

**Macedonia Cases**  
**Last Updated: 9 October 2017**

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T258	KOSOVO LIBERATION ARMY		1992	2008
T2263	ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ILIRIDA		1993	2002
T1167	MAKEDONSKA ZORA		1999	0
T2248	ALBANIAN LIBERATION ARMY		2001	2001
T2185	NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (UCK)	31-May-01	2001	2001
T34	ALBANIAN NATIONAL ARMY (AKSH)		2001	2003

I. KOSOVO LIBERATION ARMY (ONA)

Min. Group Date: 1992

Max. Group Date: 2008

Onset: NA

Aliases: Kosovo Liberation Army (Kla), Kosovo Liberation Army, Kosovo Protection Corps, Kosovo Protection Corps (Kpc), Osloboditelna Narodna Armija, Osloboditelna Narodna Armija - Ona, Osloboditelna Narodna Armija (Ona), Trupat E Mbrojtjes Se Kosoves, Trupat E Mbrojtjes S\_ Kosov\_s, Ushtria Clirimtare E Koseves, Ushtria Clirimtare E Koseves (Uck), Ushtria\_lirimtare Kosov\_s, Ushtria\_lirimtare Kosov\_s (Uck), Ushtria\_lirimtare Kosov\_s (U k)

**Part 1. Bibliography**

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[http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/explainer/1999/04/who\\_is\\_the\\_kosovo\\_liberation\\_army.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/explainer/1999/04/who_is_the_kosovo_liberation_army.html)
- John Fulton. "NATO and the KLA: How the West Encouraged Terrorism." Global Security Studies. 2010.  
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- United States Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, Yugoslavia: Information on early Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) terrorist activity, 15 September 2000, YUG00001.ASM, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3dee22ed4.html>
- GTD Perpetrator 720. Global Terrorism Database. Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Last Modified June 2017. <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=720>

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1992

Group End: 2017 (still active)

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

The KLA was formed by former supporters of Ibrahim Rugova, the president of Kosovo, after they became frustrated with his non-violent separatist campaign approach in 1992 (Phillips 1999; Slate 1999). This was also when ethnic Albanians were being removed from political and military positions by the Yugoslavian government (Slate 1999). Their first recorded violent attack occurred in May 1993 (Phillips 1999). However, other sources cite their first violent incident as late as 1996 (Global Security N.D; Slate 1999; US State Department 2000). The KLA aims to establish an independent Kosovo and supports the formation of a pan-Albanian union (ibid). The group has varying ideological roots but the most prominent is ethno-nationalism (ibid).

### **Geography**

The group first appeared in Macedonia but conducted attacks primarily in Yugoslavia (Global Security N.D; GTD 2016). They have also been active in Kosovo and Macedonia (GTD 2016). KLA training camps are stationed near Tirana and near the Yugoslav-Albanian border (Global Security N.D). The group had two main bases, one is in Macedonia and the other is in Pristina, Serbia (ibid; Fulton 2010).

### **Organizational Structure**

There was no clear leadership of the KLA until 1999 when Hashim Thaci became the unofficial representative (Phillips 1999). He was previously educated in Switzerland

(ibid). Sulejman Selimi became the KLA's top military commander, though no information could be found on his former experience (ibid). The group has a political wing and acts like a guerilla force of fighters operating in cells (Global Security N.D). Members of the KLA wear a uniform (Phillips 1999). The KLA's initial members consist of former Yugoslav army soldiers and they later recruited Albanian refugees and unemployed citizens (ibid; Phillips 1999). A majority of the group's members are ethnic Albanians (ibid).

According to one source in 1998 the group only had 500 members (Global Security N.D). By 1999, some sources estimated that the KLA had between 20,000-30,000 members (Global Security N.D; Phillips 1999). It is alleged that the KLA contains instructors from Germany and Britain and nearly 1,000 mercenaries from Albania, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia (Global Security N.D). Because several of its members served in the Yugoslav army prior, many KLA leaders have recurred training in the Yugoslavian military (Slate 1999). The group primarily receives funding from Albanian diaspora through a fund called "Homeland Calls" and drug trafficking (Phillips 1999; Slate 1999; FAS 1999).

### **External Ties**

It is alleged that the KLA contains instructors from Germany and Britain and nearly 1,000 mercenaries from Albania, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia (Global Security N.D). The United States and its allies have also given explicit support to the KLA by providing air support (Phillips 1999; US BCI 2000). The group primarily receives funding from Albanian diaspora through a fund called "Homeland Calls" and drug trafficking (Phillips 1999; Slate 1999; FAS 1999).

### **Group Outcome**

Initially the Serbian military used limited force when dealing with the group (Fulton 2010). As KLA attacks increased, Serbian police began to indiscriminately attack villages in the Drenica region of Kosovo in February 1998. From this date, violence escalated (Global Security N.D; Phillips 1999). Under Milosevic, violence against ethnic Albanians increased, and a ceasefire was called in October 1998 to enable hundreds of Albanian refugees to find shelter (ibid). Violence soon resumed after the KLA attended peace negotiations at Rambouillet and offered to demilitarize if Kosovo was granted autonomy (Slate 1999). Because of Milosevic's violent repression of Albanians (which some thought would turn into a genocide) and refusal to cooperate in peace talks, NATO initiated air attacks on Yugoslavia on March 24, 1999 (FAS 1999).

Eventually, the UN created Resolution 1244 in June 1999 that made Kosovo a sovereign territory of Yugoslavia. However, the KLA did not completely disarm as the resolution mandated (US BzCI 2000). Instead, the group changed its name to the Kosovo

Protection Corps and retained most of their features (ibid). Thus, the KLA technically disbanded in 1999 and became an inactive group, despite a few unexplained random attacks attributed to them after (GTD 2016). As of 2008, Kosovo declared its independence and is a partially recognized state.

Interesting quote from Fulton:

“According to many sources, the Yugoslavian government **used an atypical amount of restraint** in dealing with the KLA, as opposed to its dealings with rebels in Croatia and Bosnia. Kuperman observes that this restraint was actually expected by the KLA. He notes the “...initial Serbian counter-insurgency of 1998 reinforced the Albanian expectation that restraint would be reciprocated, because attacks were targeted relatively narrowly at villages that harbored the rebels” (Kuperman, 2008). **This was something of a disappointment for the KLA who openly sought to provoke excessive attacks by security forces to enlist outside intervention.** The KLA did ultimately succeed in drawing in outside help through a combination of excessive Yugoslavian force as well as the successful use of public relations firms making the situation in Kosovo look infinitely worse than it actually was.”

Interesting quote from Global Security:

“Milosevic's estimate that he could wipe out the KLA in five to seven days was wrong.”

## II. ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ILIRIDA

Min. Group Date: 1993

Max. Group Date: 2002

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

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- Jolyon Naegele. “Macedonia Authorities Allege Existence of New Albanian Rebel Group.” Radio Free Europe. 2002. <https://www.rferl.org/a/1100499.html>
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<http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=20082>

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: ARISH, ARI

Group Formation: 2002

Group End: 2002

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group formed. Some suggest the group was active as early as 1993 under the name 'Ilirida' (Matveeva et al 2003, 30), but most think the group emerged in 2002 (RFERL 2002; Backes and Moreau 2011, 269; GTD 2017). Its first violent incident was in 2002 when it attacked police (RFERL 2002). The Republic of Ilirida emerged in 1992 after ethnic Albanians in northern Macedonia voted to secede, but the government refused to recognize the results (Canada IRB 2002). The militant group was an Albanian ethno-nationalist that fought for Ilirida to secede and join Kosovo (Backes and Moreau 2011, 269).

### **Geography**

The group had an attack in Skopje, Macedonia (Matveeva et al 2003, 30). It also had attacks in Kondovo and Aracinovo, Macedonia (GTD 2017).

### **Organizational Structure**

The group allegedly had 200 members in 2002 (Backes and Moreau 2011, 269; Matveeva et al 2003, 30). Members were ex-fighters from the National Liberation Army (UCK) (Matveeva et al 2003, 30). Members are also ethnic Albanian (Matveeva et al 2003, 30). No information could be found about ties to a political wing.

## **External Ties**

The group may have been part of a larger Albanian nationalist movement known as the National Front (RFERL 2002).

## **Group Outcome**

The group's last incident was in 2002 when it tried to bomb Macedonia Parliament (Matveeva et al 2003, 30; GTD 2017).

- III. MAKEDONSKA ZORA  
Min. Group Date: 1999  
Max. Group Date: 0  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Macedonia Dawn, Makedonska Zora

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- "Macedonia Dawn." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 3635, MIPT Knowledge Base, 2008, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism

### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1999

Group End: 1999 (repression?)

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

There is not much information available about this group. It first came to attention in 1999 when it attacked a peacekeeping force in Kosovo (MIPT 2008). Its goals are unclear although it claimed to oppose American President Bill Clinton. Its ideology is also unclear.

#### **Geography**

The group's sole incident took place in Skopje, Macedonia (MIPT 2008).

## **Organizational Structure**

The group was small and maybe only had 10 members (MIPT 2008). No other information could be found about the group's membership, size, leadership, or organizational structure.

## **External Ties**

No information could be found about external ties to other state or non-state actors.

## **Group Outcome**

Macedonian police arrested 10 members associated with the incident (MIPT 2008). The group's last incident was in 1999 and never heard from again (MIPT 2008).

- IV. ALBANIAN LIBERATION ARMY  
Min. Group Date: 2001  
Max. Group Date: 2001  
Onset: NA

Aliases: NA

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- GTD Perpetrator 20041. Global Terrorism Database. Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Last modified June 2017.  
<http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=20041>

### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: This is an alias for UCK.

Group Formation: This is an alias for UCK.

Group End: This is an alias for UCK.

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

This is an alias for UCK.

#### **Geography**

This is an alias for UCK.

### **Organizational Structure**

This is an alias for UCK.

### **External Ties**

This is an alias for UCK.

### **Group Outcome**

This is an alias for UCK.

- V. NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (UCK)  
Min. Group Date: 2001  
Max. Group Date: 2001  
Onset: 2001

Aliases: National Liberation Army (Nla) (Macedonia), National Liberation Army (Uck), Ushtria Clirimtare E Kombetare, Ushtria \_lirimtare Komb\_tare, Ushtria Clirimtare E Kombetare (Uck), Ushtria \_lirimtare Komb\_tare (Uck)

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2001/11/29/is-there-a-good-terrorist/>
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<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k2/europe14.html>
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- Paul Wood. "Who are the rebels?" BBC. 2001a  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1231596.stm>
- "Macedonia: Step Back from the Abyss." BBC. 2001b  
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[http://ispo.fss.muni.cz/uploads/2download/Working\\_papers/ispo\\_wp\\_2006\\_11.pdf](http://ispo.fss.muni.cz/uploads/2download/Working_papers/ispo_wp_2006_11.pdf)

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: NLA

Group Formation: 2001

Group End: 2001 (disarm)

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

After the Kosovo War, Macedonia took in 400,000 Albanian refugees from Kosovo, which increased the minority group’s population (International Crisis Group 2001, 3). The Macedonian government tended to emphasize Macedonian culture and language and discriminate against ethnic Albanians (USIP 2004). The NLA formed in January 2001 as an ethno-nationalist Albanian group (International Crisis Group 2001, 3; Human Rights Watch 2001). The NLA’s aims were primarily reforms to address police discrimination against ethnic Albanians; the government claimed they wanted secession (BBC 2001a; Human Rights Watch 2001; Ash 2004). Its first violent attack occurred on February 17, 2001 when it clashed with government forces (Guardian 2001).

### **Geography**

Violence occurred in Skopje, Ljuboten, Kumanovo, Macedonia (Human Rights Watch 2001). Additional incidents occurred in Tetovo, Tanusevac, and Tearce (Guardian 2001). The group controlled territory around Aracinovo (Guardian 2001). The group had an external base in Vitinia, Kosovo (International Crisis Group 2001, Appendix A).

### **Organizational Structure**

Members were ethnic Albanian (Human Rights Watch 2002). Many members had fought for the KLA in Serbia (BBC 2001a; International Crisis Group 2001, 6,9). The group had some foreign fighters from Kosovo (BBC 2001a). In March 2001, the group had approximately 200-800 fighters in March 2001 (BBC 2001a). It may have had up to

2,000-3,000 fighters at its peak (Stojarova 2006). Notably, the group wore camouflage uniforms and organized like a conventional army (International Crisis Group 2001, 4; Stojarova 2006). The group's leaders were Ali Ahmeti and Fazli Veliu (International Crisis Group 2001, Appendix A; Canada IRB 2003). Ahmeti was an Albanian Marxist who helped found the LPK with his uncle Fazli Veliu (Ash 2004). The LPK later became the KLA. He fought in the Kosovo war (Ash 2004). The group funded itself through arms trades and drug smuggling (Canada IRB 2003). It is unclear if it had a political wing during the course of the insurgency.

### **External Ties**

The Macedonian government claimed the group received support from Kosovo Albanians, but there is no secondary evidence to support this (Human Rights Watch 2002). The group had some foreign fighters from Kosovo (BBC 2001a).

### **Group Outcome**

During the conflict, both the government and rebel forces used indiscriminate violence against local communities (Human Rights Watch 2002). The Macedonian government initially proposed a plan that would recruit 1,000 Albanian police officers, but the NLA rejected this because they would remain subordinate to the Macedonian government (BBC 2001b).

In August 2001, the NLA and the government reached a ceasefire agreement (Human Rights Watch 2001; USIP 2004). The government agreed to provide certain reforms like police reform and the establishment of Albanian as a second language (Guardian 2001). The group's last violent incident was in August 2001 (Guardian 2001; GTD 2017). It later transformed into a political party known as the Democratic Union for Integration (Canada IRB 203).

Interesting quote from BBC 2001b:

“So although the NLA gunmen were always a minority within a minority, Western diplomats were taken by surprise at the level of support the guerrillas quickly achieved among an Albanian population who believed their aspirations had been too-long denied.”

- VI. ALBANIAN NATIONAL ARMY (AKSH)  
Min. Group Date: 2001  
Max. Group Date: 2003  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Albanian National Army (Ana), Albanian National Army, Albanian National Army - Aksh, Albanian National Army - Ana, Albanian National Army (Aksh), Armata

Kombetare Shqiptare, Armata Komb\_tare Shqiptare, Armata Kombetare Shqiptare (Aksh), Armata Komb\_tare Shqiptare (Aksh)

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Kosovo/Albania: Albanian National Army (Armata Kombetare Shqiptare, AKSh) operating in Kosovo, 27 August 2008, ZZZ102898.E, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/49b92b3c7.html>
- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Macedonia: Existence of ethnic Albanian nationalist or extremist groups; their numerical and political strength; their treatment of community members (of all ethnic groups); state protection for individuals harassed by these groups (January 2005 - December 2005) , 13 February 2006, MKD100790.E , available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/45f1477d20.html>
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- Gabriel Partos. "New concerns over Albanian guerrillas." BBC. 2003. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3084482.stm>
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- "Albanian National Army." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 3546, MIPT Knowledge Base, 2008, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism

### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: AKSH, ANA

Group Formation: 2001

Group End: 2005

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

It is unknown when the group formed, but it first came to attention in 2001 for attacking a police patrol in Kosovo (Partos 2003; GTD 2017). Others suggest the group formed in 2002 (Canada IRB 2006; MIPT 2008). It may have been a splinter of the Macedonian NLA and formed in response to the Ohrid peace agreement in August 2001 (Partos

2003; Stojarova 2006; Canada IRB 2008). The AKSH's goals are slightly unclear, but range from creating a separate pan-Albanian state to just defending current territory in Kosovo (Canada IRB 2008). It is ethno-nationalist and seeks to promote the rights of Albanians (International Crisis Group 2003; Canada IRB 2006; MIPT 2008).

### **Geography**

The group was active in southern Serbia and western Macedonia (International Crisis Group 2003; Canada IRB 2008). It specifically had attacks in Goronce, Preljubiste, Gostivar, Struga, Tetovo, and Dobrosin (GTD 2017).

### **Organizational Structure**

Members were ex-KLA members (Canada IRB 2008). Members were also ethnic Albanian (Partos 2003; Canada IRB 2008). The group had approximately 12,000 members in 2007 (Canada IRB 2008). The group's leader was Dilaver Bojku (MIPT 2008; Canada IRB 2006).

### **External Ties**

The group opposes the Guards of Czar Lazar, a Serbian paramilitary group (Canada IRB 2008). The group had unspecified links to the Albanian Party of National Unity (Canada IRB 2006). It may have been a splinter of the Macedonian NLA (Partos 2003).

### **Group Outcome**

In 2003, the UN peacekeeping mission in Kosovo, UNMIK, banned AKSH as a terrorist organization (Partos 2003; Canada IRB 2008). The group's last known violent incident was in 2006 when it attempted to assassinate a political party official (Stojarova 2006). The group was active as late as 2007 when they conducted patrols on the Serbian border (Canada IRB 2008).