

WHO'S WHO IN KOSOVO

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WHO'S WHO IN KOSOVO

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper offers a brief guide to the leading indigenous political organisations and personalities in Kosovo/Kosova.¹

The authority of the international civil and military presence in Kosovo rests on UN Security Council Resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999. Under international law no other authority enjoys any legitimacy until the UN administration grants it. Specifically, the international civil presence is tasked with:

*“Organizing and overseeing the development of provisional institutions for democratic and autonomous self-government pending a political settlement...”*²

The UN, as a step towards fulfillment of this task, has created an advisory and consultative Transitional Council, composed of representatives of Kosovar Albanian political parties and leaders from minority communities. It has had a shaky start, meeting only once in July and twice in August, though meetings are now planned weekly.

Among the Albanians themselves, meanwhile, at least two main groups contend for power and prominence. There is the long-standing parliament and parallel government under Ibrahim Rugova, elected President of Kosovo by an unofficial Albanian electorate in 1992 and 1998 – but in the present circumstances it has lost the ability to perform any of its functions. Dr Bujar Bukoshi remains prime minister in this arrangement though he broke with Rugova several years ago – the money controlled by Dr Bukoshi is in theory a major strength of Rugova's party the LDK, but for the moment Bukoshi's use of these funds is mysterious. A meeting of the parliament has been scheduled for 31 August.

¹ This report usually gives both the Albanian and Serb names for places. In the case of Kosovo/Kosova, however, 'Kosovo' alone is generally used, both to make the text easier to read and because it is the term in general use among English-speakers.

² UNSCR 1244, paragraph 11(c).

Then there is the provisional government agreed by the main Albanian blocs at Rambouillet, including Rugova, and now established under the UÇK political leader Hashim Thaçi with a multi-party membership but boycotted by Rugova and his allies.

Of these the provisional government is currently more active and visible, but it remains a coalition. From Thaçi down its members are neither united nor consistent about its status, sometimes speaking as if it should be treated as an executive ally of the UN, sometimes as though it is no more than a powerful lobby, sometimes as though it is itself the 'real' government and the UN's job is to assist it.

Meanwhile party political life goes on in a confused way, as Kosovo's politicians adapt to the new circumstances. Many of the parties at present are no more than groups of like-minded friends, and the scene is universally admitted to be very changeable. The UÇK is not a political party; nonetheless for organisation, prestige and sheer omnipresence it merits first treatment in any post-war listing of Kosovo's power-groupings.

II. POWER BASES AND POLITICAL PARTIES

A. The Kosovo Liberation Army

(i) Military

The UÇK or KLA (Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës / Kosovo Liberation Army) was never an orderly army, because of the circumstances in which it operated. But over 1998-9 it gradually became more structured and organised. Now at least in theory there is a single structured command under the principal commander Agim Çeku, though discipline appears hard to enforce: local leaders and even small units enjoy much freedom of action.

The UÇK seems to have expected to take an undisputed leading political role, and has been disappointed by the comparatively cold shoulder it has been shown by the international community. Certain signs in the first half of 1999 gave it hopes that the internationals would regard it as a partner rather than a rival. For instance, back in April, when it had become obvious that NATO bombing had not had the desired rapid effect, there were growing calls in the West, particularly in the US, for arming the UÇK. Exploratory secret talks were (reportedly) held. During bombing there was a small but committed degree of co-operation between UÇK and NATO troops along the Kosovo-Albania border. The first NATO troops into Kosovo were greeted as brothers by UÇK fighters who came forward to meet them and were bewildered to be asked to hand over their

weapons. Many in the UÇK genuinely believed that they would be encouraged to work openly alongside the new international administration.

UÇK political leader Hashim Thaçi, for example in a set-piece interview with the UÇK news agency Kosova Press on 14 August, has set out the ambitions of the UÇK in the post-war environment. Part of it would form a political party, part would form the core of the new police service, and part would remain in uniform as a new 'national guard'. Unfortunately for this agenda, the UN has given no particular priority to the recruitment of ex-UÇK soldiers into the police, and the idea of a national guard is still not accepted by the internationals – though most Albanians seem to regard this as a logical and sensible future for the UÇK.

(ii) Political

As a result of its military successes, the UÇK currently enjoys much political prestige among Kosovar Albanians. The immediate problem for its leaders is what to do with this prestige. While armed struggle was the main priority, the UÇK attracted membership from other parties: it was no contradiction to belong to the UÇK without renouncing allegiance to other groups. Many of those people are now returning to their original parties, or joining new ones. Moreover, now in peacetime some heavy-handed behaviour by the UÇK (or at least by armed men claiming to represent the UÇK), such as expropriation of properties and businesses, is starting to erode its popularity. Do the UÇK leaders have the political ability to consolidate the strong position they have won by arms?

The UÇK political wing until recently was directed by five members, of whom the 31-year-old political science graduate student Hashim Thaçi emerged the leader after Rambouillet. Other political directorate members were Sokol Bashota, Ramë Buja, Xhavit Haliti and UÇK spokesman Jakup Krasniqi. But analysts had been long predicting that the UÇK would split into factions as soon as the common enemy was removed. The recent formation of the new party PBD (see below) under Bardhyl Mahmuti, taking with it UÇK leaders including Krasniqi and Adem Sylja, puts pressure on Thaçi and his supporters to define their own stance. Thaçi has been saying for some time that the UÇK will form its own party soon (headed by him) – but who else will be in it?

Every existing political party in Kosovo, from LDK to PBD, says that the UÇK should not form 'its own' political party, always using the same argument: the UÇK was an expression of the resistance of all the (Albanian) people of Kosovo, which was necessary to rid them of oppression. As such it brought together people from all political movements, and was not itself a political movement. Founding a UÇK party would, they say, constitute an inappropriate attempt to mobilise a national wartime movement for narrower political purposes. This reasoning may not deter Thaçi, but it does raise a legitimate question whether a 'UÇK party' is really certain to attract mass support.

B. LDK (Lidhja Demokratike te Kosovës) - Democratic League of Kosovo

Founded in December 1989, until 1998 unchallenged as the political voice of the Kosovar Albanians, the LDK and its president Ibrahim Rugova led peaceful resistance to Belgrade. Rugova's leadership is often described as aloof and autocratic, and it has not gone unchallenged: in 1995 a rift with Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the LDK-led parallel government, had cut off the supply of funds collected by Bukoshi among the Kosovar diaspora. Then when fighting broke out in Drenica in February 1998, critics of Rugova's passive resistance started to join the Kosovo Liberation Army and more radical political parties, especially the new LDSH (see below). There were many departures from the LDK at that time, led by a group of ex-political prisoners including Mehmet Hajrizi and Hydajet Hyseni. And in the 1998 presidential elections Rugova was the only candidate; his rivals boycotted the process

LDK policy is still to uphold the legitimacy of Rugova as president and the government and parliament unofficially elected by Kosovar Albanians. In so doing they contest the legitimacy and authority of the newer provisional government, even though Rugova had agreed to its formation at Rambouillet – and dissident LDK members are nonetheless serving as ministers. In effect the LDK sees Kosovo's politicians as divided into two blocs: itself and other parties in the parliament behind Rugova; and parties in the provisional government, regarding LBD-UÇK-PBD as a single grouping. This underlies LDK complaints about the composition of the UN-appointed Transitional Council, in which the LDK is treated as one force among three with the LBD and UÇK (as at Rambouillet), and from which its smaller parliamentary allies are excluded.

The LDK got off to a slow start after the arrival of KFOR/UN. Rugova was away for a long time, returning to Kosovo permanently only on 3 August – even since then he has appeared little in public. Bukoshi had returned earlier but he too keeps a low profile. There is no sign of any rapprochement between them. The party joined neither the provisional government nor the Transitional Council – though Rugova has attended recent meetings of the latter to avoid the appearance of a boycott policy. It remains the most experienced political force operating in Kosovo, and much of its strong local branch organisation has reinstated itself since the war. Though its electoral strength is incalculable in the new circumstances, it clearly retains much support particularly in the urban areas.

Although Rugova was a founder of the LDK and has been its public face for so long, some in the LDK now think it is time to find a new leader for new circumstances, one who would carry less accumulated political baggage. Certainly his personal prestige is lower than it once was. But he has no intention of retiring and has said he is ready to seek re-election as President of Kosovo.

C. Other Parties in the Unofficial Elected Parliament

The parliament elected in 1998 neither met nor governed, but in an assertion of its continuing legitimacy it plans to meet on 31 August. Its status has not been recognised by the new UN authorities. The following political parties did not boycott the 1998 elections and are members of the parallel government's parliament, in addition to LDK:

Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosova (SCDPK): (1990) led by academician Mark Krasniqi, and Zef Morina, vice speaker of the parliament. The party plans a convention and election of officers in September.

Social Democratic Party: (1991) Mrs Kaqusha Jashari president; Iliaz Kurteshi, vice speaker of parliament.

Liberal Party: (1991) president Gjergj Dedaj, another vice speaker of the parliament. Long affiliated to the European Liberal movement (N.B.: there is another Liberal Party which forms part of the LBD). Dedaj called on Thaçi on 27 August to explore possible cohabitation, though there is no institutional relationship between the parliament and the provisional government.

D. LBD (Lëvizja e Bashkuar Demokratike) - United Democratic Movement

The LBD was formed in 1998 as a coalition of seven parties. Headed by 63-year-old literary critic and writer, Rexhep Qosja, the LBD is on good terms with the UÇK and contains frustrated former members of Rugova's LDK including many who left in February 1998. Qosja remains out of the provisional government, but LBD members such as Hyseni, Kosumi and Hajrizi hold high office in it. The general stance of the LBD is moderate-to-determined nationalism leading to a Western future for an independent Kosovo. It competes for the political centre with the LDK, regarding the LDK as leftish and post-communist. The LDK in return regards it as an appendage to the UÇK.

The parties allied in the LBD are:

- Qosja's own party the LDSH (Lëvizja Demokratike Shqiptare – Albanian Democratic Movement) including older people and ex-prisoners like Hyseni and Hajrizi who left the LDK in February 1998;
- Parliamentary Party of Kosovo (PPK) headed by Bajram Kosumi (see below);
- Albanian Unification Party PUKSH or UNIKOMBI, headed by Ukshin Hoti, a political prisoner currently in jail;
- Albanian Liberal Party PLSH (Prof. Gjergj Rrapi);

- Albanian National Party PPSH (Milaim Kadriu);
- Greens (Daut Maloku); and
- Albanian Republican Party PRSh (Skender Hoti).

Thus the LBD is rather a broad-based alliance, with a sketchy common platform, and Qosja still faces the task of transforming it into a stable single movement even as its component parties evolve to redefine themselves in the new circumstances prevailing in Kosovo.

Of the parties in the LBD, the PPK (Partia Parlamentare e Kosovës - Parliamentary Party of Kosovo) merits special attention for its long history and prominent leadership. Founded by Veton Surroi out of the Youth Parliament, the PPK was for a long time a distant second to the LDK in popularity among Kosovar Albanians. Its leader from 1993 to 1996 was Bajram Kosumi, who then offered the leadership to Adem Demaçi. Under Demaçi in January 1998 the PPK began a campaign of more vigorous opposition to Serb oppression and boycotted the parallel elections of 1998. Following Demaçi's departure to the UÇK in late 1998, Kosumi resumed the leadership.

Generally the parties lower down the above list have a small membership and are untested electorally.

E. LPK (Lëvizja Popullore e Kosovës) – People's Movement of Kosovo

The LPK may now be of mainly historical interest, but its legacy still affects politics in Kosovo today, for the UÇK grew out of it. The LPK was always an underground movement in Kosovo but an open dissident movement in Switzerland where many of its activists lived in exile. Formed in 1982 out of splinter communist movements such as the LPRK (Popular Movement of the Republic of Kosovo), the LPK originally enjoyed the support of Enver Hoxha's communist government in Albania. Its goal was the liberation of Kosovo from control by Belgrade, and the promotion of greater Albania. The movement shed Marxist roots after the fall of communism in Tirana, but maintained its air of secrecy, underground cells, and sense of radicalism. After Milošević rose to power and began his crackdown in Kosovo, the LPK drew closer to Prishtinë/Priština University's student protesters, including the young Hashim Thaçi. The decision was made to prepare for an armed struggle in the early 1990s, and Thaçi went to Drenica to agitate, then fled Serb security forces for Switzerland. Many top-ranking UÇK and LBD members have roots in the LPK, including Ramë Buja, Hydajet Hyseni, Bardhyl Mahmuti, Pleurat Sejdiu and Emrush Xhemajli. Many of those who went from LPK to UÇK are now in the new PBD – to this extent the PBD can be regarded as the post-war successor of the LPK. Though the LPK never formally disbanded there is little sign of it publicly now.

F. PBD (Partia e Bashkimit Demokratik) – Democratic Union Party

New party founded on 4 July 1999. Its recruitment-poster slogan reads 'Mendo të ardhmen, Mos harro luftën' (Think of the future, don't forget the war). At the opening meeting Bardhyl Mahmuti was elected President, with Jakup Krasniqi and Martin Berishaj (ex-LDK) vice-presidents, and a 51-member Council. Other leading members include Shaban Shala (secretary-general), Jashar Salihu (once head of UÇK's finances), Pleurat Sejdiu, and Azem Syla. Membership is heavily ex-UÇK and ex-LPK, though Mahmuti denies that PBD is 'a UÇK party' or that the PBD is just the LPK under a new name. The party is now setting up local branches and plans a congress soon. Its platform is standard liberal-progressive (human rights, democracy etc) plus independence for Kosovo, without any of the LPK's overt left-radical stance.

Though the PBD claims not to be a political party of the UÇK but an entirely new development, its formation is a clear post-war sign that the UÇK's political leaders recognise that the game has changed from resistance to politics – and it suggests too a split among those leaders, since Thaçi and others have not joined the PBD. In this context, Mahmuti's recent appointment as foreign minister in the provisional government could be seen as an attempt to contain the division.

G. LKÇK (Lëvizja Kombëtare për Çlirimin e Kosovës) - National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo

A former underground movement led by Valon Murati, with a mostly youthful membership. Virtually all served with the UÇK, though the LKÇK regards itself as a separate political movement, holding two posts in the provisional government. It is probably the most radical political force at present operating in Kosovo, criticising the international community for not giving Kosovo independence, and the UÇK for not seizing it.

H. Serbs

Serb organisations in Kosovo have mostly not survived recent events. The two Serb interests represented on the Transitional Council are Momčilo Trajković's (q.v.) Serb Resistance Movement (SPO), and the Serbian Orthodox Church (see Bishop *Artemije* and Father *Sava*)

The representative of the Belgrade government is Zoran Anđelković.

III. TRANSITIONAL COUNCIL

UNMIK has set up a Transitional Council with a multiethnic membership. The Council has only advisory and consultative authority (UNMIK has the final say on decisions). Its history so far has been neither happy nor successful. The first meeting on 16 July was boycotted by Ibrahim Rugova and his LDK, who were unsatisfied with the allocation of places on the Council. Regarding UÇK and LBD as an alliance, they felt that more parties from the parliament, especially the Christian Democrats, should be included. They proposed an alternative, for example that the LBD should lose a seat and the Christian Democrats gain one. Nonetheless, the interests invited to that first meeting of the Transitional Council were:

2 UÇK	(Thaçi and Haliti)
2 LBD	(Qosja and Hajrizi)
2 LDK	(Rugova and Tahiri, both absent)
2 independents	(Shala and Surroi)
2 Serbs	(Bishop Artemije and Trajković)
2 other minorities	(Balić, Bosniac SDA; Sezair Shapi, Turkish People's Party)

A second meeting was postponed due to the murder of 14 Serb farmers in Gracko on 23 July, whose funeral coincided with the scheduled meeting. It was eventually held on 21 August, and then Hashim Thaçi failed to appear, sending only his Chef de Cabinet Sherifi. Rugova arrived alone, still protesting at the distribution of places but not wanting to cut himself off from the process.

A third meeting was held on 25 August, with the intention that the Council should thenceforward meet weekly. Both Thaçi and Rugova were present, so the UN had reason to hope that high-level attendance was stabilising. Still, the Council is not yet seen by its own members as a serious force for progress, and plainly has much work to do to gain credibility.

IV. PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

A. History

Three main Kosovar Albanian political groupings were recognised at the Rambouillet peace talks in February 1999: the UÇK/KLA led by Hashim Thaçi; the LBD coalition led by Rexhep Qosja; and Ibrahim Rugova's LDK.

Rugova, Qosja, and Thaçi signed an agreement at Rambouillet on 23 February to form a provisional government, which would represent the Kosovar Albanians until elections could be held. It was also agreed that the UÇK would hold the post of prime minister, though at the time the other parties expected that Jakup Krasniqi would get the job. The provisional government was subsequently established on 2 April 1999 under Thaçi and is now working out of an office

building in Prishtinë/Priština. But since Rambouillet Rugova and the LDK have declined to take up ministerial posts on the overt grounds that the range of interests represented is narrow and unbalanced, but doubtless also in hopes that the LDK has more chance of success outside the government than in it. Hoping the LDK would participate, the provisional government did reserve places for it, and some individual members of the LDK have accepted posts, but they serve in a purely personal capacity.

According to an agreed formula, when a representative of one political group is awarded the head of a ministry, then the other two groupings provide deputy ministers. This formula appears difficult to maintain as party allegiances change and new parties are formed.

Although the provisional government includes a wide range of parties and interests, the UÇK holds all the key security posts and the important Finance and Local Government portfolios (some of these office-holders have since helped found the PBD and are so identified in the list below).

B. Relationship with UNMIK

The provisional government and the UN present each other with a mutual problem: how much power can safely be enjoyed and deployed without turning the other into a dangerous enemy? All the legal arguments belong to the UN, and KFOR is in the background to ensure that confrontation does not escalate too far. But the provisional government is better equipped to operate effectively in its own native environment and has been quicker to establish a presence and an administration in parts of the province where UNMIK's authority has scarcely yet reached, appointing for example prefects or governors to run Kosovo's 28 municipal communes. If the two can work together they could achieve much, but the relationship is unstable, unfriendly and insecure. Meanwhile the provisional government has started collecting 'taxes' and is unevenly carrying out a wide range of executive tasks for which it has no legal authority, including a form of policing. The possibility of clashes of style and interest is plain to all.

C. Composition

N.B.: The following list should be treated with caution. It has been compiled from several sources within the provisional government which contradict each other, each claiming to be authoritative. Party affiliations in particular seem likely to be fluid for some time to come.

Key:

Changes of party are frequent. Listed party allegiances are the latest known.

*	ex-LDK
**	ex-LPK
^	part of LBD coalition
♀	female
Indep	Independent (no party affiliation)
UPSUP	University Students' Union
SDA	Party of Democratic Action (as in Bosnia, party of Bosniacs)
CD	Christian Democrat

Prime Minister (Kryeministër):	Hashim Thaçi	UÇK
Deputy Prime Minister (Zv. Kryeministër):	Mehmet Hajrizi	LDSH*^
Secretary of the Government (Sekretar i Qeverisë):	Ramadan Avdiu	PBD**
Minister of Defence (Ministër i Mbrojtjes):	Azem Syla	PBD
Deputy:	Fatmir Limaj	UÇK
Foreign Minister (Punëve te Jashtme):	Bardhyl Mahmuti	PBD**
Deputy:	Hydajet Hyseni	LDSH*^
Public Order (Rendit Publik):	Rexhep Selimi	UÇK
Deputy:	(vacant)	
Public Information (Informimit Publik):	Bajram Kosumi	PPK^
Deputies:	Bedri Islami	PBD**
	Shukri Klinaku	LKÇK
Finance (Financave):	Adem Grabovci	UÇK
Deputy:	Ismail Kastrati	LDSH*^
Economy (Ekonomisë):	(vacant)	
Deputies:	Rahmil Nuhiu	LDK
	Sabahudin Komoni	LDK
Education and Science (Arsimit dhe Shkencës):	Musli Bajraktari	LDK
Deputies:	Hajrullah Koliqi	Indep
	Hasan Ukhaxhaj	PBD
Law/Justice (Drejtësisë):	Muhamet Mehmeti	PBD**
Deputies:	Arsim Bajrami	Indep
	Anton Noka	LDK
Local Government (Pushtetit Lokal):	Ramë Buja	UÇK*
Deputies:	Sokol Dobruna	UÇK*
	Basri Musemarati	LDSH*^
Health and Social Protection (Shëndetësisë dhe Mbrojtjes Sociale):	(vacant)	
Deputies:	Teuta Hadri ♀	PPK^
	Fadil Beka	Indep
Agriculture (Bujqësisë):	Avdyl Hoxha	LDK

Culture (Kulturës):	Sabit Gashi	LKÇK
Emigration (Emigracionit):	Rifat Blaku	PPK [^]
Deputies:	Gani Syla	LDSH ^{**^}
	Mujë Rugova	LPK?
Reconstruction and Development (Rindërtimit dhe Zhvillimit):	Jakup Krasniqi	PBD
Deputy:	Mujë Gjonbalaj	LDSH [^]
Labour (Punës):	Marte Palokaj ♀	CD
Deputy:	Naim Tërnav	Indep
Industry, Communications and Energy (Industrië Komunikacionit dhe Energjetikës):	(vacant)	
Deputies:	Blerim Peja	Indep
	Daut Maloku	Green [^]
Sports and Youth (Rinisë dhe Sporteve):	Bujar Dugolli	UPSUP
Deputy:	(vacant)	
Euroatlantic Integration (Integrim Euroatlantik):	Numan Balić	SDA
Deputy:	(vacant)	
Chief of Protocol and Rules (Shef Protokolli i Qeverisë):	Bejtush Isufi	

The vacant posts were left open for LDK and independents. The Foreign Minister post, originally left open either for LDK or for Veton Surroi as an independent, was filled by Bardhyl Mahmuti in mid-August. Office-holders listed as LDK and Christian Democrat serve without official party approval.

V. ALPHABETICAL WHO'S WHO

Agani, Fehmi, widely and well-respected moderate leader, Agani was murdered by Serb forces in May 1999. Former vice-president of LDK, and one of its founders and principal adviser to Rugova, Agani was considered the "brains" behind the party.

Artemije Radosavljević, Bishop of Raska-Prizren, head of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo. In alliance with Trajković (q.v.) he was for long an advocate of Serb-Albanian dialogue in pursuit of a just solution for Kosovo. This has not saved him from attack on the UÇK's website (Kosovapress) as a supporter of ethnic cleansing. Member of the Transitional Council.

Bashota, Sokol, member of UÇK political directorate, also ran the information directorate.

Balić, Numan, Minister for Integration with European Union and North Atlantic. Bosniac. University professor with a Ph.D in demographics. Member of the Transitional Council.

Blaku, Rifat, Minister for Immigration. From Podujevë/Podujevo. Professor of geography and economics, vice-president of PPK.

Brovina, Flora, Kosovar human rights activist, poet, and pediatrician, arrested and taken to Serbia as political prisoner in April 1999. Reported to be being held in Pozarevac prison.

Buja, Ramë, minister of local government in provisional government. Member of the UÇK political directorate during the war, and Director of UÇK Civilian Affairs. Economist. Former member of the LDK presidency, later left to join Qosja's LDSH. Was also in the LPK. Shot four times by Serb forces during NATO air strikes. From Hani i Elezit, on the border with Macedonia.

Bukoshi, Bujar, born 1947. Physician (urologist). One of founders with Rugova (q.v.) of the LDK, but the two have since become rivals. In 1991 was appointed by Rugova prime minister (in exile in Germany) of Kosovo's parallel government. Still uses the title despite the establishment of Thaçi's (q.v.) provisional government, in which the LDK does not participate. Gathered money from the diaspora to fund the Kosovar Albanians' parallel health and education systems. Helped found and fund the FARK, an armed wing of the parallel government which was at first rival to but later co-operated with the UÇK. Broke with Rugova in 1995 and cut off funding to LDK parallel state institutions in 1997. Although his political power base is now shaky, the money he controls (estimates vary between 60 and 400 million DM) ensures him a major role for some time to come. Maintains good relationship with Sali Berisha, ex-President of Albania, though the present Albanian government has ordered FARK troops to leave. Bitter rivalry with Thaçi and the UÇK – the provisional government is demanding access to Bukoshi's funds reportedly stored in the Dardania Bank in Albania. Some rumours indicate that much of the money may have been lost in the Albanian pyramid-saving collapse in 1997.

Çeku, Agim, a former Yugoslav National Army (JNA) officer with artillery experience, was appointed the UÇK's commander in chief in April 1999. Born c. 1959 in the village of Çyshk/Ćuška, near Pejë/Peć, in western Kosovo. Fought with Croatian forces in 1991 against the JNA, was wounded in battle in 1993, and eventually became a Croatian Army brigadier - equivalent to the rank of General in NATO countries. Left the Croatian army in February 1999 to fight in Kosovo. Has adopted a scrupulously correct public stance towards the new international administration, for example agreeing to and abiding by a demilitarisation agreement with KFOR, and condemning attacks on Serb civilians.

Çela, Lirak, former spokesman for UCK in Llap region (Podujevë/Podujevo). A well-known actor, who has now returned to that profession as Director of the National Theatre.

Demaçi, Adem, called the “Nelson Mandela” of Kosovo because of the 28 years he spent as a political prisoner in Yugoslavia until amnestied in 1990. Awarded the Sakharov Prize in 1991. Born 1935. Founded the Council for Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms in 1991 and became its first President. Editor-in-Chief of the magazine *Zëri* 1991-3. Joined the PPK in 1996 and became its president shortly afterwards, until leaving in late 1998 for the UÇK. He was the “general political representative” of the UÇK, and his visit to Albania in January 1999 is regarded as responsible for a *rapprochement* between the Majko government and the UÇK. He negotiated for UÇK at Rambouillet but resigned on 2 March in opposition to the agreement – he insisted on a binding referendum after three years to determine Kosovo’s future. After Rambouillet Demaçi was accused of trying to orchestrate a hard-line coup within the UÇK, by naming Sylejman “The Sultan” Selimi (q.v.) the supreme UÇK military commander, and denouncing political decisions taken by UÇK political leader Hashim Thaçi as illegitimate – for example he opposed the establishment of the provisional government. By now it seems his influence on the (generally much younger) UÇK leadership is limited, and that there is a significant gap between his politics and theirs. Spent the entire war in Prishtinë/Priština. A fierce, uncompromising proponent of independence for Kosovo, but also upholds tolerance and the right of Kosovo’s ethnic minorities to stay.

Dobruna, Sokol, deputy minister for local government in the provisional government. Lawyer and former political prisoner. Served as vice president of the LDK in Gjakovë/Djakovica, southwestern Kosovo, later joined UÇK.

Dobruna, Vjosa, co-director of Center for Protection of Women and Children in Prishtinë/Priština, human rights activist, and medical doctor pioneering in field of women’s and children’s health and welfare issues in Kosovo.

Dugolli, Bujar, Minister of Sports and Youth in the provisional government. Came to prominence during student demonstrations in Velanija (Prishtinë) in October 1997 against discriminatory policies in education. As a result was invited with fellow student leader Albin Kurti to make an official visit to the US, at a time when US policy was to encourage peaceful protest. The growing prominence of the student movement attracted criticism from the LDK, who saw it as a rival and a diversion.

Grabovci, Adem, appointed minister of finance in provisional government, an economist from Prishtinë/Priština. A recent UÇK incomer from the diaspora.

Hajrizi, Mehmet, born 1948, deputy prime minister of provisional government, secretary of the LBD. Served ten years in prison after student demonstrations in 1981. One of the LDK leaders until February 1998, then joined Qosja’s LDSh.

Teacher of Albanian language and literature. Member of the Transitional Council.

Haliti, Xhavit, - nickname 'Zeka'. Logistics and finance man for UÇK, Haliti left Kosovo in the 1980s, and has been based in Switzerland, where initially he was active in the LPK. Reported to have used great creativity and enterprise to acquire arms for the UÇK from various sources, including allegedly the Irish Republican Army, Israeli Mossad, and Germany. Was a member of UÇK political directorate.

Haxhiu, Baton, born c. 1966, editor in chief of *Koha Ditore*, and political analyst. Reported killed by Serbs during the war, Haxhiu survived hiding in Prishtinë/Priština basements, and then escaped to Tetovo in Macedonia. Resumed publication of *Koha Ditore* while in exile in Tetovo, distributing the newspaper for free to refugees in camps, and has now returned with other staff to *Koha's* own offices. However its printing house is destroyed and so newspapers are still printed in Macedonia and trucked in.

Hyseni, Hydajet, deputy foreign minister in the provisional government, born c. 1954. Served ten years in prison for his part in demonstrations in 1981 when still a student leader, and once known as the 'Che Guevara' of Kosovo. Former journalist, and former vice-president of LDK, Hyseni was among several former political prisoners who left the party in February 1998; now a leading figure in the LBD. As student leader in 1981, Hyseni led protests against the Serbian regime. Poet who speaks some French and English. Stayed in Kosovo throughout the war.

Kelmendi, Afërdita, director of Radio 21, independent radio station broadcasting in Albanian and English in Prishtinë, and on the Internet. Long-time Kosovo correspondent to Voice of America.

Kosumi, Bajram, born c 1960, minister for information in the provisional government. Served almost ten years in prison after taking part in student demonstrations in 1981 (like many other of Kosovo's new leaders). Chairman of PPK 1993-6, before giving way to Adem Demaçi (q.v.) and acting as his deputy. Advocated closer co-operation with the LDK after an exploratory meeting in February 1998, but this was overtaken by events. Became head of the party again after Demaçi's departure from it in late 1998. Stayed in Kosovo during the NATO air campaign, protected by the UÇK.

Krasniqi, Jakup, Minister of Reconstruction and Development. Former UÇK spokesman, and a member of UÇK political directorate, but originally from an LDK background. Born 1951. History teacher and former local leader in town of Qirez, Drenica region. Former political prisoner. Close ties and family loyalty with Thaçi and Thaçi's uncle Azem Syla (q.v.). Nonetheless has become distanced

from Thaçi against whom he was a rival candidate for political leadership of the UCK at Rambouillet.

Krasniqi, Mark, leader of the Christian Democratic party, writer, professor of geography, member of Kosovo Academy of Science.

Mahmuti, Bardhyl, President and founder of PBD (Partia Bashkimit Demokratik – Democratic Union Party). Born 1960 in Macedonia, came to Prishtinë/Priština in 1972. Imprisoned 1981-88 after anti-Belgrade student protests (see Hyseni, Kosumi etc). Lived in Vevey, Switzerland from 1990, first as a leader of the LPK, then francophone spokesman for UÇK. Studied political science at Lausanne, still working on a doctorate.

Maliqi, Shkëlzen, director, Open Society Institute Kosovo. Since late spring 1999, OSI Kosovo is no longer part of the OSI Yugoslavia. Journalist, political columnist with *Zëri*. Member of the OSCE-appointed Media Advisory Commission (August 1999).

Morina, Zef, a leader of Christian Democratic party, from Gjakovë/Djakovica, and vice speaker of the parliament elected under Rugova's presidency.

Murati, Valon, leader of the LKÇK, which functioned as an underground movement before the war. Preceded Çela (q.v.) as UÇK spokesman for Llap region.

Nushi, Pajazit, chairman of Kosovo's oldest human rights group, the Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms. Member of the OSCE-appointed Media Advisory Commission (August 1999).

Qosja, Rexhep, leader of the LDSH and overall leader of the LBD coalition. Born 1936. Distinguished literary critic and writer, Chairman of the Forum of Albanian Intellectuals. Was Director of the Albanological Institute 1973-81 until removed after prolonged criticism of the authorities – resumed the position in July 1999. Never an LDK member himself, he formed his new LDSH party a short time after the LDK internal crisis in February 1998, and many of those who left the LDK at that time joined it. Qosja regards the unification of Kosovo and Albania as desirable and natural but accepts that it is off the political agenda for the foreseeable future. He says he represents the liberal centre in Kosovo politics, with support for Western values like human rights and the market economy coupled with a vigorous defence of the Albanian identity. Member of the Transitional Council.

Rugova, Ibrahim, founder and long-time president of LDK. Born 1944. A Sorbonne-educated professor of Albanian literature, he was for a long time

successful in projecting a cultured Western image for Kosovar Albanian aspirations. However his image is aloof, autocratic and intolerant of differing opinions. Elected president of self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo in 1992, re-elected in 1998 as the only candidate amid a boycott by other parties. Survived internal moves against his policies and leadership in February 1998, resulting in a wholesale departure of more radical dissidents led by a group of former political prisoners. At first refused to acknowledge existence of UÇK, and politically lost support to them as their policy of armed struggle gradually proved more effective than his peaceful approach. First held under house arrest by the Serb authorities when NATO bombing started on 24 March 1999, then coerced into an infamous televised meeting with Milošević, Rugova later moved to Rome with his family. After a one-day visit on 16 July 1999, returned to Kosovo permanently on 3 August, but has made few public appearances. By refusing to take part either in the provisional government or (at first) the Transitional Council he has risked marginalising the LDK, to the dismay of his many Western supporters.

Rev. **Sava Janjić**, known as Father Sava or sometimes cybermonk for his able use of the Internet, head of the Serbian Orthodox monastery in Dečane/Deçan. A voice of tolerance and moderation in the midst of conflict. Member of the Transitional Council.

Sejdiu, Pleurat, born 1963, orthopedist from Llap. Sejdiu has been based in London since 1993, and served as the UÇK's spokesman in Britain. One of the founding members of the new PBD. A former member of the LPK in Llap.

Selimi, Rexhep, Minister of Public Order in the provisional government, born c. 1972, an early member of the UÇK together with with nephew Sulejman (q.v.). In an interview with the Kosovo Albanian weekly *Zëri*, Rexhep Selimi said his activities with the UÇK began as early as 1993. Rexhep Selimi was among the first to proclaim public allegiance to the UÇK, appearing in military uniform at the funeral of the activist teacher Halit Geçi on 28 November 1997 in Llaushë/Lausa near Skënderaj/Srbica in Drenica – this was indeed the first public sign that the long-rumoured UÇK in fact existed. When KFOR troops stopped his car in Prishtinë/Pristina on 4 August 1999 (for carrying a flashing blue light), Selimi was reported to have threatened them with a weapon. Two days later KFOR searched a house and found Selimi and some colleagues with weapons and large sums of money. He later issued a conciliatory statement.

Selimi, Sylejman, born c 1971. From February 1999 (Rambouillet) until his replacement by Çeku (q.v.) in April, Sulejman "The Sultan" Selimi served as chief of staff of the UÇK. Previously a commander in the Drenica region. He has since been named commander of the future Kosovo 'national guard.'

Shala, Blerim, born 1963. Editor-in-chief of the leading weekly magazine *Zëri* since 1993. A political moderate, Shala attended the Rambouillet negotiations as an independent. Member of the Transitional Council.

Shala, Shaban, former Vice-Chairman under Demaçi of the Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms, later UÇK commander in Drenica. One of the founders of the PBD in July 1999.

Sherifi, Bilall, *Chef de Cabinet* and chief adviser to Hashim Thaçi (q.v.). Spent some time in prison under the Belgrade regime.

Shukriu, Edi, member of LDK presidency, and president of LDK Women's Forum. University teacher (Ph.D in archaeology). Poet and playwright. Joined LDK in 1989, active in foreign relations in LDK.

Surroi, Veton, born 1961. Son of a former Yugoslav diplomat posted to Latin America, Surroi is the publisher of Kosovo's best-known Albanian-language newspaper, *Koha Ditore*. Under him the paper follows a politically independent line, equally critical of the LDK and the UÇK. A long-time political activist, founder of the PPK, internationally well connected. Seen as a unifying figure in Kosovo's factionalised political scene who played a crucial role in trying to help broker the Rambouillet agreement. While holding a seat in the UN-appointed Transitional Council, Surroi rejected offers by Thaçi's provisional government to serve as 'foreign minister.' He intends to stay out of politics and concentrate on his newspaper for a while. If he does re-enter politics he will attract support from moderates, but even more from internationals. Stayed in Prishtinë/Pristina in hiding during the war.

Syla, Azem, Minister of Defence in the provisional government. Nickname 'The big uncle' (Daja i Madh), apparently because he is Hashim Thaçi's mother's brother. From Açaeva in Drenica. Based partly in Albania during the war where helped funnel arms from abroad to the UÇK in Kosovo.

Tahiri, Edita, born 1956. LDK's foreign affairs specialist, an engineering graduate who speaks fluent English. Member of LDK presidency 1991-98 and still loyal to Rugova thereafter. Chairman of (dormant) parliamentary foreign affairs committee. Served as Rugova's adviser and special representative during his long absence from Kosovo and still today. At Rambouillet she advised against Rugova signing the agreement to create a provisional government. Urged LDK boycott of both the Transitional Council and the provisional government, on the grounds that both were too narrowly based and left out too many LDK parliamentary allies (CD, SDP, Liberals). As close to Rugova as anyone is, Tahiri can be expected to play a leading role in the LDK in the future.

Thaçi, Hashim, born 1968 in Burojë/Broja in Drenica. Prime minister of provisional government, formerly head of UÇK political directorate. Nicknamed 'Snake'. After an agreement reached by the three principal Kosovar Albanian delegates to the Rambouillet peace talks (Thaçi, Rugova, Qosja), Thaçi became prime minister of a provisional government for Kosovo, to rule until elections could be held. Former university student movement leader who in early 1990s joined forces with leaders of the LPK to found the armed movement which became the UÇK in or around 1993. After being expelled from Prishtinë/Pristina university by Serb forces went to Drenica to help agitate among Kosovar Albanians. Sentenced (*in absentia*) to 22 years in prison for terrorist offences. Fled to Switzerland, where did post-graduate studies in political science in Luzern and Zürich. Returned to Kosovo in 1998 to fight with the UÇK. Although at first enjoyed the support of Western leaders, since the deployment of UNMIK and KFOR he has lost some of that support as a result of the provisional government's attempts to assert its own authority.

Trajković, Momčilo, president of the Kosovo Serbian Resistance Movement (*Srpski Pokret Otpora – SPO*), has long been the most prominent indigenous Serb political leader in Kosovo. He was once an ally of Milošević and for a few years was governor of Kosovo. Although maintaining that Kosovo was an internal Serbian problem, he became a vocal critic of Milošević's manipulation of the Kosovo Serbs, and in 1997-8 advocated dialogue between Serbs and Albanians. Gradually became a political ally of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo (see Artemije). His preferred solution was partition of the province between Serb and Albanian areas, and he is now advocating cantonisation into ethnic areas, a case rejected by Albanians and internationals alike. Member of the Transitional Council.

Vesli, Kadri, UÇK nickname 'Luli', chief of information for the provisional government.

Xhemajli, Emrush, 40s, from a village near Ferizaj/Uroševac (Kamenë/Kamena Glava?), was an LPK activist, who joined the UÇK in 1997. Instrumental in linking LPK with Prishtinë's/Pristina's student activists in the early 1990s, a move that led to the formation of the UÇK.