

**Annex 1 to**

**Public Redacted Version of Prosecution Submission Pertaining  
to Periodic Detention Review of Rexhep Selimi**

Public

*Is history being rewritten?  
(Konfront show, KTV, 04 April 2023)*

**Moderator:** *Mr. Gjinovci, yesterday the prosecution's Office presented evidence. The defence made their opening statement. Tell us what we have seen and heard in these two days?*

**Rron Gjinovci:** I think that many recent events in our society received explanations yesterday. I am talking about the march (the Sunday, 02 April march in Pristina in support of the KLA members that were indicted by the Specialist Chambers), the sort of violence and discourse that the war should not be discussed, potential crimes that were committed by non-Serbs in Kosovo during and after the war. I do not know if the public remembers, I think that now the time has come to apologize to Shkelzen Gashi, who in the position of advisor to Albin Kurti had mentioned that many people in Kosovo were killed, went missing, and these were committed by the KLA members. Back then I remember there was a collective hysteria, when people wanted to "eat alive" Shkelzen Gashi. The collective hysteria had reached the point that the Prime Minister (Kurti) was forced to dismiss Shkelzen Gashi. Today, I found it ridiculous and painful to see Hashim Thaci's defence lawyers saying, "We do not deny the crimes that the KLA has committed." This is what they literally said. They said that, "my client does not deny the crimes that the KLA has committed but he had not given orders or had decided about such crimes (to be committed)." The march that that you saw ...

**Moderator:** *... the internal debate that took place among us is mainly that "it is the just war of the KLA that is being tried, not individuals" ...*

**Gjinovci:** In Kosovo, there is a "terror" over free speech about this issue. In the last two days, I have been writing statuses, my opinions about this issue, and I am asking important questions. I was raised in the Kosovo where they were "dragons". They have "fled" during the war. Kadri Veseli had jumped from the airplane to come to Kosovo because he could not land in Drenas. Do you remember the story of Baton Haxhiu when the indictment was filed? Today, defence lawyers of Veseli and Thaci said that they were not at all in Kosovo, they had nothing to do with or any power over KLA. As I am speaking, on my phone I am receiving threatening, offensive messages in my social media accounts ...

**Moderator:** *... we will later publish some of the messages that you have selected ...*

**Gjinovci:** ... they are public, but I am constantly receiving offensive and threatening messages. It is not that I am scared or have ever been scared, but this shows that there is a terror over the people of Kosovo about this issue. I am also receiving messages from citizens who are saying to me, "Well done for daring to speak out". I do not think that I am saying anything extraordinary. The

questions that I am raising are very simple: Has the KLA existed? As far as I know, yes. If the KLA had existed, was it led by anyone? And if it was led by someone, then who are they, because apparently Thaci and Veseli are not the ones. I do not know what are the defence lawyers going to say about the others, but these two (Thaci and Veseli) said, “We were not in charge, we had no leading power in the KLA.” These are the questions that our society should discuss.

***Moderator: The discourse, the narrative created during and after the war ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... Just to answer your question, what we saw yesterday ...

***Moderator: what did we see yesterday? What is the prosecution claiming?***

***Gjinovci:*** What we saw yesterday is the prosecution trying to present the case by saying that the KLA has existed, has had leaders, and was well organized, given all the books, documents that these (KLA leaders) have published and the history they have written. They have accused the Specialist Chambers of being a court that is trying to rewrite history by alluding that this court is trying to change the history of the KLA. But based on what we heard today from the defence counsel is that they themselves wrote the history and said that the KLA in way has almost not existed in Kosovo. This question is very important in our society: Who has written history, who is rewriting history, why and for what interests? For exclusively private interests ...

***Moderator: ... we are now talking about communiques (issued by the KLA) ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... you have gone too far now with the communiques. This is a combination of a communique and a report of the US State Department. There is one thing we should say first ...

***Moderator: ... the attempt to prove the KLA hierarchy. Yesterday, most of the time the prosecutor dealt with this issue ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... these communiques continue to put pressure on Kosovo society even today. The fact that people think that they should insult me for expressing my opinion, or others praising me for daring to express my opinion shows that these communiques still live among us, as a mindset.

***Moderator: In what sense?***

***Gjinovci:*** These communiques that tell people, “You are collaborators”. I am constantly being told “A pro-Serb, collaborator, go live in Serbia, you are a son of a Serb woman.” I am receiving many insults because I am asking some questions, just as I asked at the beginning. Let us tell the public what the prosecutors said yesterday, because what has happened in Kosovo until now, until this court (started working) is a completely history of lies. So, when Dick Marty wrote the report, the

local and international media only focused on the organ trafficking which, I think, is the least important part in that report, also in terms of volume. I have read that report ...

***Moderator: ... but still, the Specialist Chambers was established based on this report ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... that report talks about all these things. That report says “a handful cases”. If translated into Albanian, it means a number of cases that can be held in a hand, so it means as many as fingers, not more than ten. I have read the interpretation what “handful” means in English - some say five, some say ten, but the maximum is ten. This was an allegation of Carla del Ponte. This was part of Marty’s report that he used for this issue, for the crimes that he alleged to have happened in Kosovo after an investigation. Excuse me, but he did not write that report alone. In that report you can find quotes from BND, CIA reports, from international organizations that have reported on different cases in Kosovo, media that have reported, from communiqués, etc. ...

***Moderator: ... but the indictment does not include what was said in that report ...***

***Gjinovci:*** It does not matter. That report has paved the way for the creation of the Specialist Chambers. This Specialist Chambers has evolved to the point that it was given the mandate to only deal with (alleged) crimes committed in 1998-1999. Right, until the end of 1999. So, it has shortened the mandate timewise, for the time that crimes are dealt by. Yesterday, the prosecution made a series of presentations of hard historic facts from the moment that the KLA appeared in the public and evolved its communication with the public. As you saw, in the beginning the communique says, “Collaborators must be eliminated”, right? Later, when they talk with the US State Department, and the prosecutor said this yesterday, that “after Veseli and others were asked after the meeting”, and presented photos of the meeting, when they were asked of potential crimes against humanity, the language started being moderated and becoming more non-specific, by using words such as, “they should be careful”, and so on. We are talking based on the prosecution yesterday (what the prosecution said yesterday) - 440 cases in all the territory of Kosovo, and Kukes region, 440 incidents with this background, of which about 102 ended with murder, 22 disappeared. There will be 300 or more witnesses in this process. So, we cannot say there is nothing in this. There is a lot. Then, all prosecutors are Americans. None of them has another citizenship, all of them are Americans. This is a very important fact for our culture and the people of Kosovo. What else has the Court said? Even without the Specialist Chambers saying anything, haven’t we seen Gjergj Dedaj on ***Rubikon*** show saying, “Hashim Thaci has slapped me”? Did not that person then become a Kosovo ambassador in order to be silenced? Why are we trying to lie? How can we pretend like these things have not happened? These things have happened in Kosovo? Should anyone be held accountable for the murder of Behajdin Hallaqi? He was one of the The People's Movement of Kosovo (LPK) activists, who had gone to the (KLA) HQ, and then went missing. Nobody knows anything about him. He was called to report to the HQ. What about Ilir Konushevci, who was killed inside the territory of Albania, in an unexplainable way? What about Xhemajl

Mustafa? Since I have heard of the LDK for the first time, I have known of the murders of the KLA (members). Should we know pretend as a society that nothing has happened, that the Specialist Chambers is an "invention" of internationals, a conspiracy against us? You are the ones that have talked, you have taught me these things. In 1999, I was ten years old. I have learned these things since I was ten years old. I have not read them anywhere, but I have heard most of the things from you that are older than me. How come that in a moment when it comes to discussing these things, everybody pretends as if all of these have not happened in Kosovo? I was raised listening to these stories. Then, who can tell me in Kosovo that (former Democratic League of Kosovo president Ibrahim) Rugova was not considered as a traitor by the war flank? Who can say something like that to me, when I have constantly heard this discourse in Kosovo? I am expressing such a simple opinion and I am being labeled as pro-Serb, as a traitor, as a person that should be killed. So, why should I even read the history to know that this is true more or less. Sabri Hamiti, wasn't he wounded? Agim Veliu, wasn't he wounded? Have you invited them to the show?

***Moderator: Yes, I have invited them. Mr. Veliu does not want to talk ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... The Geci family, don't they talk about the Communiqué? Yesterday, you had Fadil Geci in your show. Gani Geci has always said "Hashim Thaci wanted to kill me." It is not known if Hashim Thaci or Rexhep Selimi, they have always argued, and now they have come to the conclusion that both Rexhep Selimi and Jakup Krasniqi have said that Communiqué 59, which calls for the murder of Gani Geci, was written by Hashim Thaci. These were not invented by the Specialist Chambers. These were things that were constantly discussed by our society.

***Moderator: Do you believe that somebody could have been killed also by Serbia's cooperative structures and then due to the ignorance of the KLA after the war they were not addressed correctly and were even used, as Mr. Sopi (Agim Sopi, the other guest to the show) said, to cause fear among political opponents?***

***Gjinovci:*** It is very possible and they were used so. There is something that Mr. Sopi mentioned. It is not known who has written these communiqués. Jakup Krasniqi was the (KLA) spokesperson, and most of these communiqués were found at his home. If a communiqué is written in the organization that I lead, or even if I do not lead at all, calling for something that I do not agree with, the least that I could do in the endless interviews that I would give the following 20 years is say that, "I do not agree with any of them". Has anybody from the KLA ever said that they do not agree with those communiqués? Has anyone ever publicly denied them saying, "I am sorry, all these were written by the HQ because we were not well organized?"

***Moderator: But there is a wide agreement in the public that collaborators should be killed, at least from the online communication ...***

**Gjinovci:** To a great majority in Kosovo I am pro-Serb and what I am saying is pro-Serb. If I go out in the town now, should I be killed? Should I be killed? They say about Rector Papovic – he is a fascist, I have read his interviews – a Nazi, a terrible creature, but he was civilian at the time he was attacked. Goran Rakic, who leads Srpska List today, can anyone in Kosovo tell me that he is not as bad as Papovic? Does anyone dare kill him? No. He meets with Kosovo prime ministers because one cannot ...

**Moderator:** ... *it happened in completely different circumstances ...*

**Gjinovci:** ... Goran Rakic undermines Kosovo much more than Papovic did, but we can not kill him because he is civilian. He can be only be killed if he is armed and causes violence. I understand the then circumstances, I do not want to protect Papovic, but I want to say to you as people, you cannot justify violence against anyone just because he is labeled as something by anyone. You cannot. Therefore, we should be careful. You cannot write “We must kill you”. This is problematic.

**Moderator:** *In one of the communiques ...*

**Gjinovci:** ... or you can, it is true that you can, but then you should hold accountability as a boss and not say later “I know nothing about this”. So, in Kosovo these people have come to power, got rich, became millionaires, by putting medals, saying “I was a commander”, “I was a general”, “I was greater general”, “I was even greater general than you”, but when it comes to holding a responsibility as a commander, a general, lieutenant, secretary of state, for many things that have happened and should not have happened (they say), “I know nothing; I was not a KLA member; I was not in Kosovo”. That is not right. Privileges come with responsibilities.

**Moderator:** *What do you think they should have said today?*

**Gjinovci:** First of all ... but this society is problematic. Hashim Thaci, in June 2015, called “ignorant and fake patriots” the MPs that did not vote in favor of the constitutional amendments for the establishment of this court (Specialist Chambers). He said “Due to ignorance and fake patriotism, they MPs that voted against made a great mistake. Hashim Thaci put pressure on MPs to vote this court. Kadri Veseli said, “I am convinced that this court ...

**Moderator:** ... *the justification was “Let us establish the court so that the UN would not establish it because then it would be even more difficult for the Kosovo statehood ...*

**Gjinovci:** Very good. An important thing that everyone has discussed so far but now it should not be discussed because they are victims, as our people always support victims ...

**Moderator:** *No, our people do not always support victims ...*

**Gjinovci:** Mainly yes ...

**Moderator:** This court is claiming that justice will be delivered for more than 140 victims. We are not seeing our people supporting victims ...

**Gjinovci:** Yes, but so far there were people who had no possibility to have any idea of what is happening. People did not think that there is really a sort of conspiracy. But there will be more than 300 persons to testify; they are physical persons, they exist. They will tell what happened to them and to their family members. And the most terrible thing is that most of them are Albanians. This is catastrophic. I do not know how the public is not concerned by the fact that we are talking about the majority of Albanian victims, not about Serbs. Let's say they are not interested to talk about the Serbs' rights, but Albanians ...

**Moderator:** ... *how can be justified our narrative even today ...*

**Gjinovci:** ... because the language of the communiques that has prevailed in our society since then until today is, "You are an dishonest Albanian. You are not an Albanian if you talk about these things." Shkelzen Gashi was dismissed due to the pressure on social media because he had said, I remember very well, that international reports say - and it turns out that they (KLA) themselves said in communiques - that certain members of the KLA have committed crimes claiming they were part of KLA, some of them were part of KLA. But this was also said by Hashim Thaci. Today, Hashim Thaci's defence counsel said at the beginning but also in the middle of their statement, "We do not deny crimes that the KLA has committed". This is exactly what he said ...

**Moderator:** *We will hear what he said, but it seems like there is an agreement within the society that spies, collaborators of the enemy, traitors should be killed because they have been killed in every war ...*

**Gjinovci:** ... but there is something called "Military court". Have you heard of Sokol Dobruna? He was a judge of the military court and had sentenced people to death and nobody arrests him because it is according to the war rules. So, according to war rules, a military court is established, and the people that are sentenced by a military court are considered, and certainly if they were armed, and collaborators, there are many ways how to be treated ...

**Moderator:** ... *so you are saying that this narrative was inspired by these communiques narration ...*

**Gjinovci:** ... the question is "Who defines a collaborator?" The question is: Was (Ibrahim) Rugova a collaborator of Serbia? Was he? Was he?

***Moderator: No, he was not ...***

***Gjinovci:*** There were people in 1998 and 1999 who said that “Rugova is Serbia’s collaborator”. I have heard them saying, I was 7 or 8 years old. You how a little older, I was a kid ...

***Moderator: ... and how do you comment now on everything that has been said, and today are being used ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... many people have said things like this and have done such acts. If you say “Rron Gjinovci is pro-Serb, traitor, a hooligan, a wrongdoer, he is paid by Serbia”, then somebody out there, who is very naïve, believes in all the things said against me and takes measures against me.

***Moderator: One of the defence lawyers said today that “the KLA’s role was a bit exaggerated” and timewise they said ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... one should hold responsibility. It is true that it was a bit exaggerated, but the thing is that by exaggerating the role have they assumed power and a got a lot of money. Now when it comes to taking responsibility for that role, they say, “No, we did not have that role”. But what are we to trust? You have taught us that they are our extraordinary heroes that have jumped from the airplane – Baton Haxhiu had said that Kadri Veseli had jumped from the airplane. I shared this on Facebook. He (Haxhiu) said that “Veseli jumped from the airplane to return to Kosovo because he could not return.” Today his defence lawyer said that “he (Veseli) was not at all in Kosovo”. So, has he jumped from the airplane, or he was not in Kosovo? These are very important things for our society.

.....

***Modertor: Why are afraid today even those who potentially could have been victims ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... I do not like this irrational narrative that the whole world is against us. Not the whole world is against us. The whole world has helped us. First of all, nobody is to be blamed for the Kosovo people’s failure to establish judicial institutions. Nobody. People were tried and sentenced in Serbia for the massacre of the Bogujevci family – the Assembly Deputy Spokesperson Saranda Bogujevci is a survivor of that massacre. Is it enough? It is not, but Serbia has done something in this regard. We have not done anything. We have never dealt with this. Can a prosecutor ...

***Moderator: ... but it is a different context, because we have considered that we have waged a liberation war ...***



**Gjinovci:** So what if we waged a liberation war? Do you have the right to do anything you want just because you are waging a liberation war? No, you don't. Today, here is an illustration that we have not done anything. And who is to be blamed? Not me, but the one that has become a millionaire, those that have built (residential) buildings in Pristina. They are to be blamed, not me. They have robbed this place; they have not created, have not allowed to be developed the War Crimes Institute. Not me, but they. They that are there (at Specialist Chambers) today, not me. They are to be blamed. Ten massacres were listed today by the defence counsel, trying to defend Hashim Thaci. Do you know that in Kosovo there is no information (about massacres)? There is one person - Shkelzen Gashi - gathering (information about) massacres in Kosovo. And he informed me that 75 massacres with more than 10 persons each were committed. Defence counsel of Hashim Thaci does not know how many massacres were committed in Kosovo. Do you understand? Who is to be blamed here? Why hasn't the state done this (gather information about massacres)? How can a state be built over the narrative of suffering, victimizations, (saying) "Look what they have done to us!", but do nothing (gather information about massacres). Nobody has done anything. I was only ten years old ....

**Moderator:** *Who was supposed to do something ...*

**Gjinovci:** You, my parents, starting from my parents. You should have protested every single day since June 1999 when Kosovo was liberated. Who can trust that in a place where the president of the Football Federation cannot be arrested. They have been trying (to arrest him) so many times and the maximum they could do is place him under house arrest. Who would believe that justice can be delivered for the Communique 59 case, which is the most famous case? Gani Geci has told this society endless times that "Hashim Thaci wanted to kill me". At least he has suspected and said, "I want to know who wrote (Communique 59), and if Hashim Thaci had written it, I will never forgive him." Rexhep Selimi and Jakup Krasniqi have said that Hashim Thaci had written the Communique 59. Actions were taken against Gani Geci, there were attempted murders, but he survived.

**Moderator:** *We did not explain until the end why ...*

**Gjinovci:** ... this is a person that lives in Kosovo, that appeared on TV and has spoken up. Do you think that the Geci family - yesterday, Fadil Geci, brother of Gani Geci, said "We are very happy that this issue is finally being shed a light on". And I am convinced that there are many families of persons who unjustly suffered during the war, who are expecting this court to deliver justice. How can today, for instance, the LDK chairman, of a political party that has constantly claimed that its members were killed under unknown circumstances, make no statement today on the Specialist Chambers, on what is happening at the Specialist Chambers? Moreover, yesterday the prosecution ...

***Moderator: ... What do you think, why they do not dare or do not want to talk? ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... because they do not dare. At the time that I am talking at *KTV*, people are writing me saying, “Well done for daring to talk ...”

***Moderator: ... for what reasons? Is it because it is a sensitive issue, or because they fear that they might be summoned by the Specialist Chambers in the capacity of a witness? Why don't they speak up?***

***Gjinovci:*** But what's wrong with appearing at the court in the capacity of a witness? I do not agree with this wrongly created narrative in Kosovo. What does it have to do with a traitor? Mr. Sopi mentioned them, compared them with Christ. They should not be compared with Christ because Christ is considered as a humanist. They have stolen, they are not like Christ.

***Moderator: ... because later also they can be treated as traitors. As the prosecutor said yesterday, that whoever cooperates with the court is considered a traitor ...***

***Gjinovci:*** I am considered a traitor. We should first of all free the word. First of all, the word should be free, so that somebody could say “I agree that there are people of different media, I am already convinced now that they work for Serbia, but let them have the right to work for Serbia, just let us know that they are working for Serbia. Let them say, “I am pro-Serbia, I am in favor of Serbia coming back (to Kosovo). Let them be so, there is nothing we can do. But we should liberate the word. You have the right to be pro-Serb, pro-American, pro-Iranian. In Kosovo, a person was arrested for saying “I am pro-Iranian”. You should understand that first of all we must be free to express things. A person, whose father, brother was killed, should be free to appear on TV and say, “My father was killed. I suspect that this is the person, who was armed during or after the war, has killed my family member.” If nobody in Kosovo dares say this in Kosovo, this shows how bad the situation is. This shows why the Specialist Chambers exists. It does not mean that the whole world is against us just because the Specialist Chambers exists but because we do not discuss crucial issues in our society. You cannot anywhere in the world ...”

***Moderator: ... the way the prosecutors established yesterday their the alibi by being based on communiques, trying to verify the KLA hierarchy, organizational structure, what does this show? Does it mean that there is an aim to try people that could have committed such acts or try the entire KLA as a structure, as organization?***

***Gjinovci:*** Whoever has followed yesterday (the court session) the prosecutors said three times – because they talked one after the other - each of them made sure to say that “this is not a prosecution of the KLA but of this group that we are accusing ...”

***Moderator: ... but why were they insisting to verify the hierarchy ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... let me quote one of them (prosecutors) because none of the media has reported on this (quote): “The vast majority of the KLA fighters have nothing to do with the accusations that we are presenting here.” So, the idea is: if the HQ, or four out of the 8 or nine of the main members, for whom they (the prosecutors have evidence), now we can discuss ...

***Moderator: ... these four are for the time being ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... yes, they are for the time being. Now we can discuss that when the head is taken away – when a prime minister is corrupt, we say that the government is corrupt. But people should once and for all tell us, because we as a society have not received an answer to this question: Is it true that they have led the war? Because today they said that they did not. There are many people who say that they did not. That is what I have thought, too. I have always said that it is not possible that these persons have led the war ...

***Moderator: ... why did you have such doubts?***

***Gjinovci:*** ... because given how corrupt they are in governance, I said, “A person that has such ideals for his country cannot be corrupt.” I found it impossible to believe. But they have come to power by saying, “We have waged the war”. There is that famous speech of Hashim Thaci saying, “I have liberated Kosovo, I have expelled Serbia from here, I am going to make Kosovo a part of EU, NATO,” – this is what he once said during election campaign. This is what he said himself. So, when you say “I was the boss here, and by being boss I became a prime minister and a president of the state,” then somebody might say, “This army of yours, most likely, had arrested some people out there”. How can you say then, “I was not in charge”? This is not right. Just as it is not right to pass our society so easily (without being discussed). We should deal with this problem, because it is a problem of all of us ...

***Moderator: ... which problem exactly should we be dealing with, because they are saying that they have had no responsibilities ... ?***

***Gjinovci:*** ... the problem of our most recent history that we have lived, that I am in a very difficult situation. If I am not wrong, currently I am the only person that is publicly speaking up about this matter for a few days now ...

***Moderator: ... so far, you are the only one ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... but how come that all of you have experienced these things that I am talking about. You all know that during and after the war, Rugova was called “a traitor”. You all know that in

Kosovo, if you say that justice should be delivered also for the Serbs that were killed, you will be called “a traitor, pro-Serb”. All of you know this, but you are behaving as if this is not true. Isn't this problematic ...

***Moderator: ... but since nobody has been sentenced for murdering 10,000 Albanian civilians, why is there an insistence ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... Let me say just one more thing. What did Albin Kurti promise you during election campaign? That he would file a genocide lawsuit against Serbia. Hashim Thaci had made the same promise. In 2010, when Dick Marty's report was published, he promised that he would sue Serbia. He has never sued Serbia. I already told you – it is Shkelzen Gashi, not Kosovo institutions, that is gathering information about massacres in Kosovo. You have not done anything. I am saying here publicly - the vast majority in Kosovo, in particular those in power, have done nothing to prove what has Serbia done to us ...

***Moderator: ... maybe it should be said differently: all of us together are not doing anything. Do not say “You have not done anything” ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... all the time I keep saying that we must do something, but we are only a few of us. When I say that something should be done, nobody listens to me. I have been advocating about this matter since I was 18-19 years old. I have had no more capacity to do more. Let me say one more thing: You already know that there are 60,000 (KLA) veterans, right? Today, Rexhep Selimi said, “We have tried, but we have never managed to create an army”. The defence council of Hashim Thaci, and the defence council of Kadri Veseli said the same thing. They said, “We have never managed to create an army”. But we have 60,000 veterans. If I am not wrong, 40,000 of them receive pensions from our taxes.

***Moderator: Yes.***

***Gjinovci:*** This is our problem because with those millions we could have built kindergartens ...

***Moderator: ... we have talked a lot about this problem, at least we as KOHA ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... there is another problem. In addition to fake veterans, the truth is that in Kosovo there are many people who were killed as civilians and then they were registered as fighters. In the future, this is going to cause us a problem to us when it comes to suing Serbia. Because when you present the (killed) civilians in monuments as KLA martyrs, according to laws on war, Serbia has had a right to kill armed people. And we will have problem with this. But I am limited now (to say more about this matter). I know exactly where these things have happened but I do not want to take the exclusivity of the book of Shkelzen (Gashi) by revealing these things ...

**Moderator:** ... tonight you have focused all the debate on the narrative for the KLA, for the heroism ...

**Gjinovci:** ... the narrative that we have created is fake to all of us. The fact that here I am saying facts that the whole Kosovo knows but they look like sensational indicates that we are a problematic society. None of you dares say that Rugova was considered a traitor ...

**Moderator:** ... you dare say but then come extraordinary reactions ...

**Gjinovci:** ... it was said that Rugova was a traitor ...

.....

**Moderator:** ... there has been created a narrative that whoever cooperates with the Specialist Chambers is a traitor ...

**Gjinovci:** ... there is Donika Gervalla, who said, "I am looking forward to the creation of the Specialist Chambers so I could tell them what I know about the murders of the LDK (members). This is what our Foreign Minister has said. Today, our Foreign Minister makes completely different, irrelevant statements when she is asked about this matter. So, imagine, even a person in power, such as a Foreign Minister, who has the support of 50% (of the Kosovo population), does not dare say the truth any longer ...

**Moderator:** ... are you the only one daring to say (the truth)?

**Gjinovci:** No, I think that there are other people who dare say the truth but ...

**Moderator:** ... we are almost at the end of the show. We would like to see some photos that you have brought us to prove what you are saying that you are being threatened ...

**Gjinovci:** ... there are 1,400 comments in a video that I have created, most of them are ...

**Moderator:** ... we will show them on the monitor ...

**Gjinovci:** ... here for instance (Gjinovci reads the comments he has received on social media, as they appear on the TV): **Kadri Rama:** "Analyst VOJA OBRADOVIC (Rron)" - so they call me a Serb - "This is what you want: that they be denigrated in both ways, in the same line with ..." **Nehat Ahmetaj:** "Had the KLA known back then that you would become such a spy they would

*castrate you, although you were a child!”* So, this Nehat Ahmetaj thinks that this is how traitors should be treated. Now, listen to what this **Zani Artar** says, “*You are like your Serb grandmother, that is why you do not have a clear Albanian blood.*” So, it is very important that they are mainly “illiterates” ... Now, listen to this Agim Krasniqi who says so explicitly, “*Why didn’t I meet you today somewhere in Pristina, so I could slap you, you dog?*” So, he is illiterate (there are misspelled words on the comment) ...

***Moderator: ... it is obvious that these are mainly fake profiles ...***

***Gjinovci:*** ... no, Agim Krasniqi is not a fake profile. There are his kids in the profile photo. There is Nehat Ahmetaj, Kadri Rama. I am not scared; I am used to these things but I just want to illustrate ...

***Moderator: ... do you think that this narrative has made even those that earlier dared talk not to talk now?***

***Gjinovci:*** ... some lawyers are writing to me. I am planning to make a file (of all the social media comments) and submit them to the police. Based on my experience, when I publicly denounce those that threaten me, they start apologizing, and cowardly write to me, “Please, I did not know, delete the comment.” That is the kind of people they are. But the narrative that has been created, the discourse that has been created is violent: Whoever tells the truth is called a “traitor”, and then people start attacking and scaring them. I am not scared, because I have never been scared and I will never be. I think it is better to die telling the truth rather than live being scared to speak out. This is my opinion. I am not afraid of them at all, and I will never be.