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# **The Kosovo Security Sector Observer**



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## INTRODUCTION

The Kosovo Security Sector Observer (KSSO) is part of a two year long project “The Monitoring of the Security Sector of Kosovo” of KIPRED, the volumes of which will discuss the developments within the security sector in Kosovo in four-month long periods. This project is supported by the project The Democratic Society Promotion (DSP), financed by the Swiss Cooperation Office in Kosovo (SCO-K), and managed by the Kosovar Civil Society Foundation (KCSF).

The first volume of the Kosovo Security Sector Observer discusses analytically the key issues related to the sectors of internal affairs, intelligence, and the Security Force, which have dominated the public debate and the parliamentary oversight of these sectors during the period April-July, 2015. In a separate public policy analysis, this first volume of the KSSO discusses the transformation of the Kosovo Security Forces into the Kosovo Armed Forces (KAF), and it also delivers, in a separate final section, the results of the public opinion survey on the trust that Kosovo citizens have on the respective governmental institutions and their leaders, as well as on the respective parliamentary committees whose work is related to the security issues.

The section on internal affairs analyzes briefly the developments and institutional deficiencies related to the threats and dangers from terrorism, and it presents findings of the public opinion survey on the trust pertaining to security issues that citizens have on the Minister of Internal Affairs and on the Kosovo Police.

The section on the Security Force analyzes developments related to the transformation of the KSF into the KAF, the issues related to the procedures of the KSF operations in the North of the country, and those of the subordination of KSF’s head to civilian authorities, and it also presents findings of the public opinion survey on the trust pertaining to security issues that citizens have on the Minister of the KSF and on the Kosovo Security Force.

The section on Intelligence analyzes briefly developments and institutional deficiencies related to the conflict in Kumanovo, and it presents findings of the public opinion survey on the trust pertaining to security issues that citizens have on the Kosovo Intelligence Agency and its Director.

The issues of the management of the national security, that is, of the functioning of the Kosovo Security Council, are discussed in the sections on internal affairs and on intelligence, and this is the reason why this edition did not dedicate any particular section to them.

The section at the end of this volume of the KSSO provides a brief analysis of the key findings of the public opinion survey on the Kosovo Security Sector.

# **1. THE MONITORING OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS SECTOR**

## **Introduction**

During the period April-July 2015, the Sector of Internal Affairs was dominated by two issues, the one of the terrorist threats from ISIS (The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), and the other of the armed conflict in Kumanovo. The latter is not discussed in this section, given that it is analysed in detail in the section on the Monitoring of the Intelligence Sector.

The management of these threats by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and the Kosovo Police (KP), has revealed the deficiencies in the coordination and the possession of information between these two, as well as controversial communication with the public related to the levels of risks posed by these threats. These institutional deformations are, among others, consequences of the lack of the judicial framework, as well as of the mechanisms that could regulate these defects through respective procedures.

This section also discusses the oversight of the Internal Affairs Sector by the Parliamentary Committee on Security and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, as well as the trust of the public opinion on the respective executive and legislative institutions.

## **The terrorist threat of ISIS**

The appearance in the media of a videotape of ISIS,<sup>1</sup> in which its member, Ridvan Haqifi from the village Bukovik of the municipality of Gjilan, known also as Abu Muqatil Al-Kosova,<sup>2</sup> threatened that ISIS will attack the Kosovo citizens that are considered unbelievers,<sup>3</sup> as well as recorded phone-call made between a person from Gjilan, and another person of Albanian origin from Macedonia,

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<sup>1</sup> Youtube: ISIS kërcënon shqiptarët dhe Ballkanin [ISIS threatens the Albanians and the Balkans], message in Albanian on the acts of terror, June 5th, 2015), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1AmJ71iBSD0/>, (accessed on June 5th, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Gazetaexpress: Profil: Kush është kosovari i ISIS'it që po kërcënon shqiptarët dhe Ballkanin [Who is the ISIS's Kosovar who is threatening the Albanians and the Balkans], June 5th, 2015, <http://www.gazetaexpress.com/lajme/profil-kush-eshte-kosovari-isisit-qe-po-kercenon-shqiptaret-dhe-ballkanin-105798/?archive=1>, (accessed on June 5th, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Telegrafi: Ekskluzive: ISIS kërcënon jobesimtarët në Kosovë dhe Shqipëri [ISIS threatens unbelievers in Kosovo and Albania] (Video), June 4th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/ekskluzive-isis-kercenon-jobesimtaret-ne-kosove-dhe-shqiperi-video-2-64670.html>

who is now in Syria, caused the Kosovo Police to increase its security measures throughout the territory of the country.<sup>4</sup> The first consequence of this threat by ISIS was the cancelation of the traditional concert for the celebration of the Independence Day of the United States of America.<sup>5</sup> Also, in numerous localities throughout Kosovo, the members of the KP started to patrol wearing bullet-proof jackets, at the time when the domestic and international institutions were getting alarmed by the high danger of terrorist attacks.<sup>6</sup>

However, only on July 23d, 2015, the Kosovo Police admitted publicly that for some time it had increased the level of mobilization and intensified the security measures. In a TV debate, the Director of the Anti-Terrorism Department of the KP, Mr. Fatos Makolli, declared that Kosovo did not have any direct threat, but, given the terrorist attacks in the countries like France, Tunisia and Turkey, the Kosovo Police estimated that the increase of the security measures was needed.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of this serious risk, that was known to Kosovo institutions and foreign missions, none from the heads of institutions, including the President, the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Interior, did not address citizens regarding the threat with which the country was confronted, leaving them in an informative perplexity about an issue which was of direct concern for their security.

### **Terrorism: From a threat into a direct risk**

The period during which ISIS presented only a threat to Kosovo was over on July 11<sup>th</sup>, 2015, with the arrest, by the Kosovo Police, of three persons suspected for preparation of a terrorist action near the lake of Badovc.<sup>8</sup> Later, the KP confirmed that among those arrested, they found material

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<sup>4</sup> Top-channel: Kërcënimet e ISIS, rriten masat e sigurisë në Kosovë. Personat e përgjuar mbahen nën mbikëqyrje [Threats of ISIS, the increase of security measures in Kosovo. The recorded persons being kept under supervision], 2 korrik 2015, <http://www.top-channel.tv/lajme/artikull.php?id=303255&ref=ml/>, (accessed on July 4th, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> Telegrafi.com: Sulmet e ISIS në Kosovë kërcënim real: Anulohet koncerti kushtuar SHBA-ve [Attacks of ISIS in Kosovo real risk. The concert devoted to the USA cancelled] (Foto), June 29th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/sulmet-e-isis-ne-kosove-kercenim-real-anulohet-koncerti-kushtuar-shba-ve-foto-2-66112.html/>, (accessed on June 29th, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> KIPRED sources within the Government of Kosovo and EULEX, June 2015.

<sup>7</sup> KTV: Rubikon – Frika nga terrorizmi/ndikimi i shtetevete huaja [The fear from terrorism/the influence of foreign states, July 23d, 2015, <http://www.kohavision.tv/video/rubikon/9860/> (accessed on July 24th, 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Telegrafi: Arrestohen afër Badovcit 3 pjesëtarë të ISIS-it [3 members of ISIS arrested near Badovac], July 11th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/arrestohen-af-r-badovcit-3-pjes-tar-t-isis-it-2-66750.html/>, (accessed on July 11th, 2015).

evidences that were connecting them with ISIS.<sup>9</sup> Afterwards, the Police arrested another two persons who were connected with the three persons arrested previously.<sup>10</sup> Two from those arrested were arrested as well during the previous year, under the charge of terrorism, but they were released because of absence of evidence.<sup>11</sup>

The danger of the attempt of terrorist action in Badovac is indicated by the request that the Police made to the Regional Water-Supply of Prishtina to make tests of the water, in order to ascertain if it contained the poisoning substances.<sup>12</sup> The media connected this request with the possibility that the detainees could have poisoned the water.<sup>13</sup> The KP was fast in reacting to this, by denying that they have found poisoning substances among detainees.<sup>14</sup> However, the case was made even more perplexing by the lawyer of one from the prisoners, who asserted initially for the media that a poison was found at her client's possession; nevertheless, in another statement that she gave two hours later, she denied such a thing.<sup>15</sup>

Also, several days after the arrests of the suspects, two bags with weapons and masks were found at the same place, and, according to the Director of the Anti-Terrorism Department of the KP, all the indicators lead towards the fact that these bags and equipments belonged to the persons arrested near the lake of Badovc.<sup>16</sup>

At the same time when it made the arrests and the initiation of the trials against the suspects, the Kosovo Police increased the security measures around the lakes of Kosovo, by placing there patrols

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<sup>9</sup> Kosovo Police: Five persons suspected for inclusion in penal acts related to terrorism arrested, July 11th, 2015, <http://www.kosovopolice.com/?page=1,26,4859&offseti=0>

<sup>10</sup> Kosovo Police: Five persons suspected for inclusion in penal acts related to terrorism arrested, July 11th, 2015, <http://www.kosovopolice.com/?page=1,26,4859&offseti=0/>, (accessed on July 11th, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> Zëri: Dy nga të arrestuarit, ish-luftëtar të isis-it [Two from the arrested, former fighters of ISIS], July 14th 2015, <http://www.zeri.info/aktuale/42062/dy-nga-te-arrestuarit-ish-luftetare-te-isis-it/>, (accessed on July 11th, 2015).

<sup>12</sup> Telegrafi: Zyrtare Nuk ka helmim të ujit të Badocit [There is no poisoning of the water of Badovac], July 14th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/zyrtare-nuk-ka-helmim-te-ujit-te-badocit-2-66779.html>, (accessed on July 11th, 2015).

<sup>13</sup> Telegrafi: Zyrtare: Dyshohet për helmim të ujit të Badovcit [Suspicion on the poisoning of the water of Badovac], July 11th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/zyrtare-dyshohet-per-helmim-te-ujit-te-badovcit-2-66762.html>, (accessed on July 11th, 2015).

<sup>14</sup> KTV: Evening News, 11.07.2015, <http://www.kohavision.tv/video/lajmet/9799/>

<sup>15</sup> Avokatja pendohet për deklaratën se të dyshuarit për terrorizëm iu gjet helm [The advocate regrets on the statement that poison was found on the terrorist suspect] [video], July 12th, 2015, <http://koha.net/?id=3&l=66117>, (accessed on July 12th, 2015).

<sup>16</sup> KTV: Rubikon – Frika nga terrorizmi/ndikimi i shteteve te huaja [The fear from terrorism/influence of foreign states], July 23d, 2015, <http://www.kohavision.tv/video/rubikon/9860/>, (accessed on July 23d, 2015).



with rifles.<sup>17</sup> In this case, again, the public was not informed on the level of risk from possible attacks by ISIS.

### **Contradictions between the public statements of the MIA and the KP**

Public statements of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni, and the directors of the Kosovo Police, expose contradictions between them on the evaluation of the threats from terrorism and possession of informations related to it.

Whereas the threats (through video recording) and the risk from terrorism (the case of Badovac), according to the Minister of Interior Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni, do not indicate risks from terrorist attacks,<sup>18</sup> for the General Director of the KP, Mr. Shpend Maxhuni, the terrorism presents obvious threat against Kosovo.<sup>19</sup> Also, the Director of the Anti-Terrorism Department, Mr. Fatos Makolli, considers that the very participation of the Kosovar citizenst in the foreign wars, furthermore, sided with ISIS and other terrorist organizations, presents a potential threat for terrorist attacks.<sup>20</sup>

As the Director of the Anti-Terrorism Department of the KP stated, on July 23d, 2015, that the police was informed on the activities of the persons arrested near the lake of Badovac, and that it had informations on their acts,<sup>21</sup> Minister Hyseni, a day later, minimized the risk of terrorism, by stating that Kosovo's institutions does not possess any credible information on any danger of terrorist attacks.<sup>22</sup>

These different assessments of the level of threats and risks from terrorism, are, also, a consequence of inadequate management of the security sector in the country, and of deficiencies of the legal framework in the field of security. In spite of facing obvious threats and risks from terrorism, the

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<sup>17</sup> Telegrafi: Policë me kallashnikovë skaj liqeneve [Police officers with Kalashnikovs near the lakes], July 13th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/polic-me-kallashnikov-skaj-liqeneve-2-66830.html>, (accessed on July 13th, 2015).

<sup>18</sup> KTV: Evening News, July 21st, 2015, <http://www.kohavision.tv/video/lajmet/9849/>, (accessed on July 21st, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> KTV: Evening News, July 22d, 2015, <http://www.kohavision.tv/video/lajmet/9853/>, (accessed on July 22d, 2015).

<sup>20</sup> KTV: Rubikon – Frika nga terrorizmi/ndikimi i shteteve te huaja [The fear from terrorism/the influence of foreign states, July 23d, 2015, <http://www.kohavision.tv/video/rubikon/9860/>, (accessed on July 23d, 2015).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Gazetaexpress: Komiteti Skender Hyseni [The Committee Skender Hyseni], July 25th, 2015, <http://www.gazetaexpress.com/komiteti/skender-hyseni-2070/>, (access on July 25th, 2015).

Kosovo's Security Council, which, by the law, is obliged to meet at least once in three months,<sup>23</sup> did not meet ever since March 2015.

Kosovo doesn't have any juridical act which determines the level of security threats and risks, and it doesn't have any authority that determines it, and neither does it have communication with the public. Also, it doesn't have any juridical act which defines the procedures of declaring an organization as a terrorist one, and it has not determined the critical infrastructure that should be defended in the cases of security threats and risks. It can not be argued that the information of citizens on the level of danger from terrorist attacks will necessarily cause panic; on the contrary, this can have positive effect on their cooperation for timely discovering and prevention of these acts.

The key documents that determine guidance and procedures for the management of the emergency situations, including the situations caused by terrorist activities, are the Integrated System of the Management of Emergencies, and the Plan of National Response, which were approved by the Government in 2010. In their implementation, the key roles here belong to the Minister and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, their implementation has floundered for 5 years after they were approved. The Law on the Agency for Emergency Management, as one from the key institutions for the management of emergency situations, was approved on February 27<sup>th</sup>, 2014<sup>24</sup>; then, the Regulation on the Internal Organization and on the Systematization of Jobs within the Agency was approved at the end of 2014<sup>25</sup>; meanwhile, the Regulation on the Establishment, the Composition, and the Procedure of the Commission for the nomination of the General Director and the Deputy Directors of the Agency for Emergency Management was approved at the beginning of the year 2015.<sup>26</sup> In spite of all these laws and regulations, this agency is not yet functional.

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<sup>23</sup> Article 5, the Law on the Establishment of the Kosovo Security Council, March 13th, 2008, <http://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDocumentDetail.aspx?ActID=2521>

<sup>24</sup> The Law on the Agency for Emergency Management, [http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/LIGJI\\_NR\\_04-L-230\\_PER\\_AGJENCINE\\_E\\_MENAXHIMIT\\_EMERGJENT.pdf](http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/LIGJI_NR_04-L-230_PER_AGJENCINE_E_MENAXHIMIT_EMERGJENT.pdf)

<sup>25</sup> The Regulation on the Internal Organization and Systematization of the Jobs in the Agency of Emergency Management, [http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/RREGULLORE\\_\(MPB\)\\_NR\\_04\\_2014\\_PER\\_ORGANIZIMIN\\_E\\_BRENDSEME\\_DHE\\_SISTEMATIZIMIT.pdf](http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/RREGULLORE_(MPB)_NR_04_2014_PER_ORGANIZIMIN_E_BRENDSEME_DHE_SISTEMATIZIMIT.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> The Regulation on the Establishment, the Composition, and the Procedure of the Committee for nomination of the General Director and of Deputy Directors of the Agency for Emergency Management, [http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/RREGULLORE\\_\(MPB\)\\_NR\\_01\\_-2015\\_PER\\_THEMELIMINIMIN\\_PERBERIMEN\\_DHE\\_PROCEDUREN\\_E\\_KOMISIONIT\\_PER\\_EMERIMIN\\_E\\_DR](http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/RREGULLORE_(MPB)_NR_01_-2015_PER_THEMELIMINIMIN_PERBERIMEN_DHE_PROCEDUREN_E_KOMISIONIT_PER_EMERIMIN_E_DR)

Also, in June 2012, the Government of the Republic of Kosovo has approved the National Strategy against Terrorism,<sup>27</sup> which, among others, also foresees the creation of the post of the National Coordinator Against Terrorism, who will be responsible for the coordination, monitoring, and reporting and implementing the policies and activities in the fight against terrorism. It is foreseen that he should be supported by the Secretariat of the National Coordinator Against Terrorism, whose responsibilities will be the gathering of information and data from other institutions, with the goal of their analysis and evaluation, as well as of the preparation of analytical reports for the National Coordinator. The creation of these two extraordinary important bodies in the war against terrorism is not initiated yet by the Government of Kosovo, and this fact is an extremely important indicator of institutional weaknesses of Kosovo in this field, as well as of serious flounder in the execution of the National Strategy against Terrorism.

### **Parliamentary Oversight**

In three meetings that the Parliamentary Committee on Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force had during the period April-July, the reports were given by the key heads of the institutions of the Internal Affairs Sector.

In the meeting of the April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015, the report on the work of the Police Inspectorate was delivered by its Executive Head, Mr. Fitim Shishani.<sup>28</sup> After this report, the additional information was requested from the Head Shishani by the deputy Anton Quni, respectively, detailed remarks on the employments in the Inspectorate during the four years long period, including transfers, the qualifications of the employees, the promotions during their careers, the disciplinary procedures undertaken so far, and, also, the motivating procedures. Nevertheless, after the remark of the chairman of this meeting, the deputy Fadil Demaku, the request of the deputy Quni was left to be discussed and decided in the next meeting of this Committee. However, the proposal of the deputy Quni was not discussed in any from the following meetings of the Committee.

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[EJTORIT TE PERGJITHSHEM DHE ZEVENDESDREJTOREVE NE AGJENCINE E MENAXHIMIT E MERGJENT.pdf](#)

<sup>27</sup> The National Strategy of the Republic of Kosovo against Terrorism, 2012-2017

[http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/Strategy\\_for\\_Counter\\_Terrorism\\_2012-2017\\_alb.pdf](http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/Strategy_for_Counter_Terrorism_2012-2017_alb.pdf), June, 2012

<sup>28</sup> See the proceedings of the Committee, of the date April 17th, 2015,

[http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_2015\\_04\\_17\\_11\\_5891\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc_2015_04_17_11_5891_al.pdf)

In the meeting of May 18<sup>th</sup>, 2015, the Minister of Interior Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni, with the General Director of the Kosovo Police, Mr. Shpend Maxhuni, reported on the events in Kumanovo.<sup>29</sup> In this meeting Minister Hyseni denied that he and the General Director of the Police, Maxhuni, received the report of the Intelligence Agency of Kosovo that was published in media; meanwhile, the deputy Aida Dërguti, who is at the same time a member of the Committee for Oversight of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency, emphasized that the representatives of the KIA have confirmed in the meeting of this Committee of May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2015, that they have delivered this report to the President and to the Prime Minister. This raised the issue of sharing this report with the Minister of Interior. The Chairman, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, proposed a joint meeting of two Committees on this issue. However, the proposal for holding this joint meeting, was not made in any from the following meetings of these Committees.

In the meeting of July 22d, 2015, the report was delivered by the General Director of the Kosovo Police, Mr. Shpend Maxhuni.<sup>30</sup> In this meeting, the Director Maxhuni stressed that Kosovo is at risk from terrorism, that it can be a target of terrorist attacks, but that it is not a source of terrorism. He also stressed that there is no place for panic, and he expressed gratitude for the reports provided by citizens for the discovery of the case of Badovac.<sup>31</sup> In this meeting, as in the meetings analyzed previously, an inter-institutional confusion in the assessments of the risks from terrorism was exposed.

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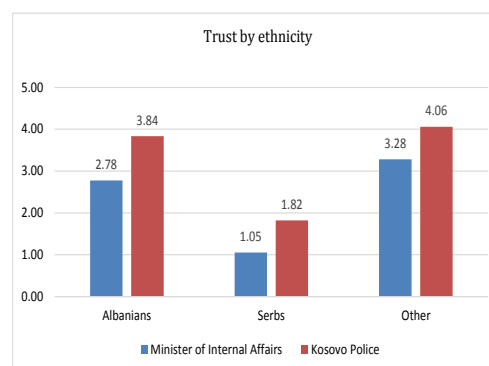
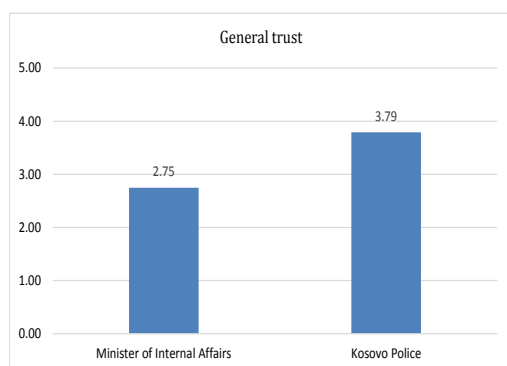
<sup>29</sup> See the proceedings of the Committee, of the date May 18th, 2015, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_2015\\_05\\_18\\_10\\_5948\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc_2015_05_18_10_5948_al.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> The proceedings from this meeting are not published yet in the web-site of the Kosovo Assembly..

<sup>31</sup> KTV: Evening News, July 22d, 2015, <http://www.kohavision.tv/video/lajmet/9853/>

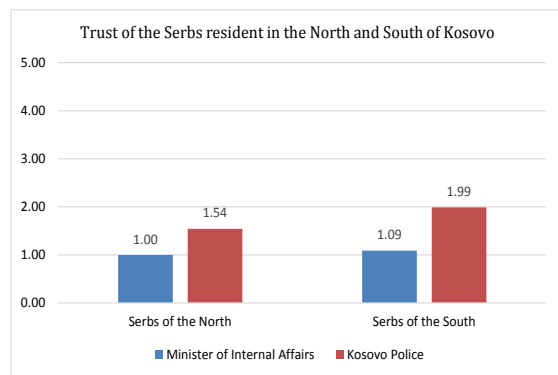
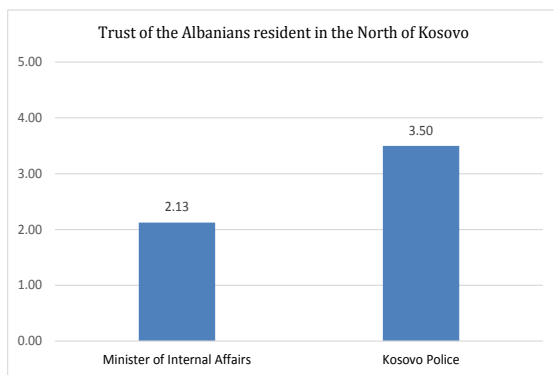
## The trust of citizens on the Minister of Interior Affairs and on the Kosovo Police

The respondents had the possibility to express the trust they have for institutions and heads of institutions with numbers from 1 to 5, where the number 1 expressed the lowest, and number 5 the highest level of trust.



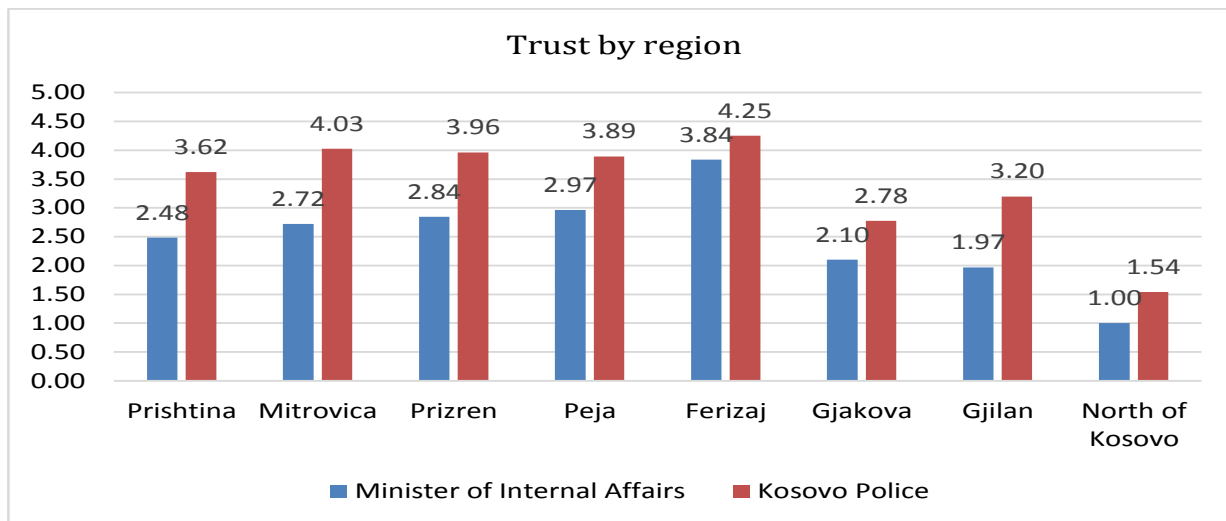
From these two institutions, in general, the Kosovo's citizens trust most to Kosovo Police. Meanwhile, the Minister of Interior Affairs enjoys an average trust of citizens. The general trust acquired from the survey throughout the territory of the Republic of Kosovo is given in the first chart in this page.

Based on the ethnicity of respondents, it is interesting that among non-Serbian communities Kosovo Police enjoys higher trust than the one it enjoys among members of Albanian community. The same is true for the trust on the Minister of Interior Affairs, which, for the other non-Serbian communities is higher than the trust he enjoys among Albanians. Meanwhile, the Serbian community trusts a little bit more to the Police, and has a very small trust on the Minister of Internal Affairs



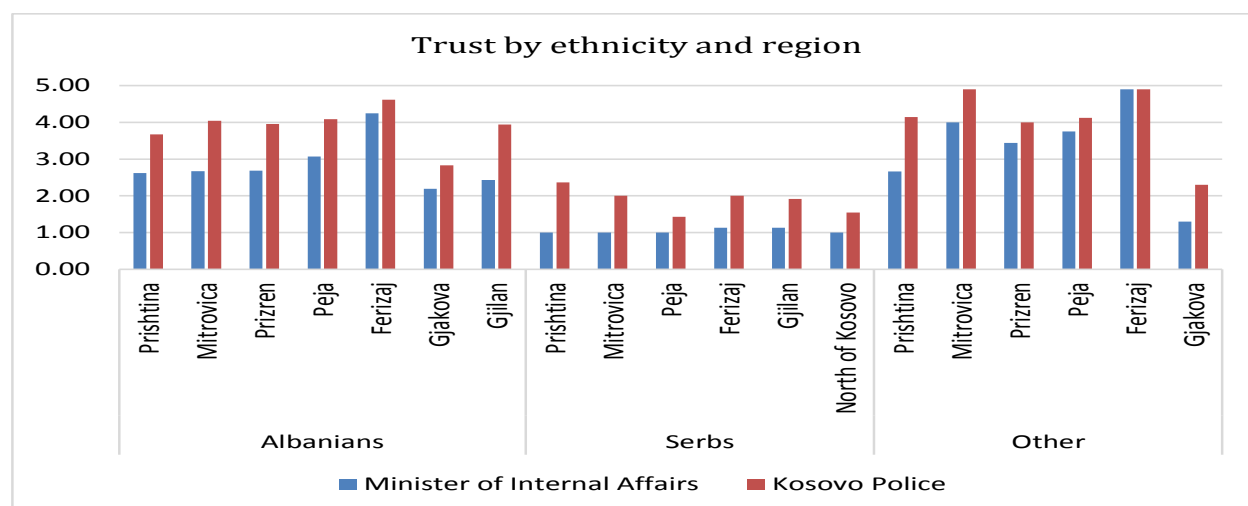
Among the Albanians who live in the North of Kosovo, that is, in the North of Mitrovica, the highest percentage of trust is enjoyed by the Kosovo Police. Meanwhile, the trust they have for the Minister of Internal Affairs is under the average.

Meanwhile, as far as the Serbian community in the North and South of Kosovo is concerned, the Kosovo Police enjoys a higher trust in both, the North and the South, and the Serbs in the South have a little bit higher trust than those in the North. As far as the Minister of Internal Affairs is concerned, the Serbs in the North do not trust him almost at all, and the Serbs in the South trust him with a very low percentage.



Regarding the distribution of trust based on the regions of the Republic of Kosovo, again, the highest trust of citizens is enjoyed by the Kosovo Police. The Police enjoys the highest level of trust in Ferizaj and in Mitrovica. Meanwhile, its lowest level of trust was recorded in the Northern Kosovo, followed by the region of Gjakova, where the Police enjoys average level of trust. The Minister of Internal Affairs also enjoys the highest trust in the region of Ferizaj, followed by that of

Peja. Meanwhile, in the region of the North of Kosovo, the Minister enjoys the lowest trust, followed by the region of Gjilan, which trusts him with a very low percentage level.



On the other hand, if we look at the levels of trust for the Minister of Internal Affairs and for the Kosovo Police based on the ethnicities within the region, the Kosovo Police enjoys the highest levels of trust among other non-Serbian communities. Among these other communities, the Police enjoys the highest level of trust in the region of Mitrovica and Ferizaj, and it has lower level of trust in the region of Gjakova. Among the Albanians, the Police enjoys the highest trust in the region of Ferizaj and Peja, and the lowest one in the region of Prishtina. As far as Serbian community is concerned, the Police enjoys the highest level of trust in the region of Prishtina, and the lowest one in the region of Peja.

The Minister of Internal Affairs enjoys also the highest trust among the members of other non-Serbian communities. Among these, the highest trust is recorded in the region of Mitrovica and Ferizaj, and the lowest one in the region of Gjakova. Meanwhile, the Albanians trust the Minister most in the region of Ferizaj, followed by the region of Peja, and the least in the region of Gjakova. Regarding the Serbian community, the trust they have on the Minister of Internal Affairs is very low in all the regions.

## **2. THE MONITORING OF THE SECURITY FORCE SECTOR**

### **Introduction**

During the period April-July, 2015, the Kosovo Security Force sector was dominated by two important issues, namely, the process of the transformation of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) into the Kosovo Armed Forces (KAF), and the intervention and operation of the Diving Unit of the Kosovo's Security Force in the river Ibër in Mitrovica, with the goal of executing the search-rescue operation for a missing person.

The efforts for the transformation of the KSF into the KAF expose the incapability of the governmental partners, PDK and LDK, to manage this process, which is being rejected by the Serbian List. Given the opposition of Serbia, as well as the total dependence of the Serbian List on the stances of Belgrade, the probabilities for the creation of the KAF are minimal.

The treatment of the intervention of the Diving Unit of the KSF in the Ibër river, in Mitrovica, exposes the problems that can emerge in the future activities of the KSF in the North of Kosovo, as well as those related to the subordination of the KSF to the civilian authorities of the country.

### **The process of the transformation of the KSF into the Kosovo Armed Forces**

A very important issue that has characterized this sector during the period April-July 2015, was certainly that of the efforts for the transformation of the KSF into the KAF. Apart from the fact that this process was not accomplished during the previous governing mandate (2010-2014), it continued to hobble as well during the present one, and predominantly due to the disagreements expressed by the Serbian List, given the fact that for the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces the constitutional changes are required, which cannot be adopted without two-thirds of the pro votes of the deputies of Kosovo's Assembly, alongside with two-thirds of the pro votes of the deputies representing the minority communities in this Assembly.

During the voting of the governmental cabinet for the approval of the draft-law for the transformation of KSF into the KAF, in its meeting of May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015, two members of this cabinet



from the Serbian List voted against it. One from them did relate the rebuttal of this draft-law with the absence of any debate on how the Serbian community will be represented in the KAF. He also added that due to the absence of this debate, the Serbian List would have had the same position, even if the law was to be proceeded in the Assembly for adoption.<sup>32</sup>

After this, some speculations emerged in media that the Serbian List will insist on the creation of a separate Serbian battalion within the KAF, as a condition for voting in favour of it. Such a possibility was opposed by the Minister of the MSFK, Mr. Haki Demolli, who stressed that no one requested such a thing from him, and that he would have disagreed with such a proposal, regardless on who might have been the one to propose it.<sup>33</sup> Also, the former commander of the KSF, General Kadri Kastrati, warned that the creation of a special army for the Serbs in the North, would mark the final division of Kosovo. Furthermore, this would be an indicator of an inner war, between the KAF and this parallel army.<sup>34</sup>

Strangely enough, the Draft-Law on the transformation of the KSF into the KAF was send to the Government by the MKSF, without the adoption of the respective constitutional changes in the Assembly of Kosovo, which would have enabled the creation of the KAF. The proposed amendments of the Constitution for the creation of the KAF were treated by the Committee for Legislation in the Kosovo Assembly on July 10<sup>th</sup> 2015. With seven votes pro, and two against, the members of the Committee passed these amendments, and now it remains to the Presidency of the Assembly to decide on their further proceeding for voting in a plenary session.<sup>35</sup>

The passing of the Draft-Law on the KAF by the Government of Kosovo, without the prior adoption of the constitutional changes necessary for its establishment, puts a major question-mark on the legality of the proceeding of this Draft-Law by the Government, given that there was no constitutional basis for this.

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<sup>32</sup> Telegrafi. Lista Serbe voton kundër transformimit të FSK-së në FAK [The Serbian List votes against the transformation of the KSF into the AFK], <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/lista-serbe-voton-kunder-transformimit-te-fsk-se-ne-fak-2-64152.html>, May 27th, 2015.

<sup>33</sup> Zëri. Demolli: Kurrë s'pranoj batalion serb brenda FAK-ut [Demolli: I will never accept a Serbian battalion within the AFK], <http://zeri.info/aktuale/33857/demolli-kurre-s-pranoje-batalion-serb-brenda-fak-ut/>, May 21st, 2015.

<sup>34</sup> Telegrafi. Gjeneral Kastrati: Formimi i batalionit serb brenda FAK-ut, i rrezikshëm [General Kastrati: The formation of a Serbian battalion within the AFK, dangerous], <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/gjeneral-kastrati-formimi-i-batalionit-serb-brenda-fak-ut-i-rrezikshem-video-2-63654.html>, May 18th, 2015.

<sup>35</sup> Koha.net. Republika në FAK përçan deputetët e Komisionit të ligjeve [The Republic in the AFK divides the deputies of the Committee on laws], <http://koha.net/?id=27&l=65916>, July 10th, 2015.

On the other hand, the representatives of the non-Albanian and the non-Serbian minority communities in the Kosovo Assembly, namely, the parliamentary Group 6+, have expressed the willingness to support the process of the transformation of the KSF into the Kosovo Armed Forces. Regarding this issue, two representatives of the Turkish community in this Parliamentary Group, had in June a meeting with the General Secretary of the Ministry of Kosovo Security Force. In this meeting, the process of the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces was discussed, including the plans and preparations for this process. The deputies were also informed on the planning made for the transition into the Ministry of Defense and into the Kosovo Armed Forces.<sup>36</sup>

In addition, in the meeting of April 22d, 2015, of the Committee for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, the representative of the parliamentary Group 6+ expressed the position of this Group to vote pro the law for the transformation of the KSF into an Army, as soon as this law will be proceeded for voting. Nevertheless, the representative of the Group 6+ warned about the representation of the members of this community, by stressing that there are major problems in this representation, given that the data from the annual report of the KSF does not fit with the data that this community possesses.<sup>37</sup>

At any rate, the transformation of the KSF into the KAF remains blocked, given that there is not even a single indicator that the deputies of the Serbian List in the Kosovo Assembly will vote in its favor, at least not without converting this issue that is vital for the security of Kosovo into a matter of political bargaining with Belgrade.

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<sup>36</sup> MFSK. Sekretari i përgjithshëm i MFSK-së Shkëlzen Sylaj priti deputetët e Grupit parlamentar gjashtë plus [The General Secretary of the MKSF Shkëlzen Sylaj welcomes the deputies of the Parliamentary Group six plus], [http://www.mksf-ks.org/?page=1,24,1353#.Vaog6\\_mqqko](http://www.mksf-ks.org/?page=1,24,1353#.Vaog6_mqqko), Prishtina, June 4th, 2015.

<sup>37</sup> The Commission on Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, the Meeting Nr. 13, Prishtina, April 22d, 2015, on 12:00 o'clock.

## **The operation of the KSF in the Northern part of the country, and the issue of its subordination to civilian authorities**

Immediately after being appointed the General Commander of the Kosovo Security Force, General Rrahman Rama participated in the introductory meeting in the Committee for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force. Among others, the Commander of the KSF noted that it has had two requests for search-rescue activities, one among which was for the search-rescue of a minor who was suspected to have fallen in the river Ibër.<sup>38</sup>

The operation of the KSF in the river Ibër took place only after the Commander of KFOR authorized the KSF unit to execute the search-rescue operation. The authorization was given based on an official request from the Kosovo Police, namely, from the Regional Head for operations in the North, through the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which was based on the request by the case prosecutor.<sup>39</sup> This procedure is also related to the one-sided commitment of the Government of Kosovo during the process of negotiations in Brussels, as well as on the primacy of KFOR on the issues of security in the North of the country.

Regarding the execution by the KSF of operations of this type in the North of Kosovo, the NATO officials have clarified explicitly that Kosovo has taken upon itself the obligation that the KSF troops will not deploy in the North of Kosovo without the previous permission by NATO. They said that within the context of the agreement between Prishtina and Belgrade, of April 2013, supported by the EU, Prishtina has officially agreed to not deploy the KSF troops in the North without the permission of KFOR. Also, this office has disclaimed the statements of Serbian officials that there is an agreement between NATO and Serbia that the troops of the KSF, and, in the future, of the Kosovo Armed Forces, do not have the right to deploy in the Northern municipalities.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, in a statement for media, on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, Mr. Isa Mustafa, has also stressed that NATO is not against the creation of the Kosovo

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<sup>38</sup> The Commission on Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, the Meeting Nr. 13, Prishtina, April 22d, 2015, on 12:00 o'clock.

<sup>39</sup> KFOR: KSF DIVING UNIT TO OPERATE IN MITROVICA MUNICIPALITY <http://www.aco.nato.int/kfor/news-room/press-releases/ksf-diving-unit-to-operate-in-mitrovica-municipality-.aspx>, 11th April 2015.

<sup>40</sup> Telegrafi. NATO: Kosova ka pranuar, FSK në veri veç me lejen e KFOR-it [NATO: Kosovo has accepted, KSF in the North only with the permission by KFOR]. <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/nato-kosova-ka-pranuar-fsk-ne-veri-vec-me-lejen-e-kfor-it-2-62424.html>, April 24th, 2015.

Armed Forces, and he has confirmed that there is a compliance with the North-Atlantic Alliance for not going into the North without an agreement with them.<sup>41</sup>

On the other hand, in contradiction with these statements of the Prime Minister of Kosovo, and of NATO officials, the Commander of the Kosovo Security Force, General Rrahman Rama, in April 2015, stated that the KSF does not take any permission from NATO to go into the North of the country, given that, based on his statement, the Army of Kosovo will act where the needs will demand.<sup>42</sup> “We do not impose ourselves, in the North, or in the South, in the East, or in the West. For this reason, I want to clarify that, we will act depending on the needs that the citizens have, and on the needs that the state of Kosovo has. We do not get any permission by anyone,” he said. This statement of General Rrahman Rama puts in a doubt the subordination of the KSF to the civilian authorities of the country, namely, to the Prime Minister of Kosovo, and, as such, exposes a profound deformation in the democratic governance of the security sector of Kosovo.

## **Parliamentary Oversight**

During the monitoring period, April-July 2015, the total of five meetings of the Parliamentary Committee on Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force took place. Regarding the KSF, of particular interest was the meeting of April 22d, 2015, where the representatives of the KSF were invited.<sup>43</sup>

In this meeting, that had only one point on the agenda, that of the meeting with the Commander of the Kosovo Security Force, the deputy Anton Quni brought forward the discussion of the agreement of the previous Government of Kosovo with NATO regarding the permission for engagement of the armed forces in the North of Kosovo, namely, the discussion of this topic between the authorities of NATO and of KSF, including here the issues of the execution in its

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<sup>41</sup> Mustafa: FAK-u Mund të Kalojë në Veri Vetëm me Lejen e NATO-s [Mustafa: AFK can go in the North only with the permission of NATO]. <http://live.kallxo.com/sq/MTL/Mustafa-FAK-u-Mund-te-Kaloje-ne-Veri-Vetem-me-Lejen-e-NATO-s-5803>, April 1st, 2015.

<sup>42</sup> Telegrafi: Gjeneral Rama: FSK s'ka nevojë të kërkojë leje për të shkuar në veri [General Rama: The KSF does not need to ask for permission for going in the North], <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/gjeneral-rama-fsk-s-ka-nevoje-te-kerkoje-leje-per-te-shkuar-ne-veri-2-61296.html>, April 4th, 2015.

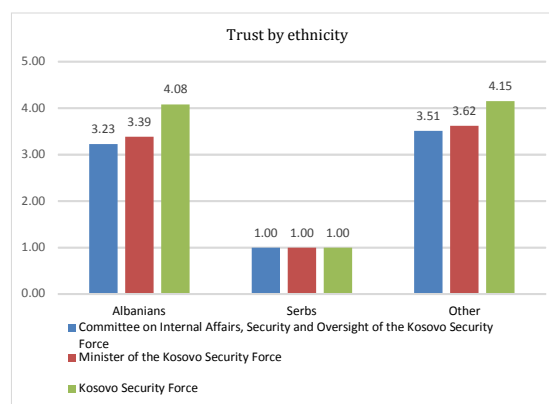
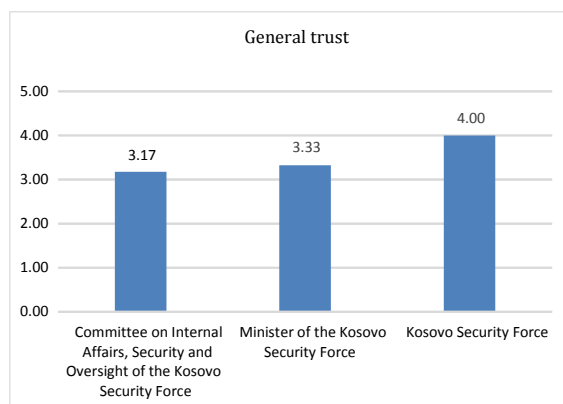
<sup>43</sup> See the proceedings of the meeting of the Committee: [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_2015\\_04\\_22\\_12\\_5904\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc_2015_04_22_12_5904_al.pdf)

practical aspects, the decision-making procedures, the rules of engagement, those of the requests and of cooperation. The Commander Rama answered to this question by saying that there is nothing official from NATO, and he added that the KSF is in the North of Kosovo – without specifying where, if there is any cooperation with KFOR, with two Majors of the municipalities [Southern and Northern Mitrovica], with EULEX, and with the Kosovo Police. However, the provision of authorization by KFOR for the search-rescue operation by KSF, on April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2015, shows the opposite, that is, the existence of the procedures for the operations in the North of the country, and puts in profound doubt the statement of the Commander Rama that the KSF is in the North of the country.

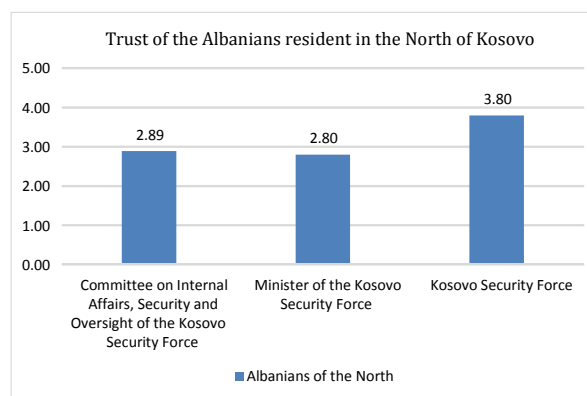
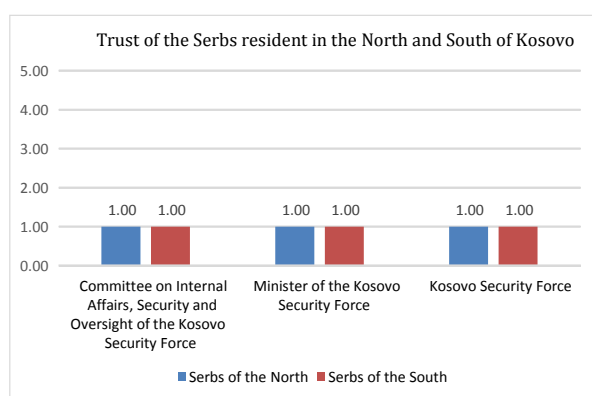
For this reason, it is necessary that the Minister of the KSF should be invited in a hearing session of the Committee, in order to clarify the issue of the subordination of the Commander of the KSF to the civilian authorities, that is, to the Prime Minister of Kosovo, as well as his problematic statements regarding the presence of the KSF in the North, which imply the non-existence of the procedures for obtaining the authorization by KFOR for implementation of operations in this part of the country.

**The trust of citizens on the Kosovo Security Force, on the Minister of the Security Force, and on the Parliamentary Committee for Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the Security Force**

Among these three institutions, the Kosovo citizens, in general, have the highest trust on the Kosovo Security Force. The Minister of the Security Force enjoys the trust of the citizens up to a certain level, which is almost the same as the trust that the citizens have on the Parliamentary Committee for Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force (PCSIAOKSF).

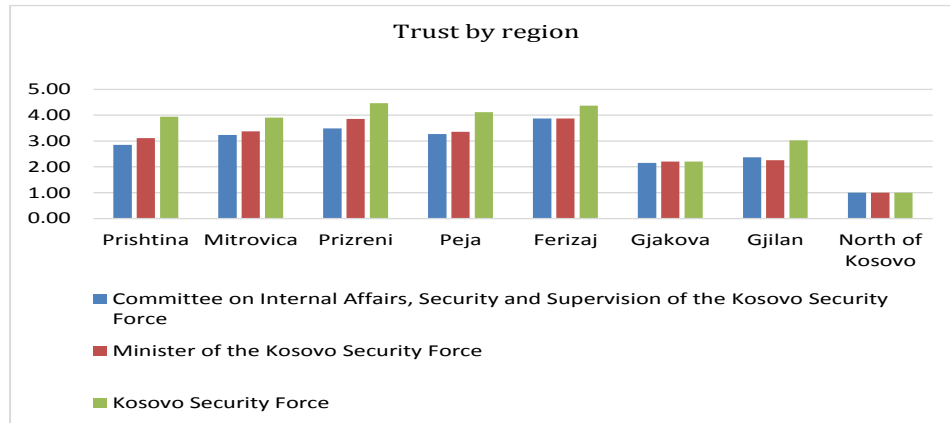


Based on the ethnicity, the KSF enjoys the highest trust among Albanians, and the non-Albanian and non-Serbian communities. The PCSIAOKSF, and the Minister of the KSF are trusted up to a certain level by Albanians, and the non-Albanian and non-Serbian communities. On the other hand, the Serbian community has no trust altogether on any of these three institutions.



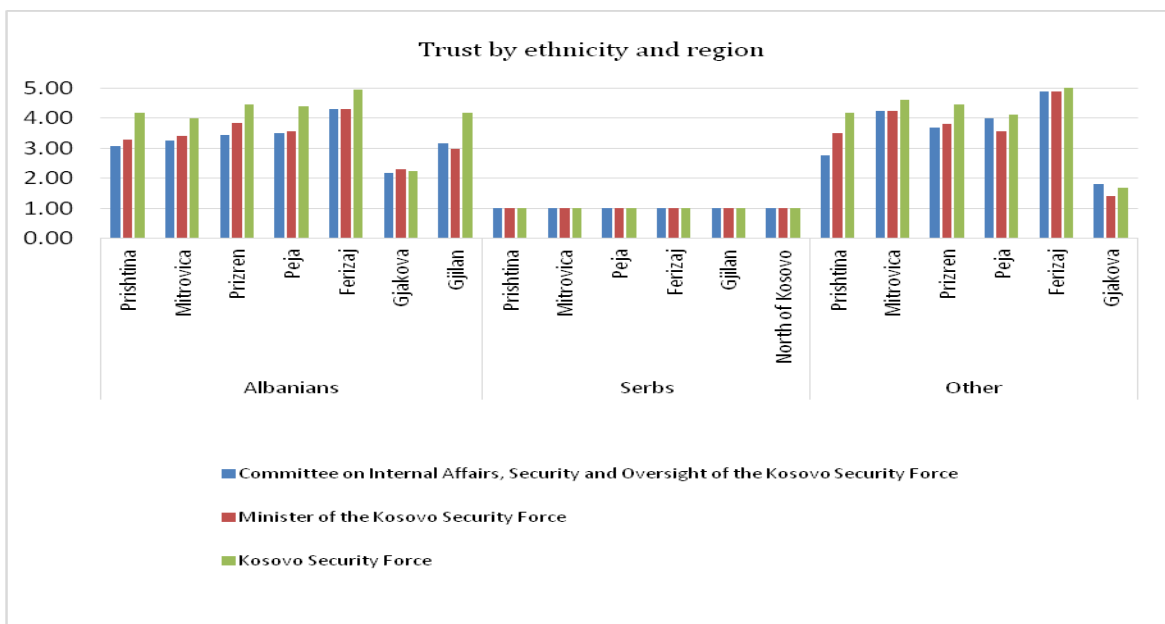
There is no difference shown among the Serbs who live in the North and those who live in the South as far as the trust in these three institutions is concerned. These two groups of Serbs have trust neither on the Kosovo Security Force, nor on the Minister of the Kosovo Security Force, nor on the PCSIAOKSF.

The Albanians who live in the North of the country trust most to the KSF, but the average of trust here is lower than the average of trust of Albanians who live in other parts of the territory of Kosovo. The Albanians who live in the North show also lower trust on the Minister of the KSF and on the PCSIAOKSF.



Based on the regions, these three institutions enjoy the highest levels of trust in Prizren and in Ferizaj. From these three institutions, it is the KSF that takes the first place in terms of trust. Except the inhabitants of the North, the inhabitants of Gjakova have shown low levels of trust for these three institutions. Also, the low levels of trust were shown in the municipality of Gjilan.

Based on the ethnicities in the regions, the Albanians and the non-Albanian and non-Serbian communities who live in Ferizaj have shown the highest levels of trust on KSF and on the other two security institutions.



### **3. THE MONITORING OF THE INTELLIGENCE SECTOR**

#### **Introduction**

During the period April-July 2015, the public issue that has dominated the developments in the intelligence sector, was the armed conflict of May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2015, in Kumanovo, where a number of Kosovo citizens got killed and numerous others were arrested.

According to media, at the beginning of the year 2015, the Kosovo Intelligence Agency (KIA) had prepared a classified report regarding the possible illegal activities of several Kosovar citizens in Macedonia, and according to the statements of the Head of the the Parliamentary Committee for Intelligence, Mr. Haxhi Shala, the Presidency, the Prime Ministers Office, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Kosovo Police, the members of the Committee, and other security mechanisms were informed on time on the possibility of the events that followed in Kumanovo.

The armed conflict in Kumanovo conveyed to the public serious deficiencies in the reaction of the Kosovar institutions, by stressing the weak interinstitutional communication, the lack of accountability, as well as the absence of proper cooperation among the institutions that are competent for the issues of the state security.

#### **The contested report of the KAI that warned the armed scuffle in Macedonia**

In the armed scuffle in Kumanovo, 18 persons were killed, 8 police officers, and 10 members of the armed group, among which, according to the Public Prosecution of Macedonia, 9 were citizens of Kosovo,<sup>44</sup> and 1 was a Macedonian citizen.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, 21 citizens of Kosovo were arrested as members of this armed group.<sup>46</sup> The scuffle, which had a negative impact on bilateral relations

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<sup>44</sup> Kjo është lista zyrtare e të vrarëve në konfliktin e Kumanovës [This is the official list of those killed in the conflict of Kumanovo], telegrafi.com, May 23d, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/kjo-eshte-lista-zyrtare-e-te-vrareve-ne-konfliktin-e-kumanoves-2-63854.html> (accessed on May 26th, 2015).

<sup>45</sup> Pse ndryshoi numri i të vrarëve në Kumanovë? [Why did the number of those killed in Kumanovo change?], evropaelire.com, July 30th, 2015, <http://www.evropaelire.org/content/article/27029060.html> (accessed on July 30th, 2015).

<sup>46</sup> Nga Kosova, 9 persona të vrarë dhe 21 të arrestuar në Kumanovë [From Kosovo, 9 killed and 21 arrested in Kumanovo], telegrafi.com, May 18th, 2015,



between Prishtina and Skopje, and on regional security, engendered huge mediatic reaction, and, also, numerous debates in Kosovo.

Immediately after the beginning of the armed conflict, the Head of the Parliamentary Committee on the Oversight of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence (PCOKAI), Mr. Haxhi Shala, in a statement for media, stressed that already in February – that is, three months before the event – the Kosovo Intelligence Agency (KIA), has informed, through a classified report, the President of Kosovo, Mrs. Atifete Jahjaga, the Prime Minister of Kosovo, Mr. Isa Mustafa, as well as other security mechanisms, on the possibility that several Kosovar citizens will try to destabilize Macedonia.<sup>47</sup> In this statement, Mr. Shala told that this classified report was not given in a written form to the members of the Committee, but they have been informed about it verbally, by the officials of the KIA.<sup>48</sup> This classified report, parts of which were published in “Koha Ditore”, described the non-stable condition in Macedonia, and provided possible scenarios for staging the terrorist actions in which the protagonists will be several Albanians from Kosovo.<sup>49</sup> This clarified completely that the Kosovar security institutions, in spite of being informed on time by the KAI,<sup>50</sup> have failed to act on a timely and coordinated manner for avoiding the scuffle in Kumanovo.

But, immediately after this, the statement of the Head of the PCOKAI was denied by the Prime Minister of Kosovo. The Prime Minister Mustafa stressed that “if [the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo] would have had at disposal such informations, not only that he would have demanded urgently from the security institutions to undertake all the preventive actions, but, furthermore, the same would have been demanded from the authorities of the Republic of

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<http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/nga-kosova-9-persona-te-vrare-dhe-21-te-arrestuar-ne-kumanove-2-63646.html> (accessed on May 20th, 2015).

<sup>47</sup> AKI kishte informuar institucionet se po përgatitej inskenim i trazirave në Maqedoni [KAI had informed the institutions that the staging of the turmoil in Macedonia was being prepared], telegrafi.com, May 12th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/aki-kishte-informuar-institucionet-se-po-pergatitej-inskenim-i-trazirave-ne-maqedoni-2-63351.html> (accessed on May 14th, 2015).

<sup>48</sup> Konfirmohet se Kosova kishte dijeni për incidentet në Maqedoni [Confirmed that Kosovo was aware on the incidents in Macedonia], telegrafi.com, May 14th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/konfirmohet-se-kosova-kishte-dijeni-per-incidentet-ne-maqedoni-video-2-63467.html> (accessed on May 14th, 2015).

<sup>49</sup> AKI kishte informuar institucionet e Kosovës për inskenim të trazirave në Maqedoni [KAI had informed the institutions that the staging of the turmoil in Macedonia was being prepared], koha.net, May 12th, 2015, <http://koha.net/index-28.11.2014.php?id=27&l=57148> (accessed on May 13th, 2015).

<sup>50</sup> “Kumanova”, Qeveria fajëson AKI-në e Policinë, AKI-ja i vë fajin Qeverisë e Presidencës [“Kumanovo”, The Government blames the KAI and the Police, the KAI blames the Government and the Presidency], koha.net, May 19th, 2015, <http://koha.net/index-28.11.2014.php?id=27&l=58149> (accessed on May 20th, 2015).

Macedonia as well, in order to prevent the loss of human lives and of property.<sup>51</sup> The statement of the Head of PCOKAI was also denied by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni, who stressed that “[The Police and the Ministry of Internal Affairs] did not receive even a single information by the KIA.”<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile, the Presidency, through its spokesperson, Mr. Arber Vllahiu, restrained from both, confirming and denying the reciprocity of the report, by stating that “these are classified informations, and, therefore, we cannot comment on them.”<sup>53</sup>

In addition, in the meeting of May 18<sup>th</sup>, 2015, of the Parliamentary Committee on Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, Mrs. Aida Dërguti, the Vice President of the Assembly of Kosovo, and, also, a member of the Committee for POKIA, stressed that immediately after the events in Kumanovo, the KIA confirmed that on February 23d, 2015, “the report on this group was delivered to the Prime Minister and to the President, commensurate with its legal obligation.”<sup>54</sup> In the support of this confirmation, the deputy of the Democratic Party of Kosovo, Mr. Bekim Haxhiu, admitted that “the Kosovo’s institutions have had informations about the armed group.”<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Press Release, the Prime Ministers Office of the Republic of Kosovo, May 19th, 2015, <http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/?page=1,9,4988> (accessed on May 19th, 2015).

<sup>52</sup> AKI s’e informoi MPB-në, për Kumanovën [The KAI has not informed the MIA on Kumanovo], telegrafi.com, May 18th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/aki-s-e-informoi-mpb-ne-per-kumanoven-2-63620.html> (accessed on May 19th, 2015).

<sup>53</sup> Konfirmohet se Kosova kishte dijeni për incidentet në Maqedoni [Confirmed that Kosovo was aware on the incidents in Macedonia], telegrafi.com, May 14th, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/konfirmohet-se-kosova-kishte-dijeni-per-incidentet-ne-maqedoni-video-2-63467.html> (accessed on May 14th, 2015).

<sup>54</sup> Proceedings of the meeting of the Committee for Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, pg. 7, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_2015\\_05\\_18\\_10\\_5948\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc_2015_05_18_10_5948_al.pdf) (accessed on May 27th, 2015).

<sup>55</sup> Shala: Jahjaga, Mustafa e Hyseni i kanë njohur me emër e mbiemër grupin e armatosur të Kumanovës [Shala: Jahjaga, Mustafa, and Hyseni knew the armed group of Kumanovo with their names and surname], <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/shala-jahajga-mustafa-e-hyseni-i-kane-njohur-me-emer-e-mbiemer-grupin-e-armatosur-te-kumanoves-2-63768.html> (accessed on May 28th, 2015).

## The emergence of the classified report in the media

The emergence of the classified report of KIA of the February 2015,<sup>56</sup> in media, together with the supportive declarations of the Head of PCOKIA, Mr. Haxhi Shala, and of the deputies Dërguti and Haxhiu, have cleared out the doubts regarding the existence of this report. However, there is a question that emerges here: how was it possible that a classified report, which, in a written form, was not given even to the members of the PCOKIA, found its way to the media?

Such a leak of information is defined as a penal deed by the legal framework of Kosovo. The Article 34 of the Law on Kosovo Intelligence Agency envisages that “the disclosure of the classified information of KIA to any individual unauthorized to receive it, presents a violation of the Penal Code of Kosovo, and the perpetrator will be subjected to punishment as envisaged by the respective provision of the Code.”<sup>57</sup>

Given that this “contested report” of the KIA, has had nominally to be delivered, at least, to the Presidency, to the Prime Ministers Office, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and to the Kosovo Police, then, the second question emerges as well: which individual from these institutions committed a penal act by providing this classified report to the media? And this, in turn, paves the way for the third question: were there any investigations undertaken so far regarding this leak of the classified information?

However, the denial of the reception of this report by the Prime Ministers Office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, makes it difficult to open genuine investigation of this case, given that, in this situation, the responsibility for the leak of the report into media goes to KAI, which has never denied its verity, even after its publication in “Koha Ditore.”

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<sup>56</sup> “CONFIDENTIAL” is applied for the information, unauthorized disclosure of which can damage the security interests of the Republic of Kosovo. See the Law on the Classification of Information and the Verification of the Security, Article 6, <http://aki-rks.org/RKS/2010-178-alb.pdf> (accessed on April 3d, 2015).

<sup>57</sup> The Law on the Kosovo Agency of Intelligence, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008\\_03-L063\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008_03-L063_al.pdf) (accessed on April 5th, 2015).

## **The contested report: the legal framework on cooperation and coordination between the Government and KIA**

The Law on Kosovo Intelligence Agency, among others, specifies the cooperation and coordination of the Kosovar Intelligence Agency with the other respective institutions, with regard to the issues of national security.

First of all, according to the legal competencies and obligations of the Director of the KIA, specified by the Article 5.7 of this Law, he provides information regarding security to the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, he is responsible for gathering, analysis, production and distribution of information, and he ensures that this is made on time, and in a manner that is objective and not influenced by political factors. Therefore, according to this legal provision, the Director of KIA was obliged to deliver this contested report to the President and to the Premier of the Republic of Kosovo. Namely, the first issue that needs to be clarified to both, the Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence, and to the public, is if the Director of the KIA has sent this report to these two institutions or not?

If the reporting of the KIA to the Prime Minister and the President was not fulfilled, should the KIA be held accountable for not fulfilling this legal obligation? And, on the other hand, if the report was really provided to these two institutions, why were, then, the necessary measures for preventing the armed scuffle in Kumanovo not undertaken?

In addition, according to the Article 5.7 of the same Law, the Director of the KIA “initiates and signs the Memorandums of Understanding and Cooperation with other institutions and bodies,” and, according to its Article 8.1, “the cooperation among the KIA and the Kosovo Police, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as with other institutions of public security, is of primary importance.” Moreover, it is also said that “after the appointment of the Director of the KIA, a memorandum on mutual cooperation, support, and coordination will be signed between the KIA, Kosovo Police (KP), Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and other relevant governmental institutions,” as well as that “KIA and other bodies and institutions in Kosovo are obliged to cooperate and support each other in fulfilling their duties, and to coordinate, within their competencies, their activities related to the protection of the sources, methods, and the classified

informations, in accordance with the laws and regulations in power.”<sup>58</sup> This legally implies the existence of such a memorandum on mutual cooperation, support and coordination between KIA, KP and MIA, and it also suggests, indirectly, the delivery of the contested report to the Minister of Internal Affairs and to the General Director of the Kosovo Police. Thus, this is the second issue that has to be clarified to both, the PCOKIA, as well as to the public opinion. By presupposing the existence of the cooperation memorandum between the KIA, the Kosovo Police, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the verity of the delivery of the report of the KIA should be investigated. If the MIA and the KP have received the report from KIA, then, the accountability for non-reaction of the MIA and of the KP for preventing the armed scuffle in Kumanovo should be demanded.

Furthermore, the Article 25.2 foresees that if “during the performance of its functions, the KIA is convinced that there is basis for suspicion that any person or subject has committed or is committing a penal activity, or is preparing or organizing a penal activity that is subject to prosecution, then, it is obliged to inform on this the General Director of the Kosovo Police and the competent public prosecutor.”<sup>59</sup> Seen from this view, after finding the illegal activities of the Kosovo’s citizens that ended with the armed conflict in Kumanovo, the KIA should have informed the General Director of the Kosovo Police and the competent public prosecutor, but not necessarily the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Consequently, the final issue that should be clarified is if the delivery of this report of the KIA was limited to the General Director of the KP and on the competent public prosecutor.

Nevertheless, apart from the results of any potential investigation for clarifying the above mentioned issues, the mutual accusations and the contradictory statements between the executive institutions and the PCOKIA on the informative and reporting correctness, expose a possibility of serious deficiencies in the management of the security sector in Kosovo. Therefore, it is necessary that the Committee for the Oversight of the KIA should convene the Prime Minister, the Interior Minister, the General Director of the KP, and the Director of the KIA, in order to clarify these issues. Also, the Prime Minister of Kosovo, should initiate, in accordance with his legal competencies, an investigation on the leak of the classified document into the Kosovar media, because, the leak of these informations will have an awfully negative impact on the credibility of Prishtina in the field of intelligence. There is no doubt that Kosovo will not be considered a credible partner by the key

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<sup>58</sup> The Law on the Kosovo Agency of Intelligence, Article 8.3.

<sup>59</sup> The Law on the Kosovo Agency of Intelligence.

international partners, and this will certainly have grave consequences in fighting the transnational threats to the country.

Even more important than the above mentioned deficiencies is the fact that the Prime Minister Mustafa has not convened a meeting of the Kosovo's Security Council, in spite of his public statement that the armed conflict in Kumanovo has had an impact on the bilateral relations of Kosovo and Macedonia.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, even the President Jahjaga, and most of the permanent members of this Council did not see any reason to request formally from the Prime Minister to convene such a meeting,<sup>61</sup> in which they could have discussed the factual situation, analyze the condition of security within the country, and enable a coordinated inter-institutional activity.<sup>62</sup>

### **The Parliamentary Committee on the Oversight of the KIA**

Ever since the armed conflict in Kumanovo, the Parliamentary Committee on the Oversight of the KIA was convened only two times,<sup>63 64</sup> and, if we look at the agendas of these meetings, the armed scuffle in Kumanovo does not appear anywhere as a discussion topic.

In parallel with this, PCOKIA is having difficulties in the field of transparency, given that there is no information even on the issues that are not necessarily classified, but which were discussed in its meetings, like, for instance, the issue of the implementation of the working plan of the Committee for the first quarter of the year 2015,<sup>65</sup> the issue of the debate on the challenges of the Progress Report for 2014, in its sections that are related to the field of activities of the Committee,<sup>66</sup> or the

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<sup>60</sup> Mustafa: Kumanova ndikoi në marrëdhëniet tona me Maqedoninë [Mustafa: Kumanovo has influenced our relations with Macedonia], koha.net, May 30th, 2015,

<http://koha.net/?id=27&l=59794> (accessed on May 30th, 2015).

<sup>61</sup> The Law Nr. 03/L-050 on the Establishment of the Kosovo Security Council, Article 5.4, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008\\_03-L050\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008_03-L050_al.pdf) (accessed on April 6th, 2015).

<sup>62</sup> An interview of KIPRED with a high official of the Government of Kosovo, July 24th, 2015.

<sup>63</sup> See: The meetings of the PCOKAI, The Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/?cid=1,110,131> (accessed on April 11th, 2015).

<sup>64</sup> In the meeting of this Committee of June 30th, 2015, its members from position did not participate, and, in the lack of the quorum, the reporting failed, June 30th, 2015, <https://koha.net/?id=27&l=64442> (accessed on June 30th, 2015).

<sup>65</sup> See: The Agenda of the Meeting of the PCOKAI, of the date 08.04.2015, <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/?cid=1,110,131> (accessed on April 24th, 2015).

<sup>66</sup> See: The Agenda of the Meeting of the PCOKAI, of the date 22.04.2015, <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/?cid=1,110,131> (accessed on April 24th, 2015).

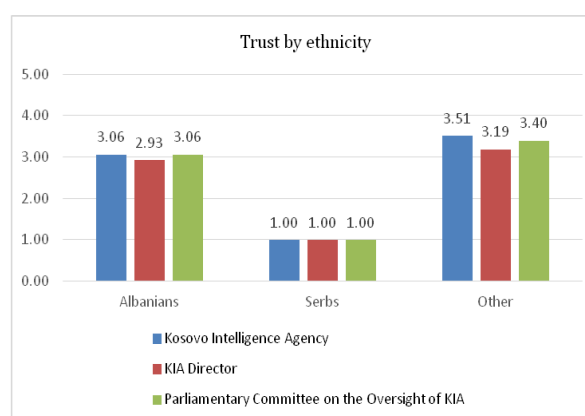
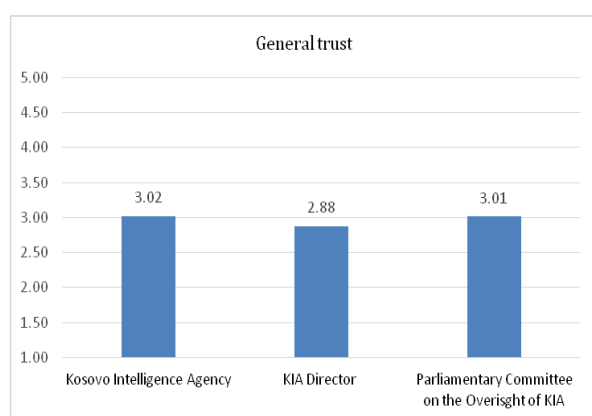
issue of the discussion of the implementation of the working plan of the Committee for the first semiannual of the year 2015.<sup>67</sup>

### **The trust of citizens on the Kosovo Intelligence Agency, on the Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency, and on the Parliamentary Committee for the Oversight of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency**

With the purpose of measuring the trust of citizens of the Republic of Kosovo on the Kosovo Intelligence Agency, on the Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency, and on the Parliamentary Committee for the Oversight of Kosovo Intelligence Agency, KIPRED has conducted a survey on the ground.

The respondents have had the opportunity to express the level of trust they have on the institutions or their heads from 1 to 5, where 1 expresses the lowest level of trust, and 5 the highest. The results are the following ones:

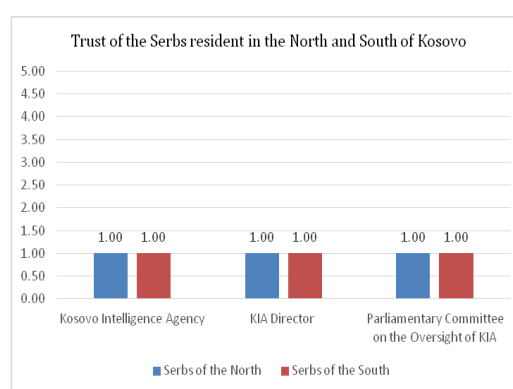
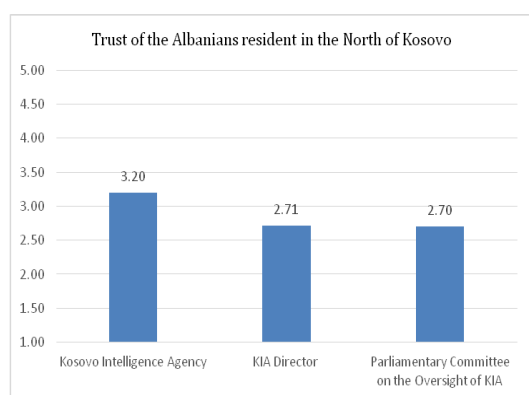
As far as the general trust of citizens of the Republic of Kosovo is concerned, the Kosovo Intelligence Agency enjoys the highest level of trust, but with a very small difference from the Parliamentary Committee on the Oversight of KIA. At the end, with regard to the trust of citizens, is the Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency.



<sup>67</sup> See: The Agenda of the Meeting of the PCOKAI, of the date 22.07.2015, <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/?cid=1,110,131> (accessed on July 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015).

The same question on the trust on two Kosovar institutions that deal with intelligence, as well as on the Director of the KIA, was posed to the members of ethnic communities of Kosovo, and the highest trust was declared by the non-Albanian and non-Serbian communities, and particularly on the KIA. On the other hand, the Albanian community has an approximately average trust on the institutions presented on the table; meanwhile, the Serbian community has minimal trust.

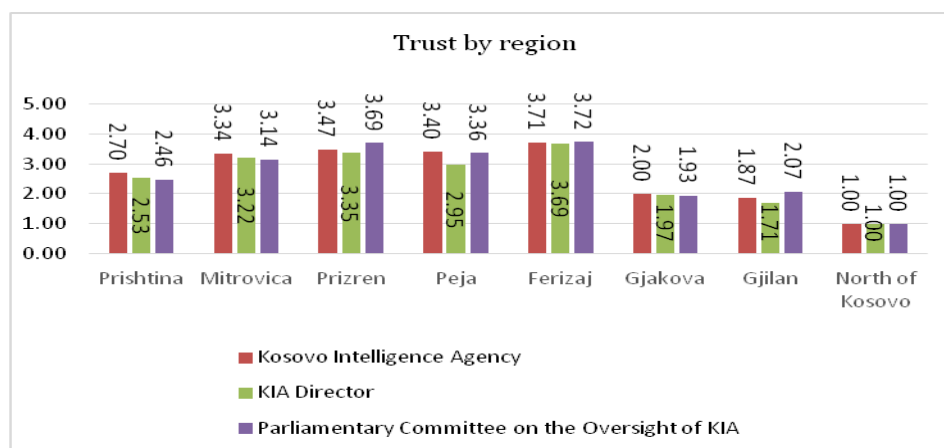
As far as the Albanian residents in the North are concerned, they have the highest trust on KIA, and the trust on the Director of KIA, while the trust on the Parliamentary Committee is under the average.



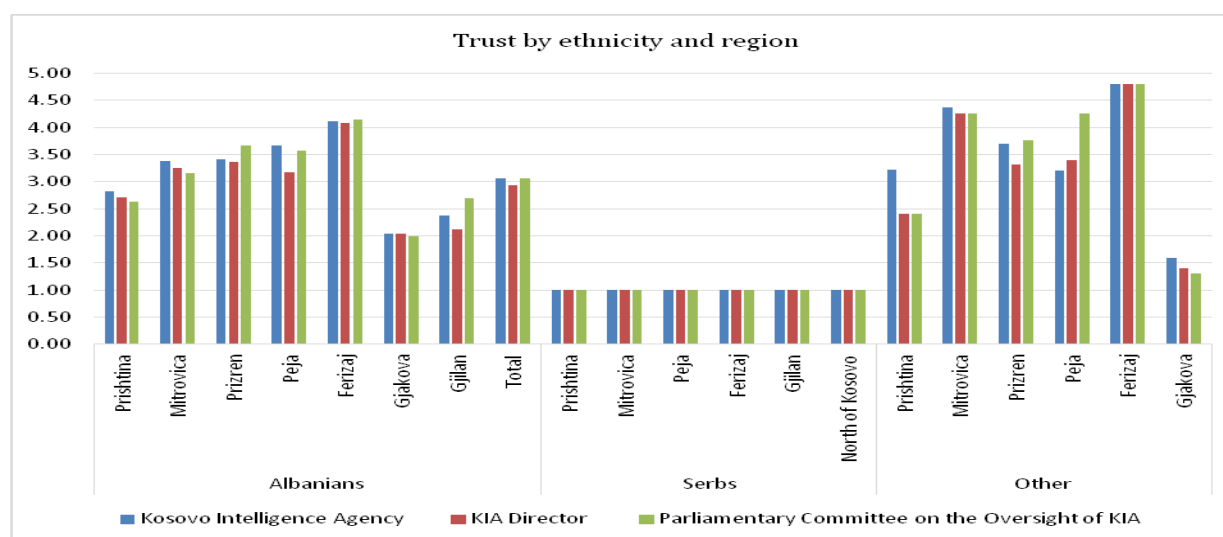
The measurement of the trust of Serbs who are resident in the South and in the North of Kosovo was also conducted. Their trust on KIA, the Director of the KIA, and the Parliamentary Committee is at a lowest level. Thus, in all three questions posed to them, the evaluation of the trust of the Serbian community is minimal, the part of the territory of Kosovo in which they live notwithstanding.

Regarding the trust based on the regions of Kosovo, the minimal trust is in the North of Kosovo, and, on the other hand, the regions of Ferizaj and Prizren have given the highest evaluations. Also, compared with other regions of Kosovo, we can notice a trust under the average value in Gjakova and Gjilan, which has values under 2.0.





With regard to the trust on KIA, the Director of the KIA, and the Parliamentary Committee based on the ethnicities in the regions of Kosovo, the Serbian community in Kosovo has a minimal trust on three institutions regardless of the region. Meanwhile, the other non-majority communities in Kosovo, in general, have higher levels of trust in these three institutions, in parallel with the Albanian majority in almost all the regions (except in Gjakova).



When we look at all the regions, Ferizaj is the one with the highest level of trust (almost maximal) on the institutions related to intelligence and on the Director of KIA, the ethnicity of respondents notwithstanding. On the other hand, Gjakova is a region which has the lowest level of trust on the institutions related to intelligence of Kosovo, again, the ethnicity of respondents notwithstanding.

#### **4. THE CROSSROAD OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SECURITY FORCE INTO THE KOSOVO ARMED FORCES: WHAT NEXT?**

##### **Introduction**

This work analyzes the policy of the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces, the feasibility of the mandate of the Armed Forces in relation to the risks and threats to the regional security environment, and it discusses the attitude of the Serbian community in Kosovo and of Serbia towards creation of the KAF, as well as the possible paths towards its establishment. It also brings again into the spotlight a part of the findings and recommendations of the previous work of KIPRED “Kosovo in the Security and Defense Context of the Western Balkans”, given their validity in the current circumstances.

As an independent and sovereign state, Kosovo has a full right to have the armed forces of its own. The natural right of all states to defend themselves is determined clearly in the Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations,<sup>68</sup> which, as such, does not exclude from this right the non-member states. Also, the UN Charter forbids the use of armed forces among the states (Article 2.4),<sup>69</sup> and explicitly protects each state from the external use of force, regardless of whether these states recognize each other and their membership in the UN (this has to do with “every state”).<sup>70</sup> Thus, from the international law perspective, these provisions are fully applicable to all the countries in the region, including Kosovo, regardless of the fact that it is not yet a member of the UN.

Nevertheless, the right of Kosovo to self-defense remains unaccomplished because of the blockage of the process of transformation of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) into the Kosovo Armed Forces (KAF), which is a consequence of the opposition of the Serbian List, given that the formalization of this process requires the vote of 2/3 of the representatives of the minority communities in the Kosovo Assembly in favor of the respective constitutional changes, including

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<sup>68</sup> Art. 51 of the UN Charter: “Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.”

<sup>69</sup> Article 2(4): “All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of *any state*, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”

<sup>70</sup> For further explanation see: Dr. René Värk: The Legal Framework of the Use of Armed Force Revisited, Baltic Security & Defence Review. Vol 15, Issue 1, 2013.

the representatives of Serbian community. Thus, given the full dependence of the stances of the Serbian List on Serbia, the formalization of the transformation of the KSF into the KAF, remains, in essence, a hostage of the willingness of Belgrade to not hinder it.

For this reason, the process of the transformation of the Kosovo Security Force into the Kosovo Armed Forces has reached a crossroad, and the further steps that will be undertaken by the institutions of Kosovo will be decisive for the modality in which this process will be concluded and for the consequences it will have.

### **The policy of the establishment of the Armed Forces of Kosovo**

The proposal for the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces is the result of the Strategic Review of the Security Sector (SRSS) of Kosovo, which was initiated by the decision 09/67 of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo on March 21<sup>st</sup>, 2012.<sup>71</sup> According to this decision, these are the objectives that were assigned to the SRSS:

- The Definition of the Strategic Objectives of Kosovo and of the Security and Defense Policies of the Republic of Kosovo;
- The appropriate definition of the Strategic Security Environment, and of the possible security risks and threats;
- The full analysis of the actual capacities of the domestic security institutions;
- The determination of the capacities that will be needed by the security institutions in the future;
- The provision of recommendations for the increase of the development of capacities that are needed/lacking, as well as for dissolution of those that are not needed anymore;
- The promulgation of a new Strategy of the National Security of Kosovo;
- The change of the legal framework, in accordance with the recommendations of the SRSS;
- Development of the security institutions in accordance with the recommendations of the SRSS and with the National Security Strategy.

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<sup>71</sup> The Government of the Republic of Kosovo, Decision on the approval of the initiative for the Strategic Review of the Security Sector, Prishtina, March 21st, 2012.

According to this decision, the Steering Committee of the SRSS was appointed, and it was consisting of: the Minister of the Security Force, in the capacity of the manager/head, and, in the capacity of members, the Minister of Interior Affairs, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence, the Security Adviser to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of the Security Council of Kosovo, the Commander of the Kosovo Security Force, the General Director of the Kosovo Police, and the Director of the Agency for Emergency Management. The SRSS was supposed to complete its work no later than June 2013.

The initiation of the SRSS was related to the ending of the interim provisions of the Constitution of Kosovo, respectively, with the ending of the five year long period of the “supervised independence,” as it was foreseen by the Comprehensive Proposal for the Resolution of the Kosovo Status of the Special Envoy of the UNSG, President Ahtisaari. The International Steering Group for Kosovo formally ended the supervision of Kosovo’s independence on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

Nevertheless, the appointment of the Steering Committee of the SRSS, and its chairing by the Minister of the KSF was in collision with the legal framework of Kosovo, which provides the mandate for the recommendation of the security policies and strategies to the Security Council of Kosovo.<sup>72</sup> However, if we look carefully at the composition of the Steering Committee, we can notice that it was more limited, when compared with the Security Council, given that among its members are not the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers, the Minister of Justice, and the Minister for Returns and Communities. Also, in contrast to the Security Council, in which the participation of at least one minister from the Serbian community is compulsory,<sup>73</sup> in the composition of the Steering Committee there is not even a single member from this community. Essentially, with the approval of the initiation of the SRSS, the Government of Kosovo, took upon itself, outside of any legal framework, the competences of the Security Council, and it excluded the representatives of the minority communities from this process. Also, the appointment of the Minister of the KSF at the top of the Steering Committee of the SRSS, symbolized its primary objective, namely, the political priority of the transformation of the Kosovo Security Force into an armed force/army.

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<sup>72</sup> The Law on the Establishment of the Kosovo Security Council, No. 03/L-050, March 13th, 2008.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Article 3.2.

The SRSS was developed in parallel with the dialogue on normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia. Due to this reason, the completion of the work of the SRSS was delayed for a year: the Government of Kosovo approved the Analysis on Recommendations of the Strategic Review of the Security Sector, on March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2014.<sup>74</sup> However, the first political implication on the implementation of the SRSS came from the achievement of the First Agreement on the normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia, the one of April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2014, which was, ultimately, made possible only by the involvement of NATO, and by the provision of the guarantees to Serbia by both, the North-Atlantic Alliance, and the Government of Kosovo, that the KSF will not deploy in the Northern municipalities of Kosovo.<sup>75</sup> With the provision of this guarantee, the Government of Kosovo made a concession in the exercise of its sovereignty in the North of the country, without taking back any guarantees by Serbia that it will not hinder the creation of the Kosovo Armed Forces, and this, in turn, paved the way for further conditionings by the Serbian side for its establishment. Also, the demand of Serbia for the acquirement of this guarantee, confirmed vigorously the approach of Belgrade towards treating the position of the Serbian community in Kosovo as a territorial issue, rather than as a substantive one, given the fact that the largest part of this community does not live in the North, but in other parts of Kosovo.

On March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2014, the President of Kosovo's Assembly, sent to the Constitutional Court the respective amendments proposed by the Government of Kosovo, for the change of the Constitution in accordance with the recommendations of the SRSS, including those regarding the establishment of the KAF. By its decision of March 31, 2014, the Constitutional Court assessed positively the proposed changes.<sup>76</sup>

However, the voting of these amendments in the Kosovo Assembly became a hostage of the conditionings of the minority communities, which were demanding to retain their reserved seats for another mandate, in exchange for the establishment of the KAF. Furthermore, even in this case, the

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<sup>74</sup> [http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Analiza\\_e\\_Rishikimit\\_Strategjik\\_te\\_Sektorit\\_te\\_Sigurise\\_se\\_RKS\\_06032014.pdf](http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Analiza_e_Rishikimit_Strategjik_te_Sektorit_te_Sigurise_se_RKS_06032014.pdf)

<sup>75</sup> Conversation with a high official of NATO, Brussels, May 2013.

<sup>76</sup> Kushtetuesja pro transformimit të FSK në FAK [The Constitutional Court pro transformation of the KSF into the AFK], lajmi.net, March 31st, 2014, [http://lajmi.net/kushtetuesja-pro-transformimit-te-fsk-ne-fak\\_59681.html](http://lajmi.net/kushtetuesja-pro-transformimit-te-fsk-ne-fak_59681.html)

pro vote of the Serbian deputies was not guaranteed, given that they publicly clarified that they will not support the establishment of the AFK.<sup>77</sup>

The provision of the reserved seats to the minority communities for another mandate, in exchange for the establishment of the Armed Forces of Kosovo, was supported by the Democratic Party of Kosovo, which was leading the government during that period, but it was opposed by the opposition parties. In spite of the appeals made to the Assembly of Kosovo by the Government of Kosovo,<sup>78</sup> the deputies did not accept to vote the establishment of the KAF in the same package with the reserved seats for the minority communities. After that, on May 7<sup>th</sup>, 2014, the Assembly of Kosovo was dissolved, and the country went into general elections, without completing the formalization of the Kosovo Armed Forces.

On the other hand, NATO, with the open support of the US, silently gave the green light for the transformation of the KSF into the AFK, but with clarification that this requires the pro vote of the minorities.<sup>79</sup> But, Serbia opposed severely the creation of the KAF, and this issue was raised by President Nikolić even in the Security Council of the UN, in its meeting of May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2014.<sup>80</sup>

This act of Serbia clarified that the formalization of the establishment of the Armed Forces of Kosovo through the necessary amending of the Constitution will be almost impossible in current circumstances, given the fact that for achieving it, the pro votes of 2/3 of the minority communities in the Assembly of Kosovo are required, including here the 2/3 of the votes of the Serbian deputies. This opposing attitude of Belgrade towards the creation of the KAF was formalized very soon in the Kosovar decision-making as well, by the partner of the governing coalition PDK-LDK, the Serbian

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<sup>77</sup> See, for instance, the statement of Mr. Petar Miletić, former Vice President of the Kosovo Assembly from the Serbian community, of April 28<sup>th</sup>, 2014, “Srbi neće podržati amandmane na Ustav Kosova” [“The Serbs will not support the amendments on the Constitution of Kosovo”], [www.vesti-online.com](http://www.vesti-online.com/Vesti/Srbija/399565/Srbi-ncce-podrzati-amandmane-na-Ustav-Kosova), <http://www.vesti-online.com/Vesti/Srbija/399565/Srbi-ncce-podrzati-amandmane-na-Ustav-Kosova>

<sup>78</sup> Qeveria i Kërkon Kuvendit formimin e FAK-ut [The Government requests from the Assembly the creation of the AFK], GazetaExpress, April 3<sup>d</sup>, 2014.

<sup>79</sup> USA backs the creation of the Armed Forces of Kosovo, Independent Balkans News Agency, April 29<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <http://www.balkanec.com/22877/>

<sup>80</sup> The appeal of the President Nikolić to the Security Council of the UN, Official web-site of the President of Serbia, <http://www.predsednik.rs/en/press-center/press-releases/appeal-president-nikolic-un-security-council>, 27 maj, 2014.

List, which announced that the transformation of the KSF into the KAF is not acceptable for them, and that this position of theirs will not be changed under any circumstances.<sup>81</sup>

In spite of this attitude of the Serbian List, on May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015, the Government of Kosovo proceeded in the Assembly of Kosovo the amendments for the constitutional changes for the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces.<sup>82</sup> However, two from the members of the Government of Kosovo from the Serbian List voted against these amendments.<sup>83</sup> In the meeting of the Government of Kosovo, the Deputy Prime Minister from the Serbian community, Mr. Branimir Stojanović, emphasized that the transformation of the KSF into the KAF is unacceptable for the Serbian population, firstly, because the discussion that was requested on this topic did not take place at all, and, also, because the mono-ethnic armed forces, consisting of the majority community will be perceived by the Serbian community as a latent threat and risk for the entire region.<sup>84</sup> Thus, now it has become completely clear that without the support of Serbia, the chances for the formalization of the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces are indeed small, and, also, the price that should be paid by the Kosovar side for its achievement remains unclear.

The Parliamentary Committee on Legislation, Mandates, Immunities, the Regulation of the Assembly and on the Oversight of the Anticorruption Agency, approved the constitutional amendments proposed by the Government on July 10<sup>th</sup>, 2015. However, given the risk that these amendments will not be voted by the deputies of the Serbian community, the Presidency of the Kosovo's Assembly, took out their voting from the agenda of the plenary session of July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2015.<sup>85</sup>

Thus, the inappropriate management of the political and institutional process of the establishment of the KAF by the Government of Kosovo, which initially excluded from this process the Security

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<sup>81</sup>Lista Serbe kundër Forcave të Armatosura të Kosovës [The Serbian List against the Armed Forces of Kosovo], Telegrafi.com, December 13<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/lista-serbe-kunder-forcave-te-armatosura-te-kosoves-2-55291.html>

<sup>82</sup>[http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Vendimet\\_e\\_Mbledhjes\\_se\\_31-te\\_te\\_Qeverise\\_se\\_Republikes\\_se\\_Kosoves\\_2015\\_\(2\).pdf](http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Vendimet_e_Mbledhjes_se_31-te_te_Qeverise_se_Republikes_se_Kosoves_2015_(2).pdf)

<sup>83</sup> Kosova ndryshon Kushtetutën për Forcat e Armatosura [Kosovo changes the Constitution for the Armed Forces], Lajmifundit.al, May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <http://lajmifundit.al/2015/05/kosova-ndryshon-kushtetuten-per-forcat-e-armatosura/>

<sup>84</sup> Oružane Snage Kosova neprihvatljive za Srbe [The Armed Forces of Kosovo unacceptable for the Serbs], Blic.rs, May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/562674/StojanovicOruzane-snage-Kosova-neprihvatljive-za-Srbe>

<sup>85</sup> Këto janë kushtet e Listës Serbe për Ushtrinë e Kosovës [These are the conditions of the Serbian List for the Army of Kosovo], Telegrafi.com, July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <http://www.telegrafi.com/lajme/keto-jane-kushtet-e-listes-serbe-per-ushtirine-e-kosoves-2-67230.html>

Council, and with this, also, the ministers of the Serbian community from the SRSS process, and, consequently, from the process of the transformation of the KSF into the KAF, and, which, also, provided guarantees to Serbia for non-deployment of the KSF into the North of Kosovo, without obtaining in exchange any guarantees that the creation of the KAF will not be hindered, brought the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces into a crossroad.

### **The feasibility for fulfilling of the mandate of the Armed Forces in relation to regional security environment risks and threats**

The assessment of the risks and threats (the estimated negative impact, versus their probability) is used by the governments to determine the responsibilities in the management of risk,<sup>86</sup> including here the planning on the unexpected situations. Given that, according to the proposal for the constitutional changes, respectively, the Article 126 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, the foreseen mandate of the Armed Forces is the defense of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, of citizens, property, and the interests of the Republic of Kosovo, as well as the contribution to the development and protection of the regional and global stability, then, in the following section we will analyze the accuracy of the estimations of security risks and threats of the regional environment, and we will investigate the possible political causes that prevented their open treatment.

The SRSS considers the regional security environment as very much more favorable when compared with the time when the independence of Kosovo was declared, and for this it credits particularly “the relaxation and the normalization of the relations between the Republic of Kosovo and Serbia, which began, and is continuing, in the spirit of non-confrontation and of the European integration.”<sup>87</sup> The SRSS estimates that regional risks and threats are the proliferation of small weapons, ethnic and religious extremism, organized crime, including trafficking, economic crimes, proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, regional political instability, epidemics and natural disasters.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Todor Tagerev: “The Art of Shaping Defence Policy: Scope, Components, Relationships (but no Algorithms),” *Connections*, Volume V, Number 1, Spring-Summer 2006, pg. 33.

<sup>87</sup> The Government of the Republic of Kosovo, “Analizë e Rishikimit Strategjik të Sektorit të Sigurisë të Republikës së Kosovës” [“An Analysis of the Strategic Review of the Security Sector of the Republic of Kosovo”], March 2014, pg. 16.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* pg. 17.



Nevertheless, if we analyze security policies of the countries of the Western Balkans, we can notice that all the states of the region, with the exception of Serbia, present the threats of conventional nature, without mentioning any particular country as a direct threat or concern.<sup>89</sup> Serbia presents Kosovo as a risk of separatism,<sup>90</sup> terrorism, organized crime, corruption, of trafficking of drugs, weapons, and of human beings,<sup>91</sup> and it also considers the KSF as a direct threat to “the existing regional structure of the control of weapons, which endangers the regional ballance.”<sup>92</sup> In addition, in the defense of its territorial sovereignty and integrity, Serbia is determined to use all the diplomatic, legal and other legitimate means,<sup>93</sup> by implying that it doesn’t exclude even the use of force. The vocabulary used by Belgrade regarding the creation of the Kosovo Armed Forces is even harsher.<sup>94</sup> The projection of Kosovo as such a major risk to security, openly shows the security and defense objectives of Belgrade against Prishtina, and, particularly, against the creation of the AFK.

While Serbia has credible military capacities, which are not only defensive, but, also, offensive, Kosovo has none of them,<sup>95</sup> which, in the absence of NATO’s military presence, makes it practically defenseless. Furthermore, the creation of the Kosovo Armed Forces will not have any significant role as far as the regional military balance is concerned, and, as such, will not present any military threat to any from the Kosovo’s neighbors.

In accordance with its non-recognition policy, Serbia has projected Kosovo as a major security threat in almost all the aspects, including here the military one. On the other hand, Kosovo has, formally – although, also, unrealistically – decided not to consider Serbia as such. This political choice of Kosovo could have been a result of: (a) wishfull thinking which was led by desires and ignorance,<sup>96</sup> (b) the protection provided by KFOR/NATO, which eradicates the existing fear, or, (c)

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<sup>89</sup> Lulzim Peci, “Kosova në kontekstin e sigurisë dhe mbrojtjes të Ballkanit Perëndimor” [“Kosovo in the Security and Defense Context of the Western Balkans”], KIPRED, September 2014, pg. 11.

<sup>90</sup> National Security Strategy of Serbia, Belgrade, October 2009, pg. 6.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 7.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 10.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 17.

<sup>94</sup> See, for instance, the statement of the Minister of Defense of Serbia, Bratislav Gašić: Vojska Kosova bi bila pretnja [The Army of Kosovo would be a threat],

[http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2014&mm=07&dd=27&nav\\_category=640&nav\\_id=881519](http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2014&mm=07&dd=27&nav_category=640&nav_id=881519), News Agency B92, July 27th, 2014.

<sup>95</sup> The Military Balance 2014, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, January 2014, pg. 132-133.

<sup>96</sup> An interview with a high official of the Ministry of the KSF, November 18th, 2014.

suggestions given by some Western governments that support the transformation of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) into the Kosovo Armed Forces (KAF).<sup>97</sup>

However, this choice does not solve this problem by itself, regardless of the “fragile detante” between Kosovo and Serbia, which is a result of the dialogue facilitated by the European Union. Furthermore, any effort of Kosovo for hard military balancing with Serbia is not feasible in the economic aspect, given that this would lead to the bankruptcy of the country. Meanwhile, politically, this would have as a consequence the escalation of the interethnic tensions, as well as the international isolation of Kosovo, given the fact that NATO and the US will not tolerate any initiative for any absurd armament of Kosovo.

**Is the creation of the Kosovo Armed Forces in the interest of the Serbian community in Kosovo, and of Serbia?<sup>98</sup>**

In spite of the fact that this might seem paradoxical at the first sight, the consolidation of the Kosovo’s security architecture is, essentially, in the interest of Serbia. Firstly, because this will pave the way for Kosovo to build the partnership relations with NATO, which, in turn, will enable the development of the KAF under the auspices of the Alliance. Thus, as a country that aspires the membership in the Alliance, Kosovo will not have even a theoretical chance to built any threatening army, or to undertake any hostile activities against Belgrade.

Secondly, the participation of the local Serbs in the multi-ethnic Kosovo Armed Forces would create the confidence of the Serbian community on these forces. Furthermore, the officers from the Serbian community would participate in the defense planning, and, in such a situation, it would be inconceivable that they would agree to whatever type of planning, or that they would execute whatever orders, if these plans and orders would be hostile towards Serbia.

And, thirdly, through the defense cooperation with Kosovo, Serbia, as a member of the Partnership for Peace (PfP), and as a country which aspires integration into the mechanisms of the European

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<sup>97</sup> An interview with a high official of the Office for Strategic Planning at the Office of the Prime Minister of Kosovo, October 4th, 2014.

<sup>98</sup> For analytical needs, this part of the work is compiled from the previous work of KIPRED “Kosovo in the Security and Defense Context of the Western Balkans”.

Security and Defense Policy, would be able to provide its contribution for the closure of this final unclosed security and stability chapter of the Western Balkans. This cooperation would help the region to evolve towards a security community, similar to that of the Nordic countries, which brings together NATO with the neutral PfP member states.

Therefore, it can be logically inferred that the creation of the Kosov Armed Forces does not undermine the interests of Serbia, and that it does not present a threat for the Serbian community of Kosovo. But, for achieving it, it is necessary to ensure the adequate presentation of the Serbian officers in the Kosovo Armed Forces, as well as non-hostile treatment of the KAF by Serbia.

The inclusion of the members of the Serbian community in the Kosovo Security Force remains extremely low (1.83%),<sup>99</sup> and this is mainly because of the opposition and the negative influence of Belgrade. Nevertheless, regardless of the fact that one from the posts of the Deputy Minister of the Kosovo Security Force belongs to the political representative of the Serbian community, there is no excuse whatsoever for the fact that the highest rank of a Serbian community officer in the KSF is the one of the officer in creation.<sup>100</sup> This issue should be addressed with the highest seriousness by the Government of Kosovo.

Also, the change of the security and defense policies of Serbia – of its National Security Strategy and Defense Strategy – in relation to Kosovo, might have an immense impact on the diminution of the actual distrust and hostilities, and this action will pave the way for a genuine cooperation and partnership between the two countries in the future, on the issues of security and defense, as well as for a genuine integration of the Serbian community into the KAF. The genuine integration of the Serbian community into the KSF or the KAF will be almost impossible, as long as their mother country will continue to treat these two in a hostile manner.

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<sup>99</sup> Donika Emini, "Inclusion or Exclusion? Minorities in the Security Sector in Post-Independence Kosovo", Kosovo Center for Security Studies, [http://www.qkss.org/repository/docs/Inclusion\\_or\\_Exclusion\\_Minorities\\_In\\_The\\_Security\\_Sector\\_In\\_PostIndependence\\_Kosovo\\_223772.pdf](http://www.qkss.org/repository/docs/Inclusion_or_Exclusion_Minorities_In_The_Security_Sector_In_PostIndependence_Kosovo_223772.pdf), March 2014, pg. 17.

<sup>100</sup> Interview of KIPRED with French KFOR, August 2014.

## **The establishment of the KAF: What next?**

The establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces is in a crossroad with unknown roads, and whatever the road that will be selected for moving forward, it will be both, hard, and difficult to be anticipated. However, the only options for moving forward with the process of the transformation of the KSF into the KAF, are the opening of the discussions with the Serbian List, raising of this topic in the dialogue in Brussels between Kosovo and Serbia, or the postponement of the formal establishment of the KAF for an undetermined period of time, in which case the new law on the KSF would be proceeded, instead of the establishment of the KAF.

The opening of the discussion with the Serbian List, by the government coalition partners, will, without any doubt, not be limited only to the establishment of the KAF, and it will certainly be broadened to the other topics which have to do with the completion of the agreement of the governmental coalition between PDK-LDK and the Serbian List, of the December 9<sup>th</sup>, 2014, as well as with the representation of the Serbian community in the security institutions of Kosovo.

However, as it was mentioned above, the range of issues that could be raised during this discussion by the Serbian List, is likely to be significantly broader, given the fact that the establishment of the KAF is treated as a vital issue, not only for the partners of the government coalition, namely, the PDK and the LDK, but, also, for the opposition. The Serbian List is aware that the stakes of the political parties of Albanians for the creation of the KAF are extremely high, and, at the same time, it doesn't have any interest of its own for its establishment – on the contrary, it has an objective to block it because of the negative attitude of Serbia. On the other hand, the option of putting the establishment of the KAF in the same package with the issue of the Association of the Serbian Municipalities by the PDK and the LDK, has a very small likelihood to be feasible, because, on the one hand, the achievement of the agreement on this Association is in its final stages, and, on the other, this is also an international obligation of Kosovo stemming from the Agreement of April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013.

The second option is the one of the opening of the dialogue on this issue in Brussels. However, given the actual phase of the dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade, it is difficult to expect that

there will be sufficient space for insertion of the establishment of the KAF in the agenda of issues on which the agreement is expected, because this agenda is, at least for now, almost closed.

Having in mind the fragile detente in the relations between two countries, the opening of any dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade on the KAF, regardless of any agreement that might be achieved, would be incomplete without addressing defense confidence building measures between them. The opening of the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia on the defense confidence building measures is a necessary step towards full normalization of relations between two countries.<sup>101</sup>

Nevertheless, the opening of the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia on confidence building measures in the field of defense should wait for a longer period of time, and very likely the last phase of negotiations of the Chapter 35 of the *Acquis* in the process of negotiations for the accession between EU and Serbia, which has to do completely with Kosovo. Thus, this option will imply the removal of the issue of the establishment of the KAF from the agenda for undetermined period of time.

Having in mind the current circumstances, the most realistic option is the one of postponement of the establishment of the KAF for an undetermined period of time, and, instead of this, to proceed with the new law on the KSF. The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo does not hinder the KSF to reinforce its mandate,<sup>102</sup> and to virtually transform itself into an armed force, without changing, for now, the name of its own, and to transform itself in operational aspect, as it is foreseen with the Analysis of the Review of the Security Sector.<sup>103</sup> Such an option would, factually, transform the KSF into the KAF, by simultaneously eliminating the possibility of blockage of the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces by Belgrade through the Serbian List. The re-introduction of the issue of the formal establishment of the KAF into the agenda can then be postponed, in coordination with NATO, until an opportune moment emerges in the process of negotiations of the Chapter 35 of the *Acquis* between the EU and Serbia.

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<sup>101</sup> For details see: Lulzim Peci, "Kosovo in the Security and Defense Context of the Western Balkans", September, 2014.

<sup>102</sup> The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 126 [The Kosovo Security Force]. <http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Kushtetuta.e.Republikes.se.Kosoves.pdf>

<sup>103</sup> Analysis of the Review of the Security Sector [point 7.1.3, The Ministry of the Security Force], [http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Analiza\\_e\\_Rishikimit\\_Strategjik\\_te\\_Sektorit\\_te\\_Sigurise\\_se\\_RKS\\_06032014.pdf](http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Analiza_e_Rishikimit_Strategjik_te_Sektorit_te_Sigurise_se_RKS_06032014.pdf)

## **Conclusions and Recommendations**

The inappropriate management of the political and institutional process of the establishment of the KAF by the Government of Kosovo, which initially excluded from this process the Security Council, and with this, also, the ministers of the Serbian community, from the process of the Strategic Review of the Security Sector, and from the very process of the transformation of the KSF into the KAF, and, which, also, provided the guarantees for non-deployment of the KSF into the North of the country, without obtaining in exchange any guarantees for non-hindrance of the creation of the KAF by Serbia, brought the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces into a crossroad.

The creation of the Kosovo Armed Forces will not have any significant impact in the regional military balance, and, as such, it does not present any military threat for any from the Kosovo's neighbours.

The establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces, and the strengthening of the multi-ethnic character of this institution, including here the reservation of a number of leading positions for the officers from the Serbian community, is in the interest of both, the Serbian community in Kosovo, and of Serbia itself.

The Government of Kosovo has three options in front of itself for the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces: the opening of the dialogue with the Serbian List, the opening of the dialogue in the Brussels, and the change of the Law on the KSF.

Given the blockade of the Serbian List against the establishment of the Kosovo Armed Forces, and the persistent opposition of Serbia, on the one hand, as well as the actual inapt moment for the opening of this topic in Brussels, on the other, the most realistic option remains the change of the Law on the KSF, in which case this institution, without changing its name, will strengthen its mandate, the scope of activities, and its structure, and would effect its transformation in operational terms, as foreseen by the Strategic Analysis of the Security Sector of Kosovo.

A convenient momentum for opening the dialogue on the measures for confidence building in the field of defense between Kosovo and Serbia, as well as for the re-introduce of the establishment of the KAF into the political agenda, can be created during the negotiations of the Chapter 35 of the *Acquis* between the UE and Serbia.

## **5. A BRIEF ANALITICAL OVERVIEW OF THE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY**

There were 1.000 respondents who participated in the survey, and they answered the question: “Could you, please, tell us, how much do you trust these institutions on the issues of security?”. The institutions given were: 1) the President; 2) the Prime Minister; 3) the Minister of Internal Affairs; 4) the Kosovo Police; 5) the Parliamentary Committee for Security, Internal Affairs and the Kosovo Security Force; 6) the Minister of the Security Force; 7) the Kosovo Security Force; 8) the Kosovo Intelligence Agency; 9) the Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency; and, 10) the Parliamentary Committee for Intelligence. The expression of trust was made from the lowest grade, 1, up to the highest one, 5, and the margin of error was  $\pm 3\%$ .

The respondents were then classified in different groups, and the focus was on the evaluations of these groups. These groups were classified based on their ethnicity and the place in Kosovo where these ethnicities live (the Serbs of the North, the Serbs of the South, the Albanians of the North), type of residence (urban, rural), gender, age-group, education, employment, ethnicity, region, and ethnicities based on regions.

The most important and interesting issues that came from this survey are mentioned bellow:

Two highest grades were given to the KSF (4.00) and to the Kosovo Police (3.79); meanwhile, two lowest grades were given to the Prime Minister (2.67) and to the Minister of Internal Affairs (2.75).

Among the Albanians who live in the North of Kosovo, two highest grades were for the KSF (3.80) (which, incidentally, is not present in the North of Kosovo) and for the Kosovo Police (3.50); meanwhile, two lowest grades were for the Minister of Internal Affairs (2.13) and for the Prime Minister (2.20). From these facts an interesting question that requires explanation emerges: how can the residents of the North give the highest evaluation for a security institution that does not function altogether in the Northern part of the country?



Among the Serbs, two highest grades are those for Kosovo Police, 1.82 (Serbs in the North 1.54, and Serbs in the South 1.99), and for the President, 1.06 (Serbs in the North, 1.04, and Serbs in the South 1.07). All the above mentioned institutions, except the President, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the Kosovo Police, were evaluated by the Serbs with the lowest grade, 1.0.

The rural population has had a propensity to express higher trust on these institutions, then the urban population. The trust expressed in these institutions by both genders was mixed, and the differences between two genders were very small. As far as the variable of age and the one of education are concerned, there were no changes in the levels of trust expressed that would indicate any particular phenomena.

Among the respondents, who had different employments, it can be noticed that the highest trust on these institutions was expressed by house-wives, and the lowest one by those employed in the public sector (and, a little bit above them, the category of those self-employed). Thus, in spite of the fact that those employed in the public sector (as the other categories of employment, and of those unemployed), have the highest trust on the Kosovo Police and on the Kosovo Security Force, they presented the only category in the variable of employment, which has evaluated these institutions with a grade lower than 3.0 (Kosovo Police, 2.92, and the Kosovo Security Force, 2.68). Here another interesting question that is worth discussing emerges: Why the Kosovo institutions enjoy the highest levels of trust among those who are the farthest from them (house-wives), and those who are the nearest to them, and, sometimes, within them (those employed in the public sector) have the lowest level of trust on them?

Yet another interesting and important occurrence emerges in the variable of ethnicity, where the groups are the Albanians, the Serbs, and the others. Here, Albanians have greatly higher trust on the institutions mentioned than the Serbs, but, the category of others trusts these institutions even more than the Albanians. As far as the regions of Kosovo are concerned, these institutions enjoy the highest trust in the region of Ferizaj (and, a little bit less, in that of Peja), meanwhile, they enjoy the lowest trust in the region of Gjakova.

In the last table are the answers of the respondents based on their ethnicity and distributed through the regions of Kosovo, which provide more details on the distribution of trust of citizens as related to the variable of ethnicity.

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust to the below-mentioned security institutions?					
Alternatives	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
The President	1000	1	5	2.95	1.399
The Primeminister	1000	1	5	2.67	1.385
The Minister of Internal Affairs	964	1	5	2.75	1.325
The Kosovo Police	1000	1	5	3.79	1.187
The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs, and Kosovo Security Force	921	1	5	3.17	1.209
The Minister of the Security Force	953	1	5	3.33	1.281
The Kosovo Security Force	1000	1	5	4.00	1.279
The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	947	1	5	3.02	1.350
The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	909	1	5	2.88	1.285
The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence	929	1	5	3.01	1.321

Tab 1. General Trust on Institutions

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
D7 Ethnicity		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Albanian	Mean	2.70	2.20	2.13	3.50	2.89	2.80	3.80	3.20	2.71	2.70
	N	10	10	8	10	9	10	10	10	7	10
Total	Mean	2.70	2.20	2.13	3.50	2.89	2.80	3.80	3.20	2.71	2.70
	N	10	10	8	10	9	10	10	10	7	10

Tab. 2. Albanians in the North

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
Serbs: North, South		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Serbs, North	Mean	1.04	1.00	1.00	1.54	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	N	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57
Serbs, South	Mean	1.07	1.02	1.09	1.99	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	N	94	94	92	94	94	94	94	94	94	94
Total	Mean	1.06	1.01	1.05	1.82	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	N	151	151	149	151	151	151	151	151	151	151

Tab.3. Serbs, North-South

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
D11. Type of residence		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Urban	Mean	2.53	2.35	2.37	3.31	2.59	2.74	3.36	2.50	2.40	2.48
	N	544	544	529	544	508	519	544	511	500	502
Rural	Mean	3.00	2.68	2.79	3.85	3.25	3.37	3.93	3.10	2.91	3.07
	N	456	456	436	456	413	435	456	436	414	428
Total	Mean	2.74	2.50	2.56	3.55	2.89	3.03	3.62	2.78	2.63	2.76
	N	1000	1000	965	1000	921	954	1000	947	914	930

Tab 4. Type of Residence

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
D1. Gender		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Male	Mean	2.73	2.46	2.52	3.55	2.89	3.04	3.71	2.76	2.66	2.81
	N	514	514	501	514	480	501	514	493	472	484
Femal	Mean	2.76	2.54	2.60	3.56	2.89	3.02	3.53	2.79	2.60	2.70
	N	486	486	464	486	441	453	486	454	442	446
Total	Mean	2.74	2.50	2.56	3.55	2.89	3.03	3.62	2.78	2.63	2.76
	N	1000	1000	965	1000	921	954	1000	947	914	930

Tab.5. Gender

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
D2. Age		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
18-25	Mean	2.68	2.50	2.49	3.49	2.96	3.04	3.59	2.86	2.68	2.88
	N	244	244	231	244	216	231	244	227	219	223
26-35	Mean	2.72	2.45	2.55	3.57	2.87	3.01	3.59	2.74	2.63	2.69
	N	249	249	242	249	230	238	249	236	230	231
36-45	Mean	2.74	2.55	2.56	3.58	2.92	3.06	3.71	2.77	2.58	2.71
	N	191	191	183	191	178	184	191	185	178	182
46-55	Mean	2.71	2.44	2.51	3.54	2.79	2.93	3.56	2.72	2.57	2.68
	N	194	194	189	194	183	184	194	185	177	183
56-65	Mean	3.01	2.64	2.71	3.63	2.92	3.19	3.71	2.72	2.68	2.75
	N	86	86	86	86	79	83	86	79	76	77
66+	Mean	2.86	2.56	2.91	3.61	2.80	3.06	3.75	2.89	2.79	3.06
	N	36	36	34	36	35	34	36	35	34	34
Total	Mean	2.74	2.50	2.56	3.55	2.89	3.03	3.62	2.78	2.63	2.76
	N	1000	1000	965	1000	921	954	1000	947	914	930

Tabela 6. Age

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
D4. Education		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Elementary school or less	Mean	3.05	2.75	2.81	3.64	2.89	3.14	3.56	2.94	2.81	2.85
	N	250	250	236	250	222	235	250	229	222	225
Secondary school	Mean	2.76	2.45	2.59	3.62	2.99	3.08	3.74	2.84	2.62	2.81
	N	475	475	464	475	440	453	475	451	437	443
Some years at the faculty	Mean	2.41	2.48	2.36	3.57	2.78	2.98	3.52	2.60	2.63	2.62
	N	88	88	83	88	78	81	88	84	81	84
College	Mean	2.05	1.74	2.17	2.81	2.00	2.24	2.71	2.02	1.88	2.23
	N	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	41	40	40
Undergraduate	Mean	2.44	2.35	2.21	3.34	2.79	2.84	3.54	2.59	2.54	2.63
	N	116	116	112	116	111	115	116	114	107	111
Graduate or doctoral	Mean	3.00	2.90	2.39	3.69	3.21	3.39	4.17	2.82	2.89	2.85
	N	29	29	28	29	28	28	29	28	27	27
Total	Mean	2.74	2.50	2.56	3.55	2.89	3.03	3.62	2.78	2.63	2.76
	N	1000	1000	965	1000	921	954	1000	947	914	930

Tab.8. Education

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
D6. Actual Profession		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Unemployed; searching for job	Mean	2.33	2.18	2.30	3.23	2.59	2.59	3.21	2.47	2.33	2.43
	N	205	205	199	205	193	199	205	198	194	196
Unemployed; not searching for job	Mean	3.28	2.72	2.83	3.78	3.00	3.67	4.22	3.33	2.94	3.00
	N	18	18	18	18	16	18	18	18	16	18
Employed in the public sector	Mean	2.02	2.03	1.92	2.92	2.18	2.21	2.68	2.15	2.09	2.02
	N	105	105	104	105	101	104	105	104	98	101
Employed in the private sector	Mean	2.79	2.51	2.62	3.56	2.95	3.30	3.86	2.87	2.77	2.88
	N	243	243	235	243	230	235	243	232	224	228
Employed, periodically	Mean	2.84	2.34	2.41	3.55	2.82	2.91	3.46	2.59	2.55	2.72
	N	82	82	81	82	76	79	82	74	74	75
Retiree	Mean	2.75	2.47	2.81	3.42	2.67	2.91	3.51	2.71	2.63	2.81
	N	55	55	54	55	54	53	55	52	52	52
House-wife	Mean	3.45	3.16	3.20	4.23	3.61	3.66	4.25	3.50	3.14	3.34
	N	173	173	163	173	150	159	173	159	152	153
Student/ pupil	Mean	2.89	2.58	2.52	3.68	3.11	3.08	3.74	2.78	2.71	2.89
	N	106	106	98	106	88	95	106	97	91	94
Other, specify:	Mean	2.89	2.22	2.44	4.00	3.33	4.11	4.67	2.33	2.33	3.33
	N	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Self-employed	Mean	1.50	2.00	2.00	3.50	2.50	2.33	4.25	2.00	2.25	2.25
	N	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4
Total	Mean	2.74	2.50	2.56	3.55	2.89	3.03	3.62	2.78	2.63	2.76
	N	1000	1000	965	1000	921	954	1000	947	914	930

Tab. 9. Employment



Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
D7. Ethnicity		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Albanian	Mean	2.98	2.69	2.78	3.84	3.23	3.39	4.08	3.06	2.93	3.06
	N	749	749	723	749	694	716	749	712	683	699
Serb	Mean	1.06	1.01	1.05	1.82	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	N	151	151	149	151	151	151	151	151	151	151
Other	Mean	3.51	3.28	3.28	4.06	3.51	3.62	4.15	3.51	3.19	3.40
	N	100	100	93	100	76	87	100	84	80	80
Total	Mean	2.74	2.50	2.56	3.55	2.89	3.03	3.62	2.78	2.63	2.76
	N	1000	1000	965	1000	921	954	1000	947	914	930

Tab. 10. Ethnicity

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?											
Region		The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Prishtina	Mean	2.52	2.49	2.48	3.62	2.85	3.11	3.94	2.70	2.53	2.46
	N	244	244	223	244	202	218	244	218	204	205
Mitrovica	Mean	2.59	2.71	2.72	4.03	3.23	3.37	3.91	3.34	3.22	3.14
	N	113	113	107	113	107	107	113	106	102	105
Prizren	Mean	3.29	2.67	2.84	3.96	3.49	3.85	4.46	3.47	3.35	3.69
	N	162	162	161	162	159	162	162	159	158	161
Peja	Mean	3.83	3.18	2.97	3.89	3.27	3.36	4.12	3.40	2.95	3.36
	N	94	94	90	94	67	81	94	78	65	75
Ferizaj	Mean	4.00	3.72	3.84	4.25	3.87	3.87	4.37	3.71	3.69	3.72
	N	100	100	99	100	99	99	100	100	99	98
Gjakova	Mean	2.05	1.75	2.10	2.78	2.15	2.20	2.20	2.00	1.97	1.93
	N	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
Gjilan	Mean	2.15	1.90	1.97	3.20	2.37	2.26	3.02	1.87	1.71	2.07
	N	131	131	129	131	131	131	131	130	130	130
North of Kosovo	Mean	1.04	1.00	1.00	1.54	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	N	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57
Total	Mean	2.74	2.50	2.56	3.55	2.89	3.03	3.62	2.78	2.63	2.76
	N	1000	1000	965	1000	921	954	1000	947	914	930

Tab. 11. Region

Q1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the below-mentioned security institutions?												
D7 Ethnicity/Region			The President	The Primeminister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Committee on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	The Minister of the Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Director of the Kosovar Agency of Intelligence	The Parliamentary Committee on Intelligence
Albanian	Prishtina	Mean	2.53	2.53	2.62	3.67	3.06	3.30	4.19	2.83	2.71	2.63
		N	197	197	183	197	170	181	197	181	170	171
	Mitrovica	Mean	2.56	2.63	2.67	4.04	3.27	3.43	3.99	3.38	3.25	3.16
		N	98	98	92	98	94	94	98	93	89	92
	Prizren	Mean	3.23	2.59	2.69	3.95	3.45	3.86	4.46	3.40	3.37	3.67
		N	128	128	127	128	128	128	128	126	126	128
	Peja	Mean	4.01	3.29	3.07	4.09	3.50	3.58	4.39	3.67	3.17	3.56
		N	79	79	75	79	56	67	79	66	53	64
	Ferizaj	Mean	4.47	4.11	4.24	4.61	4.31	4.31	4.96	4.11	4.08	4.14
		N	75	75	74	75	74	74	75	75	74	73
	Gjakova	Mean	2.11	1.79	2.19	2.83	2.19	2.29	2.26	2.04	2.03	2.00
		N	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89
	Gjilan	Mean	2.76	2.41	2.43	3.94	3.16	2.99	4.19	2.38	2.12	2.70
		N	83	83	83	83	83	83	83	82	82	82
	Total	Mean	2.98	2.69	2.78	3.84	3.23	3.39	4.08	3.06	2.93	3.06
		N	749	749	723	749	694	716	749	712	683	699

<b>Serb</b>	<b>Prishtina</b>	<b>Mean</b>	1.05	1.00	1.00	2.37	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
		<b>N</b>	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
	<b>Mitrovica</b>	<b>Mean</b>	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
		<b>N</b>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	<b>Peja</b>	<b>Mean</b>	1.14	1.14	1.00	1.43	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
		<b>N</b>	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
	<b>Ferizaj</b>	<b>Mean</b>	1.07	1.00	1.13	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
		<b>N</b>	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
	<b>Gjilan</b>	<b>Mean</b>	1.08	1.02	1.13	1.92	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
		<b>N</b>	48	48	46	48	48	48	48	48	48	48
	<b>North of Kosovo</b>	<b>Mean</b>	1.04	1.00	1.00	1.54	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
		<b>N</b>	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57
	<b>Totali</b>	<b>Mean</b>	1.06	1.01	1.05	1.82	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
		<b>N</b>	151	151	149	151	151	151	151	151	151	151

Tab.11. Region-Ethnicity



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