnia's republican status would put her on a equal footing with the rest of the Yugoslav nations,[15] Kosovo's Albanians were defined as a mere nationality without specific administrative borders or powers. To be sure, these situations were not absolutely clear at the start of the new Yugoslavia, Bosnia's Muslims had to overcome suspicions of their loyalty stemming from their wartime behavior, and the ability to declare oneself a Muslim didn't appear on the census until 1960. The ability to declare oneself as a Muslim was a pivotal part in trying to

resolve the issue of national competition and identity in Bosnia begun with granting Bosnia republican status.

Socialist Yugoslavia 1945-1991

In the initial postwar years the Bosnia/Serbia relationship was soured by the events of WW II and a perception on the part of socialist leaders like Yugoslav Vice-President Alexander Rankovic that the Bosnian Muslims were a fifth column.

In this period, Bosnians and Kosovar Albanians were encouraged to declare themselves as Turks in order to facilitate their immigration to Turkey,[16] but this influence was not all encompassing and did not outweigh the positive effects of Bosnia's continued presence, this time as a republic in a federated Yugoslavia. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Bosnia enjoyed economic subsides and development, and its Muslim population played a key part in Tito's Cold War non-alignment movement.[17] The population retained the Croatian, Muslim, and Serbian sections in strength, but due to the shared language and culture of these peoples, Bosnia was perhaps the greatest success in the Yugoslav federation. It had the greatest percentage of the population declared as Yugoslavs on the censuses, had the highest rate of intermarriage between its nations, and did not develop any mass movement demanding separation from the federation or a modification of Bosnia's role in Yugoslavia.

In this sense, Bosnia was a mini-Yugoslavia. The brutality of its war and the walls it built around the three ethnic groups was an anomaly constructed from above by nationalist leaders motivated by self-interest rather than a populist movement driven by the mass of common people. Bosnia, and its multi-ethnicity, fell prey to Milosevic and Tudjman who both laid designs on her territory on the basis of the minority populations therein.[18] What maintained Bosnia and drives her still toward retaining that multi-ethnic character is the need, on the basis of having no patron, to maintain an all-inclusive state with the requisite territories to survive as a whole. Kosovo possesses few of these dynamics.

If the supporters of a strong central state with control exerted from Belgrade could treat Bosnia's Muslims commitment to the new state with suspicion, Kosovo's Albanians could be counted clearly in the enemy camp. Eventually Rankovic fell from power and conditions in

both Kosovo and Bosnia improved considerably. Still, the recognition of the Muslims as a nation and the affording of republican status made Bosnia a far different issue than Kosovo. The Albanians of Kosovo, having come to terms with their placement in Yugoslavia, sought out the most favorable conditions for the continued existence in the federation. What this ultimately meant was the pursuit of republic status and full equality with the Serbs rather than subservience to them.

The Kosovar campaign was launched in 1968 with calls for republic status. Tito was receptive to Albanian demands as they were now the complete majority in Kosovo, but was weary of offending Serbian sensibilities over Kosovo and the mythic proportions it occupied in the Serbian psyche (another departure from the Bosnia experience). Moving slowly, Tito from 1968 to 1974 granted the Kosovar Albanians a number of concessions that were formalized in the constitutional amendments to the 1963 constitution.[19] This gave the Kosovars Albanian language education for the first time in the University of Pristina, reversed the prejudicial hiring practices that gave the Serbian minority the overwhelming majority of professional, administrative, and governmental positions (a reverse affirmative action program was taking place in other Yugoslav republics, particularly Croatia which saw their Serbian majority control a disproportionate share of the public sector opportunities without the blatantly discriminatory actions used in Kosovo) and finally dropped the Metohija (a distortion of a Greek term that denoted monastic lands) from the title of Kosovo-Metohija.

Decentralization and the 1974 Constitution

This movement culminated with the adoption of the 1974 Yugoslav constitution that granted Kosovo all the rights of the republic without the name. While still called an autonomous province, Kosovo and the other Serbian province of Vojvodina, could issue their own constitutions, assemble a parliament, and hold the same number of delegates to the federal assembly as the other republics. Most importantly, Serbia could not pass legislation affecting the provinces without the provincial assemblies approval. This effectively ended direct Serbian rule. While these reforms were occurring across Yugoslavia, and were at the same time granting greater rights to the republics, Serbia was to become far more upset with their implications for Kosovo than what they meant for Croatia and Bosnia. There are number of reasons for this. First while there were a greater number of

Serbian residents in Bosnia and Croatia than in Kosovo, these places were republics at the start of the new Yugoslavia and effectively beyond Serbian control.

While the efforts aimed at dislodging Serbs from their disproportionate share of power upset those nascent Serbian nationalists that would one day come to power, there was little to do about it in the current federal arrangement. In addition, it was assumed that despite these developments the republics would remain a part of Yugoslavia and thus there would be no fracturing of the Serbian nation. Kosovo, however, had been considered an integral part of the Serbian republic even if demographics and Albanian sentiment did not support that view. Serbia's opposition to Kosovo being taken away from her led to fears that the Albanians would ultimately realize their ambition of leaving Yugoslavia altogether (a fear Tito conceded to when he stopped short of making Kosovo a republic since they had the theoretical right to secede).

Modern Serbian nationalists began their march to power on the basis of Yugoslavia's constitutional changes that decentralized the government and removed Kosovo from Serbia's jurisdiction. While Milosevic and Yugoslavia came to the world's attention because of the horrors of the Bosnian conflict, the naked resurgence of greater Serbian nationalism was borne out of the Kosovo cauldron and spurred the flight of Yugoslavia's northern republics in 1991. Serbian dissatisfaction with the decentralization solidified by 1974 did come to a head until after Tito's death. The death of Tito in 1980 ended the reign of a supranational figure that kept the competing interests of the republics in line. With his death, the continued decay of the Yugoslav economy, the bickering between the Serbs and the Croats, and the continued calls for republican status in Kosovo contributed to a process by which the Yugoslav entities re-evaluated the worth of retaining the federation. For the Croats and Slovenes, historical Croat/Serbian animosities aside, the re-evaluation was primarily economic in nature.

As the richest of the Yugoslav republics, Slovenia and Croatia contributed a larger share of money for economic re-distribution to the smaller and poorer Southern republics. This process was controlled by Belgrade and had led to a heated debate in the mid 1960s as to which was the best method of developing the underdeveloped south. While initially discussed in a socialist context, this debate could not help but take on ethnic overtones as the Slovenes and Croats were essentially protecting their republic's interest over Yugoslavia's.[20] Eventually the

north won out as greater economic decentralization meant political decentralization as well. Before the nationalist question erupted in Yugoslavia again, the primary debate was over centralization vs. decentralization with the Croats and Slovenes favoring the latter while the Serbs supported the former.

Slobodan Milosevic of the Serbian League of the Communist party was known as a centralist. The detaching of Vojvodina and Kosovo from Serbia's administrative control struck at both the centralist philosophy of Serbian politicians and at their nationalist claims on the province. After the death of Tito and the ebbing of communist fortunes in the eastern bloc, the question began to lose its socialist trappings and adopted a wholly nationalist character. The first major salvo in the 1980s was the writing of what became to be known as the "Memorandum" by the Serbian Academy of Sciences. In this document, the Serbian authors claimed that genocide had been conducted against the Serbian people. Once again, the familiar territory of Kosovo and the rivalry with the Croats was revisited. While initially condemned by the Socialist authorities in Serbia, the memorandum struck a cord with the Serbian people, particularly with those from Kosovo who were the major topic discussed. Bosnia was mostly a non-issue for the memorandum; the allegations of Serbian exodus from historical Serbian lands, and the replacement of Serbian officials in the republics other than Serbia were mostly concerned with Croatia and Kosovo.

The Serbs, with the largest population in Yugoslavia, highest proportion of senior party posts, army officers, and occupants of the Yugoslav capitol were not only claiming that they were victims in Yugoslavia, but that they were victims of a genocidal campaign.[21] This position was a complete departure from the perceptions of the non-Serbian citizens of Yugoslavia that had always seen Serbia as the resident bully. Milosevic's rise was predicated on the official sanctioning of the Memorandum (after he toed the Socialist line of condemning it when it first appeared). Milosevic's visit to Kosovo in 1987 began the nationalist march that relied on the mobilization of the Kosovar Serbs to topple the governments of Montenegro, Kosovo, and Vojvodina in order to place them in the hands of his loyalists.

The Unraveling of Yugoslavia

With the northern republics already wary of the benefits of the federation and confident in the strengths of their economies, the revocation of Kosovo's and Vojvodina's autonomy, and the instigation of civil disturbances that toppled the Montenegrin government, Slovenia and Croatia decided to organize referendums on their independence. The last ditch efforts to preserve Yugoslavia by transforming it into a confederacy of independent states failed due to Serbia's commitment to greater centralization vs the republics demands for complete decentralization.[22] The summer of 1991 declarations of the Slovenes and Croats for independence inspired the Albanian Kosovars to organize their own referendum on independence and support it with an overwhelming majority. When Bosnia followed suit the following year out of the realization that there was no Yugoslavia left to remain a part of, it followed Slovenia and Croatia as a target of Serbian aggression.

Although Kosovo had raised the greatest nationalist ire, its declaration of independence was not met with a military offensive. The reasons why Kosovo was spared major bloodshed, and the north wasn't, are as follows. As republics, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia had the right to secede granted to them by the 1974 constitution. As such, their declarations of independence entreated the European Council to recognize their sovereignty. The process involved an international legal commission's review of the republic's institutions and state bodies. Kosovo's status differed constitutionally from the republic's, its institutions had already been dismantled, and warfare was substituted with a full Serbian police occupation begun in 1989; the area did not merit the same attention. Serbia was in little danger of losing Kosovo, and had to be careful to avert full scale military operations as it was already dedicated to expanding its territory in the north.

This is how the lynchpin of Serbia's nationalist revival (and the place where conflict was anticipated first), Kosovo, was the last to be embroiled in a Balkan war. This marks another contrast with Bosnia. While that republic was largely an unforeseen casualty of the Yugoslav disintegration, Kosovo had always been known to be a major fault line. This is evident as early as 1989 when then President George Bush warned Serbia that military action in Kosovo would be met with U.S. force. At the time Bosnia was not on the horizon. Bosnia had wanted to remain a part of Yugoslavia because of the benefits and the stability

offered to its potential ethnic flashpoints. Milosevic took it for granted that due to its unique situation and lack of ethnic majority, Bosnia would not move toward secession. Bosnia was caught in the vice of conflicting Serbian and Croatian nationalisms negating the majority of Bosnians' desire to retain the plurality of the republic. There were no extenuating circumstances in the Albanian/Serbian conflict in Kosovo, their mutually exclusive interests were apparent from 1912 and continued unabated through both Yugoslavias. Kosovo, with its lack of Slavic connections and with one of the most homogenous populations in Europe, has consistently been opposed to its incorporation into Yugoslavia. The differing natures of Bosnia and Kosovo, both in terms of ethnic character, Yugoslav experience, and former constitutional status, must be acknowledged for the international community and its peacekeeping missions to successfully implement their mandates.

The Limits of Multi-Ethnicity

Bosnia's statehood was recognized in 1993, but it took the 1995 Dayton Accords and a 60,000 strong peacekeeping force to define the nature of that state and preserve it. As a result of the unique nature of Bosnia's ethnic dispersal and the genocidal practices of the war which wiped clean huge swaths of land of their ethnically mixed populations, the Dayton Accords sought to retain as a whole, an independent state that could otherwise be divided into halves, or even thirds by its competing populations and neighbors. In order to ensure that this did not occur, the international mission in Bosnia, its peacekeeping contingent, and the Bosnian Muslims, who would be the odd man out in a partition, were committed to the restoration of a multi-ethnic society.

Bosnia's multi-ethnic society is in political terms a power sharing arrangement essential for stability in a state where three peoples claim separate national identities yet none comprise 50 percent of the total population. Dayton, therefore, was a political solution, however flawed and dependent on international supervision, which attempted to satisfy the demands of all three of Bosnia's sizable ethnic groups while at the same time ensuring their participation and cooperation in a single state. Whereas in Bosnia there are at least sections of the population that support a multi-ethnic program in order to preserve peace and territorial integrity, in Kosovo multi-ethnicity is entirely internationally sponsored and consequently artificial. Multi-ethnicity is perceived by the Kosovar Albanians as an excuse to ignore their dream of independence and

force them to remain part of Yugoslavia for the sake of a small Serbian minority. For the Kosovar Serbs, multi-ethnicity falls far short of returning control of Kosovo to them and means that they should accept full political and human rights for all citizens including the Albanian majority. Such democratization has implied majority rule, a condition the Serbs have and continue to find unbearable in Kosovo. Despite these realities the United Nations Mission in Kosovo, and the Kosovo Force Peacekeepers are committed to a multi-ethnic society in a place where the demographic, linguistic, religious, cultural, and political conditions make the pursuit of this goal a misguided effort.

Ultimately the defining differences between Bosnia and Kosovo are the political statuses assigned to each and the nature and size of the various peoples that inhabit them. Kosovo is not an internationally recognized independent state, and unlike Bosnia and its Dayton Accords, no final political solution has been applied. In Bosnia, the international community waits for its solution to work while in Kosovo, the mission will continue until a political solution that works is found. This is, of course, an oversimplification, but should serve to demonstrate the ease with which the myriad complexities already discussed can be disregarded, or overlooked. Kosovo is a separate mission from Bosnia requiring a departure from the methods and political assumptions applied there.

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[1]Bogdan Denitch, *Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) 29.

[2]Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: NYU Press, 1996) 223.

[3]Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984) 89.

[4]Stavro Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening*, 1878-1912 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) 102.

[5]Stavro Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening*, 1878-1912 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) 428.

[6]Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, and Bulgaria formed the first Balkan Alliance in 1912 to conquer the Ottoman Empire's remaining European territory and drive the Turks from the continent.

[7]Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1998) 283.

[8]Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984) 299.

[9]Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984) 375.

[10]Bogdan Denitch, *Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) 62.

[11]Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984) 376.

[12]Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1998) 317.

[13]Milovan Djilas, *Wartime* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977) 315.

[14]Milovan Djilas, *Wartime* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977) 356.

[15]The Yugoslav Constitution defined its six republics (Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia) as nations and granted them an elevated status compared to the minority populations of Roma, Hungarian, Albanians, etc. who were defined as nationalities. The vague criteria used to define a nation was challenged by the Albanians of Yugoslavia, who by the 1980s, outnumbered the Slovenes, Montenegrins, and Macedonians.

[16]Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1998) 322.

[17]Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: NYU Press, 1996) 197.

[18]Tim Judah, *The Serbs* (London: Yale University Press, 1997) 174.

[19]Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment*, 1948-1974 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 228.

[20]Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment*, 1948-1974 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 134.

[21]Branka Magas, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia* (New York: Verso Press, 1993) 199.

[22]Sabrina Petra Ramet, *Balkan Babel* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996) 48.

CHAPTER IV

Kosovo's Political Evolution

Jusuf Fuduli

The arrival of the international mission in Kosovo has obviously had profound effects on Kosovo, but perhaps the most dramatic have been in the political arena. This is to be expected in a province where the previous political status quo of a Serbian-dominated dictatorship has been overturned in favor of developing democratic and self-governing institutions open to the formerly disenfranchised Albanian majority. Kosovo's political evolution since June 1999 has involved more than just a reversal of roles for the Serbs and the Albanians, but has included the first introduction of modern political pluralism Kosovo has ever seen.

As the implementation of the international mandate removed a decade of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's despotic administration in Kosovo it also ensured that 10 years of Albanian political monopoly under Ibrahim Rugova's party, the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK)[1] was also swept aside. At the start of the international mission Rugova, who had been unofficially elected and unrecognized as the president of a Kosovar republic, was declared politically dead by most observers. Conversely, Milosevic, while suffering not only a drastic military, but territorial loss in an area that he and his nationalist supporters had imbued with mythic importance retained his powers. Today their positions have been drastically reversed in a turn of unexpected yet positive turn of events.

UNMIK

The key to understanding Kosovo's new political dynamics must begin with a discussion of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and its administrative powers. Under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244, UNMIK was authorized to establish a transitional administration in Kosovo that would lead to self-governing institutions. The task has

been monumental. The exit of Serbian forces from Kosovo was accompanied by nearly one-half of the Serbian residents as well as the majority of former administrators and civil servants. While the Albanians were not sorry to see them go, having been removed from most administrative posts over 10 years earlier, they did not have the necessary personnel to help UNMIK fill the gap. The only organization that resembled something of a government during the Milosevic regime was the LDK.

The LDK was one of the first political parties to form in Kosovo in response to Slobodan Milosevic's efforts to disenfranchise the Albanian majority at the start of the last decade. From the start of 1990, until the height of the Kosova Liberation Army's (KLA) insurgency in 1998, the LDK almost exclusively represented the interests of Kosovo in the domestic and international political scene. It adopted a non-violent/non-confrontational policy towards Serbian domination that was punctuated by the formation of a parallel government, which refused to recognize the Serbian state and held a popular referendum on the independence of Kosovo in 1992. This *independent Kosova* provided the local population with rudimentary health care, education, self-administration, and political representation when the Serbian government refused to.

In short, a vast organization and funding apparatus, supplied with money by a 3 percent tax levied on the Kosovar diaspora, operated without local political opposition for almost a decade. However, the LDK's armor had cracked when the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) refuted a pacifistic approach to achieving Kosovo's independence and began an insurrection that led to war. The war drove most of the LDK leadership out of Kosovo and effectively dismantled the parallel state apparatus. The only Kosovar Albanian organization that remained during the Serbian offensive and was in place to assume control of the capitol of Pristina, and nearly every other city in Kosovo, was the KLA. That organization had already established a political directorate under the leadership of Hashim Thaci, which later reorganized itself as the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK)[2] when hostilities ended. Having never left the province, and provided with support from the KLA, the PDK presented itself to the newly arrived, and often uninformed UNMIK, as the only political organization of worth. In nearly all of Kosovo's municipalities, councils comprised of PDK members pushed for UNMIK recognition. As a result, the LDK, which had been the sole

political power in Kosovo, was virtually excluded from the initial administration of the province.

This local activism of the PDK was part of the greater agenda of the Provisional Government of Kosovo (PGOK). The Balkans Contact Group (United States, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Great Britain) had organized the Rambouillet peace talks, named after the castle where they took place in France, from February 6-18, 1999. The purpose of the accords was to bring an end to the fighting in Kosovo between the KLA and Serbian forces, guarantee a return of the estimated 300,000 displaced civilians, establish an international armed force in Kosovo to monitor the withdrawal of Serbian troops, and establish an interim constitution and government until elections could be held. While the Rambouillet Accords never became a working agreement in Kosovo, they did have a legacy for the local political parties, and the U.N. administration in Kosovo. UNSCR 1244 states that one of the main responsibilities of the international mission in Kosovo will involve, "Facilitating a political process designed to determine Kosovo's future status, taking into account the Rambouillet accords." Since 1244 makes frequent reference to Rambouillet it should be of no surprise that the Albanian political leaders of Kosovo decided to pursue some of its tenets at the start of the UNMIK administration.

PGOK

The interim government mentioned in the Rambouillet Accords that was to govern Kosovo until elections could take place was established by the Albanian delegates as the Provisional Government of Kosovo (PGOK). KLA political director and future leader of the PDK political party, Hashim Thaçi was named Prime Minister of the PGOK while the LDK and a coalition of the smaller Kosovar Albanian parties called the United Democratic Movement (LBD) were to contribute members for other ministerial posts. The PGOK was at first hampered by the Serbian government's refutation of the Rambouillet agreement, and then by the LDK's later refusal to participate. Despite this, the PGOK was formed minus the LDK's leadership (some party members did participate without authorization though), and moved to assert itself as the government of Kosovo, with Thaçi as the province's prime minister before UNMIK could establish itself. As a result, the PGOK presented a number of problems for UNMIK's initial attempts to administer Kosovo. Some of these have included the following:

- Reluctance to recognize UNMIK's precedence of authority, and asserting that Thaçi was at least equal in authority to UNMIK head and Special Representative to the U.N. Secretary General, Bernard Kouchner.
- Establishing a Ministry of Public Order with a law enforcement body, the MRP, to police Kosovo in direct contravention of the U.N.'s mandate to establish a police force.
- Attempting to transform all Serbian State owned property into *Republic of Kosova* state property. This included lucrative enterprises such as gas stations whose profits have been used to benefit individual members of the PGOK.
- Posting proclamations forbidding private purchase of this newly created state property (this has often meant all Serbian owned property).
- Taxation of local business in order to finance itself.

UNMIK and KFOR refused to legitimize the PGOK and instead it became an unrecognized parallel government like the LDK's had been during the 1990s with the following important exceptions. When the LDK operated a government they were the only ones to do so since the Serbian administration was not interested in being all-inclusive. UNMIK, however, was mandated to incorporate the local population and had a budget to do so. Knowing that they could not compete with UNMIK's administration, the LDK didn't continue the practice of parallel institutions. In the face of this reality, as well as continued opposition from KFOR, UNMIK, and the now returning LDK leadership the PGOK was doomed to failure.

JIAS

Eventually, UNMIK revamped its attempts at administration with the Joint Interim Administrative Structure (JIAS) agreement implemented on January 31, 2000. The JIAS devised three political structures responsible for incorporating Kosovo's citizens in the administration of their province and ensuring that the international mission could continue with the formation of eventual self-governing institutions. The first of these bodies was an executive board called the Interim Administrative Council (IAC) that acted as the highest decision making

body in Kosovo. SRSG Kouchner was the chief executive while eight members, four local and four UNMIK international officials made up the council. The four local seats were occupied by Ibrahim Rugova, President of the LDK; Hashim Thaçi, President of the PDK; Rexhep Qosja,[3] President of the LBD; and Bishop Artemije[4] leader of the Serbian National Council (SNC).

There were also established 20 administrative departments ranging from justice to education that were co-run by UNMIK officials and local representatives. Twelve of the departments were split equally amongst the three Albanian political parties represented in the IAC while the rest were allocated to independents and minorities. In order to appease the smaller political parties that felt excluded from the IAC and the administrative department appointments, the already existing Kosovo Transitional Council (KTC) was expanded as a consultative forum.

Much of the JIAS's programs were slow to be realized and while on paper each internationally held position was matched by an appointed local representative with ostensibly equal powers, this was not to be mistaken for meaningful self-government at the provincial level. At the municipal level there was greater success in developing self-government, but it wasn't uniformly applied in all of Kosovo's 30 municipalities.

Municipal Government

An UNMIK Municipal Administrator (MA) administered each of Kosovo's municipalities and was responsible for incorporating local participants in the administration. Prior to the JIAS agreement this task was fulfilled with municipal councils. These bodies were strictly consultative in nature and had no executive, or decision making powers. No set regulations defined the powers of the councils or the responsibilities of their members and for all practical purposes they merely served as a means of information exchange. The criteria for membership varied and were not limited to political figures or former KLA commanders, but the reality in the immediate aftermath of hostilities was that KLA-turned-PDK members were the de facto power brokers at the local and provincial level and they imposed themselves on the fledgling local administration. Most of these individuals had no formal experience or education in the political or administrative field and were simply in the process of consolidating power for their party.

The issue was further complicated by the protests of the formerly entrenched LDK, which had broader experience in the administrative arena, albeit unofficial and demanded that due to their former electoral victories they receive a majority of council seats. In many municipalities there developed a system where the MA simply governed by decree due to the political deadlock in the councils.

Local administration in Kosovo was also restructured with the implementation of the JIAS agreement. In addition to the consultative municipal councils, administrative boards were formed to provide local administration with administrative departments mirroring the 20 created at the provincial level. The number of these departments varied from one municipality to another, but they represented a salaried position to a local appointee that was now responsible for a given public service. This was the first structured attempt at self-administration, but it was imperfect. In many cases the people selected for the administrative posts were wholly unqualified and the political rivalries only intensified with the opening up of more positions. The PDK insisted that their party, which had never stood in an election, had majority support while the LDK, which had never stood in a free, multiparty election, claimed political supremacy. The rivalry between the two parties dominated political life in Kosovo at both the provincial and municipal level. Unfortunately, the political differences between the two parties were not confined to rhetoric and there was a series of attacks, including murder of LDK political activists.

The violence was mostly confined to the area of the Drenica Valley where the KLA had first formed and the PDK had broad support. Consequently the PDK were publicly suspected of the attacks, but no evidence has surfaced to prove it. In this environment the first multiparty elections ever to be held in Kosovo were conducted.

Municipal Elections

The municipal elections on October 28, 2000, were the first held under the UNMIK administration and can be characterized as the first democratic multiparty elections ever organized in Kosovo. The conducting of elections fell to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which is entrusted with the task of democratization and institution building in Kosovo. The voters were to elect representatives to the new municipal assemblies as the formerly

consultative municipal councils were now giving way to a larger and more decisive body with defined powers and responsibilities. The elections were less than the parliamentary elections most Kosovar Albanians had wanted, but served the purpose of building government from the bottom up.

The overriding consideration involved with the conducting of elections was violence on the day of the vote and a wave of violence and intimidation once the new assemblies were formed. Voter polling had demonstrated that the PDK was far behind the LDK in support and the fear was that they would not accept a loss peacefully. The electoral results proved the polls right as the LDK decisively beat the PDK by an average of 30 points granting them simple and absolute majorities in 21 municipalities. The anticipated violence on election day never materialized as most Kosovar Albanians treated the elections as a test not only of their democratic potential, but also their claims to self-determination. The municipal assemblies are still in their embryonic stage of receiving training, developing by laws, and hiring civil servants so it is still too early to gauge the willingness of the PDK to accept the role of an opposition party. This will be a difficult transformation given the venom of the PDK's political campaign against the LDK, which went so far as to suggest that their leaders were Serbian collaborators and traitors.

The ability to accept the opposition role will be further muddled by the part socialism has played in the political education of Kosovo's people. As insistent as the Albanian population is in their denunciation of socialism since its inception in Kosovo, the fact remains that socialism represents the Kosovars' first exposure to modern organized politics. This has left even the most dedicated democrat with a legacy of knowing only one party, one state. Even though Kosovo is en route to develop a parliamentary system the majority of her would-be participants will treat future elections as an all-or-nothing prospect, failing to understand the legitimate place an organized opposition holds in a democracy.

Kosovo's Serbs

Up till now the discussion of Kosovo's political evolution has involved the Kosovar Albanians and the international community. The Serbs have not been included because they have very much remained outside the process. At both the provincial and municipal level, Serbian political

leaders have consistently boycotted both UNMIK appointed positions and the later electoral process. Understanding Serbian political development in Kosovo is actually far more complex than the Albanians'. Although there are now nearly 20 Albanian parties officially registered in Kosovo ranging from the Greens to the Social Democrats none are in disagreement over the demand for an independent Kosovo or the necessity of working with the international community as a means of developing the necessary state institutions. The Albanians parties are quibbling over which of them should exercise power, not over the structures through which power should flow.

The Kosovar Serbian parties are united in their opposition to the Albanian demand for statehood and generally regard KFOR and UNMIK as part of an occupation. Other than these positions, there has been little solidarity and more importantly no program to achieve a future goal. The reasons for this are twofold. The Albanians were disappointed that the arrival of the international mission wasn't to be the commencement of their independence, but the mission's mandate provided them with space to pursue their broader goals within a transitional arrangement. UNSCR 1244's references to the establishment of self-governing institutions have catered to the formerly disenfranchised Albanian majority's desire for self-government. UNSCR 1244 states that an interim administration through which "the people of Kosovo can enjoy substantial autonomy within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" will be established. While the self-governing institutions are being constructed, every aspect of the former Yugoslav state presence from currency to stamps in Kosovo have been removed to a degree that Kosovo remains part of Yugoslavia only on paper.

The outcome has meant that Kosovar Albanians have been provided the opportunity to govern themselves free from Serbian interference, but with international supervision. The Kosovar Serbs nominally have the same chance to share in that self-government, but they are not free to exercise their rights fully and at the same time have no desire to. When, prior to Milosevic, Kosovo was self-governing its Serbian citizens could not bear being relegated to a small minority with no more influence than their numerical preponderance allowed. The Kosovar Serbs opted to do away with Kosovo's self-government and their seats in its assembly to become an even smaller constituency in the Serbian parliament if it meant that they no longer had to be governed by Albanians bent on independence from Serbia. Since the ill will the

Kosovar Albanians bear the Serbs prohibits them from traveling freely they are not to be expected to participate fully in a new administration.

Freedom of movement, continued violence against the members of their community, and demands for the full return of refugees before they participate in the international administration have been key demands of the Kosovar Serbs. Although these are valid concerns they are primarily considerations of those Serbs residing south of the Ibar river and the divided city of Mitrovica. The Kosovar Serbs living north of this boundary have unhindered access to Serbia and neighboring Serbian population centers as well as the security of homogenous municipalities devoid of sizable Kosovar Albanian populations. These very different circumstances have not altered their views on building self-governing institutions and the majority Serbian inhabited municipalities of Zvecan, Leposavic, and Zubin Potok did not register an electorate for the municipal elections. Consequently elections were never held in the north and UNMIK exercises negligible administrative control there.

The disparate conditions that exist geographically fostered a political split in the Serbian National Council (SNV). Although it had been one organization it became divided over the decision to participate in the new JIAS structure. The northern branch under the leadership of Oliver Ivanovic urged Bishop Artemije of the Serbian Orthodox Church and leader of the SNV to continue boycotting the UN. administration. As discussed, the north is relatively secure in their Albanian-free municipalities and free access to Serbia, but the Serbs living to the south represent islands in a sea of Albanians that cut them off from the rest of the world. The only lifeline available to Bishop Artemije's flock was through UNMIK and KFOR sponsored protective escorts delivering them food, medicine, and convoys to Serbia. The north was effectively asking the south to ignore their benefactors. Bishop Artemije compromised with the refusal to participate actively in the JIAS, but to retain observer status. Ivanovic and his followers split regardless. Later, and involving the same issues, Bishop Artemije's partner in forming the SNV, Momcilo Trajkovic removed his Serbian Resistance Movement as well. These splits provided no material or political benefit since none of the now departed members of the SNV had anything substantial to offer their people in lieu of UNMIK support. Both Trajkovic and Ivanovic retained Artemije's opposition to Milosevic, and the only

other benefactor the Serbs in Kosovo had was Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS).

UNMIK and KFOR courted SNV support because they opposed Milosevic, but he and his SPS did not depart Kosovo altogether. They retained an unsanctioned administrative structure parallel to the United Nations in most Serbian enclaves known as the Serbian National Assembly that continued to distribute pensions, salaries to government employees, and ensured that the Kosovar Serbs boycotted UNMIK institutions. Although Milosevic was becoming reviled in Serbia proper, Kosovo's Serbs were relying on his propaganda promises to return the Serbian army to Kosovo to drive out KFOR and the Albanians forever to come true. Despite the exhortations of the divided SNV branches and other opposition leaders to vote for Vojislav Kostunica against Milosevic in Yugoslav presidential elections on September 24, 2000, the majority of Kosovar Serbs voted for Milosevic. While these results could be attributed to the open bribery and continued presence of SPS strong arm tactics, the parliamentary elections held 2 months after the dismantling of Milosevic's government revealed that 50 percent of Kosovo's Serbs voted for him.

The Future

The Kosovar Albanians have much to be pleased with having been removed from a yoke they chaffed under for most of the past century. They also proved naysayers wrong with the conduct of the municipal elections and continue to organize politically for what they expect to be parliamentary elections in the summer of 2001. Although the incoming UNMIK chief Hans Haekkerup has stated that general elections should happen as soon as possible. The U.N. mission's mandate is dedicated to creating institutions to one day turn over to Kosovo's population so that they may govern themselves.

Democracy has been called the tyranny of the majority— in Kosovo that group would be the Albanians. Kosovo's Serbs had once represented a tyranny of the minority so there should be no surprise that they have nothing to look forward to in the immediate future. Even though Kosovo is in a transitory stage with no guarantees on the outcome, the Albanians have space with which to grow as a people still seeking self-determination and democracy. For Kosovar Serbs this only provides them with more time to contract. While Serbia undergoes a democratic revival and a

repudiation of some of Milosevic's policies, Kosovar Serbs have little reason to celebrate. The new government hasn't forgotten them, but has recognized the reality of the international mission in Kosovo and is willing to cooperate with it. This was something Milosevic would never have deigned to do. The Kosovar Albanians have worried over Kostunica's election in fear that the departure of Milosevic means the removal of one of their most potent arguments for independence. The reasoning of this argument is dependent on the premise that all things wrong with Yugoslavia started and ended with Milosevic.

The failure of the first Yugoslavia is a historic rebuttal to such an argument as is Montengro's continued demands for a restructuring of Yugoslavia as equal halves and not just a whole dominated by Serbia. Whatever the logic of this belief is the fact remains that Kostunica must now concentrate on reviving Serbia. Milosevic forsook that republic as well as all of Yugoslavia for the nationalist myth of Kosovo, it is unlikely that Serbia is willing to make that sacrifice again. In any case, the status quo remains constant and with it comes satisfaction to Kosovo's Albanians and disgruntlement to Kosovo's Serbs. In a place where two peoples possess such mutually exclusive goals, nothing less could be expected.

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[1] All abbreviations of Serbian and Albanian political parties appear as they do in their native languages.

[2] They were initially known as the Party for Democratic Progress in Kosovo (PPDK).

[3] Qosja resigned his position after his political coalition, which had been disintegrating for months, received less than 2 percent of the vote in the October 28, 2000, municipal elections.

[4] Bishop Artemije never took his seat on the IAC.

CHAPTER V

The Kosovo Elections

Rich DuBreuil and Joseph Nowick

It is important to understand the historical context in which the municipal elections took place. Following the end of the Serbian aggression in Kosovo, the Serbian military and paramilitary forces departed. This was followed by the arrival of NATO's Kosovo Force (KFOR) troops and the civilian components of the international community, in this case the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). These agencies began to focus on the electoral process as a means for establishing democratization in Kosovo. For many months there were conflicting views as to when elections should be held. Those who did not want quick elections argued that there were significant security problems. Also, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) would have to be transformed from a military to a civilian force. Finally, it would be necessary to update voter registration lists that had been compromised during the war.

The Kosovar Albanians had some experience in managing a partially democratic process under adverse conditions. After Slobodan Milosevic replaced Kosovo's autonomous status with a Serbian-run police state in 1989, ethnic Albanians elected Dr. Ibrahim Rugova as their president and chose a parliament. While the international community did not recognize these elections as valid, they nonetheless reflected a commitment of Kosovar Albanians to the goal of democratization in Kosovo.

Before any election could take place, it was important to establish key OSCE electoral conditions for free and fair balloting. These conditions included but were not limited to the following goals:

1. Freedom of movement for all citizens;

2. An open and free political environment;

3. An environment conducive to the return of displaced persons;

4. A safe and secure environment that ensures freedom of assembly, association, and expression;

5. An electoral legal framework of rules and regulations complying with OSCE commitments; and

6. Free media, effectively accessible to registered political parties and candidates, and available to voters throughout Kosovo.

UNMIK, with the agreement of OSCE, decided that these conditions were met (at least to a minimal degree) in order to conduct voter registration in the summer of 2000 and an election in the following fall. The municipal elections would be held first, followed by any possible parliamentary elections at a later date.

The 2000 Kosovo Municipal Elections

During the summer of 2000, Dr. Bernard Kouchner, the Senior Representative to the Secretary General (SRSG), decided that municipal elections would be held in Kosovo on October 28th for the purpose of establishing a local government administrative structure. This structure consisted of elected officials in each municipality who would have the authority and responsibility of directing and running the support and civil agencies in their area. There were 30 municipalities and over 1 million registered voters Kosovo-wide. In the Gnjilane region, there were approximately 190,000 registered voters.

The predominant political parties were the PDK (Thaci), LDK (Rugova), and AAK (Haradinaj). Mostly those who fought for Kosovo during the conflict supported the PDK. Mostly older citizens and non-radical elements that supported a more peaceful transition for Kosovo supported the LDK. The AAK was a more radical group who envisioned a greater Kosovo and a more forceful approach to gaining independence from Yugoslavia. Each of the five multinational brigades had their own makeup of political party densities. In Multi-National Brigade (MNB) East, the LDK was particularly strong in five of the seven municipalities.

During the registration and election process, party-on-party violence and party infighting were unpredictable. There were incidents of threats, bomb hoaxes, and even murders. Candidates who felt that their life was in danger were issued a WAC (weapons authorization card) or provided

security by the UNMIK-P. Most of the reports of violence were from PDK supporters towards LDK candidates and their supporters.

The OSCE was the primary in the elections. Within the OSCE, the Director for Election Operations, Jeff Fischer, led the planning and execution of the municipal elections. This organization took over after the registration process was handed off from the UN. The OSCE had its main headquarters in Pristina and a regional headquarters in each of the different regions. Each region had assigned field offices depending on the amount of municipalities located within the region. Each field office was assigned an election officer who coordinated the election activities for that municipality.

The elections were of particular importance to the people of Kosovo (mostly the Albanian majority) because it meant one more step towards the determination of their future (independence). The Serbian minority chose not to participate in the registration process and was not granted the choice of voting on 28 October. Due to the rise of Kostunica and the demise of Milosevic, the Serbian population is expressing a willingness to have elections for representation in the municipalities (rather than having appointees).

Primary Organizations Supporting The Elections

The United Nations Mission in Kosovo

The basic authority for the NATO deployment into Kosovo rests on Resolution 1244 (1999) of 10 June 1999, whereby the United Nations Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorized the Secretary General, with assistance of relevant international organizations, to establish an international civil presence in Kosovo, known as the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). The mission was to provide an interim administration in Kosovo with the mandate as described in the resolution. It made clear that all legislative and executive authority with respect to Kosovo, including the administration of the judiciary, is vested in UNMIK and is exercised by the Special Representative of the Secretary General.

Of particular importance to the municipal elections is the authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary General to issue legislative

acts in the form of regulations. These regulations controlled many important aspects of the municipal elections, including the conduct of political parties and candidates. Per Regulation No. 2000/021, a Central Election Commission (CEC) was established to be responsible for the conduct of elections in Kosovo. The CEC had the authority to issue regulations and electoral rules that controlled the conduct of the elections. One of the most important of these regulations was 2000/21, which was a code of conduct for political parties' coalitions, candidates, and their supporters. The electoral rules also governed the election and included the following:

a. Definition and design of sensitive electoral material, including the design of the ballot paper

b. Accreditation of domestic and international observers

c. Political party, coalition, and candidate registration

d. Establishing competent authorities responsible for the conduct of elections, such as the Municipal Election Commissions and polling station committees

e. Voter registration provisions

f. Polling and counting procedures

g. Voter information

h. An electoral code of conduct

The CEC also created the Election Complaints and Appeals sub-Commission (ECAC) to be an electoral complaints body to ensure that the appropriate actions or sanctions were taken to address any violation of electoral rules and of any other regulations or rules governing the elections. During the course of the election, the ECAC received many complaints on a variety of alleged violations of electoral rules, especially those found in the code of conduct. While the ECAC had the authority to remove candidates for these violations, it was not applied. However, political parties were fined several thousand DEM. The most common complaint involved the misuse of campaign materials or the failure of a political party to timely notify the appropriate authorities about an upcoming political rally.

Organization for the Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)

The OSCE was the primary organization running with the ball during the election planning process and execution. The organization had been running fairly strong after conducting several successful elections in Bosnia and Albania. With just under 1,000 polling sites Kosovo wide, the OSCE brought in 1,400 international supervisors to support the elections.

The supervisors participated in a 4-day training session at Lake Ohrid, in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, where they were trained by the OSCE, KFOR, and UNMIK-P. KFOR's role in the training covered map reading, communications, first aid, mine awareness, and emergency preparedness training.

The supervisors deployed into Kosovo over the course of 2 days in convoys of four buses. Each day there were four convoys. Each of the convoys were pre-manifested and coordinated with the FYROM customs and police for efficient processing through the border. The convoys then linked up at the 507th Greek Battalion Headquarters where they met their UNMIK-P and OSCE field office escorts.

Upon arrival at the field offices, both the OSCE Regional Security Officer (RSO) and KFOR gave the supervisors a security briefing. The RSO was the key person responsible for the security of OSCE personnel and activities. About 60 days prior to the election, an election security officer was assigned to assist the RSO. TFF provided accommodations at Camp Montieth for roughly 59 of the international supervisors. They were charged 25 DM per night and had easy access to the Regional Headquarters in Gnjilane.

United Nations Mission in Kosovo Police Force (UNMIK-P)

The United Nations Police force was composed of over a 1,000 officers covering five different regions. Each region was challenged in its operations, activities, and manpower. In MNB East, the police force was given primacy in its operations in conducting law enforcement activities. The police, in order to maximize its effectiveness during the elections, implemented a no-leave policy.

MNB East had just over 250 police officers operating during the elections. Each polling center was assigned a minimum of two police

officers (International and/or Kosovo Police Service). The larger centers were assigned anywhere from 4 to 10 officers. The experience level and nationality varied from station to station. In the MNB East sector, UNMIK-P Station representatives were from the United States, UK (Scotland), India, and Pakistan. We did encounter language difficulties with some of the station personnel, but for the most part, liaison was good. Most of the officers were active police officers in their home countries although some were retired.

The overall experience level varied from officers with no experience in peace support operations to those who had handled extreme situations such as in Northern Ireland. The lead planner for UNMIK-P during the elections was an officer from India. He had little or no field experience, but was knowledgeable in some areas of election organization.

Kosovo Police Service (KPS)

The Kosovo Police Service is a locally trained police force that has been empowered by the U.N. and UNMIK-P. Their presence has increased all over Kosovo and has added a much needed reinforcement for the International Police Officers. Most of the officers are employed in the area in which they live. Their experience level also varies. Officers are both men and women who are readily identifiable by their uniforms. During the elections the KPS served an important reinforcing role for the international officers, especially in crowd control and explaining to the public what was happening.

The Council of Europe (COE)

The Council of Europe is an organization that was sent to observe the electoral process in Kosovo. In the Gnjilane Region approximately 37 observers deployed in to the sector. The observers rotated between centers, and evaluated how the voting process was being conducted and how the ballots were being counted and transported. TFF housed 14 observers on Camp Bondsteel due to the extreme shortage of available rooms at local hotels. Each was charged roughly 25 DM per night. The observers traveled with a hired interpreter and driver who knew the local area. Their vehicles were marked with a very identifiable sticker placed on the windshield of the car.

The Kosovo Election Process

The election process in Kosovo was conducted similarly to that during the Bosnia elections with one exception. For the first time voters were able to choose the candidate they wanted to hold a municipal seat. Each of the parties could nominate candidates up to the amount of seats available in each municipality, providing they met the rules and qualifications established by the OSCE Department of Elections. The results of the election showed a slight dominance of LDK over the PDK in the Gnjilane Region. The LDK was particularly strong in Urosevac (67.9 percent of the vote), Gnjilane (62.6 percent of the vote), Kamenica (59.8 percent of the vote), and Vitina (59.7 percent of the vote). The PDK won the Kacanik Municipality (52.4 percent of the vote), Novo Brdo (49.9 percent of the vote), and Stupce (53.7 percent of the vote), but the actual seats the PDK occupies are much less than that of the LDK due to the population density difference between the municipalities. The LDK occupies 121 seats compared to the 73 seats of the PDK.

Types of Polling Stations

The MNBE sector had polling centers instead of polling stations. These centers ranged in size from the mega centers with 6,000 or more registered voters, to smaller centers with anywhere from 1,200 to 4,000 voters. MNBE had 10 mega centers: 2 in Gnjilane, 3 in Urosevac, 1 in Vitina, 3 in Kamenica, and 1 in Kacanik.

These centers would have anywhere from 8 to 18 international polling supervisors and additional local national election staff assisting in the voting process. Combined with UNMIK-P, the total staff at one of these centers was over 40. Inside the centers the supervisors would cover down on individual polling stations. There was one manager of the polling center who was responsible for the overall organization and administration of the center and for maintaining communication with the OSCE field office with which they were affiliated. These centers were extremely difficult to manage.

The people of Kosovo are not accustomed to waiting in lines, nor do they have much discipline. In hindsight we did not expect to get the volume of people trying to get through one entry as we experienced. We attempted to establish a Disney World solution to the problem by

building a snake line using engineer tape and wooden posts. The people disregarded these control measures, and the line bulged to 10 and 12 wide. UNMIK-P and KPS attempted to keep order, and for the most part were able to do so, except in a few cases. Many people had to wait for almost 6 hours to vote, but remained upbeat. The smaller polling centers would initially experience large crowds, but saw the crowds taper off towards the end of the day.

The mega centers were still counting ballots at 0530 the next day. Several centers closed, only to reopen an hour later due to confusing guidance from OSCE Headquarters as to whether sites would remain open or closed for late voters. In one instance in the Vitina mega center, the TFF commander, BG Hardy, talked with the voters and was able to calm those who had not been given the chance to vote. There were still about 2,000 voters waiting one hour after the official close of voting due to the process of checking voters and their registration slips. Since none of the voters had received ID cards prior to the elections, the OSCE had to go through the painstaking process of looking through a huge voter list that was not alphabetized and attempt to identify voters by their picture. Many of the polling stations inside the mega centers would be empty because of a bottleneck at the voter control point. The international supervisors managed to stay somewhat calm during the process, but some were overcome with fear over the amount of people and their rising animosity over standing in line for such a long time.

During the after-action review (AAR) with OSCE, it was recommended that the mega center course of action should not be used unless the voting was allowed to run over the course of 2 days and a system was designed to direct voters into the queue for which they were designated instead of standing in one long line.

Voting

The polls were to officially open at 7 a.m. on the day of the election. In most cases this was true. There were isolated incidents of locally hired election support personnel who did not show up at their center until 1 to 2 hours after the official opening. This made it much harder on the international supervisors in getting the site setup and ready to operate.

The mega centers were set up the day prior to the election and then guarded overnight by the UNMIK-P. No weapons were allowed in the

polling centers. UNMIK-P conducted a search for weapons near the door to the center. No political parties could campaign or distribute literature. Many of the parties had representatives at the centers and witnessed the voting process. This was important because it added legitimacy to the process. OSCE tracked voters by marking them with invisible ink to show they voted.

In the MNB E sector there were no cases where a polling center manager had to close a site due to threats or violence. However, there was a situation where ballots intended for Pristina were delivered to the polling center at Kamenica. The Kamenica Head of Field Office had to personally deliver the ballots to Pristina almost 2 hours after the opening of Pristina's polling center. The Ukrainian Special Police Unit, as well additional UNMIK-P reinforcements, arrived at Pristina's polling center to help control an unruly crowd of voters, who had not been told of the problem with the ballots.

A key asset, which could have helped this situation, would have been the deployment of tactical PSYOPs. TFF PSYOPs teams were equipped with loud speakers and could have assisted in the dissemination of information to the public. This was done at Rogacica, one of the mega centers in Kamenica.

Overall, the UNMIK-P was severely undermanned to handle such large crowds or to communicate with each other. At most centers, the UNMIK-P had only one radio, which made communication between officers next to impossible except for shouting. Some officers purchased hand-held Motorola *Walkabouts* for use within their own teams. UNMIK-P felt that if they had to respond to any kind of emergency at a center, they would not have had the resources to execute a response.

There was only one reported incident of an attempt to steal ballots. This was a phoned-in report to the OSCE Headquarters. It was never verified and classified as a hoax.

Election Support

KFOR stationed in the MNB East sector numbered roughly 9,000 soldiers during the elections. There were no additional assets brought in to the sector to support the current force structure. As a whole, several battalions were brought in to the Kosovo theatre as reinforcements for

the other sectors. A Greek battalion was deployed into the MNB East sector as part of the KFOR reserve, but did not have any command relationship with the Task Force Falcon (TFF) chain of command. Task Force Falcon consisted of six battalions. There were two battalions that were deployed from USAREUR as part of the 1st Armored Division's Ready First Combat Team (1st Bde, 1st AD) – one infantry battalion (1-36) and one armor battalion (1-37). There was an air assault battalion deployed from Fort Campbell (2-327 IN), a mechanized infantry battalion from Greece (507th Mech), a modified airborne battalion from Russia (13th Tactical Group), and a combined mechanized infantry battalion from Poland and Ukraine. Task Force Falcon was also supported by a task force organized aviation package of attack and lift helicopters as well as Ukrainian lift assets.

KFOR Support to the Kosovo Municipal Elections

The Kosovo Force (KFOR) supported the Kosovo municipal elections by ensuring that a safe and secure environment was provided for the voters on election day. This was consistent with KFOR's current mission. As opposed to the municipal elections in Bosnia, KFOR's role in providing direct support to the OSCE was limited.

KFOR support to OSCE included the delivery of ballots by Irish Transport Units and the Greek FSU to OSCE field offices. Units at brigade level and below did not incur any responsibility in moving ballot material. In fact, this was a major issue for KFOR. KFOR did not want to be seen handling any of the ballot material or providing storage so as to not give the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) an opportunity to use KFOR as an influencing element. In the TFF AOR, KFOR did provide limited housing for about 59 international supervisors at Camp Montieth and 14 Council of Europe observers at Camp Bondsteel. The personnel were charged 25 DM per night. They were provided transportation to and from the entrance of Camp Bondsteel to their accommodations.

KFOR provided a militarily secure environment for OSCE operations and an opportunity for the Kosovo people to vote in a free and fair election. The OSCE had been operating in Kosovo for 10 months prior to the election and had established a good base of operations. TFF assisted OSCE by providing situational awareness briefings and threat assessments of the polling centers to incoming supervisors.

Task Force Falcon had a liaison team at each of the OSCE field offices with military communications and security. The liaison team's responsibility was to assist OSCE in any emergency requests for support and provide information to the TFF Election Operations Center. KFOR provided training for the international supervisors at Lake Ohrid in mine awareness, first aid, map reading, emergency action procedures, and communications.

Area Security

KFOR's main mission was to maintain a safe and secure environment. The TFF AOR was divided into six battalion sectors over seven municipalities. Each battalion was responsible for the overall security of its sector. During the elections, the units maintained a 150-meter radius from the polling centers so that KFOR would not be perceived as influencing voters. TFF units assisted in providing traffic control points and maintaining an overt presence in those areas where ethnic or party-on-party violence could occur.

Securing Ballots and Counting Houses

KFOR did not provide point security during the movement of ballots from Pristina to the field offices. KFOR did, however, provide an increased presence along the routes over which the Irish Transport Company (ITC) moved. The ITC conducted a reconnaissance of the routes the week prior to the election and established a drop-off and pick-up schedule so that units knew when the ITC would be moving through their sector. The UNMIK-P had the responsibility for providing an escort for the ballot trucks as they moved from location to location. They were also responsible for providing security at the field office locations where ballots were being stored.

Training

KFOR and/or MNB (E) provided emergency evacuation classes during the training at Lake Ohrid. This training encompassed procedures on how to evacuate from a polling center and on where to assemble.

Logistics Support

Task Force Falcon provided various forms of logistics to the OSCE. Most of the missions were *be prepared*, but in essence were still a form of assistance. In one case, a forklift was provided to assist OSCE in moving off-loaded polling kits into a storage facility in the rear of a regional headquarters. TFF gave VS-17 panels to the international supervisors in the event there was an accident or an LZ had to be marked. TFF provided emergency buses in the event that a bus transporting supervisors from Lake Ohrid broke down on its way to the field offices. Medical support was also provided on a life, limb, or eyesight basis.

Noncombatant Evacuation

Under CONPLAN 31408, Credible Haven, KFOR was responsible for noncombatant evacuation of all U.N., OSCE, and international government organizations and non-governmental organizations. Each MNB maintained a list of these organizations and personnel in their sector. It was extremely difficult to keep this document updated. Even when the elections occurred, it was unknown who or how many organizations (other than the U.N. and OSCE) were in the AOR. The OSCE provided TFF with a list of supervisors the night before their deployment into Kosovo, but only after the TFF Election LNO at Lake Ohrid went to the OSCE Deployment OIC. Otherwise the names would not have been available to the units until the buses actually arrived. The Council of Europe did not provide a list of observers until 48 hours prior to the elections.

Another problem was that there were some NGO, UNMIK, and OSCE personnel that were hired as international supervisors. These names were never transmitted to the TFF EOC. The polling centers were not only occupied by the OSCE and Council of Europe personnel, but by political party observers as well. The OSCE had a list of these names, but TFF never received them. Each of the observers had to be issued an identification card identifying them as a local national political observer.

Task Force Falcon EOC was never sure of exactly who was at the polling centers in case there was an evacuation. Only OSCE and U.N. personnel were officially classified as PDSS (Persons Designated Special Status). Locally hired personnel providing direct support to OSCE

during elections were also considered as PDSS based on the seriousness of the evacuation and the capabilities of the KFOR unit. The bottom line was that KFOR would evacuate as many as possible within their capabilities. TFF maintained a list of COE observers and OSCE international supervisors at the EOC.

Evacuation procedures stated that OSCE personnel go to the nearest KFOR location first and then either be transported or directed to a collection point. Once at the collection point, a determination would be made as to whether further evacuation was required.

KFOR OPLAN 32101 Consistent Effort TFF OPORD 00-05 Operation Trinidad

KFOR

KFOR Mission: "KFOR provides support, within capability, to the OSCE during all phases of the 2000 Kosovo Municipal Elections, enabling them to occur without disruption, while continuing operations IAW OPLAN 31402."

KFOR Commander's Intent: "Our desired endstate is that elections have been successfully concluded, without major interruption, elected officials are installed, and KFOR operations are seen to have successfully and effectively deterred interruption or violence."

Task Force Falcon (Multinational Brigade East)

Task Force Falcon: "MNB(E) provides support, within capability, to the OSCE during all phases of the 2000 Kosovo Municipal Elections, enabling them to occur without disruption, while continuing current operations IAW OPLAN 31402."

Task Force Falcon Commander's Intent: "The purpose of this operation is to continue to implement the provisions of the MTA and UNSCR 1244, while providing support to the OSCE to facilitate successful elections, and assist UNMIK and other recognized organizations as directed by TFF. The key tasks for this operation include:

- Provide FOM for voters and OSCE personnel.

- Provide support to OSCE within capabilities.
- Conduct polling site recon and provide OSCE with correct grids or assessments on suitability.
    - Maintain a quick reaction force capability.
    - Establish liaison with the OSCE Regional Headquarters and field offices.
    - Adopt an economy of resources policy on other tasks on election day.
    - Maintain communications between unit representatives at field offices and their respective base camps.

End State: "A safe and secure environment maintained; voters provided the opportunity to participate in municipal elections; OSCE supervisors safely depart the MNB(E) AOR; MNB(E), UNMIK-P and MSU personnel return safely to their respective base camps and stations."

Phases of TFF Operation Trinidad

Phase I

Phase I focused on planning and preparation of the elections. It also encompassed election campaigning by the political parties. TFF established a close liaison with the OSCE Regional Headquarters in Gnjilane, while the battalions coordinated with the field office teams. The biggest challenge during this period was in establishing specific OSCE requests for support and UNMIK-P responsibility for point security. Detailed threat assessments, reconnaissance of polling centers, and communications coverage were conducted in great detail. Each battalion was required to conduct a polling center recon and include a digital photograph, strip map to the site, evacuation routes, a layout of the inside of the building, and grid location information.

Task Force Falcon also conducted a wargame session with OSCE, UNMIK-P, and TFF units and staff. The purpose of this wargame was to allow the different players from each organization to meet and begin working as a team. TFF also conducted a series of situations that the

deploying international supervisors could have faced. This was highly successful and set the tone for the entire operation.

Overall, there was an opportunity for all political parties and candidates to campaign in a safe and secure environment. While there was some early violence (including several deaths), the campaign became much more peaceful during the final weeks. There was some sporadic firing of weapons into the air, especially in conjunction with political rallies. There was fairly good compliance with OSCE electoral rules, although many parties failed to follow the rule of a 96-hour notice for political rallies. Part of the success rests with the efforts of OSCE to train the parties in the electoral rules. Another reason was the strong presence of KFOR and CivPol. While there was little actual violence, there were a variety of dirty tricks that took place. One example was the turning off of electricity at a facility where a LDK rally was being held.

Phase II

Phase II focused on the execution of various tasks in preparation for the election on 28 October. These tasks included delivery of ballot material and polling kits, deployment of OSCE supervisors, activation of the Regional and Field Office Election Operation Centers, and conducting sweeps by MP dog teams of selected high-threat sites. This phase presented many challenges nearer to the election. One particular challenge was setting up polling centers by OSCE the night prior to voting and then providing security for those sites. This was an UNMIK-P responsibility, but TFF provided resources in an overwatch role to observe any suspicious activity at the centers. The mega polling centers presented a major challenge to both OSCE and UNMIK-P. Since there was little or no experience in running centers of such enormous voter capacity, special planning had to be undertaken to ensure the safety and security of the voters and OSCE personnel. Each site established queue control points, traffic control, and security at the doors to the center.

The battalions in MNB-E participated in many rehearsals in the week prior to the election. The rehearsals included representatives of KFOR, OSCE and CivPol. This enabled the participants to raise questions and find solutions. Several region-wide meetings were held to go over the logistics and communications for election day. The meetings were managed well, and participants left with a better understanding of the

process. The international polling supervisors were provided with training and then transported to their respective field offices without incident. A rating system for the level of threat (red, amber, or green) was determined for each of the polling centers. However, the threat level for some areas of the region were based on less then optimal information due to the reluctance of some battalions to cooperate fully. This information was used by CivPol to plan point security and for KFOR to plan area security.

Phase III (28 October) Election Day

A safe environment was provided for all voters. There was no violence on election day. Without any serious incidents, there were no injuries to voters, observers, or media. There were no complaints filed with the Election Complaints and Appeals sub-Commission contending vote fraud nor did independent election monitors cite any instances of fraud. Independent monitors reported few instances of intimidation or political campaigning in or around polling locations.

Overall, the polling staff performed well. All of the staff received some degree of training. There were no significant complaints filed with the Election Complaints and Appeals sub-Commission for breaches in electoral rules by polling station staff or significant violations observed and reported by election monitors. There were some problems with the queue controllers in that they were not forceful enough in controlling the crowds. Better selection of controllers and better training will be needed in the future. Of concern was the performance of the mega centers. The processing of the people prior to voting took far longer than expected at some of the centers, creating large crowds of waiting people. Part of the problem was that some people did not have their registration slips, which greatly increased the processing time.

Domestic election monitors, international election monitors led by the Council of Europe, and accredited news organization representatives were present at every step of the election day process. Neither the media nor independent monitors filed complaints regarding access to polling centers.

The voters were given every opportunity to cast their ballots. Although the polling stations were supposed to close at 7 p.m., many remained open because of the long lines of waiting voters. The last voter in this

election cast a ballot in the very early morning hours of October 29. Voter turnout projections indicate that about 80 percent of registered persons actually voted, which is outstanding.

Overall, OSCE did a good job with election logistics. However, problems did exist. In a few of the polling centers, there was a shortage of ballots or other election supplies. The wrong ballots were delivered to one polling center. However, when problems were identified early on, they were immediately addressed and quickly rectified.

The communications system was mediocre at best. There were problems with the radios used by OSCE. KFOR assisted with the communications used on election day by providing some equipment and associated personnel. KFOR communications were fairly good. It may be necessary to make improvements to the infrastructure before another election is held.

RJEOC on Election Day

The RJEOC in Gnjilane served as the operations center for MNB-E on election day. It was located in the OSCE regional office. Those present on election day included the KFOR LNO, the UNMIK Police LNO, and most of the OSCE regional staff. The overriding goal was to ensure that a safe environment for the election was provided for voters.

This does not mean that the RJEOC did not have to contend with a variety of smaller, yet still significant problems. One continuing concern was the crowds that were created by the slow processing of voters at the mega centers. It was necessary to send more UNMIK police to these centers to assist with crowd control.

The RJEOC was the communications hub for all of the polling centers and for the OSCE field offices, UNMIK police, and KFOR units tasked with providing security. One problem with communications concerned the closure of the polling centers. While the polling stations were supposed to close at 7 p.m., the RJEOC ordered the centers to remain open because of long lines of waiting voters. Some centers never got that instruction, while others misunderstood and actually tried to close the centers at 7 p.m. It took several hours to resolve the situation. The RJEOC stayed open until all of the ballots were returned to the field offices, which took place in the very early morning of October 29.

Overall, the RJEOC functioned well considering that about 80 percent of registered persons actually voted. There was no violence or serious incidents involving voters, observers, or media. While there were some difficulties, OSCE, KFOR, and the UNMIK police were flexible enough to make adjustments and adequately address all of the election day problems.

Phase IV—Implementation

The election concluded with the swearing-in of elected officials. There were several municipalities that initially refused to take part in the swearing-in until the Albanian National flag was present. The United Nations at first insisted that only the U.N. flag would be flown at the ceremony, but backed down in an effort to finalize the election.

Summary

The Kosovo elections took considerable time and effort by the OSCE and the United Nations to plan and execute. It was certainly without a doubt the most significant event to occur during the occupation by KFOR. Staff and personnel of both the OSCE and the U.N. had the necessary experience and knowledge to make it happen. While both KFOR and OSCE were faced with a multitude of challenges, the teamwork between both organizations proved that the military, working alongside international organizations, could be effective in helping restructure and restore civility to an area that has virtually none.

The following personnel assisted in this summarization of the Kosovo elections:

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