

# Terrain of Terror

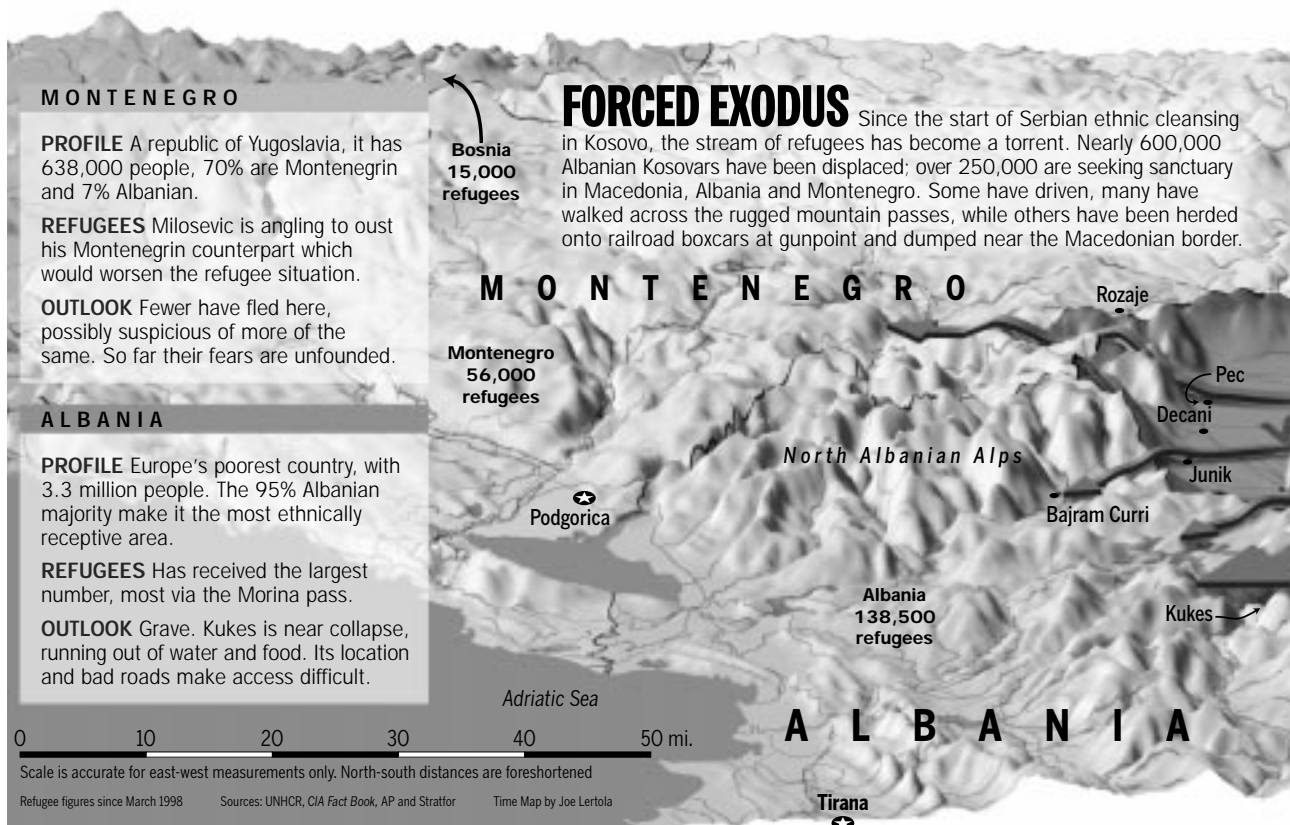
As thousands of refugees pour out of Kosovo in search of sanctuary, the world confronts the awful cost of hate

By ROMESH RATNESAR

**F**OR NEARLY HIS ENTIRE LIFE, DERVIS AUDAJA, 54, lived on the same block in the Kosovo city of Pec, developing close friendships with his neighbors, a mix of ethnic Albanians and Serbs. Now all that is gone forever. Early last week Serb paramilitary units drove into his neighborhood, went to the door of every Albanian home and gave the residents 10 minutes to pack their belongings and go to the Korza, the city's main square. From there most of the crowd of 15,000 were herded into the local sports stadium, where they spent the night in silent fear, half expecting to be mowed down in a mass execution or placed in the way of NATO bombs.

The next morning, the Serb police told the Al-

banians they could go home safely. But by then most of their houses were in flames. Audaja's home was already ashes; still, he was determined to stay in Pec. He moved in with relatives next door and asked his Serb neighbors for protection. "I asked them, 'What have I ever done in 50 years that would make you burn my house?' They told me it was outsiders." But by Tuesday, more Albanian homes were burning, and Serb soldiers, acting under the orders of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, lined the hills surrounding the neighborhood. Audaja, his trust shattered and his possessions gone, put his paralyzed daughter into a wheelchair. He pushed his daughter for 13 hours before a truck stopped to offer them a ride. "In a place where your neighbors burn your houses, there can be no survival," he said last week, fight-



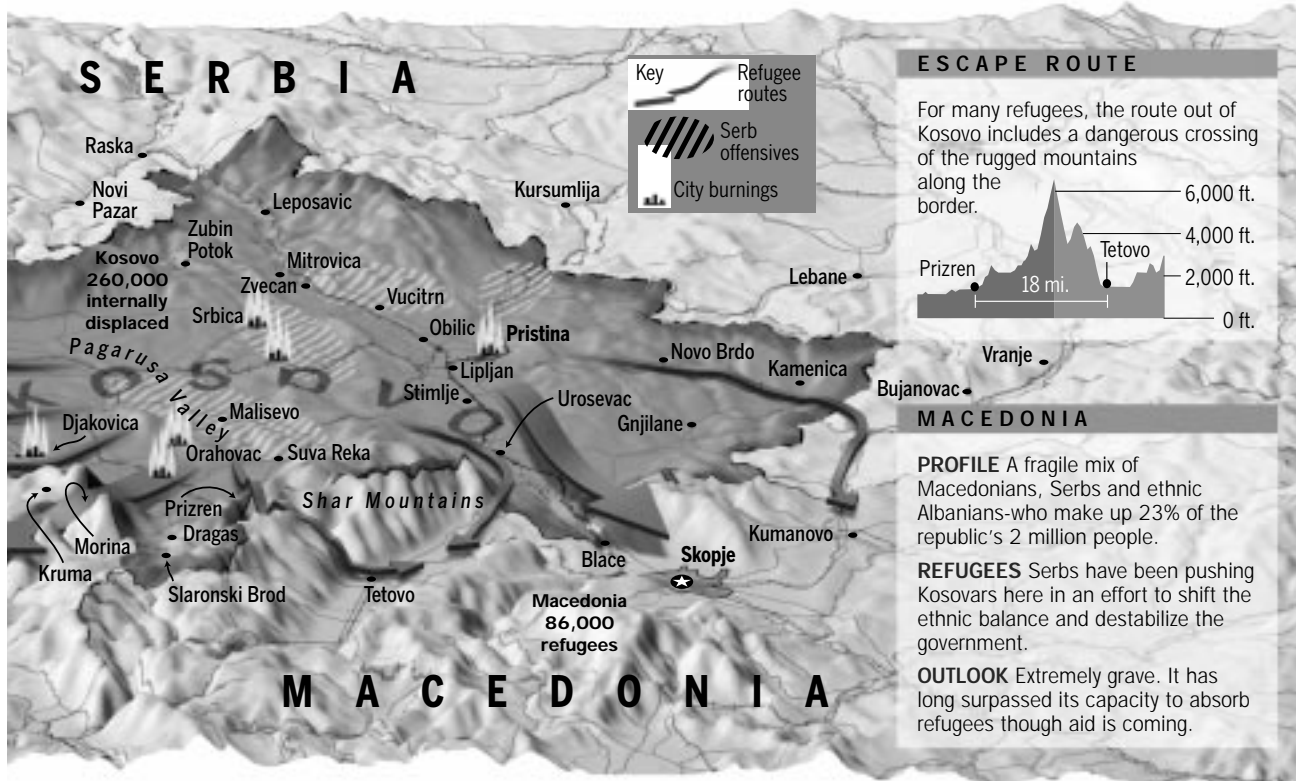
ing back tears as he sat in the corner of a factory in Rozaje, Montenegro, where some 50,000 displaced Kosovars passed through last week. His daughter was propped nearby, with no food and little hope.

For the hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians like Audaja who desperately fled their homes last week—traversing miles of winding mountain roads afoot or on tractors or atop mules—the world seemed to have come apart. By week's end, according to the U.N., more than 300,000 refugees had crossed into neighboring Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro since the bombing campaign began on March 24. On Saturday, NATO spokesman Jamie Shea said at least 200,000 to 300,000 more Kosovars were heading for the border. At the Montenegro boundary, one column of refugees awaiting entry extended in an unbroken line of misery for 20 miles. Late last week, fearing internal instability, Macedonia closed its borders, with thousands of Kosovars still waiting to get in.

WHAT THE REFUGEES LEFT BEHIND WAS A SERB spasm of looting, terror and executions; what they encountered on the other side of the frontier was a teeming mess of poverty, hunger and disease. In Rozaje refugees drifted through the

streets, hungry and shell-shocked; some would come across small obstacles and simply stop and weep. Doctors scrambled to prevent the crowding and dismal sanitation from causing a tuberculosis epidemic, but their efforts seemed of little use. "People don't even have spoons, so everyone eats from one bowl. Women are giving birth next to men with TB. It is an epidemiological bomb," said a local doctor. Added another: "This is hell."

If so, the refugees had already come face to face with the devils. In many villages early last week, Serb paramilitaries surrounded Albanian homes, broke down doors and ordered villagers to pack up and go. Some refugees said they were lined up and commanded to yell "Serbia! Serbia!" and give the three-finger Serb victory salute. "Go to Albania. That's your country," Serb troops told a group of ethnic Albanians hiding in Mamusa, a village 22 miles from the Albanian border. "And say hello to Bill Clinton. You will never see Kosovo again." Serb paramilitary forces were said to have committed grisly atrocities. There were reports of summary executions in at least 20 towns and villages. According to the State Department, Albanian men in Djakovica were systematically separated from women and children. Thirty-three bodies were



# A KOSOVO PRIMER

## WHY SHOULD WE CARE?

In spreading hostilities, Serbs—led by Slobodan Milosevic—have killed thousands of Kosovars and uprooted hundreds of thousands more. This brutality could threaten European security by enflaming passions in Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro.

## WHAT THEY WANT

**MILOSEVIC** To keep Kosovo part of Yugoslavia, under Serb control, and to stop any occupation of the region by NATO forces.

**KOSOVARS** An immediate cessation of hostilities and atrocities by the Serbs, followed without delay by full independence.

**U.S.** For Milosevic to sign a pact that gives Kosovo autonomy enforced by NATO troops on the ground.

## THE REGION

**AREA** 4,203 sq. mi. (10,887 sq. km.)—about 60 Kosovos could fit inside Texas.

**POPULATION** Almost 2 million. 90% ethnic Albanian; 10% Serbian.

## HISTORY

**1389** Ottoman Turks defeat Serb-led armies in Kosovo. Most Serbs then migrate north, but they still consider the region their ancestral homeland.

**1929** Kosovo becomes part of the kingdom of Yugoslavia, which, after WWII, becomes a communist republic.

**1974** A new constitution gives Kosovo political and economic autonomy.

**1989** Using nationalism to appeal to Kosovo's Serbian minority, Slobodan Milosevic strips Kosovo of autonomy.

**1992** Kosovo's ethnic Albanians vote to secede from Yugoslavia, as other non-Serb regions have done. Milosevic thwarts their efforts with armed force.

**1998** Ethnic Albanian guerrilla forces, called the Kosovo Liberation Army, struggle against Milosevic's repression.

## ABOUT SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

**BORN** Aug. 20, 1941; in Pozarevac, Serbia

**EDUCATION** Graduated from Belgrade University, where he studied law, 1964

**FAMILY** He and wife Mirjana ("Mira") Markovic have a son and a daughter

**BUSINESS YEARS** Became chief of state-owned Tehnogas, 1973; served as president of Beobank (United Bank of Belgrade), 1978 to 1983

**POLITICAL POSITIONS** Belgrade Communist Party chief, 1984; Serbian Communist Party boss, 1987; President of Serbia, 1989; Yugoslav President, 1997

found in a nearby river. Refugees said Serb forces rounded up and executed 150 Kosovar men in the police station in Kacanik. Kosovo-

vars who made it to the border had their identities erased by Serb border authorities, who confiscated citizenship papers, financial records and car license plates.

Throughout Kosovo, the "cleansing" of the province's 1.8 million Albanians was swift and brutal. Arife Bajrami, 30, who fled to Kukes, Albania, from Izbice, in central Kosovo, said Serbs told residents to assemble at the local schoolyard. The Serbs demanded money from the women in exchange for their lives. "They made us walk for two hours to another village, then they marched us back again, just making fun of us," Bajrami said. "We had no food. I saw one old lady die on the road." As she trudged along the muddy road to Albania, local Serbs shouted, "Your land will be ours now! Where are your husbands? We will kill you all."

There are some Kosovars, hardened by last week's sorrows, who seem determined to wait it out. For them, things can't get much worse. Qamil Jupaj, 28, huddled with thousands of other refugees in Kukes, told of Serb soldiers burning his house and whipping him with their guns. "They asked me for money. My mother stepped forward and said, 'Why do you ask him for money? He doesn't have any.' They hit her in the face with the gun." He paused. "If I didn't die yesterday, I'll never die." ■

## Questions

1. What is the basis of the conflict between ethnic Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo?
2. Why did ethnic Albanians flee their homes in Kosovo? What conditions did they face?



# Why He Blinked

Slobodan Milosevic has capitulated, but there is little reason for exultation among the NATO alliance

By JOHANNA MC GEARY

**I**F PERSONAL SURVIVAL IS YOUR WAR AIM, THEN surrender is always an option. We will never know exactly when the decision took root in the contrarian lobes of Slobodan Milosevic's brain. But three weeks ago, his body language changed. For weeks, whenever he received Russian special envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Serbian leader would loll arrogantly back in his seat and hold forth, filling the room with his self-serving discourse. Since launching a diplomatic shuttle on April 14, Chernomyrdin had spent dozens of fruitless hours with Milosevic, most of them listening. Then on May 19, the Russian detected a subtle shift. During a seven-hour chat, Milosevic kept leaning forward, paying attention, listening intently, as if hoping to hear something he could latch on to.

Last Thursday he evidently did. Serbia's truculent, unpredictable leader startled the world by abruptly accepting all of NATO's demands, almost the exact terms he had rebuffed on March 23 when he set off the air war. Now he had decided to stop it. It took him just over six hours of businesslike question-and-answer with the emissaries to make up his mind and formally capitulate.

Such a relief. In a test of wills in which one side had all the weapons but both underestimated the other's staying power, Milosevic cracked first. The chilling spectacle of NATO slamming 20,000 bombs and missiles into Yugoslavia can come to a merciful end. Bill Clinton proves—again—to be the luckiest President alive. At nearly the exact moment that Clinton gathered the Joint Chiefs to confront the unpalatable implications of a ground war to salvage the stalemated air campaign, Milosevic handed him victory.

Victory? The word is technically correct. The Serbs will be out of Kosovo, NATO in. The alliance can be proud it hung together, stuck to its demands and lost not a single soldier in combat—an amazing, unprecedented zero. The West stood up against the obscene barbarism of “ethnic cleansing,” drawing moral lines of the world. Serbia's war machine has been mutilated. Air power vindicated itself.

But it would be wrong to exult. NATO miscalculated when it entered the war and waged it with self-imposed limits. The armed confrontation failed in its primary aim. Air strikes were undertaken to save Kosovo's Albanians from Serbian wrath, but the offensive that NATO launched gave Milosevic the opening to rampage through the province. It took 72 days of death and destruction to arrive back where the combatants had started: at the original precarious prescription for safeguarding the Kosovars. Except that now 855,000 of them have been expelled from their wasted homeland, thousands have died, and untold others have been subjected to atrocious crimes. No one can say how many will dare to go back. If they don't, Milosevic will have succeeded in his primary goal of cleansing as



# REBUILDING KOSOVO

According to the peace agreement, Kosovo will be divided into five sectors. The number of KFOR peacekeepers supplied to each sector by each country is shown, along with exit points for the Serb troops.

● Denotes sector headquarters

Serb planes and air-defense systems must be outside this zone

Serb troops must be outside this 3-mile (5 km) zone

Troops being sent to Kosovo by other countries:

Russia	Up to 10,000
Netherlands	2,050
Ukraine	1,300
Spain	1,200
Belgium	1,100
Greece	1,000
Turkey	1,000
Norway	850
Denmark	850
Canada	800
Finland	800
Poland	800
Argentina	500
Hungary	350
Portugal	290
Romania	250
Austria	250

SOURCES: NATO, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE  
TIME MAP BY ED GABEL

0 25 MI.  
0 25 KM

## EYES IN THE SKY

In order to ensure Serb compliance, NATO will be keeping a watchful eye, using several methods

### LACROSSE SATELLITE



■ From space, imaging-radar spy satellites can locate objects on the ground even in bad weather

### JOINT STARS



■ All-weather, radar-equipped 707 can spot troop and tank movements from more than 100 miles (161 km) away

### A-10 THUNDERBOLT



■ Operating under a 1,000-ft. (300-m) ceiling, pilots can police Kosovar air and ground space, eyeballing Serb troop evacuation

### HUNTER DRONE



■ Unmanned aircraft cruise above the ground and beam back video images

many Albanians from his nation as he could.

The Serbian people have paid dearly in lost lives, lost jobs, lost hope, yet the leader responsible still rules Yugoslavia, no less prone to stir up trouble—though surely less able—than he ever was. The West has acquired an unstable Kosovo protectorate that will require intensive military and political care for years to come, and an immense bill, in the billions of dollars, to reconstruct the ravaged economies of Europe's Balkan quarter. The truism is the same for this as for every war: the peace is going to be harder to win.

First come the inherent perils of doing deals with Milosevic. The very speed of his capitulation made everyone suspect a trick. From Washington to Brussels, officials urged caution, but the Pentagon privately believed the agreement was “the real McCoy.” Unwilling to be caught wrong, Washington insisted the bombing would not actually stop until the Serbs have satisfied NATO they are car-

rying out the stringent terms for withdrawal of 40,000-odd troops from Kosovo.

NATO will have to accelerate smartly to march its 50,000 peacekeepers into Kosovo right behind the departing Serbs. The peacekeepers need to move fast to prevent the armed and independence-minded troops of the Kosovo Liberation Army from swarming into the vacuum. Milosevic has shuffled off the problem of “demilitarizing” the rebels to NATO, and it won't be easy. “It is our expectation,” insisted Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, that the K.L.A. will cooperate and accept an agreement that promises self-rule but does not give them independence. ■

### Questions

1. According to the diagram above, who will be responsible for keeping peace in Kosovo?
2. In what ways was NATO's Kosovo campaign a victory? Where did the effort fall short?