



Made in KS

...past, present, future

Periodical dedicated to learning from the past in Kosovo **Number 6 | Year 3 | May 2011**



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Made in KS informs about process of dealing with and learning from the past in Kosovo. It aims to cover ongoing initiatives sourcing from the society: important events, new ideas, and in addition experiences from other areas in the region and the world as well as stories of people's experiences. At the same time we are inviting all of you to contribute with what can ease the difficult process.

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Perspective

Dear reader,

Monuments and memorials¹ can be seen virtually all over Kosovo – in cities, villages and lots of them in the countryside along roads. They have flourished especially in the years following the 1998/99 war. Despite their omnipresence, relatively little is known about circumstances regarding memorials' construction and their contribution to the "collective memory". Therefore, we are grateful that Elife Krasniqi from the Institute for Studies in Society and Culture "Alter Habitus" shares first insights with us from their current research project studying memorials in Kosovo. For the first issue of *Made in KS* in 2011, we decided to focus on monuments and memorials, because they constitute an important element of Dealing with the Past (DwP) processes. Visiting author Bernard Klein from Alsace, France, supports this view in his article on the ambivalence of German military cemeteries, highlighting the importance of a well-conceived educational approach accompanying these "sites of memory".

Whereas the memorials' design, reason for existence and particular function may vary over time and space, they are in most cases a visual expression of a society's interpretation of the past, revealing how it should be remembered according to their founders. As Abdullah Ferizi later points out "they represent loss, victories, pride, dreams and fears of people who build them. And of those that destroy them".

The phenomena of construction/destruction, and sometimes transformation of monuments particularly take place in times of major political changes. With its turbulent history and consequently chan-

ging memorial landscape, Kosovo provides an interesting case concerning that matter. The selected cover picture, for instance, taken by photographer Marc Schneider in purpose of a regional exhibition documenting monuments all over Ex-Yugoslavia, shows parts of a former socialist Yugoslav monument which was only recently painted with the national colors of "Kosovo-friendly" countries. In lack of information regarding the initiators behind the repainting, we can only assume that, while the political context and the monument's look have changed, the initial message has been transformed, too: from "brotherhood and unity" into "friendship between Kosovo and its Euro-Atlantic partners". Other examples for the re-use of monuments and their surrounding public spaces can be found at "Boro e Ramizi/ Youth Palace" and the "Martyrs' cemetery". Both also located in Prishtina/Priština, they visually reveal the crossing, overlap, and sometimes conflict of successive periods in the past through the material culture of memorials.

In addition to our focus topic we will also present to you other articles covering current developments and projects related to DwP in Kosovo. These feature an article written by Nora Ahmetaj about the "Dick Marty Report" and the necessity of a witness protection program in Kosovo, a report about a recent street art workshop on DwP, memories and identities and an interview with Dr. Nora Refaeil, Special Adviser on Dealing with the Past, at the International Civilian Office (ICO).

Finally, while reading you might notice that we have introduced a few changes regarding our layout. Your feedback on these as well as on the articles are always more than welcome.

Daniel Bernhardt & Editorial Team

¹ Given that a clear-cut distinction between monuments and memorials is difficult to draw, the two terms will mostly be used interchangeably throughout this issue.

Memorials in Kosovo Today

Elife Krasniqi

This article provides first insights into "Alter Habitus – Institute for Studies in Society and Culture"'s current research project on "Collective Memory and Transitional Justice". The findings of this research suggest that recent memorials in Kosovo were built mainly through private initiative and in a rather uncoordinated manner. They were erected almost exclusively in purpose of commemorating male martyrs of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and often resemble the soc-realist art of the post-World War II era. The report with findings from focus groups may be found on www.alterhabitus.org

On January 9, 2011, Alter Habitus – Institute for Studies in Society and Culture organized the presentation of results of the project "Collective Memory and Transitional Justice in Kosovo." This project, which continues yet, is part of the program "Collective Memory" of Alter Habitus and aims to develop current discussions in different directions about Collective Memory. This would be done through qualitative and quantitative research, by creating a database with images of all memorials that were built from 1999 – 2009, by organizing a two-day academic conference, and by publishing on our website the works of the conference and those of the database.

By January of this year, Alter Habitus has managed to take a considerable number of memorials' pictures, portraying the history of each memorial that was photographed. Moreover, Alter Habitus has considered that before organizing the conference on Collective Memory and Transitional Justice, first to organize focus groups in order to get to know the initiatives on Collective Memory and Transitional Justice that have been undertaken so far. More specifically, these focus groups were organized to directly understand the mean-

ing of collective memory and transitional justice in society and to answer these questions: is there a willingness among people to discuss and to deal with the near past through the initiatives of transitional justice? How are the memorials in Kosovo organized? Are there memorials that have been built for women martyrs, etc.?

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Since February 2010, Alter Habitus has organized focus groups in seven towns of Kosovo: Gjakova, Prizren, Ferizaj, Peja, Gjilan, Kacanik and Elez Han, and Prishtina.

Overall, Alter Habitus has learned from focus groups that discussion on collective memory in Kosovo is mainly focused on memorials as the most frequent way of collective memory manifestation, and then in commemorative academies, street names, national holidays and songs. The common result from almost all focus groups is the request to have an institutionalized form of collective memory and of dealing with the past. This implies the installment of legal contours through which there would be created standards and norms for building memorials. From the legal aspect, there is a law that was adopted by Kosovo Parliament on September 2005, which declares the memorial complex Adem Jashari in Prekaz, as a complex with particular national interest by considering it with "ontological, anthropological, historical, cultural importance for Kosovo citizens". Under article 1, this law seeks the protection of this compound from "political influence and from responsibilities of Kosovo institutions". Ibid., article 7 states that "the Kosovo government will provide funds for setting up the



Adem Jashari memorial complex in Prekaz © Alter Habitus

compound”, while article 8 states that “any activity of political parties, gatherings and manifestations of parties are prohibited” inside this space.²

During the focus groups, the discussion about procedures for the construction of memorials was discussed as following a normal path, although the real requirements are not precisely known. During the research in the field, even though there was information about memorials or construction procedures taken from an organization of the municipality or from the Association of War Veterans, in some cases this information has not been consistent with the existing condition. We have not managed to find which organization within the municipal assembly is really responsible for the construction of a memorial, which directorate within the municipality could give information about memorials that were built during the period 1999 – 2009 in the respective municipality, is there a clear procedure for memorial construction that is the same for all municipalities, is there a database for the number and location of memorials in Kosovo, and is there an appointed municipal organization that is the same in all municipalities which deals with the matters that were just mentioned.

It is known that the Board for Urbanism is the final organization to determine the location and to issue the permission for memorial construction. However, practices have changed since just after the war there were not procedural forms for the construction of memorials in villages, and

these procedures have been followed later only in towns. Moreover, these practices depended on the constitution of the municipal organizations responsible for construction, which were fully constituted only later. In villages, memorials were mainly built for martyrs in places where they died, and it was considered that for these matters, the permission from the municipality was not needed. It was self-explanatory that the municipality would agree with this form of commemoration for martyrs. The initiatives to build memorials, in all municipalities, has come primarily from members of the martyrs’ families, the Association of War Veterans, as well as from the Municipal Assembly in some cases. So, we are talking mainly about privatized memory.

“Monuments were built fast and without strong criteria, with imposition, they were not conform architecture, they were without competition...”

(Comment from focus group discussion in Gjakova/Đakovica)

Memorials in all municipalities remained unprotected, since, as it may be seen from the focus groups, it is not clear whose responsibility it is to protect them.

Looking at it from the gender aspect, there are very few memorials that have been built for women, and those were mainly built with symbolic tiles as a contribution from their families. As it is expected in a patriarchal society such as Kosovo, men are the heroes. As with almost everything else, this too is a power relationship. In a society that is dominated by men, even the commemoration for women activists, for women martyrs or other women that contributed in the last war, is mainly adapted according to norms that function within the frame of patriarchal domination, which undoubtedly raises its power in all levels and spheres of society, thus including the collective memory or the culture of memory. Until now, there has been only one meeting where women fighters of the KLA

² The respective law can be found here:

http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/ligjet/2004_39_en.pdf

gathered in Drenas, but without having a more formal way of organizing.

From an aesthetic point of view, as it was also said in some other discussions that were organized by Alter Habitus, these memorials resemble the soc-realist art of post-World War II, but the difference is that the new memorials have national symbols such as the national flag or KLA insignia. Some of the martyrs' sculptures have been made by eminent sculptors of the communist era in Albania. Usually monoliths (obelisks) are very big, which show the fighter with a weapon in hand, with a hand-grenade etc. and the fighter is usually placed on a pedestal that is above the level of the head. Generally, this is seen as a good form to create memorials; however, there are young people who do not see it as a reasonable form. They propose that a memorial's design be made by contemporary artists.

"If a martyr is honored, it does not mean that a kalashnikov should be fixed there too, because it is a little rude... for me the kalash is not the hero, it is freedom that is the hero. This means that it is better being presented with a peace symbol than with a rude symbol of war."

(Comment taken from focus group discussion in Ferizaj/Uroševac)

Another matter that researchers dealt with during this research is the terminology or denominations; for example, there

is no distinction between monoliths, busts (bodice), or monuments. At this point, Alter Habitus has decided to incorporate all this terminology in one name: *memorials*. Moreover, we find inscriptions such as "dëshmor" and "martir", and the use of these two terms does not differ in usage for the most part.

Also, in all discussions about collective memory, there was a sensitivity about the selection of who should be commemorated, and the importance in terms of whether memorials are a testimony of the past. Citizens mainly feel that this process should have standards and forms about collective memory, about those who died in the war, and about the war

itself. Some citizens in Mitrovica/Mitrovicë gave some examples about heroes that had been part of an illegal movement and about prisoners that were imprisoned politically and died in the last war of Kosovo; however, since the families of those who died are materially poor, they cannot commemorate them as they deserve. Hence, the commemoration through memorials, for them is solely based on the economic aspect.

"He who has conquered the memory, he has conquered the individual as well, he has conquered the country, the territory, the space."

(Comment taken from focus group discussion in Prizren)

Elife Krasniqi (elikrasniqi@gmail.com) – sociologist, founding member of Alter Habitus and research associate at the Centre for Southeast European History at the University of Graz, Austria.



KLA-Memorial of Xhevat A. Berisha in Prizren © Marc Schneider

Vox Populi: The citizens of Gjilan/Gnjilane and memorials and monuments

Ballsor Hoxha

For the main topic of this issue of Made in KS, we went to ask the opinion of ordinary citizens in the town of Gjilan/Gnjilane. Our focus was on memorials and monuments, those of the socialist period, as well as of the more recent past. The many monuments being built in the years following the conflict of 1999 are apparently creating some confusion among the citizens. Therefore, for this occasion we prepared a set of questions which covers both, "old" and "new" monuments.

Firstly, we asked the citizens about the monuments that first come to their mind. The question was:

When speaking of monuments, which are the first monuments you think of?

Though the survey was done in front of two main monuments in Gjilan/Gnjilane, the majority of our respondents answered that the first monument they think of is the one of Adem Jashari in Prekaz. Many of the respondents answered that the reason why they think of Adem Jashari's monument is the sacrifice of his own family and the war from which he has emerged as a hero. It seems that the importance of the monument is related to the sacrifice and the role the person(s) to whom the monument is dedicated have played during recent war times. Another important reason why our respondents thought first of Adem Jashari's monument is that they associate it with freedom.

Other monuments mentioned as the first to come to their mind is the one of Skenderbeg in Prishtina/Priština for they think he is the first major hero in Albanian history.

Yet another monument of the last war mentioned in our vox populi is the one of Agim Ramadani, him being the KLA-hero coming from the region of Gjilan.

One of the respondents answered that he first thought of the monument dating from socialist times at the centre of the town, but he complained that according to him it is completely unrelated to the present times for it has no information and neither does he have any knowledge about it.

When asking members of the Serbian community of Gjilan/Gnjilane, it seemed that they also think of the socialist monument at the centre of the town.

The second question in our Vox Populi referred more to the many recently-built memorials and their effect on the respondents.

What do you think of the "new" monuments which are being built or have been built in recent times?

Some of the respondents answered that they are important but not as important as the one of Adem Jashari, because of what he sacrificed. The majority of the respondents said that these monuments should be built for they speak of the war in Kosovo and the sacrifices that have been made during the war.

Another group of respondents were critical of the big number of monuments being built, and said that although each monument has its own place in Kosovo, the respondents see a tendency for them to lose their value in the eyes of the people.

For respondents of the Serbian community, the main monument was the one built during the 1990s in the honour of Tsar Lazar but which was later taken by local Serbs from the centre of the town and moved to one of the surrounding Serbian villages.

The next question in our Vox Populi concerned the difference between "old" and "new" monuments:

Do the recently built monuments differ from the socialist ones?

This was the answer of one of our respondents: "No, they don't have any similarities, since the new monuments speak of the heroes of our times who have been very important personalities of modern times. They do differ from the socialist monuments because the new monuments speak of real people." The main difference between the "old" and "new" monuments, as seen by the ordinary citizens of Gjilan/Gnjilane, is that the "old" ones are mostly unfamiliar to them.

Some of the respondents said that they do not notice the monuments in town although they pass by the same ones several times a day. These monuments do not represent any value and the respondents do not see any connection with their past and present lives.

An interesting comment came from one of our respondents who said that the difference between the two is related to the length of time it took to build them: compared to socialist times, it now takes rather little time for monuments to be constructed. The respondent added that in her opinion a more in-depth reflection was done during socialist times regarding anything related to the respective monument, and today monuments primarily serve the purpose of honouring certain individuals and are often built by those who were close to them.

One of the respondents said, "Although they are old, they still have some meaning of our past and therefore should stay where they are."

The last question pointed towards the high number of recent monuments:

What about the number of monuments? Are there maybe too many of them?

The majority of the respondents said that there are not too many of them for they were built to commemorate the bravery of those who have given their lives for the freedom of Kosovo. And that these monuments should continue to be

built in order to remind spectators of the sacrifices and the war people have gone through.



Monument of Agim Ramadani and socialist monument (above) in Gjilan/Gnjilane © Marc Schneider

It seems that the opinions regarding monuments of our respondents can be divided into two groups: Those that think there are too many monuments which lose their value because of their large number being built everywhere in Kosovo and on the other side those that think monuments need to be built because they represent the fight and sacrifice during war.

One of the interesting findings about the opinion of ordinary people is that almost all of them say that monuments should represent some personality which has sacrificed him/herself for the cause of freedom. Other monuments are rather easy to forget and difficult to remember. created the present situation.

Ballsor Hoxha – project assistant at forumZFD, Prishtina/Priština.

Not Only Ideology – Traveling Kosovo with monument photographer Marc Schneider

Interview conducted by Abdullah Ferizi

Monuments and Memorials are not only an integral part of Dealing with the Past processes, they are also a powerful artistic expression. They represent loss, victories, pride, dreams and fears of people who build them. And of those that destroy them. This is the reason why this issue of *Made in KS*, and *forumZFD*, is particularly interested in this topic. The visual story below is an effect of such interest

Marc Schneider is a self-taught photographer, coming from Heidelberg, Germany, living between Germany and the Balkans since 2002. He has exhibited in different countries in Europe and in Japan. Lately, Marc works more and more on the combination of photography with other media. After becoming acquainted with the work of the well-known Belgrade architect, Bogdan Bogdanović, Marc got particularly interested in the artistic side of monuments, with focus on the socialist monuments from the Balkans. This is the reason why *forumZFD* has engaged Marc to take photos of monuments from all countries of ex-Yugoslavia, for the needs of a touring exhibition that *forumZFD* is planning. As part of this project, Marc has spent several days in Kosovo, where he took pictures of the existing monuments, both new and old ones.

During the round trip in different parts of Kosovo, we spoke with him about monuments, exploring their understanding and symbolism, and especially their bond

with DwP. This interview brings you a small part of the material being prepared for the exhibition, as well as Marc's thoughts on the raised issues.

Why are you particularly interested in monuments?

"I started to explore monuments because they were always in some nice places. Then I did research on their history, and usually it was my history, German history. When I visited Popin, a friend of mine joked: "A German visiting 'his crime scene'."

What does a monument mean? What does it mean for you?

"...for me, a monument means also art, architecture, not only ideology."
"When you think of socialist monuments, you think of Lenin with a raised finger, or Tito, in these territories. But, in ex-

Yugoslavia, that's not all. You have beautiful monuments, parks, places – where real artists where putting their dreams. I mean, Bogdan Bogdanović, as the most important, but others too..."

According to you, what does the ruining of a monument represent?

"In Germany during the 1990s, a lot of monuments were destroyed—Karl Marx, Lenin etc.—and it was done in order for people to forget the past, as soon as possible. It's a part of some system, I don't know... And I think all the time – people, that is our history, why destroy it?"

Are there any monuments in Kosovo which particularly caught your interest?



Socialist monument in Peja/Peć © Marc Schneider

"I must say that the one in the roundabout in Mitrovica was interesting. It's interesting because they made it more abstract - on the front side of a cube you see only one part of the body, and on the sides of it - you see parts of the legs and hands."

"And what we see here out of the car window...? A monument to a car? I like these monuments because they are creative."

Are there less socialist monuments in Kosovo, than in other parts of ex-Yugoslavia?

"Yes. I think that's because also Yugoslavia was not that good for Kosovo. I know that after Tito's death, the first unrest started here. And when you see what socialism did in the 1980s in Kosovo, it's clear for me why most of Kosovars are not big fans of socialism."

In Gazimestan I've seen the stone that Milošević put, terrible, and it was interesting for me to see that, like a pseudo-socialist, he put a cross on it! And



KLA-memorial in Mitrovica/Mitrovicë © Marc Schneider



Unusual monument in Vrnica/Vërnica © Marc Schneider

the story of Boro and Ramiz, I think that there is, maybe not all, but a lot of it is a myth, imagined in order for you to understand Yugoslavia, brotherhood etc."

Not only Kosovo, but the entire Western Balkans region features a wealth of impressive monuments, which not only commemorate the past, but also portray a lively illustration of the present. They function as a culture of remembrance, encourage identification and give every single individual the opportunity to determine his or her position in society. It comes as no surprise that the conflict-ridden events of the past have influenced the construction of different monuments; this also varies depending on the country.

With the initiative of the western Balkans Regional Coordination office, *forumZFD* is planning to organize exhibitions with a focus on photographs of various monuments located in Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia, Kosovo, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Abdullah Ferizi – project consultant at *forumZFD, Prishtina/Priština*.

The 'Dick Marty Report' and the Necessity of a Witness Protection Program in Kosovo

Nora Ahmetaj

In December 2010, the Council of Europe released a damning report accusing former KLA-members such as Kosovo Prime Minister Hashim Thaçi of having been involved in war crimes including illicit "harvesting" and trafficking of organs of primarily Serb civilians. The families of the concerned victims still long for truth and justice. A newly established independent international commission could be a possibility to carry out investigations in the case. However, a comprehensive witness protection program has to be implemented first in order to guarantee witnesses' safety.

A Council of Europe draft report on Inhuman treatment of people and illicit trafficking in human organs in Kosovo, widely known as the "Dick Marty Report" named after its main author and investigator, the Swiss Senator and former prosecutor Dick Marty, was released in December 2010 and later adopted by the Assembly of the same International Institution. The report accuses Kosovar Prime Minister Hashim Thaçi of having run an illicit trafficking ring that removed organs from secretly imprisoned civilians (primarily Serbs and Kosovar Albanian treated as 'collaborators') in the wake of the 1999 Kosovo War, when Thaçi was the leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).³ The report also points to the relationship between events of "organ harvesting" which happened in Albania in 1999/2000 and the more recent "Medicus case" in Prishtina/Priština, where at least seven people have been charged with participating in an international organ-trafficking network based in Kosovo that sold kidneys and other organs from impoverished victims for up to \$200,000 to patients from

Israel, Canada etc. claimed the police and senior EU officials.⁴

Even as accusations, it is distressing to read about the killings of civilians, both Serbs and Albanians who have been previously kidnapped, then treated in the cruelest ways. One cannot but think of those families of victims who are still seeking and hoping to find the bodies of their beloved missing ones. Why is this so important? Because the families of victims cannot be rehabilitated until they find out about the truth. All those who lost their children, their mother or father, their husband or wife, may they be Albanians, Serbs, Roma or Bosniaks from Kosovo, there is no difference: all of them have the right to know what happened to their loved ones. It is a fundamental right of the victims to know the truth, because there can be no real future for them

"If the accusations regarding inhuman treatment of people and illicit trafficking in human organs made in the Dick Marty Report prove to be true, they can be considered as grave breaches of international humanitarian law."

without knowing what exactly happened. The families of victims strive for public and an institutional acknowledgment, recognition of their suffering, victimhood and sacrifices. They need reparations and for their beloved to be honored.

It is unacceptable that in Kosovo there are individuals in position of power and influence who are accused of the alleged heinous war crimes such as organ trafficking and organized crime, but do not seem

³ Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (2010)

⁴ The New York Times (2010)

to be concerned at all. Prime Minister Thaçi, being one of the accused, publicly issued warnings through Kosovo media that indicated vendetta to those witnesses testifying for the Dick Marty Report. Mr. Thaçi warned those who 'cooperated' with Senator Marty "that a file will be published soon which will be more shocking than the Dick Marty Report". Although he does not specify when this file would be made public, he guarantees that "we will include names of people from several Kosovan political entities that have collaborated with Dick Marty"⁵.

An independent international commission of inquiry could eventually investigate the accusations made in the Dick Marty Report, thus help finding the truth about the past and prepare the path to hold accountable those who are responsible for the crimes. Further investigation requires the testimony of witnesses. However, in these sensitive cases involving war crimes, witnesses will only testify when security for their and their families' lives can be guaranteed. But so far, inadequate witness protection remains a major impediment to justice in Kosovo. As cases of witness intimidation and harassment are widespread, many witnesses were and continue to be unwilling to testify, fearing for their lives. Kosovo lacks a witness protection law and judges and prosecutors often fail to use existing protective measures available in courtrooms. Regulation 2001/20 of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) on the Protection of Injured Parties and Witnesses in Criminal Proceedings, grants trial panels the power to implement a series of protective measures.⁶ In the most sensitive cases, witnesses are able to testify anonymously.⁷ However, in these cases relocation outside Kosovo is often the only effective means of protection. Yet foreign governments have so far been reluctant to accept Kosovan witnesses at risk.

So, instead of seeking for 'domestic enemies', Prime Minister Thaçi should have addressed the issue of establishing a witness protection program and supported

the enhancement of rule of law in Kosovo. He should have shown leadership by creating a team of experts to design and prepare the law for a witness protection program. 'Concerned' after huge international media pressure, Prime Minister Thaçi sought assistance from the EU for protection of witnesses. In a letter addressed to international institutions, on January 13, 2011, he emphasized that the witness protection in Kosovo, as the Council of

"Kosovo lacks a witness protection law and judges and prosecutors often fail to use existing protective measures available in courtrooms."

Europe has noted in its own report, is yet inadequate. Although the Government of Kosovo is committed to developing the mechanisms to guarantee the protection of witnesses, it has failed to fulfill such commitments so far.

The report was negatively perceived by most Kosovan institutions. Through populist announcements, the Academy of Arts and Science of Kosovo, the war veterans associations and students unions issued accusations addressed to Senator Marty in particular, for attacking the KLA Values, and the just cause and just war that Kosovo Albanians fought for. Subsequently, Kosovo intellectuals and those who deal with war crimes did not bother to distinguish whether the killings of civilians (and not combatants) took place, to further investigate the cases and to determine if the perpetrators need to be held accountable. War implies that the conflicting sides fight against each other in uniforms, but when it comes to civilians there are rules and conventions to be respected.

Article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) requires from parties in an armed conflict that: *"Protected persons [including civilians] are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, their honour, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. They shall, at all*

⁵ infoalbania.org (2010)

⁶ UNMIK (2001)

⁷ Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (2011)

*times, be humanely treated, and shall be protected, especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity. [...] Without prejudice to the provisions relating to their state of health, age and sex, all protected persons shall be treated with the same consideration by the Party to the conflict in whose power they are, without any adverse distinction based, in particular, on race, religion or political opinion.*⁸

If the accusations regarding inhuman treatment of people and illicit trafficking in human organs made in the Dick Marty Report prove to be true, they can be considered as grave breaches of international humanitarian law.

On the other hand, the style, voice and tone of the report expresses the attitude of a writer in relation to a particular subject and audience. One could feel the sense of his personal attitudes, language, and the reflection of a consistent choice of patterns, i.e. using terms such as "patriarch", "mafia society", "Cosa Nostra", "clans" etc. If the rapporteur to the Council of Europe's aim was to raise voices, slap politicians and trigger the public opinion to deal with the past, he could have

done it in a more respectful manner, and with the voice and tone that do not reflect his attitudes if the subject itself is already hard to digest. The author's style was neither institutional nor academic— that is, it left the space for not being taken as an objective and formal report, particularly by those who found it difficult to deal with the matter.

Taking into account the arguments and aspects presented here, the Kosovan society should see the organ trafficking affair and the Dick Marty Report as an opportunity to critically face parts of its violent past and be in favor of judicial processes, whether carried out by EULEX or any other independent international commission of inquiry that might have the capacity to investigate such allegations. We should not forget that among 13,300 killed in the Kosovo War 1998-99, more than 2000 killed were Serbs and other non-Albanians, while, 1821 are still missing persons in Kosovo, among who are 500 Serbs.

Justice must provide guarantees. And when it does, witnesses might agree to testify under an effective witness protection program.

Nora Ahmetaj – executive director of the Centre for Research Documentation and Publication, Prishtina/Priština.

⁸ Geneva Conventions (1949)

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The ICO and Dealing with the Past in Kosovo

Interview conducted by Daniel Bernhardt and Abdullah Ferizi

Since December 2010, Dr. Nora Refaeil from Basel, Switzerland, works for the International Civilian Office (ICO) as the 'Special Adviser on Dealing with the Past'. Made in KS spoke with her about her interesting job as well as her views on the challenges and opportunities of DwP in Kosovo.

To our knowledge, you are the first person assigned by one of the large international institutions in Kosovo to work explicitly in the field of DwP. Can you briefly describe your mission/ mandate to our readers?

I have been recruited to support the Government of Kosovo in the implementation of article 2.5 of the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement (Ahtisaari-Plan, CSP).

This provision states that the Kosovo Government shall fully promote reconciliation among its Communities and shall establish a comprehensive and gender-sensitive approach for dealing with its past. This approach shall include a broad range of transitional justice initiatives.

Therefore, my task is to contribute to the development of a holistic, sustainable and consensus-based approach to dealing with the past in accordance with international standards of transitional justice.

What does DwP mean to you and why do you believe it is important for society in Kosovo?

For me it is essential to recognize that dealing with the past is part of the state-building as such. This means that it is never too soon to start to integrate the process of dealing with the past within the broader concept of state-building and justice. This is essential because during a transition from a legacy of war towards democratization, you need to

look back and ask yourself what went wrong and why it went wrong. You need to establish accountability for past abuses and to rehabilitate the victims. The purpose is to learn from the past in order to do a better job in the future. Let me give you an example: the legacy of the past was that one part of the population was discriminated against by governmental institutions. Today, with the change of government, it is necessary to re-establish trust in

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today's institutions of Kosovo and to gain the confidence of all the citizens of Kosovo, of all the communities. It is about implementing the rule of law in a way that people can identify themselves with the state not through their ethnic background but because they belong to that state as citizens of that state with the equal rights and obligations of citizenship.



The "Blue building", ICO/EUSR main office in Prishtina/Priština © forumZFD

Further, I believe that DwP is essential because as part of a political and social process of democratization, DwP will ensure accountability, serve justice and achieve reconciliation in the long run.

What are your most important activities? Where do you/ICO set priorities and why?

Rule of law, rule of law, rule of law. This is our priority number one. This means that all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself are accountable. They are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated - laws that are equally enforced and independently adjudicated and that

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are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. Rule of law means also supremacy of law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision-making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness, and procedural and legal transparency.

Our first partner is the Government and the Assembly of Kosovo. We follow the legislative process and assist and advise as necessary. Important laws in this regard today are the Law on Missing Persons and the Law on Witness Protection. We sup-

port the Government in actively addressing issues linked to DwP and reconciliation.

Secondly we liaise with representatives from civil society. Let me mention the initiative of RECOM, the Regional Commission tasked with establishing the facts about all victims of war crimes and other serious human rights violations committed on the territory of the Former Yugoslavia in the period 1991-2001. This Commission could provide a comprehensive account of what has happened in the past and encourage a public debate as to how peaceful co-existence can be secured in the future.

Third we use all channels to reach to a broader public and to explain the concept of dealing with the past not only to experts, but also to larger audiences, because dealing with the past affects all inhabitants of Kosovo.

Getting to know all the stakeholders of dealing with the past – government institutions, civil society and international organizations - and their views and interests is a large task on its own.

Where do you see particular challenges in your work (and for DwP in Kosovo more generally)?

The challenges are everywhere. Dealing with the past is a subject that cuts through the society, the political system, the governmental institutions, the judiciary. It is in the air. This is very well demonstrated by the issues that are at the heart of society in Kosovo today and are also at the heart of dealing with the past as such, namely the issue of missing persons, witness protection, war crime prosecutions and, specifically, allegations against former KLA members, the arrests exercised by EULEX and the reactions we encountered. The real question is how Kosovo society itself can initiate a dialogue where different narratives about the past are perceived as legitimate and not considered as a threat to the nation as a whole. Everybody knows that there is not one single truth. Thus, it should be possible to discuss also here the different perspectives or narratives that every history of every single country in this world has.

We have to recognize though that dealing with the past is one of the most difficult challenges that societies in transition face.

DwP is said to be a series of processes that have to emerge from the concerned society itself. To what extent do you think that external/international actors, such as the ICO, can foster processes of DwP in Kosovo?

Local ownership in dealing with the past is of course key. It is important that political, social, and community actors set and take responsibility for the agenda of dealing with the past. Effective and sustainable approaches begin with a thorough analysis of national needs and institutional/personal capacities to deal with the past. Thus, it is essential to invest in the respective national capacities. Ultimately and according to article 2.5 CSP, it is up to Kosovo's Government to take an institutional approach towards dealing with the past.

External actors' contribution can be twofold:

First, the international actors can play a role in facilitating the process through

which various stakeholders can debate and outline their country's plan to address the injustices of the past. Second, the international actors are of course bound themselves by international law and international standards of transitional justice when it comes to their contribution to building up Kosovo's institutions. ICO's

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mandate is of course to implement the CSP and with that comes the issue of dealing with the past as set forth in article 2.5 CSP.

At the end of the day, the national agenda must be set and implemented through a constructive dialogue between the different stakeholders. Such dialogue is a key prerequisite for the transformative process of dealing with the past.

Daniel Bernhardt – coordinator of the *Made in KS* editorial office and **Abdullah Ferizi** – project consultant at forumZFD, Prishtina/Priština.

Military Cemeteries and the Educational Development within the "Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge"

Bernhard Klein

The "Centre Albert Schweitzer" is a center for international meetings, especially French-German meetings and exchanges, located in the Alsace region, 50 kilometers from Strasbourg. It was created by the German association "Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge"⁹ based in Kassel, Germany. As the center's current director, I will recount the development of the association's practices of youth education from its beginning in 1919 until today in this article.¹⁰

The "Volksbund": Between Pacifism and Revanchism

The Volksbund was founded in December 1919, one year after the armistice of 1918 ending World War I. Of the 2 million German soldiers killed, 900,000 were on French soil. Ever since its foundation, the association was divided: On the one hand, the basis of Volksbund's actions were "the respect for the dead beyond all hatred between peoples." Christian ideology demanded the association's action to be based on "grace of charity" and prominent voices declared "war on war." On the contrary, other members held a more political, nationalist and even revanchist position, and this even before the arrival of the power of National Socialism. In 1933, the Volksbund dissolved itself in order to fit into the National Socialist movement. The current President of the association, Reinhard Führer, clearly criticized the subsequent evolution of the association in 1933: *"Our organization became an auxiliary obedient to the fateful dictatorship that brought death to millions of human*

*beings among us and in many countries of the world"*¹¹.

The Ambivalence of the Necropoles of War.

Military cemeteries always reflect a certain ambivalence: They are a place of mourning for individuals and families but also an important place for the images of the collective memory where varying, sometimes even extreme political views clash.

The association does not limit its activities to the creation and maintenance of cemeteries in over 40 countries worldwide; it has also created a department called "Memory and Society" and a sub-department for youth, both focusing on the issue of "war graves." The Volksbund's youth work takes place in the field on historical ground which – symbolically and politically loaded – represents a necropolis of war. One of the main challenges is to avoid any attempts of manipulation or even instrumentalization of the cemeteries which do not correspond to the wish of the association to contribute, according to its charter *"to the enrichment and development of cultures of memory in a democratic Europe."*

History of Youth Work

In 1952, a young Jesuit, then aged 25 and former officer of the German Wehrmacht, initiated youth camps in Ypres and in Lommel (Belgium). The participants defined themselves as "survivors whose love of country had been betrayed and abused."

I am highlighting the genesis of the movement because one can find here sev-

⁹ In English "German War graves Commission" will be called "Volksbund" hereafter. For further details on the association check www.volksbund.de

¹⁰ Text translated from French original to English by Daniel Bernhardt

¹¹ Reinhard Führer (2009), Ein Blick in die Geschichte und die Aufgaben der Zukunft in Dienst am Menschen. Dienst am Frieden. Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e. V. 1919-2009. P. 5.

eral characteristic elements of the youth work within the Volksbund:

- Recognition of German guilt and remorse
- Sincere desire for reconciliation, the ideals of peace and building a united Europe
- Identification of victims and universality of mourning.
- Meeting with the local population.
- International exchange and multiculturalism.

The Youth Camps' Educational Successes and Limits

The youth camps' importance increased especially after the signing of the Élysée Treaty in 1963, establishing the Franco-German Youth Office (FGYO). Ten years later, in 1973, nearly 1,000 camps had been organized in France, and more than 300 in twenty other countries (including more than 60 that took place in the Eastern European area of the Iron Curtain).

Although a good knowledge of the historical and cultural background was recommended, it is very likely that many of these camps were just summer camps where the physical work on the cemetery prevailed and the international exchange was not more than a party with the local youth at a football game and an official welcome event organized by the municipality. Moreover, for a long period, the educational "objectives" were limited to generating compassion for the broken fates of the dead. Historical issues as well as the intercultural dimension of the meetings were not always addressed properly.

Only some particularly inspired youth camp leaders achieved intensive exchange with the local population, realized an intercultural composition of the youth group and followed an educational approach appropriate to history. It must be said that at that time most of the work of the association was done by volunteers. Nevertheless, some regional offices had created positions for so called "youth leaders" to coordinate the volunteers' work. In addition to the primary objectives to contribute to the understanding between

peoples and peace education, some of these camps had a more "political" function: Their aim was also to convince governments to accept the existence of German military cemeteries and to facilitate their maintenance or, more frequently, to be present at major commemorations. International youth exchanges as a means of commemorative work are not, however, a specific aim of the (German) Volksbund. The French concept of "Duty of Remembrance"¹² cannot be imagined without youth as its primary recipient either.

Recent Developments of the Volksbund's Educational Work

Given the importance of the youth work in 1989 on the eve of the German reunification (over 150,000 participants in over 3,000 camps), the association decided to establish a coordination office on the federal level in order to oversee the work of the twenty regional youth leaders. With this move, the Volksbund intended to restate the basic principles of its educational work and eventually to start a process of improving the educational support of its youth activities.

This development went hand-in-hand with a new innovation: the creation of four exchange centers for youth in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and most recently near the Polish-German border. Being youth hostel and cultural centers at the same time, these centers are open to everyone. The aim is to provide accommodation close to military cemeteries not only for groups outside of school holiday periods but also for seminars for adults and in general for all groups that are interested in the historical sites and the association's fields of activity. Every year, nearly 15,000 people visit these centers.

One of the centers' features is that they are mostly run by non-German or bi-cultural staff; for instance, the most recent one is located in Germany close to the border with Poland which is managed by a mixed Polish-German team. The recognition of regional or national realities and the prospect of a "shared memory" is the guiding idea for opening these centers. In

¹² In French: "devoir de mémoire"

addition, they have been opened for the promotion of a "shared memory" and for the provision of a permanent presence on a regional and national level.

Secondly, teachers and historians have since then had the opportunity to reside near sites of memory. More detailed studies became possible in addition to the culturally "different" or complementary perspective of the local population. Consequently, a rereading of the history of cemeteries has been undertaken: For ex-



Inauguration of the war cemetery in Lommel, Belgium (1959) © Volksbund

ample, in Niederbronn-les-Bains, in one of the Volksbund's regional centers, the previously described stage of compassionate empathy (usually referring to "a 19-year-old soldier betrayed in his ideals") has been surpassed and a more differentiated (re-)presentation of the past proposed. This (re-)presentation includes the documentation of civilian victims of the bombings of the Allied Forces, child soldiers, war criminals, people executed by a firing squad, (Nazi) collaborators, and the stories of the destinies of ten individuals from various countries. These examples enable this particular place to show its complete historical dimension: that of a necropolis of the Second World War, which goes beyond the national interpretation of the past.

The duties of the staff of these regional centers are to create educational modules,

offer study weeks related to different topics, and to organize (international) seminars in order "to bring the living to the graves of dead soldiers," according to the association's statute.

For that purpose, each center has established its own archive with information provided by the families of soldiers buried at the cemetery. These archives help historians and teachers in their research. Researchers can work directly with the sources documenting individual destinies.

Concerning the educational activities, the usual starting point is the story of an individual, but through it, more general issues regarding that period can be addressed. However, the approach does not always stop there, since the idea behind it is to lead the historical research to more up-to-date topics. A more recent approach, called "narrative integration" suggests starting from the youth's personal concerns of life and trying to find intersections with the individual destinies shattered by war.

Furthermore, the international exchanges encourage two phenomena: first, the exchange of different views carefully articulated under the eyes of "others" and, of course, the enrichment of participants' perspectives and opinions. This "multi-perspectivity" is further encouraged by the recruitment of bi-cultural educational staff as mentioned above.

Current questions regarding European identity and politics of memory but also the educational practices of the Volksbund's centers demand an even stronger internationalization of their activities. This is certainly the best antidote against nationalistic exploitation of military cemeteries which can remain as very ambivalent sites of memory.

Bernard Klein (bernard.klein@volksbund.de) – director of the Volksbund's "Centre Albert Schweitzer", Niederbronn-les-Bains, France.

Street Poetry Art: Memories and Identities

Jane Felber

The approach of Dealing with Past (DwP) may take on very different, sometimes quite unorthodox forms and means. Art is also among them. In Gračanica/Graçanicë in December 2010, *forumZFD* organised a four-day workshop on memories and identities, inviting young artists and poets from the Kosovo Serbian Community to deconstruct and challenge memory discourses in Kosovo.

Civil society in Kosovo has initiated various ways of DwP in the last decade: non-governmental organisations that have collected data and stories of victims and their families, institutions that offered trauma work, academics that organised conferences and public debates on transitional justice, theatre groups that opened discussions on how to remember the past, artists that challenged dominant discourses, film-makers that provoked new questions...

Most of these projects have happened in Prishtina/Priština. Some of the projects linked initiatives from Prishtina/Priština and Belgrade. But little has been done to integrate Kosovo Serbs into the debates on how to remember the past. Therefore, since 2008, *forumZFD* seeks to encourage the Serbian civil society in Kosovo to initiate public debates on the past as well as to connect with initiatives in Prishtina/Priština.

forumZFD's approach to DwP is situated between the following four questions: Who are the main actors? What are the main instruments of DwP? Who is excluded from the dominant discourse? Which instruments of DwP remain undetected?

To include the different voices within the Kosovo Serbian community into debates on DwP in Kosovo, *forumZFD* started to initiate debates within the Kosovo Serbian community through a mixture of individual meetings, public debates and

cultural initiatives (forum theatre, poetry, film). After one year, it became obvious that the cultural initiatives attracted many more people to join the debates. This does not mean that cultural initiatives anywhere are most suitable to engage people in debates on DwP: While the same forum theatre play in Prishtina/Priština appealed to 30 people, there were 200 in Gračanica/Graçanicë. What it shows is that cultural initiatives can play a very important role in the processes of DwP. While there are lots of interesting examples throughout the world, the academic world in the field of transitional justice has not yet invested enough attention to the role of the arts in DwP.



Street Art Workshop in Gračanica/Graçanicë © *forumZFD*

Art brings people together, motivates and inspires people, informs and educates, heals.¹³ Writers, poets, musicians, film-makers, photographers, painters, comic artists, artists from the world of theatre and dance – all have contributed to the processes of DwP in the last decades. Street Art is a rather new form of artistic expression, but has become a major movement of contemporary art worldwide. Instead of isolated artists exhibiting their works in selected galleries, street artists highlight the role of social interaction in the act of creating as well as presenting their works. Street art centers on a message, not on a style or an artist.

¹³ Boal, Augusto (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed*; and Cleveland, William (2002), *Mapping the Field: Arts-Based Community Development*.

Street art is meant as a form of communication – not limited to a selected group of intellectuals, but placed in public spaces visible to everybody. Street art could not

“Art brings people together, motivates and inspires people, informs and educates, heals.”

only be seen as a tool of DwP, it also reflects an attitude towards the process as such: going beyond intellectual circles, going beyond conference rooms and office spaces, going beyond ready-made solutions, drawing attention to the process rather than to the result, going beyond the notion of someone being an expert on something.

Between the 10th and 14th December 2010, *forumZFD* organized the workshop “Street Poetry Art: Memories and Identities” in Gračanica/Graçanicë. The workshop brought together 15 young poets and artists from Štrpce/Shtërpçë, Gračanica/Graçanicë, Kosovo Polje/Fushë Kosova, Lipjan/Lipjani, Mitrovica/Mitrovicë and Zvečan/Zveçani. The aim was to deconstruct memory discourse in Kosovo, to challenge it by the means of street art and to install the art works in public spaces.

The workshop was led by Ivan Tresoldi, a popular street poetry artist from Milano, Italy. Together with other artists he runs the organization “art kitchen” which works as a bridge between street art and social work. With his street poetry performances, he travelled all around Europe, to Mexico, Cuba, Haiti and Palestine. Examples of his work can be found on his websites www.ivan.net and www.artkitchen.it

The first day of the workshop was dedicated to the idea of street art and Ivan’s work and experiences. On the second day, the participants were introduced to the concepts of DwP and memory work, particularly highlighting the role of art in these processes and giving some examples of art interventions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the introduction, there was space for the participants to discuss

related topics in order to find a message they want to express to the public by their art. On the third day, the participants created their art work around the topic of memories and identities and walked jointly through Gračanica/ Graçanicë to think about where to place the artwork. On the last day, after a short introduction and instruction, all participants went out together to bring the art out on the streets, interacting with the public.

After the workshop in Gračanica/ Graçanicë, Ivan Tresoldi selected some of his poems on the topic of memories and identities, in different languages, and placed them in the streets of Prishtina/Priština. Thereby, he was in constant communication with passers-by and owners of shops over the idea of street art and the topic of memories and identities as such.



Street Art Workshop in Gračanica/Graçanicë © *forumZFD*

With the workshop, *forumZFD* managed to open debates on DwP amongst young artists from the Kosovo Serbian community. By going into the streets, talking with passers-by and placing the art into the streets, the workshop’s participants animated people passing by to think about the topics of memories and identities. Furthermore, the workshop introduced street art as a tool of DwP to the participants and to the observant citizens. Besides, this activity also supported the cultural life and life quality, particular for youth in Gračanica/Graçanicë.

Jane Felber (felber@forumzfd.de) – peace consultant at *forumZFD Prishtina/Priština*.

News and Updates

Initiative for RECOM

www.perkomra.org

Following a three-year-long consultation process, the Coalition for RECOM (CORECOM) adopted the Draft RECOM Statue on March 26th in Belgrade. The initiative's aim is to establish a Regional Commission for Establishing the Facts about All Victims of War Crimes and Other Serious Human Rights Violations Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia in the Period from 1991-2001.

On April 27th, CORECOM has launched the "One Million Signatures for RECOM" campaign which will last until June 6th 2011 when CORECOM will submit the signatures as well as the Draft Statute to political institutions of all post-Yugoslav states along with a formal request to establish RECOM. Those who want to support the initiative can sign online: <http://support.zarekom.org/intro.php?lang=sq>

Qendra Multimedia

www.qendra.org

Qendra Multimedia in cooperation with the National Theatre Kosovo organizes the Theater meeting "PLAYgrounds – between facts and fiction" in Prishtina/Priština from 16th to 18th of June 2011 which brings together theater makers and experts from different countries to reflect on the function of theater, on new ways of artistic expression and possible PLAYgrounds for them.

Especially the recent events on the Balkans are full of history, memories, broken biographies, that have a wide impact on the theatrical work of contemporary directors and playwrights. Since 1990 they are not only confronted with new lan-

guages, new social realities, new nations, but also with mechanism of forgetting or eliminating history on one hand and with the re-writing of historical narratives and national myths on the other hand. The stage becomes a medium to find new artistic ways of expressing and dealing with these challenges.

The theater meeting therefore focuses on the Balkan region, presenting different plays and projects dealing with the changes, transformations and sometimes traumatic experiences of the breaking apart of Yugoslavia and its social, economic and cultural after effects. Besides, this meeting concentrates on different forms of documentary theater, on the role of historical and social reality in drama, but also in literature, film and visual arts.



RECOM signature campaign © forumZFD

Centre for Research, Documentation and Publication (CRDP)

www.crdp-ks.org

As a member of the Regional Coalition for RECOM, CRDP has organized several meetings with youth and civil society representatives in Mitrovica/Mitrovicë, Gjilan/Gnjilane, Prizren and Peja/Peć for the purpose of informing and advocating for the signature collection campaign for RECOM. Further activities of CRDP will be announced on their facebook page online.

Youth Initiative for Human Rights Kosovo (YIHR)

<http://ks.yihr.org/en/>

Marking the Kosovo National Day of Missing Persons on April 27th, YIHR and activists of Nisma Ime (My Initiative) have built a white "wall of missing persons", "symbolizing the constant situation of not resolving the destiny of these persons by



"Wall of missing persons" in Prishtina/Priština, erected by YHR and Nisma Ime © YIHR

the governments in power," according to YIHR.

forumZFD

www.forumzfd.de/en/node/165

forumZFD's Thinkers' Forum debates have started with three discussions on the topics Memorials, History Teaching and Theatre (led by Valon Gërmizaj – architect, Arber Salihu – historian, and Jeton Neziraj – playwright, respectively) all related to Dealing with the Past in Kosovo. More Thinkers' Forum debates on the topics Cultural Heritage (with Sali Soshi – Director of ChwB), Mass Media (with Petrit Qarkagju – artist), Literature (with Ballsor Hoxha – writer) and Psychology (with Ferid Agani – Psychiatrist) will follow in the coming weeks. For more information on the Thinkers' Forum debates, check on www.dwp-kosovo.info or send an email to ferizi@forumzfd.de

forumZFD has further organized a discussion round on "Art in DwP" in Gračanica/ Graçanicë and a workshop with young actors on "DwP through Theatre" in Prishtina/Priština in cooperation with ARTPOLIS (www.artpolis-ks.org).

This summer, forumZFD and pax christi are organising a street art workshop in Kosovo. Invited are young people (18-25

years) from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia and Germany. The workshop will take place in Prizren, Kosovo, when the regional film festival DOKUFEST takes place (23rd July - 1st August 2011). The program will include in-depth discussions about the relation between identities, conflicts and peace work as well as the creation of joint street art works.

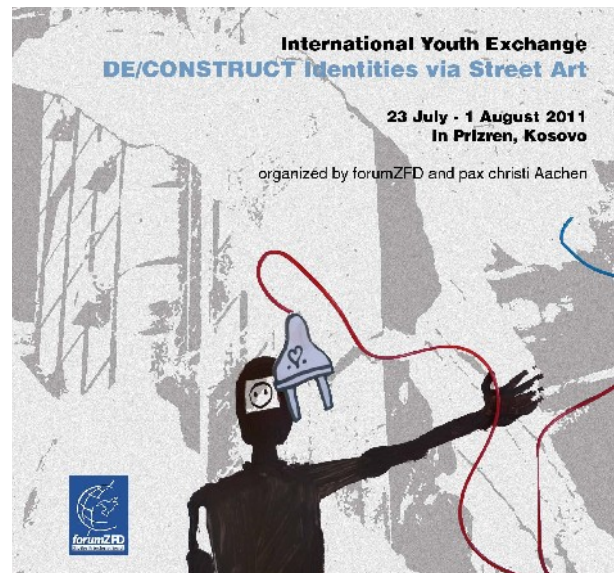
Participation is 50 EUR (including accommodation, full board, insurance, entry costs). Working language will be English. Deadline for applications is June 13th, 2011.

Contact: Jane Felber (felber@forumzfd.de)

For more news and updates please check www.dwp-kosovo.info

Your work on "dealing with the past" is missing?

Please send your news and updates concerning dwp in Kosovo to madeinks@dwp-kosovo.info



CfA for International Street Art Workshop in Prizren

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Forum Civil Peace Service (*forumZFD*), founded in 1996, is an association of German peace movement and non-profit organisations as well as individuals working for conflict transformation by non-violent means. In Kosovo, *forumZFD* has been active since year 2000 implementing a number of projects in the field of peacebuilding.

www.forumzfd.de



The **Centre for Research, Documentation and Publication** (CRDP), founded in 2010 in Kosovo, aims at strengthening human rights in Kosovo, supporting local & regional peacebuilding initiatives, advancing inter-ethnic relations and perspectives as well as calculating economic losses. www.crdp-ks.org



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