Face-To-Face with Terrorism: Experience of Kosovo

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Abstract: One of the main problems of Kosovo today is facing with the phenomenon of extremism and violent religious radicalism. The main purpose of this paper is to analyze the phenomenon of radicalization and violent religious extremism in Kosovo and confronting of the state and our society with this phenomenon. Paper records were collected from various sources, such as reports, publications, and analysis of state institutions, civil society, and religious organizations. Conclusion of the paper is that, facing of Kosovo with extremism and violent religious radicalization that leads to terrorism, viewed from the perspective of short-term is a success story because the number of Kosovars who came to join terrorist organizations in Syria, after the adoption of law and strategy, is zero; however, there is no room for enthusiasm because, Kosovo remains a hotbed of individuals and groups with extremist and radical orientation.

Keywords: Kosovo; extremism; radicalism; terrorism confrontation

1. Introduction

The main thesis of this paper is that, facing of Kosovo with extremism and violent religious radicalization that leads to terrorism, viewed from the perspective of short-term is a success story because the number of Kosovars who came to join terrorist organizations in Syria, after the adoption of law and strategy, is zero; however, there is no room for enthusiasm because, Kosovo remains a hotbed of individuals and groups with extremist and radical orientation.

This is not the only problem of Kosovo. In fact, Kosovo faces an extremism and violent ethnic radicalism, especially in the northern part of the country where they continue to operate parallel structures of Serbia. Kosovo faces a significant level of unemployment and poverty. It is the only Balkan country that still use visas for its citizens to travel to EU member countries. However, these problems will not be elaborated in this paper. In this paper, we have chosen to treat the phenomenon of extremism and violent radicalization of Islamic religion. Why are we defined to treat these topic? We are defined for this topic because it is a new topic and still untreated as other topics are treated. Also to a great extent the story of extremism and violent religious radicalism in Kosovo is a success discreet story. It is prevented getting of Kosovars in Syria, but the activity of individuals and groups with conviction and radical extremist activity in the country is still present.

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The data of the paper were collected through very different resources. In the theoretical framework the data are gathered from the opinion of some international policy scientists that elaborate terrorism in a sense that suits this phenomenon in Kosovo. In the practical framework used reports, publications, analyses, studies and various researches of state institutions, civil society, religious institutions, etc. A part of data were taken from media. The data are of the qualitative character as well as the quantitative character. Also, the data are less theoretical and more practical which are referred to Kosovo. The practical data refers more to the state approach and Kosovo's society to confront the phenomenon of radicalism and religious extremism. Our main goal is to analyze extremism, radicalism and terrorism in Kosovo from a theoretical context to show clear signs of identifying the stakeholders, processes and strategies on how to deal with this phenomenon. And in the end, it should be noted that Kosovo has never had to face in its history with the extremism and violent religious radicalism that leads to terrorism is a new “war” to us.

2. Theoretical Framework

In political science literature there are various definitions of the concept of terrorism. Thus, “Terrorism is basically just another notch in the diversity of violent impacts, ranging from total war to guerrilla war” (Goldstein, 2001, p. 230). Terrorism “... has to do with the political violence which is carried deliberately indiscriminate on citizens” (Ibid). In essence, “The purpose of terrorism is to reduce the citizens morality of population in order to its dissatisfaction to be used as an impact tool on the government or other parties in conflict” (Goldstein, 2001, F-231). This definition, however, is more academic and scientific, and insufficiently elaborate and exhaustive about terrorism in today's times. For this reason we need to seek other opinions about terrorism which are practical and tangible level.

Thus, according to another opinion, some of the main features of terrorism are: “ – dangerous, because now the terrorists have shifted their attention from the violence theatrical acts looking for publicity alarms toward the deliberate destruction of civilian objects, noncombat, to kill as many as possible by instilling fear to as many people as possible; - carried out by civil, not having obstacles on their way and using tools to extinguish the boundaries between terrorism and a war so-called between states; - based on the most advanced technology of modern civilization...; - Orchestrated by traditional non-governmental organizations” (Kegley, 2009, p. 196). This opinion summarizes the main characteristics of terrorism faced by modern societies.

One of the main features of modern terrorism is the fact that terrorist groups are not operating only within one country, but in several countries simultaneously. The problem is compounded when we consider the nature of the international system that is anarchic. Thus, “The policy being developed between countries, there isn’t a central position of authority” (Shiveley, 2012, p. 512). Consequently, “States involved in the dispute need to settle conclusively their differences through the negotiations or through the war” (Shiveley, 2012, p. 512). International organizations or other countries “...can give valuable advice and put pressure on the parties in the dispute, but there is no central authority that can impose solution” (Shiveley, 2012, p. 512). This international reality makes it difficult combating global terrorism because it is a phenomenon that operates in several countries at the same time and in different ways and forms. The problem is greater when we consider the fact that there isn’t a strong global organization which at the main agenda has policies and strategies anti-extremist and anti-radical; Current world organizations, though they treat problems of security and peace in the world, does not have specific agenda anti extremist and anti-radical.
Although the phenomenon of terrorism as early and diverse, Islamic terrorism is specific and late. In academic aspect, Henry Kissinger is among the first scientists while investigating the challenges of the United States after the Cold War and the destruction of the Soviet Union, emphasized that, “It is impossible to say at this writing, which forces conceivable rising will be more dominant or threatening, or in what combinationi: whether it will be Russia, China or fundamentalist Islam” (Kissinger, 1999, p. 826). The same author, but later, after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on the Twin Towers, still analyzing the role of America in the world, observes that “terrorists are ruthless, but not numerous. They do not any control territory for a long time. If their activities pursued by security forces and administrative organs – if no country accommodate them – they will become illegal, forced to devote their efforts to survive, Key to the strategy against terrorism is to eliminate shelter places” (Kissinger, 2004, p. 443).

Zbigniew Brzezinski was even more specific about Islamic terrorism. Brzezinski noted that, “Nearly every state with predominant Muslim population, regardless of whether they name themselves Islamic or not, faced with some form of religious defiance, often accompanied by a request for imposition of Sharia (strict Islamic code of behavioral)” (Brzezinski, 2006, p. 67). Brzezinski summarizes elaborates some of the main factors that may affect the increasing demand for imposition of Sharia in Muslim-majority countries. These factors are: political instability secular institutions, the weakness of civil society, prevention of intellectual creativity, late decolonization, political riots, corruption, distribution of wealth unevenly, poverty, etc. (Brzezinski, 2006, p. 67).

3. Practical Context

On 20 May 2016, the Basic Court in Ferizaj (a city in southern Kosovo) convicted the imam of the mosque “El Kuddus” from Gjilan for the criminal offense of recruitment and incitement of terrorism in Kosovo. Imam was sentenced to eight (8) years effective imprisonment. Together with imam was sentenced four (4) other Kosovo citizens for criminal offenses “…inciting religious hatred and terrorism in the country” (Ferizaj summary judgment and punishment of seven persons for terrorism, Telegraph portal, Accessed on: 29. 07. 2016. Time: 09:00). In another decision, a few months later, Basic Court in Pristina (Kosovo's capital) convict five (5) citizens of Kosovo on charges of having committed the criminal offense “…preparation of terrorist acts” (All that happened in court, where were sentenced the accused of “Badovc”, Telegraph portal, Accessed on: 29. 07. 2016. Time: 09:32). The court found that, “The group was found guilty on charges that in July last year, had gone to the lake of Badovci, near Pristina, in order to record a video propaganda, in which planned to read the oath to the leader of the terrorist organization “Islamic State”, known as ISIS” (Ibid). In both cases, the defense announced they will appeal.

In the second half of 2014, at a joint press conference, the Kosovo Special Prosecution and Kosovo Police announced that, “Besides arresting 40 people suspected of taking part in the fighting in Syria and Iraq alongside terrorist announced organizations ISIS and Al-Nusra, investigations are continuing for other people among whom were crimp imams” (Special Prosecutor's Office is investigating the imams inciting terrorism, Kosovalive portal, Accessed on: 29. 07. 2016. Time: 11.30). Most of the arrested and the suspects were either members of terrorist organizations such as ISIS and Al Nusra, or recruiters for these organizations. Police investigations and prosecution led to arrest the Imam of the Grand Mosque in Pristina, as suspected for “…inciting hatred, national discord or intolerance, racial, religious or ethnic” (Special Prosecutor's Office is investigating the imams inciting terrorism, Kosovalive portal, Accessed on: 29. 07. 2016. Time: 11.30).
These are the first cases to mark the beginning of a “war” of society and state of Kosovo against extremism and violent radicalization that lead to terrorism.

In the aspect of religious affiliation, the majority of the population of Kosovo belong to Islamic religion (90%), a part belonging to the Catholic religion, and some are Orthodox. In ethnic aspect, the Muslim includes the majority of Albanian population, Turks, Bosniaks and Gorani. A small part of the Albanian population and Croats belongs to the Catholic religion. While all Serbs belong to the Orthodox religion. Traditionally, Islam preached in Kosovo has been tolerant and promote cultural development and emancipation of the Kosovars in the style of Western civilization. A special role in the cultural orientation of Kosovars towards Western values have also had the religious institutions. Furthermore, various studies have shown that citizens have “had respect for religious institutions in Kosovo, but do not necessarily their views reflect on the work that these institutions are doing” (Qendra Kosovare për Studime të Sigurisë, 2016, p. 10). However, it is noted that, “...there are differences between rural and urban areas in terms of trust in religious institutions. For example about 65 percent of the interviewed citizens who live in rural areas have more trust in religious institutions, compared to 49 percent of those living in urban areas. However, contact with religious institutions is at a low level”. (Qendra Kosovare për Studime të Sigurisë, 2016, p. 10)

The origin of the spread of extremism and violent religious radicalism in Kosovo should be investigated by the period after the war. Many non-governmental organizations from different countries of the world especially from the Eastern countries began to operate in Kosovo in the name of solidarity and humanity. Suspicious activity of these organizations forced the Kosovo institutions to close sixteen (16) non-governmental organizations. It was suspected that these organizations, “... were involved in recruiting activities of the fighters for ISIS, the financing of extremist activities and spreading propaganda in favor of extremist activities” (Here are suspicious Islamic organizations in Kosovo, which closed by the state, the portal Telegraph, Accessed on: 15. 08. 2016. Time: 14:36). Closed organizations to suspicious activities were, “Sinqeriteti (Sincerity) from Prizren, “Rinia Istogase (Istog youth)” from Istog, “Pema e Bamireshisë (Tree Charity)” from Peja, “Parimi (Principle)” from Kaçanik, “Njëshmëria (Oneness)” from Gjilani, “KAD” im Podujev, “Gjurma (Footprint)”, “Nektari-HE( Nectar-HE)”, “Kalliri i Mirësishë (ears of corn)”, “Çelësi (Key)”, “Al Waqf Al Islami”, “Argumenti (Argument)”, “AKEA” (Here are suspicious Islamic organizations in Kosovo, which closed by the state, the portal Telegraph, Accessed on: 15. 08. 2016. Time: 14:36).

Going of Kosovars of Islamic faith to fight in Syria was motivated primarily by religious and human feelings. The idea was to join the war against the regime of Bashar al Asaad. Many young people who had no religious feelings but driven by humanism, pious believers of traditional Islam, and other categories of Kosovo society that had no connection with terrorism, who had gone to Syria to fight against the regime of Assad's, without their knowledge and consent was found on the side of the first cells of terrorist organizations. However, another part were fully aware of ISIS ideology or Al Nusra. Lavdrim Muhajeri is an extreme example of the last group.

In dealing with terrorism and the growing number of people from the country in fight alongside Syrian terrorist organizations like ISIS and Al Nusra, Kosovo adopted the Law on the Prohibition of the Union in Armed Conflict outside the territory of the country. This law was approved with “In order to protect the national interest and national security, the law defines the criminal offense of joining or participating in foreign military or police formations, in foreign paramilitary or police, in organized group or individually, any form of armed conflict outside the territory of the Republic of Kosovo” (The Republic of Kosovo, Law on Prohibition of Joining the Armed Conflicts outside State Territory. F-1). However, critics point out that the law represents the strong hand of the state in dealing with this phenomenon.
While our priority is to the discovery of the causes which are pushing the Kosovars to join terrorist organizations.

Besides law, Kosovo has drafted soft approach towards extremism and violent religious radicalism through drafting and approval of the Strategy to Prevent Violent Extremism and Radicalization that leads to Terrorism 2015 - 2020. This strategy contains four main targets in the treatment of this phenomenon. Thus, “By achieving four strategic objectives: early Identifying – of causes, factors and target groups; Prevention - of extremism and violent radicalization; Intervention - to prevent the risk of violent radicalization; De-radicalization and reintegration - of radicalized people” (Republic of Kosovo, 2015, p. 5). It is interesting that, in the section that talks about the analysis of the situation and the extent of the problem, the strategy recognizes that, “The spread of the phenomenon of extremism and radicalism violent in the Republic of Kosovo has happened through some NGOs, local and foreigners associations and individuals who have embraced radical currents” (Republic of Kosovo, 2015, F-10). Also note that “A special role in the spread of radical extremist teachings continue to play influential public people who have attained the title of spiritual leaders” (Republic of Kosovo, 2015, F-10).

After starting the implementation of the Strategy and in particular the law, and after investigations and convictions of citizens who have returned from foreign terrorist wars, like: Syria, Kosovo Police has announced that, “In the last eight months neither a person has gone to Syria from Kosovo to join the fight for terrorist attacks” (This is the number of Kosovars in Syria in the past eight months, portal gazeta online, Accessed on: 30. 07. 2016. Time: 22.15). However, even though there has not been a single case in 2016 when the citizens of Kosovo aimed at joining the war in Syria, yet the activity of individuals and organizations who make propaganda in order to extremism and radicalization of violent religious does not ceased. Thus, in an action held in August (2016) reported that Kosovo police have arrested two men who “...suspected that they were involved in spreading terrorist propaganda in Kosovo ... broadcast religious lectures of imams who were convicted today inciting terrorism” (Owner of radio Peja was arrested because broadcast lectures on jihad of sentenced imams, Accessed on: 01. 08. 2016. Time: 13.20).

A special role in the spread of anti extremist ideology and anti radical have even the political and religious state leaders. Kosovo Islamic community was accused of employing imams with extremist views and radical ideologies. KIC was accused because at least has not verified employed imams in mosques and other religious institutions in Kosovo. However, when the number of Kosovars participating in the war in Syria continued to grow, Tërrnava Naim, chairman of KIC, in a public lecture urging young people not to go to Syria. According to him, “There isn’t Syria the country where whoever dies there takes shahid or martyr degree... that since all parties are involved in this war have different personal interests and the war is between members of one faith... going to Syria in this case does not correspond with Islamic norms therefore I invite all those who are there to come back and none from Kosovo try to go to Syria... driven by different motives or by the motive of going there he will win the pleasure of God let them know that this is not true. I invite you to stay in Kosovo because we have a lot of work to do in our place and not to go and lose the life through the different deserts in this case in Syria” (Syria did not make you “martyrs”, the fight there is for personal interests, Telegraph portal, Accessed on: 05. 08. 2016. Time: 10:25).
4. Data Analysis

If we compare the case of extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism in Kosovo with the theoretical explanations given by scientists of international politics, then we have these conclusions:

Kosovo, as it is with majority of people of the Islamic faith, there will be demand and constant movement, individuals or groups with a radical view, who will tend in permanent form to impose Sharia or tempered variants of this ideology within the state and society of Kosovo. Similarly, as it happened in the other countries with the Muslim majority population, there will always be individuals and groups with the radical and extremist ideology that would try through terrorist methods to realize or advertise their ideas. This is a forecast built upon the experiences of other countries with Muslim majority population. In the case of Kosovo, this ideology is in complete contradiction with the basic principles of the political system (democracy) and economic system (free market economy), proclaimed in the Statement of Independence of Kosovo and the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. Individuals or groups that are oriented towards radical Islam will not stop proving that, or to impose Sharia or certain parts of this ideology in Kosovo or Kosovo will be part of the agendas of groups operating in other countries. These groups at least need to impose Sharia here in Kosovo as they need to recruit new members, and logistical support for their activities in other contries. The reason for this is that Kosovo is practiced an Islam who they say “moderate Islam” and some other “soft Islam”, but that is not characterized by a strict interpretation and application of the rules of Islam. In Kosovo you may be Muslim but do not fast the Ramadan, do not go to the mosque or do not pray, and yet people define themselves but also others recognize as Islam believers. In Kosovo you may be a Muslim and do not keep veil, may shake hands with other men, to have a bank account, the right to vote, to travel alone (without the presence of a man of the family), and yet define themselves but also others recognize as Muslim. This tradition built from generation to generation is being threatened by individuals and extremist groups with the radical views that require strict rules for Muslims. State and society in general have been fanatical in maintaining this tradition, except some imams who after the war started to practice strict interpretations of Islamic rules.

The activity of individuals or groups that promote radical Islam using also terrorist methods it is not only locate in a state or territory, but operates in several countries at the same time. Considering this fact, Kosovo needs to strengthen cooperation with the international security institutions or with other countries in an effort to fight these groups. Needs coordination of activities, recognition and monitoring of movements of individuals who are members of terrorist groups, and constant communication with other countries. Fighting terrorism in Kosovo alone is not sufficient because terrorist groups in quick time periods move and mobilize in other countries where they find safe environments. And, because the international system is anarchic almost in the treatment of this phenomenon, there must be organization of states affected by terrorism to build mechanisms of cooperation and to set and widespread anti-terrorist agenda. Clearly this is not the sole responsibility of Kosovo and does not depend on the will of Kosovo institutions. Kosovo has its role in international politics in the implementation of agendas anti-extremist and anti-radical, but this role is more refers to the fact that we are dealing with a considerable number of Kosovars struggle in Syria than any other special feature that we have as a state. Kosovars can be good mates in this game. Kosovo's main contribution may refer to her experience in coexistence between different religious communities and religious harmony. As a rare case in the world in Kosovo within the yard you can find a mosque, a Catholic church and the Orthodox Church. Although there were and still have ethnic problems, ethnic problems are never identified by religious agenda, although the Albanians in majority are with Islamic faith and Serbs are mainly with Orthodox faith. Coexistence between different religious communities is also due to the fact that within the Albanians have three
religions: Islam, Catholic and Orthodox. Albanian nationalism is not built by invoking or based on religious identities, but linguistic, cultural, historical; moreover there was an exceedance of religious identities.

Strengthening political institutions and the secularism of these institutions, strengthening civil society and other non-society players, and specifically enter religious institutions, schools, family and society, the growth of creativity and intellectual debate in society related to terrorism in general, in other words: lack of silence in the treatment of why is happening and what is happening, then, political instability and lack of political riots, fighting corruption in state institutions, and up to increase equity in the distribution of public goods in order to reduce the poverty and increasing employment, are factors influencing in fighting the terrorism. So, if we have political unrest (position - opposition), riots ethnically motivated, unstable political institutions, corruption in state institutions, lack of intellectual debate, weak civil society, poverty and unemployment, all these are factors which leaves the door open for growth and development of individuals and groups with a view of the radical extremist ideologies that lead to terrorism. Establishment and implementation of anti-extremist agenda, anti-radical and anti-terrorist requires mobilization of the attention of state institutions and non-state. Kosovo has new institutions which are in their maturity and strengthening period. These institutions should govern and administer some agenda at the same time. Talks and regulation of relations with Serbia. Economic development and fighting poverty and unemployment. Fulfilling the criteria and European integration. These are only some of the processes that are taken by the Kosovo institutions. These agendas is added the phenomenon of extremism and violent religious radicalization that lead to terrorism. An entirely new phenomenon with which we are never faced before. This requires experience, material resources and human resources to address all dimensions of the phenomenon of extremism and violent religious radicalism. Even states with traditions and life expectancy greater than Kosovo have problems in dealing with this phenomenon.

Regardless of why until now, Kosovo has not been the target of terrorist attacks, but is used more as a source of recruitment of new members to terrorist groups and as logistics of these groups, this does not mean that in the future there will not have actions from terrorist groups of the uniformed civilians in order to sow fear, lowering the morale of the population, increased publicity, creating unsafe environment, and drawing attention. Similar terrorist actions against civilians as they occur in other countries, such as airports, public squares, religious institutions, etc., can also occur in Kosovo. The main factors that may encourage terrorist groups to organize actions in Kosovo are very different and diversified. Kosovo has a small military and international civil presence. Kosovo is the most pro-American country in the world. Unlike other countries, Kosovo has adopted a law that prohibits the union in wars in other states and national strategy against extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism. Then, because of the role that had the United States in the liberation and independence of Kosovo All these realities can serve as sources for adverse effects. Can produce realities contrary to the initial goals. In a public presentation, Lavdrim Muhsaxheri a Kosovar from Kaçanik fighting in Syria alongside ISIS has torn Kosovo passport. In another case, some Albanians from Kosovo and Albania are fighting alongside ISIS, have warned of possible terrorist attacks in Kosovo and Albania. Targets of terrorist attacks except civilian may also be the state institutions. So far we have not seen such attacks mostly because, targets of terrorist groups have been in Western Europe, but this does not mean that in the future there will be no terrorist actions, or at least attempt to organize such actions.

The main problem that Kosovo will be face is the integration of returnees from Syria. Development and implementation of programs and projects aimed at integrating and re-socialization of persons returned from Syria, or those who come out of prison after serving their sentences, is a key component in anti-
extremist agendas, anti-radical and anti-terrorist. Their departure from Kosovo daily routine and embrace an ideology radical, extremist and terrorist that are part of a world revolution, as is the idea of establishing the Sharia or the creation of Islamic caliphate, prevents re-socialization and their re-integration into society. Someone who has believed for a time that is part of a global agenda with the aim of establishing a new world order its problem for him to return to everyday life that had until he was joined that organization. Such people often have had a criminal record before they become part of these organizations. So, they have had problems with the law before. There is also a category of persons who joining these organizations perceive as a new moral birth after consecutive failures they have had on their personal lives. For this reason it is important to build and develop programs and projects in order to integrate these people into society. In the case of Kosovo, the majority of those who joined terrorist organizations like ISIS and Al Nusra are from the poorest categories of society. They either living on social assistance, or have not had any material assistance from the state. For a while circulated a propaganda that individuals or families who join ISIS will receive good salaries. For some of those who are today in Syria this was a sufficient promise to join this organization. The promise of a regular monthly salary and the idea that we are becoming part of a “revolution” world, are enough reason to take a vital decision to join terrorist groups. There are also a small category of persons from Kosovo who despite good material conditions that have had here, have decided to join terrorist groups. The motives of the latter category are very different, but mostly it is believed that fanatical religious belief has been the main driver to join with these groups. This diversity of different categories of society who have joined terrorist groups requires a diversity of programs and projects with which should intervene state institutions for integration and re-socialization of returnees from Syria and other countries where are conducted terrorist wars. They must become a normal part of society again without being stigmatized and differentiated from the rest of society.

It is created an ideological opinion of action of individuals and organizations with extremist and radical orientation in the period after the war until now. Kosovar society and Provisional Institutions of Self-Government just have never had on the agenda ever anti-extremism and violent anti-religious radicalism because there was a period of institution-building and rehabilitation of the consequences left by the war. This ideological opinion simply cannot be undone only by the activity of the state organs. Need a multi-dimensional approach, where they have a key role religious communities to promote an anti-extremist and anti-radical ideology. If extremism and religious radicalization have spread its roots through imams funded by the suspicious organization, then we must have the same access: moderates Imams, who know and accept the traditional Islam practiced in Kosovo, to spread an ideology anti-extremist and anti-radical among Islamic believers in Kosovo. The extremism and violent religious radicalism cannot be fought from prisons or other state offices. Extremism and violent religious radicalism should be fought from the mosque. Religious institutions, and particularly the mosque have a key role in anti-extremist agenda and anti-radical.

5. Conclusion

Kosovo Dealing with violent extremism and religious radicalization that leads to terrorism, as seen by the short term is a success story because the number of Kosovars who join terrorist organizations in Syria, after the adoption of law and strategy, is zero (0). However, there is no room for enthusiasm because, Kosovo remains a hotbed of individuals and groups with extremist and radical directions. Actions of state police argue more clearly that there are still individuals and groups, although small and operating without a clear structure of command, which carry out actions, and in most cases propaganda on behalf of terrorist organizations, such as ISIS and Al Nusra. Until this is done, we should know that
this is the beginning and not the end. We must learn to live with the feeling that any moment may be the victim of attacks and terrorist actions. At the same time we must prepare to push forward the agenda of anti-extremist and anti-radical in order to create a safer environment. Traditional Festival of beer in the square “Zahir Pajaziti” in late July in Prishtina, where were present thousands of citizens, was created panic for any possible attack by ISIS, because two young people were shot with guns among the crowd. Someone shouted that we are dealing with a terrorist attack and it was enough to Empty Square within a few minutes; crowds crushed each other to try to get away as quickly as possible from the square. Such events we can have in the future. We live face to face with terrorism. In this confrontation we are building our experience.

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