

THE CHALLENGES ON NATIVE LANGUAGE INFORMATION DURING OCCUPATION: METAMORPHOSES OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE MEDIA IN KOSOVO

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ABSTRACT

The history of the media in Kosovo is connected to the destiny of the Kosovar people themselves. The right for information in Albanian language was a right that was gained in coherence with other rights which the Kosovar people gained through its history and the realization of these rights came in a time when Kosovo was a part of ex-Yugoslavia, which starts with the fall of the Ottoman Empire and ends with the Kosovar war of 1999. Ever since the end of WWII, in Kosovo, Albanian language media start functioning, newspapers, radio and later on TV, as government media, same as it was for all the media that functioned in the Eastern system, to which Yugoslavia belonged to. In the last years of existence of the former SFRY the Albanian media became a part of the national Albanian agenda and they mirrored the political requests of Kosovar Albanians for more rights within the ex-Yugoslav state, up to the point of making Kosovo the seventh republic within the federation. This was opposed by the Republic of Serbia which, amongst many other actions that were undertaken to damage the rights and freedoms of native Albanians in Kosovo, also shut down the Albanian Language media, respectively the only daily newspaper “Rilindja” as well as Prishtina Radio and Television (RTP). In a situation of information blackout in Albanian language two magazines, “Zëri i Rinisë”, which was weekly, and “Bujku”, which was a professional agricultural newspaper *went through metamorphosis by turning themselves into newspapers that followed daily actualities* and they started publishing more frequently than usual until “Bujku” which was by then staffed by ex-Rilindja workers turned into a daily newspaper. At the same time the journalists from RTP at first secured a 5 minute slot for transmitting Albanian Language news on “Radio Zagreb”, while later they secured transmission space on “Radio Tirana” as well as on the satellite transmissions of the Albanian Television (TVSH). This article, through interviews made with people who were some of the characters in this story brings the facts of this metamorphosis and speaks of its importance, while bringing to mind a model, in which journalists and media workers reacted to the state of occupation, and have managed to spread the news to the audiences in their native language.

Keywords: Media metamorphosis, newspaper, magazine, television, freedom of information.

INTRODUCTION

This article is entirely empiric and has been realized through interviews and stories of the characters played a role in the story. Through their tales *a story unique in the history of the world media- which has never happened anywhere else* – is built. The characters of these stories, as well as bringing the facts of the metamorphoses of the Kosovar media *from a time distance of over two decades* also evaluate the effect and the role it had on informing the public. *From today's point of view* even for the characters in the story everything looks surreal but they have lived through it without thinking of the danger which they were facing. In the scientific, theoretical aspect something like this has been unstudied therefore it may be

seen as an example when journalists, by exercising their profession lead a double war: the war for freedom of their country as well as the freedom of expression. While the oral they have taken represents a model in which journalists, in a state of occupation when there is no freedom of expression, no free media, managed to find an alternative through which they managed to transfer the information to their audiences. As the interviewees tell in their stories the risks were permanent but, the love for their profession and pure power of will have triumphed over them. Everyone values very highly the contribution the media has given in that time. A group of independent, free media which could transmit for Kosovar Albanians in their own language were the Albanian language sections of the international media like the voice of America, Radio Deutche Welle, Radio BBC and Radio Free Europe. But in the time when this metamorphoses of the of the Albanian language media in Kosovo happened only an Albanian language service but it had no source of information within Kosovo, no correspondents and it's waves were not being distributed in Kosovo, while the other services had yet to start transmitting in Albanian language. These radio stations have played an important role in informing the Kosovar public throughout the 90's, especially during the war but in the year 1990, when Serbia closed the Kosovar media with military and police forces while expelling all the Albanian workers the transformed Kosovar media were the only source of information in Albanian Language which gave a picture that different from the one that was painted by the Serbian state media. The article arguments that: *in times of occupation and war for liberation, the journalists put the struggle for freedom before their profession they even place their work in the service of freedom and the independence of the nation.*

METHODOLOGY

As a method for realizing this article in-depth interviews with the characters of the story were used as the only sources through which the history of this period can be built. This method was chosen since there is no reliable printed literature which could be referred to. Even copies of the newspapers printed during this period cannot be found in an organized archive – besides the homes of the journalists who work during the time or with an individual who has saved several copies. Fortunately I possess an archive of 24 numbers of the “Zëri i Rinisë” Magazine from issue 1352 printed on August 25th 1990 up to 1376, published on October 29th 1990. In order to get the history of the Magazine I have interviewed two of the members of its staff, the publicist Halil Matoshi and professor Agim Zogaj. For the history of the daily “Bujku” which was printed until 1999 I have interviewed the editor in chief of the time and current ambassador of the republic of Kosovo in Turkey, Avni Spahiun, as well as the last editor in chief of the daily Rilindja, Behlul Jashari. Whereas for the history of the Kosovar Television, respectively the staff that worked in radio Tirana and the Albanian Television I have interviewed the coordinator of the newsroom, today the correspondent of RTK1 from Tirana, Asllan Bajrami and the editor and anchor Shaban Arifaj.

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Out of national media in Kosovo in the year 1990 only one daily newspaper was being published “Rilindja”, Radio Prishtina had two channels and there was one television station, Televizion of Prishtina (TVP). Politically, Kosovo had spent more than two years facing off with the Republic of Serbia while the two main events, which were diametrically different mark the age were: the suppression of the Kosovar autonomy within the Yugoslav federation

- which happened on the 23rd of March 1989 and left Kosovo as an integral part of the Republic of Serbia and the second event happened on the 2nd of July 1990, when the representatives of the Kosovar parliament adopted what is known as *The constitution Declaration* in which they declare “Kosovo as an independent and equal unit within the Yugoslav Federation and as a subject which is equal to other units within that federation”¹. Only three days after this event, on the 5th of July 1990, the Serb government, which has filled Kosovo with police and military forces during the past two years, violently closed Prishtina Radio and Television², by forcefully expelling the Albanian workers. On the same day police forces have also surrounded the building of the daily “Rilindja”³ and expelled its workers. By conducting this act, all information in Albanian language in Kosovo was effectively forbidden.

It was in these circumstances that the journalists from these and other media found a way out and a solution which was unique and unknown in media history, by managing to spread the news in Albanian language despite the circumstances. The solution that they came up with was the *metamorphoses of the media which until then had a completely different profile into information media*.

The first change was done by the magazine “Zëri i Rinisë”. This illustrated weekly for arts and youth became a magazine reporting on current political events in Kosovo. Agim Zogaj, who was an editor at the time says that “Zëri i Rinisë” had the same faith of the other media when on the night of 4th of July 1990 their offices were overtaken by the Serbian Police Forces. But the staff of this magazine reacted in record time and managed to get out on the market with another name – it called itself just “Zëri”. The metamorphoses of this magazine continued with its publishing cycle. From once-a weekly magazine, it started publishing as often as it could, sometimes even up to three times a week. Only during September 1990 “Zëri” was published on the 1st, 8th, 12th, 14th, 17th, 19th, 21st, 24th, 26th and 28th. So it published ten⁴ numbers overall, instead of four within a month. “Zëri” kept up this tempo for several months as professor Zogaj recalls:

“We, as an Albanian language media had the same sanctions placed upon us by the Serbian occupiers but, unlike the other media, we had the courage to find a form, a model, another alternative for starting over with the daily “Zëri”. I am saying daily since the issues that came out after “Zëri i Rinisë” had the purpose of emulating the format and content. *The purpose was national!* Looking from a historical perspective I believe that the Serbian occupiers purposefully closed their eyes before the appearance of the new newspaper “Zëri” in order to have an excuse in front of the world opinion and be able to say that Kosovar Albanians do have their own medium in their own language! We did not deal with the propaganda psychology of the of the Serbian government, of Serbia but with our media project in order to be able to inform our people and, altogether, to challenge the Serbian occupying regime through our national editorial policy. Our contribution was in re-affirming the national consciousness in order to be able to stand up to the Serb occupiers, to strengthen our *movement for national liberation* and to make it known to international politics, to western Europe, through our articles that the people of

¹ Constitutional statement of the 2nd of July 1990. See <http://koha.net/?id=27&l=16298>

² <http://shqiptarja.com/kosova/2727/22-vjet-nga-debimi-i-punetoreve-te-televizionit-te-prishtines-100382.html>

³ <http://gazetajnk.com/?cid=1,979,3372>

⁴ From the personal archives of the journalists.

Kosovo are determined *to fight* for freedom and not back down in front of the serb/yugoslav occupier”⁵

Halil Matoshi, was also a part of the staff of the “Zëri i Rinisë”, magazine, after the closure of the Albanian language media by the serbian government he says it was the journalists who decided to transform the specialised magazines of the time, like those for youth, women and agriculture into daily informational and political newspapers.

“...So, “Zëri i Rinisë”, “Bujku” and “Kosovarja” started coming out three days in a row, each, in order to somehow close the information void, therefore to break the silence and information blackout that was covering the country. *There were no superior professional criteria to be spoken about, because that was entirely journalism put into service of propagandising the resistance. So it was rebelling for freedom journalism.*” On the other side, during the later stages of the 1990-s stood the Albanian correspondents of the credible western media like “Voice of America”, “BBC in Albanian language”, “Radio free Europe”, “Mladina”, “Vjesnik”, “APA”, “ATSH” etc. those who helped on the information front against the serb occupation (today all of those journalists should be recognised as participants in the war for liberation by the ruling structures) at that time the serbian repression of the population has grown exponentially, because the purpose was to break the resistance and install fear within Kosovar citizens, but the opposite happened: the masses got mobilized, the resistance grew and the fear got beaten. However that was the most difficult time for Albanian journalism in Kosovo, which managed to survive with a 5 minute slot on *Radio Zagreb and later with a time slot dedicated to Kosovo on Albanian Radio Television in Tirana.*”⁶

*The second metamorphoses, was done by the magazine “Bujku” which was a bi-monthly magazine for agriculture, but it was almost 3years since it has published its last edition. As the first editor in chief of “Bujku” as a daily informative newspaper, Behlul Jashari, remembers the first edition came out on the 18th of January 1992, more than six month after “Rilindja” and Prishtina Radio and Television were closed down. Mr. Jashari tells how he and a group of journalists have done the preparations without registering the paper with the Serbian government organs. He says that they initially informed, through a letter, the American Embassy in Belgrade. It was achieved by sending the letter through the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade. The pretext they found for publishing the daily was “informing on the situation in the Persian Gulf”⁷, while in the first number of “Bujku” in the new format, in what was dubbed “A word from the staff” they said “*The time in which we live and the social processes happening here today, in Kosovo, in the country and the world impose upon us the need to have information that is as detailed as possible, especially in the great information emptiness that was created after the temporary suspension of the work of RTP – in Albanian language and the daily Rilindja*”⁸*

when remembering the time when “Bujku” started coming out its first editor in chief Behlul Jashari says:

⁵ Agim Zogaj, interview for the author of the article. 12 March 2015.

⁶ Halil Matoshi, interview for the author of the article. 16 March 2015.

⁷ Behlul Jashari, interview for the author of the article. 11 March 2015.

⁸ Gazeta Bujku, 18 January 1991. Editorial.

“I remember that it was on the 18th of January 1991, that the first number of the daily “Bujku” came out, in a time when the only daily in Albanian language in Kosovo, “Rilindja” was forbidden and closed down violently by the occupying and criminal Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic - who ended up at the Hague tribunal. It was published by the journalists and other staff from Rilindja *with bravery and sacrifices*” *bukju*” was a newspaper of popular movement for freedom, independence, democracy, the first independent kosovar newspaper which was strongly oriented towards pro-western democracy. In the years in which Bujku was published, a part of the resistance was the hunger strike that lasted for over two weeks, lead by the symbol of national resistance, Adem Demaçi, in the Rilindja building, where Belgrade was trying to install the phantom enterprise “Panorama” of violence, destructive culture and anti-Albanian genocide. The daily “Bujku” came out until just before 1999 when it was forcible removed from the Rilindja building by the occupying Serb forces. But the journalists and other workers of “Rilindjes” did not stop and in the following months, in times of war they came back and published the daily Rilindja in Prishtina, by working from their homes and despite many dangers the newspaper was in print until its journalists and staff were exiled, together with their nation - from their homes and from Kosovo”⁹

The other editor in chief of “Bujku”, during the later years, Avni Spahiu, remembers the time in which the journalists of “Rilindja” started publishing the “Bujku” daily. Spahiu remembers that the name "Bujku" was inadequate, even offended for a daily paper. But this happened because of different ideas of the people who led other temporary newspapers in Kosovo and who, in their own right, wanted to keep the titles of their media and do their job as they did traditionally. For example the magazine “Fjala”, a periodic dedicated to different issues and aspects of our culture wanted to keep its character and did not express any interest in replacing “Rilindja” in the role of the daily. Therefore the daily edition of “Bujku” was modified so that it came out with nothing more than a large letter “B” on its upper left corner, by quickly becoming a “Rilindja-B” as it was called, by continuing to express the grim reality of the Korovar people on its pages in the times of violence, but also of organized resistance against Serb occupation.

“For a collective like "Rilindja" which gave so much contribution to the process of the national movement during the last decades of the century, the idea of capitulation in front of physical violence and the psychological pressure of Serbia was un-acceptable. The only alternative was to find new forms to continue working. *This was essential for Kosovo who at the time was living through extreme violence exercised by the serbian police, military and para-military apparatus.* The journalists of "Bujkut" deserve the highest price for their work at the time. They were un-compromising chroniclers of every important event in Kosovo and the world. They were with the families of the exiled, wherever the massacres happened, where the war and the resistance of KLA took place and wherever the political and diplomatic battles of Kosovo were waged. A lot of journalists ended up in dire situations, they were beaten and molested by the serbian forces and some of them even gave their lives while performing their duty. *This was the time and that was a dangerous but*

⁹ Told by Behlul Jashari, The first Editor in chief of “Bujkut” after becoming a daily informational newspaper.

glorious mission. The work was done in extra-ordinary conditions, without security, with symbolic payments. But, at the time even the journalists were a part of the struggle for liberation and freedom and through their work, they have shown a solidarity which was never seen before. There could be no work of normal conditions, normal wages, normal work. The journalists were simply doing their job by not thinking about the consequences for them and their families without thinking of the costs."¹⁰

*A solution just as unique, with the same purpose of breaking the information blackout in Albanian Language was found by the journalists of Prishtina Radio and Television. They have managed to create a programmer dedicated to Kosovo on Radio Tirana as well as Albanian Television satellite transmission. Therefore during the 1990-s Kosovo, it can be freely said, Kosovo became a country with the largest number of satellite dishes per capita in the world*¹¹.

Asllan Bajrami tells of how starting the satellite transmission of the Albanian Television programs was a joint project of the Kosovar government¹² *in exile* and the Albanian government. The operational angle of this project was conducted by the Albanian Radio Television and Kosovar Radio Television¹³. According to Bajrami the preparations for this project started in 1992. They were led by a joint working group made out of members of both televisions. One of the Albanian Television members of this group was Agron Aranitasi while the Kosovar government placed Kolë Lumezi as the head of the project. Lumezi was leading all the procedures of forming the project for satellite programming considering the third parties, including offers, equipment and the entire production-transmission and technical-technological chain. The investments for satellite transmission equipment, including the costs of transmitting through "Eutelsat 2" were paid by the Kosovar Government, tells Bajrami. According to the documents of the time¹⁴, the basic cost of the project was approximately 4.500.000 DM. While the cost of transmitting through satellite was about 1.000.000 \$-USD for a calendar year. The two governments have agreed that the costs of equipment and the rent for the transponder will be paid by the Kosovar government while the Albanian Radio Television would provide the physical objects.

"The satellite transmission of the Albanian television started on the 15th of November 1993. The programming structure of this 2 hour transmission from 18:30 to 20:30, including the two news editions the first 18:30-18:45 and the second 20:00-20:30, as well as the two thematic programs dedicated to Kosovo and the issues it was facing. In most cases from 18:45 to 20:00 the only debate-type show was also transmitted, a type of a musical concert, a documentary, a

¹⁰ Avni Spahiu, Editor in Chief of "Bujku" 1994-1998.

¹¹ Prishtina, an object filled with satellite dishes <http://didierruef.photoshelter.com/image/10000dJYINir.WkE>

¹² After declaring the constitutional statement (2 July 1990), declaring the republic of Kosovo and approving its constitution (7 September 1990), the popular referendum for Kosovar independence and sovereignty held at the end of September 1991, the first multi-party elections for the Kosovar parliament were held on the 24th of May 1992. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova was chosen as the President of the Republic of Kosovo. Bujar Bukoshi was chosen as the Prime minister of the government in exile (in western European countries). The parallel institutions were formed in Kosovo- they were led by Albanians which managed to create an educational system in the so called "houses-schools" outside the school objects from which the Albanian pupils were chased out by the Serbian occupiers. All of this was financed by the so called "3% fund" where the Kosovar Diaspora gave 3% of their payments for the functioning of the Government and the parallel institutions of Kosovo. Therefore the Kosovar government, through its budget managed to finance the programming for Kosovo on Radio Tirana and the Albanian Television.

¹³ This was the name given to Prishtina television in official documents of the time.

¹⁴ The agreement for joint satellite transmission RTSH-RTK.

reportage but they all, in essence dealt with Kosovar themes as well as issues of Albanians in their lands and the Diaspora. Within the 60 minutes of satellite transmission marketing was also transmitted. Marketing income was divided in two between RTSH and RTK. The organizational structure of RTK (Tirana crew) was composed out of a Programming Council which was lead by Sali Kelmendi and by a Satellite Program coordinator which was led by me (Asllan Bajrami). The Tirana newsroom, which has taken upon itself to prepare a daily news edition which was transmitted between 18:30 - 18:45 on the Satellite prepared a news summary from Kosovo and other Albanian lands for the central news edition on Satellite program, which was aired from 20:00 to 20:30 and it also co-edited three radio Tirana programs aimed at co-patriots which had a total airtime of 360 minutes (6 hours), which contained three, 30 minute, news editions – altogether 90 minutes. The other content of these programs for compatriots which were prepared by the colleagues from Radio Tirana and sometimes by the Kosovar colleagues within RTSH. The subjects of these shows had to do with Kosovo, events, history, Kosovar riches, Occupation, Serbo-Yugoslav repression, personalities in the fields of culture, art compatriots and various activists.”¹⁵

Shaban Arifaj, an editor, journalist and anchor, who at the time was a part of the staff and the story, also remembers the time and how this information window for kosovar Albanians, as well as Albanians in other ex-Yugoslav countries and Diaspora functioned:

“At the end of the work of the Kosovar newsroom in Radio Zagreb, when the Albanian edition came down from a solid time-slot, to no more than 5 minutes and was moved to 23 00 hrs or later, the Albanian journalists from RTP were pushed into looking for another alternative in order to inform their countrymen inside and outside of homeland.. So, after intensive negotiations RTSH agreed to give us a news edition at 14 00 hrs, on the land TV network and another edition on Radio Tirana within the program for compatriots. Despite that, after the Satellite Program started transmitting two hours of programming with complete financing coming from the future Kosovar government, only 15 minutes were given at the disposal of our newsroom, as well as some radio-shows. The radio shows were jointly done with the Radio Tirana crew and they contained information which came 50/50 from both countries. This short news edition from the Satellite TV transmission was also transmitted daily from 18.30 to 18.45. Within this timeframe the Kosvar newsroom of the Satellite program (that is what it was called), included information on developments in Kosovo, Macedonia and the Diaspora, with special emphasis on events in Kosovo which was under Serb occupation. This edition was the only audio-visual information window for Albanians, because RTP was violently occupied by the Serbian forces in order not to speak Albanian again. The satellite and radio program had a Tirana newsroom and the correspondents office in Prishtina, Skopja, Tetovo, Ulçin, Brussels, Bon, Zurich, Copenhagen, Oslo, Stockholm, New York etc... Journalists from Prishtina went to Tirana on rotation while the coordinator Asllan Bajrami, was permanently placed in Tirana. The entire staff, both in Prishtina and Tirana functioned wonderfully. Communication on both sides was on the highest

¹⁵ Asllan Bajrami interview for the author of the article. 11 March 2015.

level and within 10 minutes they managed to bring, in short, almost all the information on daily happenings. The reports lasted between one and one and a half minutes which even today sets the highest standard in international journalism. Journalists never asked how to get to Tirana they passed the border illegally, with high risks for them, sometimes through the lake of Shkodra, sometimes through the river Buna and sometimes through mountains. Often journalists had to deal with police violence in border areas with Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Nevertheless, reporting, editing and presenting in this media was privilege for all those who worked in the newsroom and it was a source of information for Albanians wherever they were.¹⁶

The Kosovar crew in Tirana, adjoined to RTSH, was composed of 3 to 5 persons. While the main part of the RTK crew was based in Prishtina and it was placed with the decision of the ministry of Information of the Kosovar government in exile, the decision was signed by the minister Xhafer Shatri. The coordinator of the RTK staff in Prishtina was Mehmet Haziri. The staff was composed out of journalists of Radio Prishtina and Prishtina Television, which was occupied by the Serbian regime on 05.07.1990. The members of this team went to Tirana during certain periods of the year and they were involved in preparing programs for the Satellite program and the programs for compatriots on Radio Tirana. Prishtina staff supplied the news, chronicles and other information to the Kosovar staff in Tirana. In October 1998 Kosovar government which was led by Bujar Bukoshi, stops financing the Tirana newsroom. At the same time the staff in Tirana has managed to secure income from marketing up to the beginning of 1999, when the wages started being paid by the Temporary Government of Kosovo- formed after the Rambouillet which was led by Hashim Thaçi. The RTK team in Tirana functioned up to December 1999.

CONCLUSIONS

During the entire history of the media existence there has been a relationship between media, society and the political power. The history of the Kosovar media is new when compared to the media in other countries of the region, or Europe, a continent to which it belongs. This history is connected to the history of its people and has sacrificed a lot for the freedom of its country and the freedom of the media.

The persecution through which the media and the journalists have gone through during the struggle for the liberation of Kosovo from Serbia – up to the end of the war in 1999 *firstly*, arguments that one of the first things that the occupier wishes top control and own are the native language media. For this purpose he Serbian invader banned the Albanian language media – which were government media at the time. Instead of original programs they have continued producing programs in Albanian language which were created by Serb of Roma employees who spoke Albanian. These programs were completely controlled and put in the service of government propaganda.

The *second* thing which is argued by the history of the Kosovar media is the fact that journalists under occupation or during a war *place the national interests first* while their profession is placed in the service of that interest, so they use it in order to gain the freedom of their nation and their homeland.

¹⁶ Shaban Arifajt , interview for the author of the article. 5 March 2015.

The metamorphoses of the Albanian language media in Kosovo during 1990-s, which was elaborated in this article, presents a model in which the journalists have found a solution in order to be able to inform the audiences in their native language.. In this manner they have fought the propaganda of the Serbian government. What is special in this era of Albanian language media in Kosovo is the fact that the journalists were facing two challenges at the same time. *First* challenge had to do with informing in the native language *second* challenge had to do with switching to another type of media, from government media- which have been working up to that period to free and independent media which start forming in that period.

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2. Asllan Bajrami. A long time journalist, anchor and editor of Prishtina Television. An anchor, editor and newsroom coordinator of Kosovar Television within Albanian Radio-Television from 1993 to 1999. Since then he has been working as a correspondent of Kosovar Television RTK1 from Tiranë.
3. Avni Spahiu. Long time journalist of the daily Rilindja, where he also spent a long period as a correspondent from the UN in New York. Founder and Editor in kosovar Information Center. Editor in chief of the daily Bujku. An editor and director of Kosovar Television and Kosovar radio. He served a term as an ambassador of the republic of Kosovo in the USA, while currently serving as an ambassador of the republic of Kosovo in Turkey.
4. Behlul Jashari. Long time journalist of the daily “Rilindja”. The first editor in chief of “Bujku” after it transformed into a daily newspaper. From 1999 he is the head of the board of “Rilindja” daily.
5. Halil Matoshi. worked in the student paper “Bota e re”. Journalist, editor and editor in chief in “Zëri i Rinisë”. Editor and editor in chief in Albanian Weekly “Zëri”. Editor and editor in chief in “Lajm” newspaper. Editor in the daily Express. Editor of the cultural add-on in the daily KOHA Ditore. A regular columnist in the KOHA Ditore, daily where he still works.
6. Shaban Arifaj. A long time journalist, anchor and editor in chief in Radio Television of Prishtinës (RTP), Radio Television of Albania (RTSH), and Radio Television of Kosovo (RTK). he also worked as a journalist in several newspapers and as a correspondent for Swedish Public Radio (Albanian language edition), Radio Zagreb (Albanian language edition), Radio Kopenhagen Canalen, and was the head of the independent radio Radio Kosova in Brussels.

Web & Documents

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