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INTRODUCTION

The fifth issue of the first volume of the Kosovo Security Sector Observer (KSSO) discusses analytically the key issues of the sectors of internal affairs, intelligence, Security Council, and Security Force, which have dominated the public debate and the parliamentary oversight of these sectors during the period July 15th – November 15th, 2016. In a particular work on public policy analysis, the KSSO also discusses the parliamentary oversight of the security sector, that is, the Commission on Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the KSF, and presents the results of the public opinion survey on the trust regarding the security issues, that Kosovo citizens have on respective governmental institutions and their heads, as well as on respective parliamentary commissions.

The section on internal affairs analyzes briefly the developments related to terrorism, the case of Astrit Dehari, the work of the Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, and it also presents the findings of the public opinion survey on the trust that Kosovo citizens have regarding the security issues on the Internal Affairs Minister and the Kosovo Police, as well as on the respective parliamentary commission.

The section on Kosovo Security Force discusses the issue of religious services for the officers of KSF, the transformation of the KSF and the statements of the Serbian List, the statement of the KSF Commander on the protection/defense of state borders, the work of the Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, and it presents the findings of the public opinion survey on the trust that Kosovo citizens have regarding security issues on the Minister of the KSF, the Kosovo Security Force and the respective Parliamentary Commission.

The section on intelligence and the Security Council treats the trust on Kosovo Intelligence Agency (KIA), based on the 18-month long research of the public opinion on the trust of citizens regarding the security issues, on KIA, its Director, and on the respective parliamentary commission. At the end of this issue of the KSSO, we present a brief analysis of the key findings of the public opinion survey on the trust that Kosovo citizens have on the security sector institutions of Kosovo, which was conducted at the end of November and beginning of December, 2016.

1. THE OVERSIGHT OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS SECTOR

Introduction

During the period July 15th – November 15th, 2016, the key public issues pertaining to internal affairs sector were the continuation of the departure of Kosovars to fight in Syria and Iraq alongside the terrorist groups ISIS and Al-Nusra, the contradictory statement issued by the Police Commander of the Prizren Region, Mr. Nexhmi Krasniqi, on the way in which the activist of the Vetëvendosje Movement, Mr. Astrit Dehari, died in the Prizren prison, as well as the prevention of terrorist attacks in Kosovo, Albania and the region.

Also, particular sections of this chapter will discuss the oversight of the internal affairs sector by the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF, as well as the trust that Kosovo citizens have on the institutions of this sector.

Kosovars, radicalized again, on the road to Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)!

For almost a year, in almost all of the meetings with local and international representatives and media, the highest representatives of Kosovar institutions were continuously stating that, during the last year not even a single Kosovar has gone to join the terrorist organizations in Iraq and Syria.

Thus, in June 2016, the Minister of Internal Affairs of Kosovo, Mr. Skender Hyseni, has declared that “the 10th month is ending in which no case of departures for foreign wars was registered.”¹ Minister Hyseni repeated the same thing in the meeting of local forums on security in Prishtina, by saying that “for a year there was not even a single case of any departure of any Kosovar in the foreign wars.”² The same was declared by the Prime Minister of Kosovo, Mr. Isa Mustafa, in a meeting with the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni and the Commander of the Kosovo Police, Mr. Shpend Maxhuni, where he highlighted that “all the internal and international reports are confirming the positive result

1 Koha.net: Hyseni: Qe 10 muaj asnjë pjesëmarrës i Kosovës në luftëra të huaja, June 10th, 2016, <http://koha.net/?id=27&l=117704> (06/12/2016).

2 The Ministry of Internal Affairs: Ministria e Punëve të Brendshme: Ministri Hyseni u takua me anëtarët e forumeve lokale të sigurisë të rajonit të Prishtinës, 24/08/2016, <http://mpb.rks-gov.net/News.aspx?ID=641>, (08/12/2016).

that during these last eight months there were no Kosovar citizens who have gone in the wars in Syria and Iraq.”³

Nevertheless, these statements on the cessation of departures of Kosovars to fight alongside terrorist organizations, ended in October of this year,⁴ when local media reported that a group of Kosovars has already joined the terrorist organizations operating in Syria and Iraq.⁵ For joining the terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq, these Kosovar citizens had selected the route through a neighbouring state, that is Montenegro.⁶

According to media reports, the citizens Amir Vuniqi, Egzon Iseni, Rron Emini and Irfan Haqifi, at the beginning of September have travelled in the direction of war centers in the Middle East.⁷ Furthermore, by achieving to depart from Kosovo for joining the terrorist groups, Irfan Haqifi had escaped the Kosovar justice, which had already charged him for criminal deeds related to terrorism.⁸

However, this is not the first case that a person charged by justice for terrorism has achieved to depart from Kosovo in order to join the terrorist groups. This has happened also in 2015, when a person charged with initials B.M. has had the reprisal to show himself in the Police Station, and, later, the decision was taken to substitute this reprisal of showing into the Police Station with the one of house-arrest. After the removal of the punitive measure of house-arrest, when the legal measures were finished, in July, B.M. had passed the border point of Hani i Elezit in the direction of Macedonia,⁹ and,

3 RTV 21.tv: Mustafa: Për tetë muaj asnjë kosovar nuk ka shkuar në Siri dhe Irak (Raporti RTV21-Video, March 29, 2016, <http://rtv21.tv/web/mustafa-per-tete-muaj-asnje-kosovar-nuk-ka-shkuar-ne-siri-dhe-irak-raport-i-rtv21-video/> (08/12/2016).

4 Koha.net: IKSIN: Në shtator drejt Sirisë ka udhëtuar një grup i konsiderueshëm i Kosovarëve, 3 tetor 2016, <http://koha.net/?id=27&l=135733>, (09/12/2016).

5 Radio Evropa e Lirë: Pas njëviti ‘qetësie’, shënohen gjashtë raste të reja të ikjes në frontet në Siri e Irak, 24 tetor, 2016, <http://www.evropaelire.org/a/28071980.html>, (09/12/2016).

6 Gazetaexpress.com: Rruga e re drejt Sirisë – Katër kosovarë i bashkohen ISIS-it, njëri prej tyre ishte në arrest shtëpiak, 19 tetor 2016, <http://www.gazetaexpress.com/lajme/rruga-e-re-drejt-sirise-kater-kosovare-i-bashkohen-isis-it-dy-prej-tyre-ishin-ne-arrest-shtepiak-267418/?archive=1> (09/12/2016).

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Policia e Kosovës: Zyra për Informim dhe Marrëdhënie me Publikun, 22 tetor 2015, communication through electronic mail.

afterwards, he travelled to Syria,¹⁰ a fact that presents a serious failure of the law enforcing bodies and of intelligence in the observation of the cases that are, or were, suspicious for terrorism.

After this, the continuation of the departure of Kosovars to fight alongside terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq was confirmed by the heads of Kosovo security institutions themselves. The Minister of the MIA, Mr. Skender Hyseni, in the Summit of the Parliamentary Assembly of NATO confirmed that during September there were already six cases of the departures towards the war centers, and that for two from them there were already confirmations that they have arrived in their destinations through different routes.¹¹ This was also confirmed by the Kosovo Police for the RTK through e-mail.

Furthermore, the Radio Television of Kosovo, in the program entitled “Udhëve” [“On the Roads”], has declared that, until September, there were twelve Kosovars who have gone in the direction of Syria,¹² and that, in fact, up to now, the Ministry of Internal Affairs did not explain if there were four or twelve Kosovars who have travelled towards the war centers to join the terrorist groups.

The continuation of the departures of Kosovars towards the war zones, at the time when the officials of Kosovo institutions were claiming that “no Kosovars are departing towards the war zones”, emphasizes the lacuna in the intelligence institutions, such as the one in the KIA, and the Kosovo Police, in preventing the Kosovars from joining the terrorist groups. Also, the persons who have organized this travel, have done this act at the time when the security institutions were taking pride regarding the fact that there are no persons who are travelling in Syria and Iraq anymore. Nevertheless, it seems that the reality is different, given that the persons within Kosovo continued to organize these travels without facing any problems, thus challenging the security bodies, and this is a serious problem for the security of the country.

10 Kallxo.com: Dështimi i Drejtësisë Kosovare në Arratisjen e të Akuzuarve për Terrorizëm, 08/11/2016, <http://kallxo.com/gjnk/deshtimi-drejttese-kosovare-ne-arratisjen-e-te-akuzuarve-per-terrorizem/1>, (09/12/2016).

11 Ministria e Punëve të Brendshme: Fjalimi i ministrit të Punëve të Brendshme, z. Skender Hyseni, në samitin e Asamblesë parlamentare të NATO-s, 24 tetor 2016, <http://mpb.rks-gov.net/News.aspx?ID=719>, 09/12/2016.

12 Rtklive.com: Emisioni Udhëve, <http://www.kosova.info/djali-i-komandant-lleshit-xhihadist-ne-siri/> 28/ tetor/ 2016 (09/12/2016).

The Prevention of the Terrorist Attack and the Arrests of the Suspects

During October 2016, the Kosovo Police, in cooperation with the Kosovar Intelligence Agency and the Special Prosecution, has achieved to prevent a number of terrorist attacks,¹³ which were planned to be committed in a synchronized manner, not only in Kosovo, but also in Albania and in the region.¹⁴

On November 4th, 2016, in the regions of Mitrovica, Ferizaj and Prishtina, the Kosovo Police has arrested seven persons “under the suspicion of endangering the constitutional order and the security of the country.”¹⁵ Meanwhile, according to the Special Prosecution, these persons were arrested under the suspicion of terrorism, given that they were planning terrorist attacks, first in Kosovo, and then in the entire Balkans.¹⁶ According to media, the arrested persons in cooperation with other suspects from the countries of the region, were planning to conduct attacks during the football match Albania-Israel, which was initially planned to take place in Shkodra,¹⁷ but, for security reasons, and upon the request of the International Football Federation (FIFA), was transferred to Elbasan.¹⁸ On this occasion, the Basic Court of Prishtina determined the measure of detention for seven persons suspected for terrorism.¹⁹

For this prevention of these terrorist attacks, the Prime Minister Mustafa delivered a pronouncement, and, in a post in the Facebook, he congratulated the Kosovo Police, by stressing that “Within a week our Police has proved to enjoy the highest trust of citizens in the entire region, given the report of Transparency International, and it was the headline of the world media for its successful prevention of terrorist attacks in the match Albania-Israel.” There was also a similar posting in Facebook by the

13 Kallxo.com: Policia e Kosovës Parandaloi Sulme Terroriste, 16/11/2016, <http://kallxo.com/policia-e-kosoves-parandaloi-sulme-terroriste/> (13/12/2016).

14 Ibid.

15 Kallxo.com: Arrestimet nën dyshimet për terrorizëm, 05/11/2016, <http://kallxo.com/arrestime-nen-dyshimet-per-terrorizem/> (13/12/2016).

16 Kallxo.com: Prokuroria: Të Arrestuarit Për Terrorizëm Planifikonin Sulm në Kosovë, 05/11/2016, <http://kallxo.com/prokuroria-te-arrestuarit-per-terrorizem-planifikonin-sulm-ne-kosove/> (13/12/2016).

17 Insajderi.com: Aksioni i Policisë së Kosovës kundër terrorizmit merr dhenë në mediat ndërkombëtare, 17/11/2016, <http://www.insajderi.com/aksioni-policise-se-kosoves-kunder-terrorizmit-merr-dhene-ne-mediat-nderkombetare/> (13/12/2016).

18 FSHF konfirmon: Nuk ka shtyrje të ndeshjes, Federata Shqiptare e Futbollit, 09/11/2016, <http://www.fshf.org/index.php/sq/lajme/5277-fshf-konfirmon-nuk-ka-shtyrje-te-ndeshje> (13/12/2016).

19 Kallxo.com: Paraburgim të arrestuarve për terrorizëm, 05/11/2016, <http://kallxo.com/paraburgim-te-arrestuarve-per-terrorizem/> (13/12/2016).

President of Kosovo, Mr. Hashim Thaçi, who emphasized that, with its exemplary work, the Kosovo Police has prevented the terrorist attack which was planned to be committed during the football match between Albania and Israel.²⁰

The fact that the Kosovar security institutions, such as Kosovar Intelligence Agency and the Kosovo Police have prevented at the right time terrorist attacks which could have had heavy consequences for the citizens of Kosovo, Albania, and wider, and that by doing this they have increased their credibility within the country and at the international level, is an undeniable one.

However, this case is also a warning about the huge increase of the risk of terrorist attacks in Kosovo, given that this shows clearly that ISIS has changed its strategy in relation to its supporters in the Balkans, by requiring them to conduct the terrorist attacks in the countries where they live, similarly as in other countries in Europe and broader. On this occasion, the security institutions, including the Security Council, should inform the Kosovo citizens on the level of danger and threat from terrorist attacks, as well as on the respective measures of cautiousness.

The Statement of the Commander of the Police of the Prizren Region, Nexhmi Krasniqi, on the death of Astrit Dehari

Astrit Dehari, an activist of the Vetëvendosje Movement, was one among the five persons arrested by the Kosovo Police, on August 30th, 2016,²¹ under the suspicion that they have attacked the Kosovo Assembly, on August 4th, 2016.²² On this occasion, the Basic Court of Prishtina has decreed a decision on one month of detention for Astrit Dehari, as a suspect for the attack on the Kosovo Assembly,²³ and

20 Top-Channel.tv: Sulmi terrorist ndaj Izraelit, Thaçi përgëzon strukturat e sigurisë, 16/11/2016, <http://top-channel.tv/lajme/artikull.php?id=340710> (13/12/2016).

21 Kallxo.com: Gjashtë të Arrestuar për Sulmin në Kuvend, 30/08/2016, <http://kallxo.com/gjashte-te-arrestuar-per-sulmin-ne-kuvend/> (12/12/2016).

22 Policia e Kosovës: Informacioni Policisë së Kosovës lidhur me sulmin në ndërtesën e Kuvendit të Republikës së Kosovës, 5 gusht 2016, <http://www.kosovopolice.com/sq/informacione/informacion-i-policise-se-kosoves-lidhur-me-sulmin-ne-ndertesën-e-kuvendit-te-republikes-se-kosoves>, (12/12/2016).

23 Kallxo.com: Paraburgim dhe Arrest Shtëpiak për Sulmin në Kuvend, 01/09/2016, <http://kallxo.com/paraburgim-dhe-arrest-shtepiak-per-sulmin-ne-kuvend/>, (12/12/2016).

later, the same court has extended this detention for next two months.²⁴ After 67 days of detention, on November 5th, 2016, Mr. Dehari died in the Prizren prison under circumstances that have not been explained yet.

The first institution that was pronounced regarding this issue was the Kosovo Correctional Service, by stating that “Astrit Dehari has died in the Prizren prison in the yet unexplained circumstances.”²⁵ The same institution declared that the late Astrit Dehari “died in the Regional Hospital of Prizren.”²⁶ Later, the death was confirmed by the Major Prosecutor of the Prizren Prosecution, Sylë Hoxha, who qualified this as a “suspicious death in the unclear circumstances.”²⁷

However, what has caused the largest confusion and uncertainty for the family and the public opinion,²⁸ was the statement of the Commander of the Prizren Region Police, Nexhmi Krasniqi, who, after the death of Dehari declared that “according to the first informations that we have from the Director of the Detention Center in Prizren, the victim has used some medications and has fallen in the state of coma. He has died in the road to the emergency, and he has arrived at the emergency center without signs of life.”²⁹

This statement of the Commander Krasniqi was imprudent, and was not within the realm of his competencies, given that the issue of Astrit Dehari was already in the hands of the Kosovo Prosecution and of the Kosovo Correctional Service, and such an ascertainment could have been made only by the forensic service after the dissection.

24 Kallxo.com: U vazhdohen masat të dyshuarve për sulmin në Kuvend, 29/09/2016, <http://kallxo.com/u-vazhdohen-masat-te-dyshuarve-per-sulmin-ne-kuvend/> (12/12/2016).

25 Koha.net: Vdes aktivisti i Vetëvendosjes, Astrit Dehari, i paraburgosur në burgun e Prizrenit, 5 nëntor 2016, [http://koha.net/?id=3&l=140983\(12/12/2016\)](http://koha.net/?id=3&l=140983(12/12/2016)).

26 Koha.net: SHKK: Astrit Dehari ndërroi jetë në spitalin e Prizrenit, 5 nëntor 2016, [http://koha.net/?id=3&l=140988\(12/12/2016\)](http://koha.net/?id=3&l=140988(12/12/2016)).

27 Koha.net: Prokuroria nis hetimet për vdekjen e dyshimtë të Astrit Deharit, 5 nëntor 2016, [http://koha.net/?id=27&l=141006\(13/12/2016\)](http://koha.net/?id=27&l=141006(13/12/2016)).

28 Koha.net: Familja Dehari: Autopsia e djalit tonë të mos bëhet pa praninë e mjekëve të caktuar nga ne, 5 nëntor 2016, [http://koha.net/?id=27&l=141018\(13/12/2016\)](http://koha.net/?id=27&l=141018(13/12/2016)).

29 Koha.net: Policia: Astrit Dehari konsumoi barna, ra në gjendje kome dhe vdiq rrugës për në spital, 5 Nëntor 2016, [http://koha.net/?id=27&l=141016\(13/12/2016\)](http://koha.net/?id=27&l=141016(13/12/2016)).

For the death of Astrit Dehari, the Ministry of Justice took the measure of suspension against four officials of the correctional service of Prizren.³⁰ However, the same thing was not done by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which didn't take any measures against the Commander of the Prizren region Police, Nexhmi Krasniqi, firstly, because of the delivered statement which was outside of his competences, and, secondly, because he has damaged the trust of citizens on the investigative process for the explanation of the Dehari's case.

Parliamentary Oversight

During the period from June 15th, until November 15th, 2016, the Parliamentary Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force did hold 6 meetings in which the issues pertaining to internal affairs were discussed, and these meetings took place on July 19th and 26th, August 8th, and on October 5th and 18th, 2016.

In the meeting of July 19th 2016, the report on the security situation in Kosovo was delivered by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni, and, in the continuation, we will discuss the major issues of this presentation. Minister Hyseni emphasized that the security situation in several given fields is good, but, that it is not at the desirable level in the field of traffic, and that, thus, the legislation in the field of the traffic should be changed.³¹ On this issue we should stress that the Law on the Road Traffic Provisions has entered into force only recently, on September 20th, 2016.³² The Minister has also reported on the results achieved during the last six months in fighting the corruption. Meanwhile, regarding violent extremism and radicalization, Minister Hyseni stressed that the Republic of Kosovo has achieved a considerable progress, and that, today, we have a situation which is under control, as much as it is possible.³³

30 Republika e Kosovës, Ministria e Drejtësisë së Kosovës: Suspendohen katër zyrtarë të Qendrës së Paraburgimit në Prizren, 22 nëntor 2016, <http://www.md-ks.net/?page=1,8,1980> (13/12/2016).

31 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverbali i mbledhjes së Komisionit për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrje të Forcave të Sigurisë, datë, 19/07/2016, Raportimi i Ministrit të MPB-së, z. Skender Hyseni.

32 Klan Kosova: Sot hyn në fuqi ligji i ri i trafikut, 20 shtator 2016, <http://klankosova.tv/sot-hyn-ne-fuqi-ligji-i-ri-i-trafikut/> 15/12/2016.

33 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverbali i mbledhjes së komisionit për punë të brendshme, siguri dhe mbikëqyrje të forcave të sigurisë, datë, 19/07/2016, Raportimi i Ministrit të Punëve të Brendshme, z. Skender Hyseni.

Among other issues, in this meeting Minister Hyseni provided explanations regarding the complaints on Kosovo Police during its intervention in the January 2015 protests, on which occasion he informed that the Kosovo Police Inspectorate has proceeded 87 complaints to the Prosecution. On the issue of the membership in INTERPOL, he stressed that a team from this institution will come to Kosovo, for finding a juridical model for the membership of Kosovo in this institution, and that this is expected to happen within next three years. He also provided explanations on fighting the terrorism and radicalization, including the arrests and serving the sentences, as well as on the registration of 21 NGO-s. However, according to the records of the meeting, Minister Hyseni did not answer the question of the deputy Nuredin Ibishi, on the execution of 17 recommendations of the Commission for the implementation of the Law on Police, thus bypassing the discussion of the concrete results of one from the most profound parliamentary oversights of the security sector.

Meanwhile, the agenda of the July 26th, 2016, meeting of the Commission included the discussion of the Working Plan of the Commission for the first six months of the year 2016. The record and the work of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force will be treated more broadly in the last section of this issue of the Observer, in the analysis of public policies.³⁴

In the meeting of the Commission of August 8th, 2016, the General Commander of the Kosovo Police, Mr. Shpend Maxhuni, delivered the report on the security condition in Kosovo. The Director of the Police, Mr. Maxhuni, stressed that, as far as the security condition is concerned, the Kosovo Police evaluates it as quiet and stable, under the control of the security institutions. He stressed that for the first part of the year 2016, the Kosovo Police has executed all the duties and plannings in accordance with the first year strategic plan for the period 2016-2020. Meanwhile, the questions posed by the deputies of the Commission were related predominantly to the attack against the Kosovo Assembly that occurred on August 4th, 2016, as well as to the shootings with firearms that occurred in the "Beer Fest". The deputies required information mostly on the attack against the Kosovo Assembly, given that it has caused panic among the citizens. In his answers, the Police Director, Mr. Maxhuni, said that this was a serious attack, and that jointly with the Special Prosecution it has been qualified as an act with terrorist elements, as well as that it will be treated as such. In addition he said that he wants to ensure all the citizens that Kosovo Police will act with all the capacities at the disposal to bring the perpetrators of this

34 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverbal i Komisionit për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, 26/07/2016.

attack before justice. Regarding the incident that has occurred in the “Beer Fest”, he emphasized that unknown citizens did shoot in air with firearms, and that Kosovo Police did undertake the measures to put the situation under control. He also emphasized that for this incident, the Kosovo Police has drafted a concrete plan, together with the Municipal Council of Prishtina as well as with the organizer of the event. Also, the deputy Daut Haradinaj mentioned that, according to some media, religious radicals might have training camps in Kosovo. The Director of the Police, Mr. Maxhuni stated that there are no such camps in the territory of Kosovo, that train individuals with radical inclinations, given that Kosovo Police has mechanisms to control the entire territory.³⁵

In the meeting of the Commission of October 5th, 2016, the arrest by Serbian authorities of the member of the Kosovo Police Nehat Thaçi was discussed. The Commission requested urgently the release of the officer Nehat Thaçi, and appealed to local and international authorities to exercise their pressure on official Belgrade to release him, as well as to cease these practices of “the old mindset”. On this occasion, the Commission also requested the application of the reciprocal measures between the two states.³⁶

Meanwhile, in the October 12th, 2016, meeting of the Commission, the report was delivered by the Head of the Executive of the Police Inspectorate of Kosovo (PIK), Mr. Hilmi Mehmeti. On this occasion he stressed that during the nine months period from January 1st to September 30th, 2016, the PIK has received 1021 complaints – thus, there was an increase in the number of complaints compared to 896 complaints from one year earlier. After the analysis was conducted by the Division of Complaints, 622 complaints were returned to the Directorate for Professional Standards of the Kosovo Police, since there were no elements of criminal acts found, and, the remaining group of complaints (379 of them) were sent to the Department of Investigations of the PIK. He also mentioned that in the organizational structure of the PIK operates the Department of Inspections, which during this period has conducted 5 regular and 3 extraordinary inspections. Based on the report, there was a slight decrease of the budget in the Division for Budget and Finances, where 52.000 € were taken from the Ministry of Finances

35 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverbal i datës 8 gusht 2016, Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, Raportimi i Drejtorit të Përgjithshëm të Policisë së Kosovës z.Shpend Maxhuni rreth situatës së sigurisë në Kosovë,

http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2016_08_08_10_6584_al.pdf

36 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverbal i datës 5 tetor 2016, Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës. Këtu u diskutua lidhur me arrestimin nga Serbia të pjesëtarit të Policisë së Kosovës, nënkolonel Nehat Thaçi.

http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2016_10_05_11_6644_al.pdf

because of the budgetary shortenings, and this has influenced directly the work of PIK, given that 29.000 € were withdrawn from the capital expenses, and these means were used for supply with weapons.³⁷

In the meeting of October 18th, 2016, the report was delivered by Mr. Naim Rexha, the General Deputy Director of Police, on the arrest of the member of Kosovo Police, lieutenant-colonel Nehat Thaqi, by Serbian Police. According to Mr. Rexha, lieutenant-colonel of the Kosovo Police, Mr. Nehat Thaqi, was in the annual vacation, traveling to Germany and Switzerland to visit his relatives, and he was in a transit passing through Serbia. His arrest by Serbian institutions was made based on a warrant from the year 2010, for “the criminal act of terrorism, claimed to be conducted in the year 1999.”

On this occasion, the deputies of the Parliamentary Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force made several questions to the Deputy Director, Mr. Naim Rexha, related to the arrest of Mr. Thaqi. The Head of the Commission raised the issue on whether this was the first time that Mr. Nehat Thaqi was passing the border. Was he informed that he was in the list of persons to be pursued? Also, the deputy Fadil Demaku wanted to know if the higher officers of the Kosovo Police are obliged to inform their superiors for the place in which they are and also for their movements during their vacations. Other technical questions on the Kosovo Police were also asked by the deputies during this meeting.

On the other hand, in his answers, the Deputy Director of the Kosovo Police, Mr. Naim Rexha, stressed that, according to the control of the system in all the points of border control, it results that Mr. Thaqi did not enter Serbia earlier. However, in his interference, the Head of the Commission, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, added that Mr. Bojan Mitiq has said that Mr. Nehat Thaqi has passed the border more than one time, and this suggested that the Serbian state did arrest him politically. Nevertheless, Mr. Rexha also stressed that the records they possess do not indicate that Mr. Thaqi has passed the border and that he has entered into the territory of Serbia. Also, according to the knowledge of Kosovo Police, Mr. Thaqi was not in the list of persons for whom there was a warrant issued. Regarding the issue of travelling, he

37 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverbali i datës 12 tetor 2016, Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës; raportimi i Kryeshefit Ekzekutiv të Inspektoratit Policor të Kosovës, z. Hilmi Mehmetit.

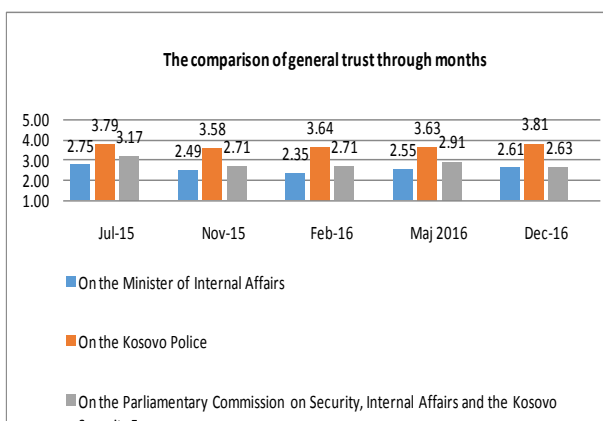
http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2016_10_12_11_6654_al.pdf

emphasized that all the police officials enjoy the freedom of movement, but are obliged to fulfill the form and data for their first superior, in order for the vacation to be approved or not.³⁸

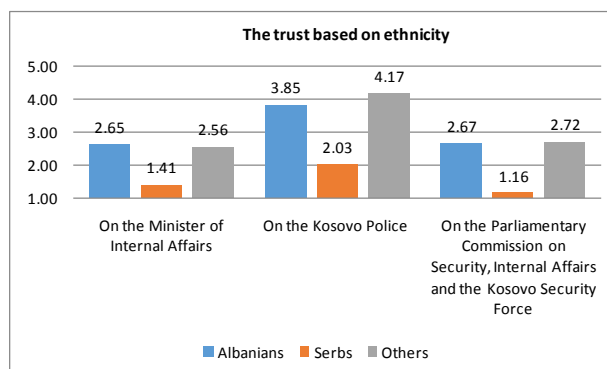
The Trust of Kosovo Citizens on the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on the Kosovo Police, and on the Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and the Kosovo Security Force

The citizens surveyed in December 2016 had the opportunity to express the level of trust they have on the institutions and institutional heads with numbers from 1 to 5, where 1 expressed the lowest, and 5 the highest level of trust.

When we compare surveys conducted in July 2015, November 2015, February 2016, May 2016, and December 2016, on the general trust on the Ministry of Internal Affairs, we see that there was an increase of trust compared to May 2016. Also, there is an increase of trust on Kosovo Police. Meanwhile, a decrease of trust compared with May 2016 was recorded for the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Kosovo Security Force. Nevertheless, it is the Kosovo Police from all these institutions, that enjoys the highest level of trust.



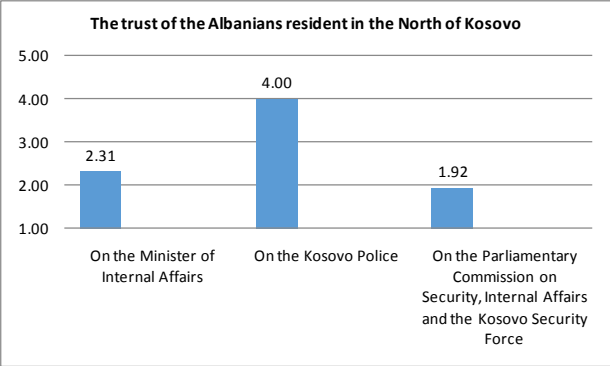
Regarding the trust expressed by ethnicities, the Kosovo Police enjoys the highest level of trust among the other communities, followed by the Albanian community. The Minister of Internal Affairs enjoys the highest trust among Albanians, which is followed by the trust of other communities, and he has the lowest level of trust



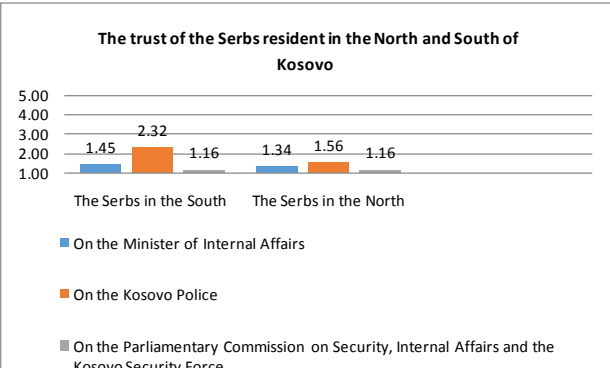
38 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverballi datës 18 tetor 2016, Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, ka raportuar Naim Rexha, Zëvendës Drejtor i Drejtorit të Përgjithshëm i Policisë.

among the Serbian community. The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force is trusted mostly by other communities, followed by the Albanian community, and this Commission enjoys the minimal trust among the members of the Serbian community.

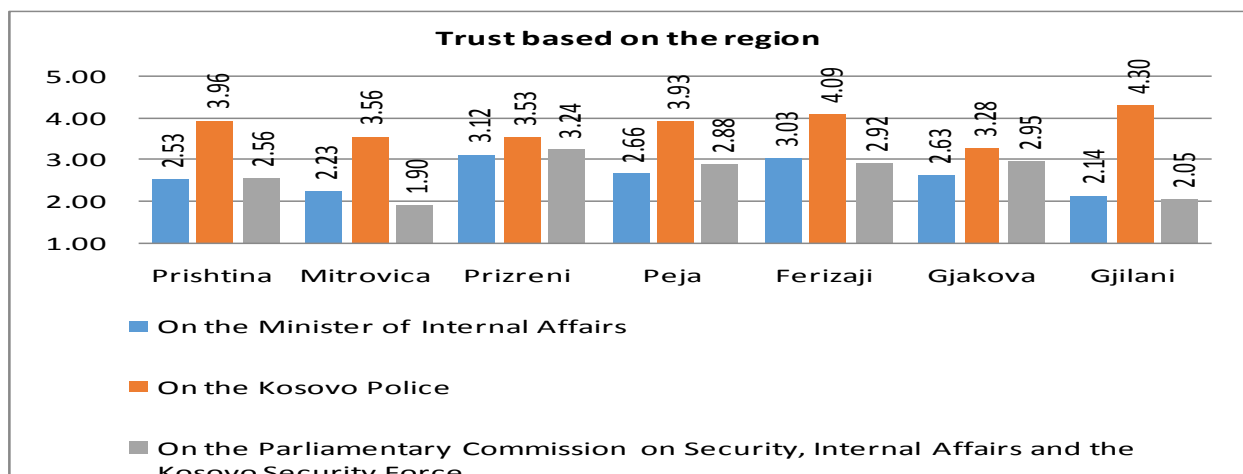
As far as the Albanians resident in the North of Kosovo are concerned, they show the highest trust on Kosovo Police. After the Police, in the second place comes the Minister of Interior Affairs. Meanwhile, the Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and the Kosovo Security Force, enjoys the lowest trust among the Albanians resident in the North.



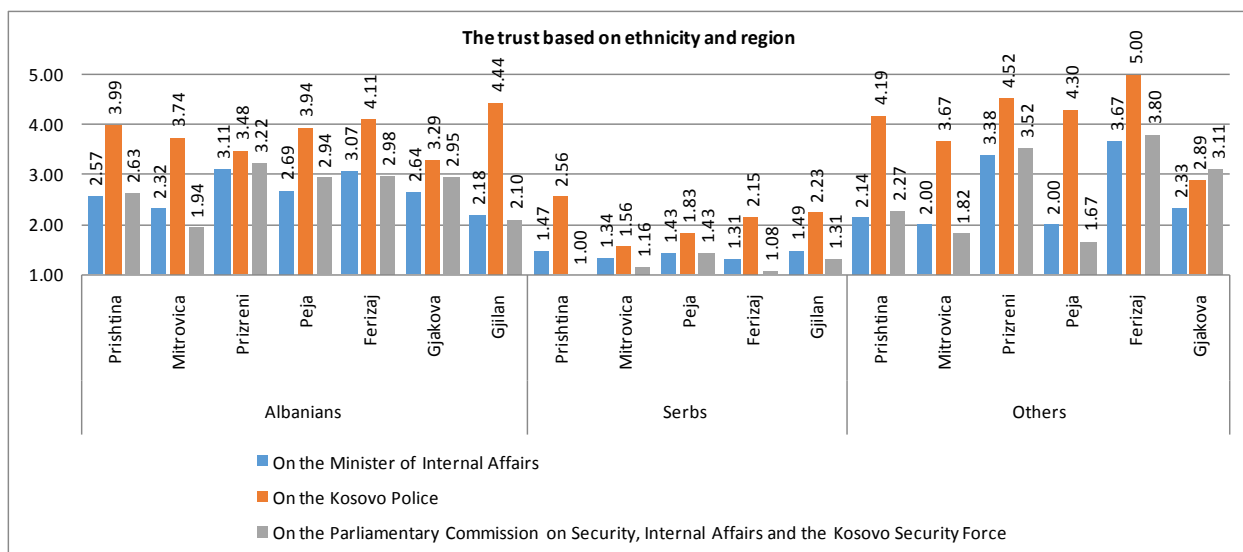
On the other hand, the Serbs resident in the South and North have the highest trust on Kosovo Police, and the Minister of Interior Affairs, and, in this group, the Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force, enjoys the minimal trust.



Regarding the trust based on regions, the Kosovo Police enjoys the highest trust in the entire Kosovo, and the highest values were recorded in Gjilan, Ferizaj and Prishtina. In the second place regarding the trust of citizens based on regions is the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force, and the Minister of Internal Affairs holds the third place based on regions.



As far as the trust according to regions and ethnicities is concerned, the Kosovo Police enjoys the highest trust among the other communities, where the highest percentage is acquired in the municipalities of Ferizaj, Prizren and Peja. In the second place regarding the trust on Kosovo Police is the Albanian community, where the highest percentage are recorded in Gjilan, Ferizaj and Prishtina, meanwhile, the Serbian community has the highest trust on Kosovo Police in the regions of Prishtina, Gjilan and Ferizaj. The other two institutions, the Minister of Interior Affairs, and the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force, enjoy an average trust among Albanians and other communities.



2. THE OVERSIGHT OF THE KOSOVO SECURITY FORCE SECTOR

During the period from August until the end of November 2016, the sector of the Kosovo Security Force was characterized by three major events, namely, by those that have to do with the transformation of the KSF into the AFK, together with the demands of the Serbian List for giving their support for this transformation; the religious rituals and services for the members of the KSF during their working time, while they are in the uniforms; and the statement of the Commander of the KSF for the defense of the Kosovo borders by the soldiers of the KSF, that is of the AFK.

The Period Foreseen for the Transformation of the KSF into the AFK, and the Demands of the Serbian List

In the news article given in KohaNet on November 1st, 2016 with the title “How long will last the transformation of KSF into the Army,”³⁹ according to the Minister of the KSF, Mr. Haki Demolli, before the Parliamentary Commission on Foreign Affairs, the process of the full transformation of the KSF into an army will last ten years. He also said that, during this period, the number of active members of the Force will be doubled, from 2500 into 5000, and that the number of the reserve members will be quadrupled, from 800 into 3000.

In this reporting, Mr. Demolli also discussed the demands that were made by the deputies of the Serbian List for accepting this transformation. He said that these demands were not against the law. Regarding to this, Mr. Demolli said, “I have really heard in media that there were talks on about two demands, for the deputy commander, and for a mono-ethnic unit. You should remain convinced that in our meetings there were no such demands mentioned.”⁴⁰ Minister Demolli also emphasized that among the demands of the Serbian List were those that “the deputy Commissioner for Uniform for KSF and Police – for the Armed Forces and the Police – should be from the members of the Serbian community; there was also a demand for increasing the number of the members of the KSF, and we were already working in that direction, and there was also something with which we didn’t agree, that the Law for the

39 ‘Sa do të zgjasë shndërrimi i FSK-së në Ushtri,’ KohaNet: <https://koha.net/?id=27&l=140311>, 1 nëntor 2016.

40 Ibid.; in the video attachment, this section starts at the time 0min:43seconds.

Transformation of the KSF should be turned into a law of vital interest; that is, they want again to have a controlling mechanism, on which we didn't agree."⁴¹

Otherwise, in the summer 2015, a group of members of the government and institutional heads of the Republic of Kosovo, consisting of the President of the Republic, Hashim Thaçi, the Prime Minister, Isa Mustafa, Minister Haki Demolli, Deputy Minister Bajram Gecaj, and the Commander of the KSF, general Rrahman Rama, met with the members of the Serbian List, the Deputy Prime Minister, Branimir Stojanović, Minister Dalibor Jevtić and Minister Lubomir Marić.⁴² In this meeting the participants negotiated the demands and conditions that the Serbian List posed in order to don't impede anymore the process of the transformation of the KSF into the AFK. In these negotiations the members of the Serbian List **did not** express, **either** any demand for the Deputy Commander of the KSF/AFK to be from the members of the Serbian community, **or** any demand that the Deputy Director of the KIA should be a Serb, that is, the demands that were being mentioned quite often in the media and in the Kosovar public opinion.⁴³ Also, the Serbian List **did not** express any demand for any national mono-ethnic guard.⁴⁴

The major demands that the Serbian List put forward in these talkings were the following ones:⁴⁵

1. That the Deputy Commissioner for Uniform for KSF/KAF and the Police should be a member of the Serbian Community. Otherwise, this new post is foreseen with the amendments in the Constitution of Kosovo that are required for the transformation of KSF into the KAF, and it has to do with the human rights in the KAF, that is, with the human rights of the officers.
2. That the Law on the KAF should be a law of vital interest – that is, the change of this Law cannot be made without both, the votes of 2/3 of the deputies of the Assembly, **and** without votes of 2/3 of the deputies of the Assembly that are members of minority communities. This demand was refused during the talks.

41 Ibid; in the attached video this section starts at the time 1minute:5seconds.

42 From a talk with a governmental official of the Republic of Kosovo, November 22^d, 2016.

43 Thus, for instance, in the round table organized after the publication of the previous, 4th issue of the Observer, the deputy and the member of the Commission for Security of the Kosovo Assembly, Duda Balje, had declared that one among the requests of the Serbian List is that the Deputy Director of the KIA should be from the Serbian community.

44 Ibid.

45 All the requests given in the continuation are from ibid.

3. There was, also, a demand for reserved seats in the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, a demand that was not accepted during these talks. In the months April-May of the year 2014, the continuation of the term for the reserved seats for minority communities at the Kosovo Assembly was offered to the Serbian List – among other things – in order for them to don't hinder the transformation of the KSF, but at that time, the Serbian List did not accept this offer.⁴⁶
4. The demand for the increase of number of Serbs in the KAF, in accordance with the percentage of the Serbs in the Kosovo population, a demand that was accepted during the talks.
5. That the KAF should not have the right to enter in the North of Kosovo without the previous approval of KFOR.⁴⁷
6. That the Law on the right to property should be applied, a demand that was not related directly with the issue of the transformation of the KSF into KAF, and which was accepted, given that the application of the law is a primary obligation of all the institutions.
7. A demand for yet another public television in the Serbian language, except of the RTK 2, which, again, was not related directly with the transformation discussed.

Otherwise, from the time when these talks took place, there were many requests to continue the contacts with the Serbian List, but this List has avoided further talks ever since.⁴⁸ For this reason, the transformation of the KSF into KAF continues to remain a hostage of the Serbian List, which, furthermore, is not participating for several months in the meetings of the Kosovo Government and Assembly.

46 On the details on how the promise for reserved seats was used to attract the deputies of the Serbian List to accept the transformation of the KSF into the KAF in the months April-May 2014, as well as on the political background of these promises, see the work 'The Transformation of the Kosovo Security Force into the Armed Forces of Kosovo in the Crossroads: What Next?', in the Observer No. 1, July 2015, pg. 36.

47 On the details on how did it happen that the KSF took upon itself the obligation to don't enter in the North of Kosovo without the approval of NATO, as well as on the political consequences of this, see, again, the work 'The Transformation of the Kosovo Security Force into the Armed Forces of Kosovo in the Crossroads: What Next?', in the Observer No. 1, July 2015, pg. 35-36.

48 From the same talk with the governmental official of the Republic of Kosovo.

The Religious Rituals and Services for the Members of the KSF in Uniform during their Working Time

On November 14th, 2016, GazetaExpress published a short article with the title “Minister, are these soldiers, or imams?”, which discusses the prayers and religious rituals of a number of the KSF soldiers in the uniform, who were participating in these rituals during the time when they were on the duty. Regarding this issue, KIPRED requested a talk, to be informed on the way in which the issue of religious services for the members of the KSF, when they are in uniform and in duty, is regulated.⁴⁹

During this talk we were informed that the members of KSF do not have the right to participate in the religious services. Otherwise, the KSF does not impede anyone to practice his/her religion, as long as this does not impede the functionality and operability of the KSF, and with the respect of the conditions foreseen in the contract of service. In the KSF prayers during the working time are not allowed, except for the Friday Prayer, under the condition that a member of the KSF who exercises this prayer is free according to working hours, and that he/she is conducting this prayer at the expense of his/her free time. Otherwise, the right for Friday Prayer is given based on the good will and understanding of religious practitioners within the KSF, in order to express the respect of the rights and freedoms of belief, to the extent that this is allowed by the conditions and the mission of the KSF.⁵⁰

It was also mentioned that the issues of the participation in the religious services are not regulated by any law or internal regulation. Neither the Constitution of Kosovo, nor any law in power in the Republic of Kosovo, does oblige the KSF to fulfill the conditions for religious rituals, or for the Friday Prayer, within the institution. Otherwise, it was mentioned that the issue of the approval of any law which would regulate these aspects, is much more an issue of the state politics and of its willingness to treat these issues. If any law should be adopted, this should be based on the laws of the states of Western democracies that regulate the issues of religious activities within their armies that are members of NATO, given that this is what we as a state aspire.⁵¹

49 This talk was conducted with Mr. Ibrahim Shala, the Director of the Department of the KSF for Public Relations, on November 22^d, 2016.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

It was also mentioned that the KSF had requested from religious institutions of the three big religions in Kosovo, to have in its ranks a member in reserve who will provide the necessary religious services in the urgent cases, for instance, the religious services during the funerals, after the death of any from the members of the KSF. Only the Islamic Community of Kosovo has responded to this request, and, therefore, in the structure of the reserve personnel of the KSF, there is an imam who is engaged in the provision of these religious services. Otherwise, the institutions of the two other religions did not respond to this request, and, thus, in the case of necessity, the KSF should rely in the services that it should request from outside of its ranks.⁵²

It should be mentioned, however, that different countries of NATO have different regulations for regulating the religious activities of the military personnel of their own armed forces, and that these depend on the character of the state, including here the definition of secularism in those states, that is, the relation of the religion with the security and military part of the public sector.

The Role of the Armed Forces in the Kosovo Border Security

On October 31st, 2016, the program Interaktiv of the KohaVision TV, had as its guest the Commander of the KSF, general Rrahman Rama.⁵³ In this interview general Rama informed the public opinion of Kosovo on a range of developments in and related to the KSF. Here we will focus on one from the questions asked, and on the answer that general Rama gave to it, which can create wrong impression on the issue of the protection of Kosovo borders.

The question asked by the journalist of the KohaVision was: “You have said earlier that you want to produce security: does this suggest that very fast, that is, that there is a dream that the soldiers of Kosovo will protect the borders of Kosovo?”⁵⁴ Meanwhile, the answer of general Rama was: “This is our goal and aim, and I am speaking based on the Review of the Security Sector, that is, one from the major duties will be that. ...”.⁵⁵

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ KohaVision, Interaktiv, <http://www.kohavision.tv/interaktiv/1026/rrahman-rama-biseda/>, October 31st, 2016.

⁵⁴ Ibid, in the recording, from 28min:20sec, ut to 28min:32sec.

⁵⁵ Ibid, in the recording the full answer of general Rama is from 28min:32sec., up to 29min:22 sec.

Regarding this answer of general Rama we should repeat several things that were also said in the previous issues of the Observer.⁵⁶ In democratic countries the army does not deal with protecting the borders, given that this is the duty of the police – the army in the border, during the peace time, has characterized the former communist and dictatorial regimes. The army does not have any role in **securing** the border during the peace time – it has the duty to **defend** the borders in the time of war. This is also determined by the instructions of the EU for the Integrated Management of Borders,⁵⁷ which are also a part of the Acquis Communautaire, that is, of the conditions that a country should fulfill for becoming a member of the EU. Also, this is a part of the National Strategy of the Republic of Kosovo for the Integrated Management of the Border.⁵⁸

Therefore, the answer of general Rama, that the securing of the borders of Kosovo by the soldiers of Kosovo “is our goal and aim [that is, of the KSF/KAF]”, and that “one from the major duties will be that,” is a misinterpretation of the role of the army in the democratic countries in relation to the management of borders in the time of peace, and their defense in the time of war.

The Oversight of the Parliamentary Commission

In this reporting period there were six meetings of the Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF, and among these, the KSF and the Security Council were discussed in two of them, which took place on September 15th, 2016, and November 11th, 2016. In the meeting of the September 15th, the Integrity Plan of the KSF was presented, and in the meeting of November 11th, the report was delivered by the Secretary of the Kosovo Security Council. Meanwhile, the other four meetings of the Commission are treated in the report on the Ministry of the Internal Affairs, which is provided above.

In the reporting of September 15th, 2016, the Commander of the KSF, General Rrahman Rama, notified that the meeting of the Board on Advancements for the ranks from the first lieutenant up to lieutenant

⁵⁶ See, for instance, Observer No. 4, July 2016, pg. 18.

⁵⁷ European Commission: Guidelines for Integrated Border Management in the Eastern Balkans, janar 2007, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/financial_assistance/cards/publications/ibm_guidelines_en.pdf

⁵⁸ Qeveria e Kosovës, Strategjia Kombëtare e Republikës së Kosovës për Menaxhimin e Integruar të Kufirit, http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Strategjia_Kombetare_per_MIK_2013-2018.pdf. Meanwhile, this part is emphasized in the Observer No. 4, July 2016, pg. 18.

colonel took place, and that, based on the achievements, the decision was taken for 75 advancements. He then also reported on the recruitment of the cadets, and on this occasion he informed that in the Center for University Studies, 15 out of 500 competing candidates were selected, that three cadets were selected for studying in the German Academy, that two cadets have already begun their studies at the West Point Military Academy, USA, one in England, one in Croatia, and that four cadets from minority communities were graduated in the Defense Academy of Macedonia (two from the Serbian community, and two from the Bosniak community). Then he provided informations on the participation of KSF in several joint trainings, such as those in Germany, Croatia, and in Albania, as well as in the local ones. An important issue on which General Rama informed the Commission was the one of a First Lieutenant of the KSF who, after being charged in the USA, was later released from all the charges made, and who was returning to Kosovo.

Meanwhile, Mr. Shkelzen Sylja, the Secretary General of the Ministry of KSF, stressed that the Ministry of the KSF has realized more than 95 percent of the activities planned, and that the opinion of the Office of the Auditor General is positive. Within the long-term development plan, the budgetary requirements for the implementation of this plan are foreseen, and, at the end of August, the budgetary hearing in the Ministry of Finances and other representatives took place, where the budgetary requirements for the Ministry of the KSF were revealed. The budget plan for the year 2017, and the medium term framework 2017-2019, coincide fully with the financial statement, and this statement was send for approval to the Minister of Finances, in the case of any decision for the transformation of the KSF. He added that the Ministry of the KSF is the first institution to start with such plans, and that its implementation has started from July 1st, 2016. For its execution, the Commission will be informed with periodic reports.

Lieutenant Colonel Sefer Isufi, the Head of the Sector for Programs, Plans and Analyses within the Department for Policies and Plans in the MKSF, notified that the Center for Integrity in the sector of the defense has realized three specific reports regarding the system of procurement, internal control and the conflicts of interest, and along with the engagement of the working team, the proposals were made on the measures for increasing the integrity, and for each field the respective measures were proposed.

The major issues raised by the members of the Commission in this session were: the bypassing of the Commission in the process of the Integrity Plan, the request that during the process of the advancement of officers, the representative of the Commission should be present in the capacity of the monitor, and

the changes that should be made in the legislation for advancements in the career (Ganimete Musliu); the improvements in the system of the public procurement and its current deficiencies (Rexhep Selimi); the concern caused by the bypassing of the Commission in the development of the Integrity Plan and the preclusion of the incorporation of its remarks, the overseeing role of the Commission regarding the plan, and the remark that the plan is too generalized (Nuredin Ibishi); the consideration that the issue of the non-inclusion of the Commission in the preparation of the Integrity Plan is not essential, given that the Ministry of KSF is obliged to report to the Commission (Fadil Demaku); the non-inclusion of the minority communities in the preparation of the Integrity Plan, as well as their integration in the KSF (Qerim Bajrami); the issue on whether there were talks for the integration of the Serbs in the structures of the KSF, the new informations regarding the transformation of the KSF in the KAF, the participation of the Serbs in the recruitment of the new cadets (Bojan Mitić); the investments of millions in the facilities to be used as barracks, whose authors are not known, the steps undertaken to transform the property into the possession of the KSF, the explanation on whether any draft law on the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces was send to the Government, and the clarification of the financial statements for which there was no support (Daut Haradinaj).

The representatives of the MKSF and of the KSF answered these questions only partialy. Regarding the non-inclusion of the Commission in the process of the Integrity Plan, general Rama emphasized that this is an internal issue of the MKSF, and, regarding the advancement boards, he stressed that there are several types of boards, and that based on the regulations and laws, the nominations are made and signed by the commander, but he added that these meetings are open, and that the members of the Commission are free to participate. Meanwhile, on the issue of the inclusion of the communities in the process of the preparation of the Integrity Plan, he didn't provide any explicit answer. As far as the negotiations regarding the transformation of KSF into the KAF, general Rama notified that there is nothing new; he mentioned that that one Serbian candidate from the Serbian community was selected to continue the studies in the Military Academy of Macedonia, and that there were no such candidates for the Academy of Kosovo, given that the criterion is the English language.

Meanwhle, the General Secretary of the KSF emphasized the firm legislation, by saying that the major issue is the one of the Law on Public Procurement, for buying the special equipments with special procurement procedures, and he added that the proposal was made to the Ministry of Finances for complementing this section with other regulations, and that it is important to rise this issue in the

moment of the transformation of the KSF in the Armed Forces. Regarding the Integrity Plan, he emphasized that the reporting will be provided periodically, by including the integrity aspect as well. On the minority communities, he said that the MKSF is in the last stage of the preparation of policies, which are expected to be approved in the Ministry, and that the strategy on non-majority communities in Kosovo will be prepared based on them. After that, he clarified that there were no draft-laws send to the Government, but only the financial statement to the Ministry of Finances. Meanwhile, regarding the issue of the possession of barracks, he added that 7 from them are in use as they were transfered by the Kosovo Protection Corps, and that the other 50 facilities were released, and, with the agreement of understanding, were delivered to the Ministry of Public Administration. However, for the facilities in use there is no possession of any official document. He then notified that a working group was created at the governmental level, headed by the Ministry of Justice, which is working in the preparation of the legislation which will enable the transfer of proprietorship, not only for these facilities, but for all the facilities that have the same past.

If we look carefully on the questions of the members of the Commission, and the answers given by the representatives of the MKSF and of the KSF, we can notice that there was no concrete answer for bypassing the Commission in the preparation of the Integrity Plan, given that its draft, before being approved, could have been presented before the Commission, in order to take the opinions and eventual remarks of its members. Also, regarding the advancements of the officers, there was an opportunity to have members of the Commission present in the process of taking the decisions on promotion, but they were not invited by the KSF. Also, there were no clarifications provided on the investments of millions in the barracks of the KSF, for which the work-implementators are not known.

For improving the oversight of the KSF by the Commission, it would be preferable to change the actual system, in order to discuss questions one by one, until the members of the Commission ascertain that they have taken the requested answer, and if this cannot be achieved during the meeting, then the member of the Commission should request a written answers for the questions posed to KSF and MKSF.

In the hearing session of the meeting of November 11th 2016, the representatives of the Secretariat of the Kosovo Security Council delivered a general report before the Commission, and this is the first time that they have done this ever since the establishment of this institution. However, we should emphasize here that on this occassion the Annual Report on the Activities of the Security Council was not

presented, as it is foreseen by the point 9.1. of the Law on the Establishment of the Kosovo Security Council.

In this meeting the members of the Commission addressed a number of very important issues on the functioning of this institution. The Head of the Commission, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, raised the issue on why he was not invited in the meetings of the Security Council, why there is no planning to include the Commission on Security in the Commission for the oversight of the Strategy for fighting terrorism, then he requested from the Secretariat to provide a table of financial expenses, in order to see how the means were spend, as well as the plans for increasing the budget. The deputy, Mr. Rexhep Selimi, emphasized the disturbing fact that the Council did have only two meetings during the year 2016, and he requested that the issue of the non-involvement of the Commission on the Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF in the workings of the Council, should be returned into the agenda of the Kosovo Assembly. The deputy Nuredin Ibishi was interested on the transparency and the meetings that were hold, as well as on whether the issues that can be of interest for public opinion are made public. He was also interested on the stage in which is the Strategy for the Security of Kosovo, by adding that the Commission should be ready to support and address the concerns of this institution. The deputy Qerim Bajrami was interested on the employment of the members of non-majority communities in the Secretariat of the Security Council.

In this meeting of the Commission, Mr. Afrim Haxhiu, a Secretary of the Security Council of Kosovo, notified that during 2016 this Council did hold only two meetings. On this occasion, we should mention that according to the Law on the Establishment of the Security Council of Kosovo, this institution should hold a meeting at least once in three months, and that its meetings are called by the Head of the Council, that is, the Prime Minister.⁵⁹ The Secretary Haxhiu emphasized that working conditions are not good, that the working space is too small, and that “it doesn’t meet even the slightest elementary conditions for work.” He also mentioned that the budget of the Secretariat is 369,900 €, and that for travel and trainings abroad were spend only 7.200 out of 30.000 € that were at the disposal for this purpose. He then informed the Commission that the shortage of staff was continuously stressed, given that there are 26 employees, and 2 officials will be removed given that they didn’t pass the verifying process, if the court assesses that they cannot continue the work. Regarding the budgetary planning, he

⁵⁹ Article 5; The Law on the Establishment of the Security Council of Kosovo (03/L-050), June 2d, 2008, http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008_03-L050_al.pdf.

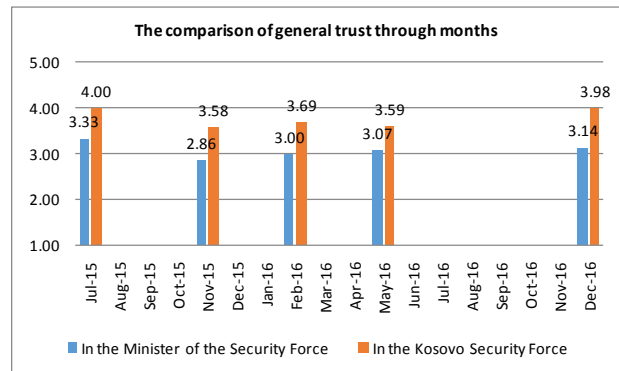
stressed that it is done in a template mode, and that, regarding to this, there were no concrete requirements. On the other hand, on the issue of human capacities, he emphasized that they are not bad, given that the cadre is trained in the field of security, but the small number of workers remains a challenge. He mentioned that earlier there was an official of the Secretariat who was Turkish, but that recently there are no officials from the non-majority communities. Meanwhile, Mr. Bekim Podrimqaku, the Director of the Department of Analyses and Security Policies, informed the Commission on the activities realized by the Security Council, by emphasizing that the Secretariat is authorized by a decision to monitor the Strategy for Fighting the Extremism and Radicalism which lead to terrorism, and that it coordinates all the activities of the relevant security institutions, which have coordinated the Analysis of the Strategic Review of the Security Sector, as well as that the representatives of the Secretariat participate in the working groups where the draft laws dealing with the field of security are discussed.

It can be noticed from this meeting that the oversight of the Security Council should be one from the key priorities of this Commission, first of all because of its constitutional and legal competences in the management and development of the security sector, which are disproportional with its working conditions, organization and resources, and this was treated in detail in the second issue of the first volume of the Observer. Up to now, this oversight by the Commission was inexistent, and it is necessary that it should be included in the Annual Plan of the Commission for the year 2017, which should treat the Annual Report of the Activities of the Security Council, call the Prime Minister of Kosovo in a hearing session, and treat the issue of the (non)-invitation for the participation in the meetings of this institution of the President of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the KSF.

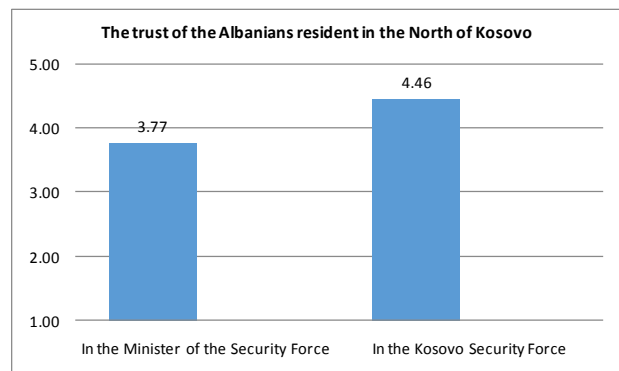
The Trust of Kosovo Citizens on the Ministry of the Security Force and on the Kosovo Security Force

The citizens surveyed in December 2016 had the opportunity to express the trust that they have in the institutions and institutional heads in numbers, from 1 up to 5, where 1 expresses the lowest level of trust, and 5 the highest.

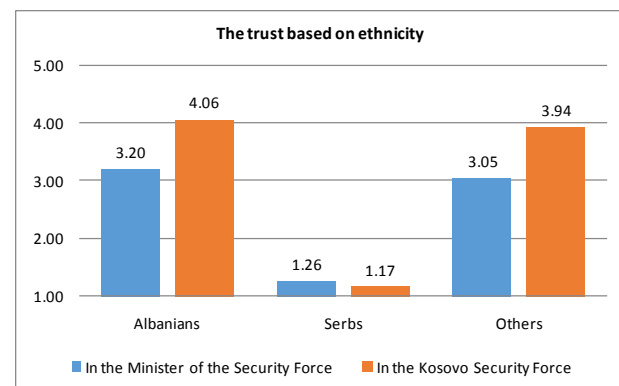
Regarding the general trust of Kosovo citizens through months, we notice that the Kosovo Security Force enjoys the highest trust of citizens, and we also see that there was an increase of this trust since May 2016. Meanwhile, the Minister of KSF has a lower trust than the KSF, but he has also had an increase of trust since May 2016.



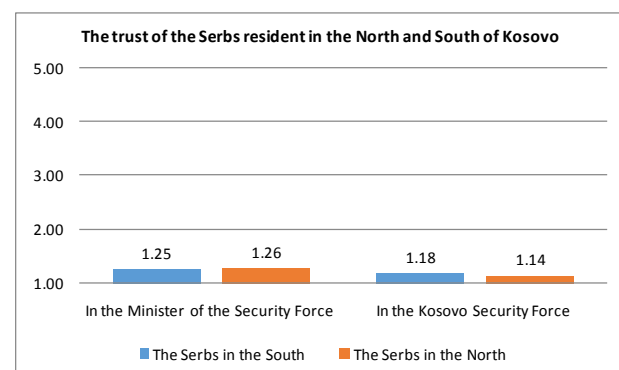
The Albanians resident in the North of Kosovo, continue to have the highest trust on the Kosovo Security Force. This is followed by the Minister of the Kosovo Security Force who stands quite high during this period regarding the trust of citizens.



The Albanians resident in the North of Kosovo continue to have the highest trust on Kosovo Security Force. This is followed by the Minister of the Kosovo Security Force, who stands quite well regarding the trust during this period.

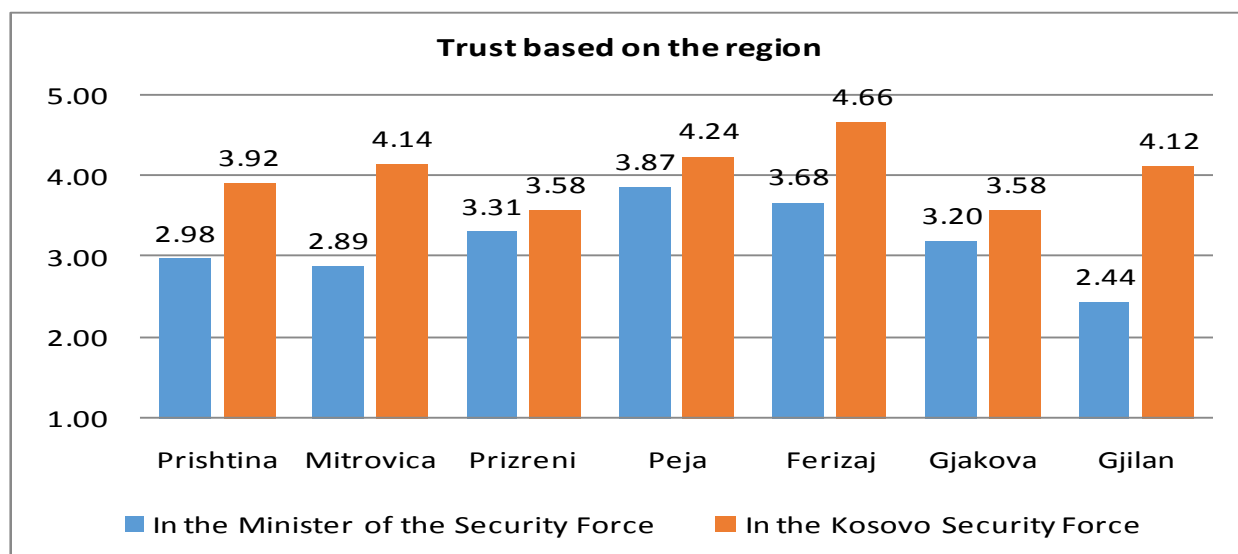


Meanwhile, as far as the trust of the Serbs resident in the South and North of Kosovo is concerned, the results express the continuation of a minimal trust on the Minister of Kosovo Security Force and on the KSF. If we compare the actual trust with that of May 2016, we see that the shift was slight.

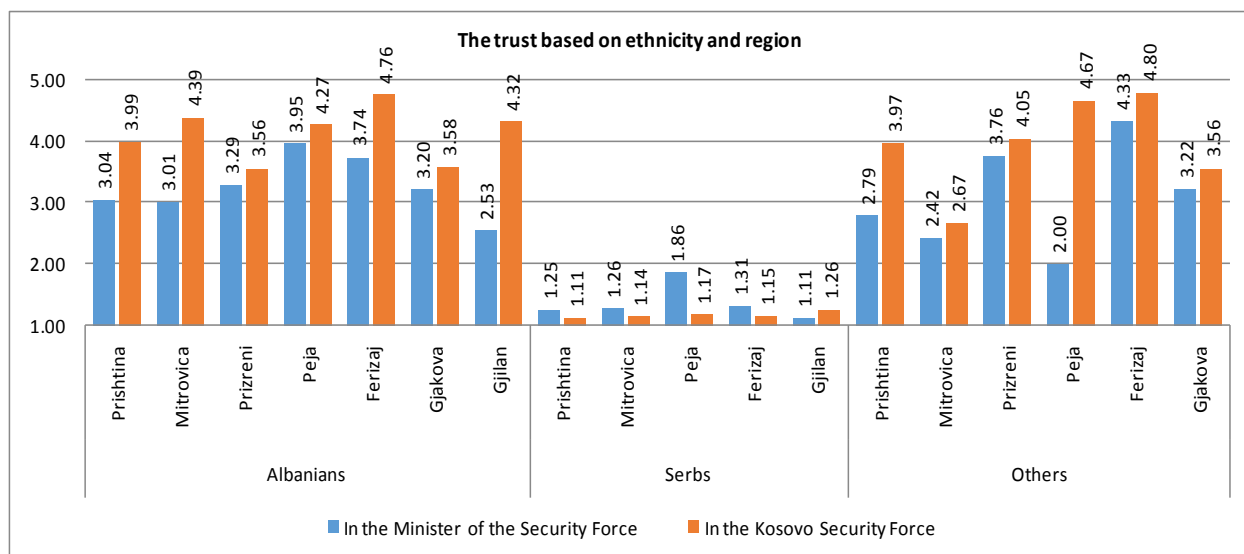


Regarding the trust based on ethnicity, the highest trust on Kosovo Security Force is among the Albanians, followed by other communities, meanwhile, the Serbian community has a minimal trust. It is worth mentioning here that compared with May 2016, there was a small increase of trust of Albanians and of Serbian Community. Meanwhile, the Minister of Security Force enjoys the highest trust among the Albanians, followed by the other communities.

Regarding the trust based on the regions, the Kosovo Security Force enjoys trust that, in general, is higher than that of the Minister of the KSF. KSF continues to have the highest trust in the municipality of Ferizaj, followed by Peja and Mitrovica. Meanwhile, the Minister of the KSF has trust that is lower than that of the KSF in all the municipalities. Also, the Minister of the KSF enjoys the highest trust in the municipalities of Peja, Ferizaj and Prizren.



As far as the trust based on the regions and ethnicities is concerned, the KSF enjoys the highest trust among the members of other communities, and the highest percentage is in the municipalities of Ferizaj, Peja and Prizren, followed by the Albanian community. Meanwhile, the Minister of the Security Force enjoys the highest trust among other communities, and this trust is higher than that of the Albanian and Serbian community, and here the highest percentage is in Ferizaj and Prizren. Meanwhile, among the members of the Serbian community, the trust on the Minister of KSF, as well as that on the KSF, is minimal.



3. THE OVERSIGHT OF THE INTELLIGENCE SECTOR

Introduction

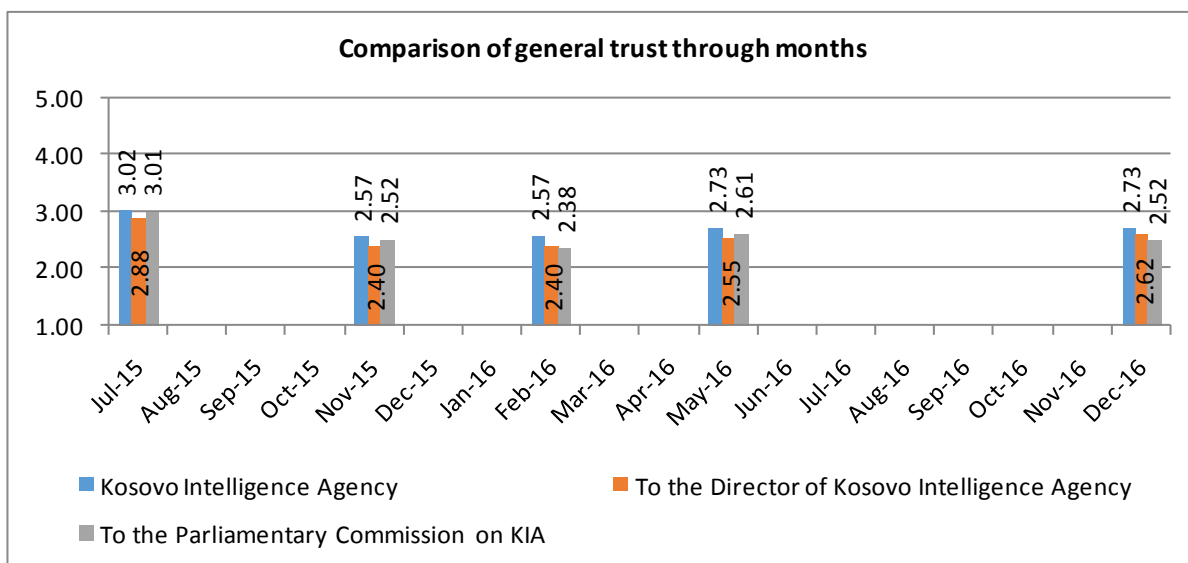
The trust of citizens on the security institutions was treated in each from the reports on the oversight of the security sector prepared by KIPRED. Furthermore, the report in the issue 3, volume 1, of the Kosovo Security Sector Observer, has provided a detailed analysis of the public (non)transparency of the Kosovar Intelligence Agency⁶⁰ (KIA), and it gave a number of recommendations on the steps to be undertaken.

From the point-view of the perceptions of Kosovar citizens, when we conduct a comparison with other relevant institutions of the security sector, the trust of citizens in the executive institutions of the intelligence sector is the lowest, with an invariable trend throughout more than one year (July 2015 – December 2016). For this reason, it is of utmost importance to treat this topic in a detailed manner, by analyzing the evaluations of citizens, by treating the institutional transparency, its public appearance, as well as the steps that should be undertaken for increasing the trust on the intelligence sector, that is, on the KIA.

The Trust of Citizens on the Intelligence Sector of Kosovo

The evaluation of trust on the intelligence sector will initially be conducted by having in mind its trend during the 18-month period (the period July 2015 – December 2016), and then we will evaluate the trust on the intelligence sector by comparing the actual trust with that of the previous months. We will also conduct a comparison of trust on the institutions of the intelligence sector with the trust on other relevant institutions of the security sector, and specific evaluations of the trust based on ethnical communities and the regions of Kosovo will be conducted as well.

⁶⁰ Public (Non)Transparency of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency, pg. 35-53, <http://www.kipred.org/repository/docs/OBSERVERI - VOL I - N03. Shqip - Final 147110.pdf>.



The general average trust of Kosovo citizens on the intelligence sector, that is, on KIA, the Director of KIA, and on the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of KIA, during the period May 2016 – December 2016, is a little bit over the average value of the evaluation range (from 1 to 5). Despite the fact that the differences among these three intelligence institutions are very small, if we rank them from the highest evaluation, KIA is an institution which emerges with a little bit more trust, whose value is 2.724, and then come the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of KIA, with 2.68, and the Director of KIA, who has the lowest trust, with 2.57.

The trust during the period July 2015 – December 2016

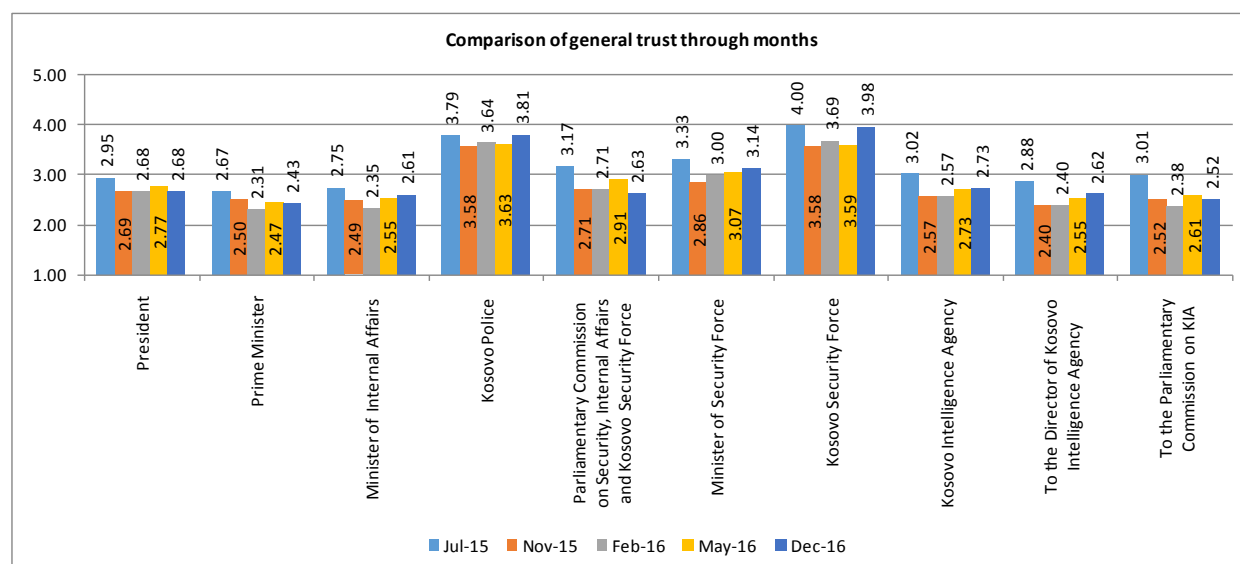
Would you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions on the issues of security?						
Alternatives	Jul-15	Nov-15	Feb-16	May-16	Dec-16	Difference (July 2015 – December 2016)
Kosovo Intelligence Agency	3.02	2.57	2.57	2.73	2.73	-0.29
To the Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency	2.88	2.40	2.40	2.55	2.62	-0.26
To the Parliamentary Commission on KIA	3.01	2.52	2.38	2.61	2.52	-0.49

When the evaluation of the trust of citizens for the period May 2016 – December 2016 is compared with other periods, starting from the year 2015, we can see that, in the evaluations provided for the intelligence sector of Kosovo there are no rapid changes. Except for the evaluations for the months July

2015 – November 2015, which are a little bit higher, in the following evaluating period, November 2015 – December 2016, we notice a constancy in the lowest trust on KIA, Director of KIA, and on the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of KIA.

From the perspective of the individual evaluations of the institutions of the intelligence sector, we can notice that during more than one year (July 2015 – December 2016), the sharpest decline in the trust of citizens was suffered by the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of KIA, – 0,49, then by the KIA, – 0.29, and, in the end, by the Director of KIA, – 0.26. Despite of the fact that we can see a constancy of an below-average trust on the institutions of the intelligence sector, the most disturbing fact is that during this evaluation year there was not even a slightest positive trend.

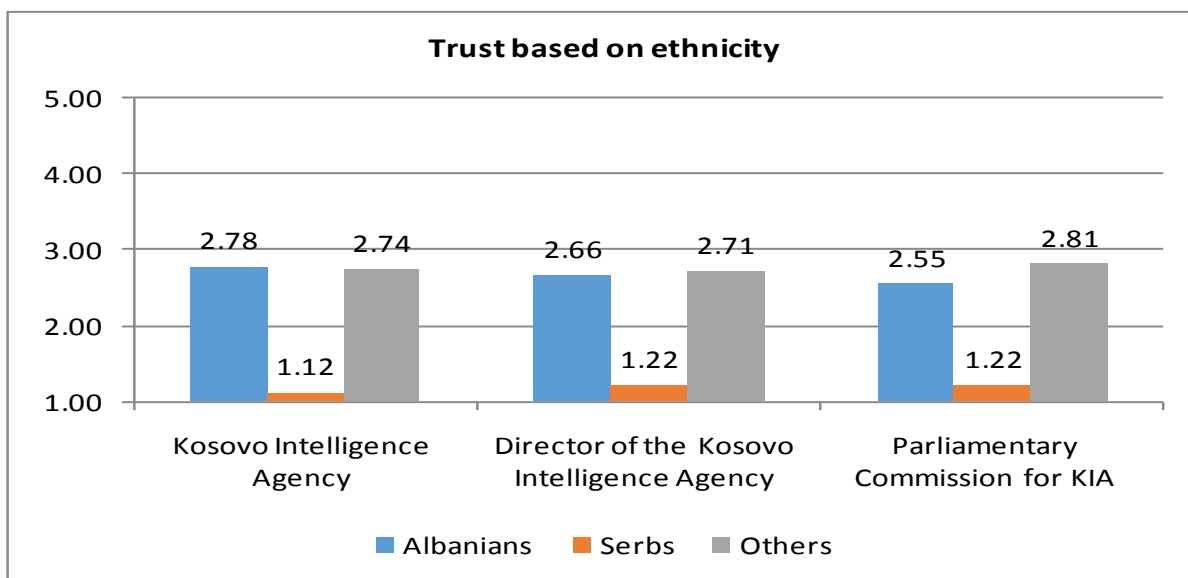
The trust on the relevant security institutions



When we compare the current trust on the institutions of the intelligence sector, with trusts expressed on other relevant institutions of the security sector of Kosovo, we see that the trust on the intelligence sector is low, approximately as the one on the President, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister.

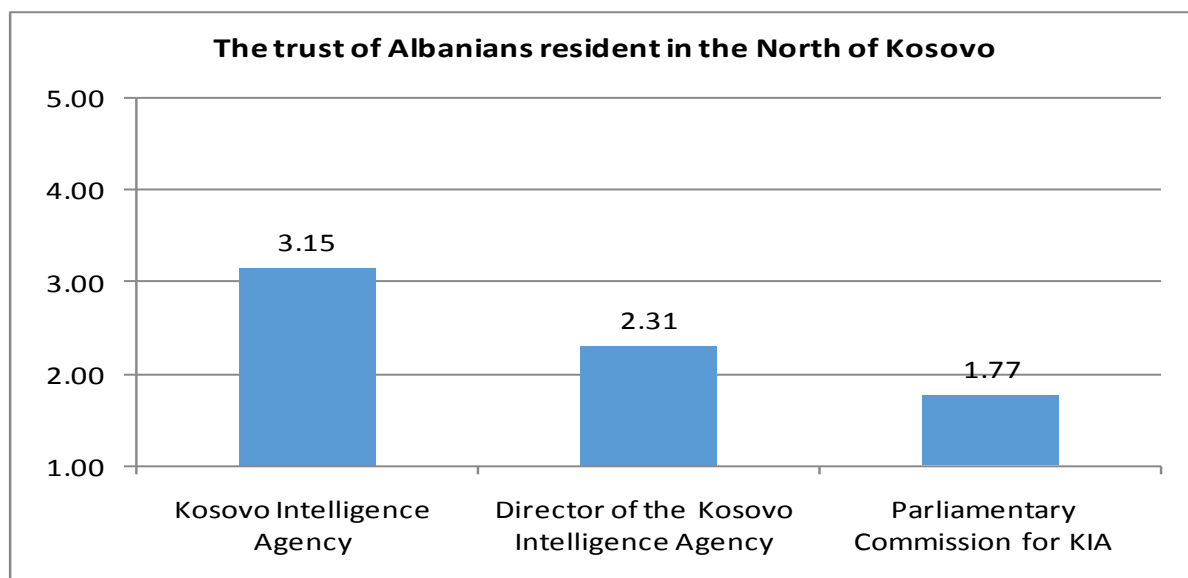
Also, the intelligence sector enjoys the trust of citizens which is evidently lower than that of the other security institutions, such as the Kosovo Security Force and the Kosovo Police.

The Trust based on ethnicity



Seen from the perspective of ethnic communities that live in Kosovo (see the table above), for the period May 2016 – December 2016, the highest evaluation of the intelligence sector comes from the non-Albanian and non-Serbian communities, followed by the Albanian community, and with almost minimal trust of the Serbian community.

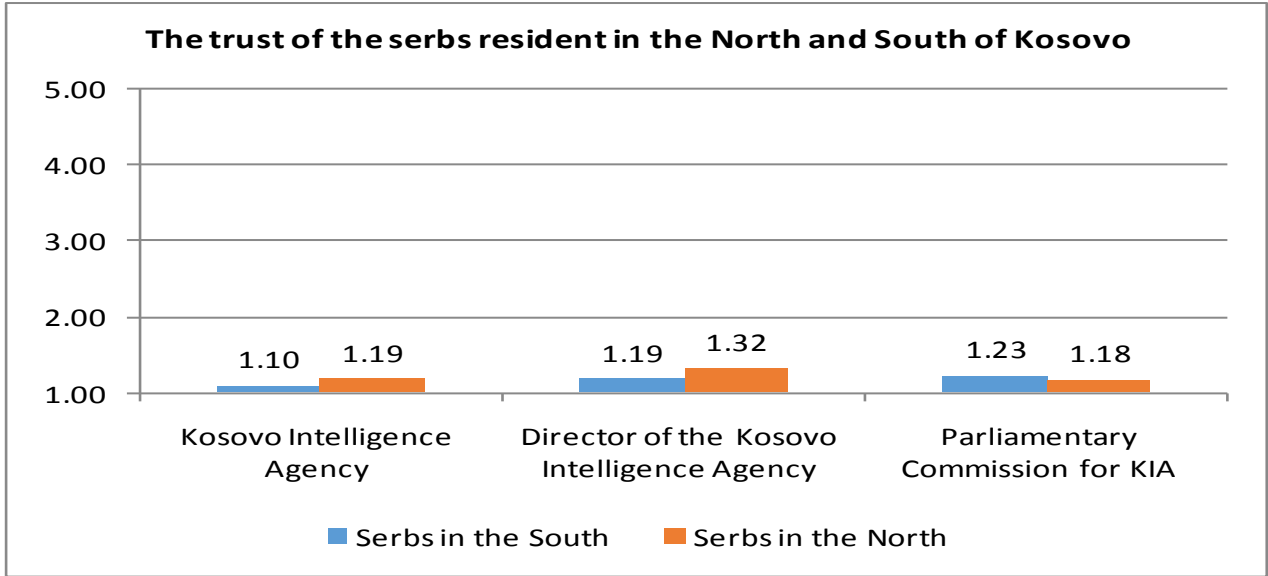
The trust of Albanians resident in the North of Kosovo



The average of the trust of the Albanians resident in the North of Kosovo on the intelligence sector during the months May 2016 – December 2016 is significantly low. Also, in the evaluation of the one-year trend (July 2015 – December 2016), we see a fall in trust. Despite the fact that KIA has had on July

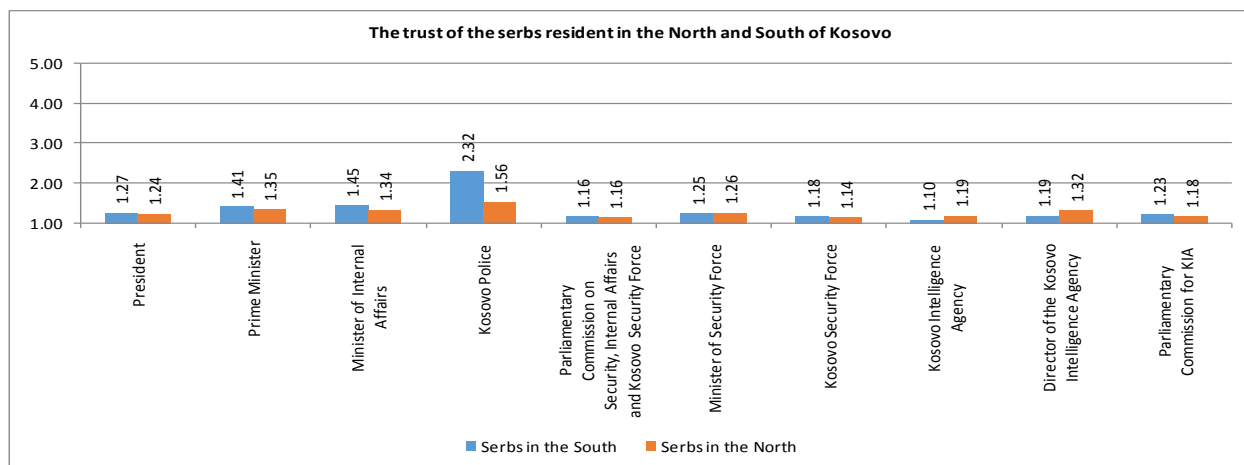
2015 the trust expressed with 3.20, and, on December 2016 with 3.15, the Director of KIA, who, on June 2015 had the trust expressed with 2.71, after 18 month had fallen on the value 2.31. Meanwhile, the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of KIA has fallen during this period from the value 2.79 into only 1.77.

The trust of the Serbs resident in the North and South of Kosovo



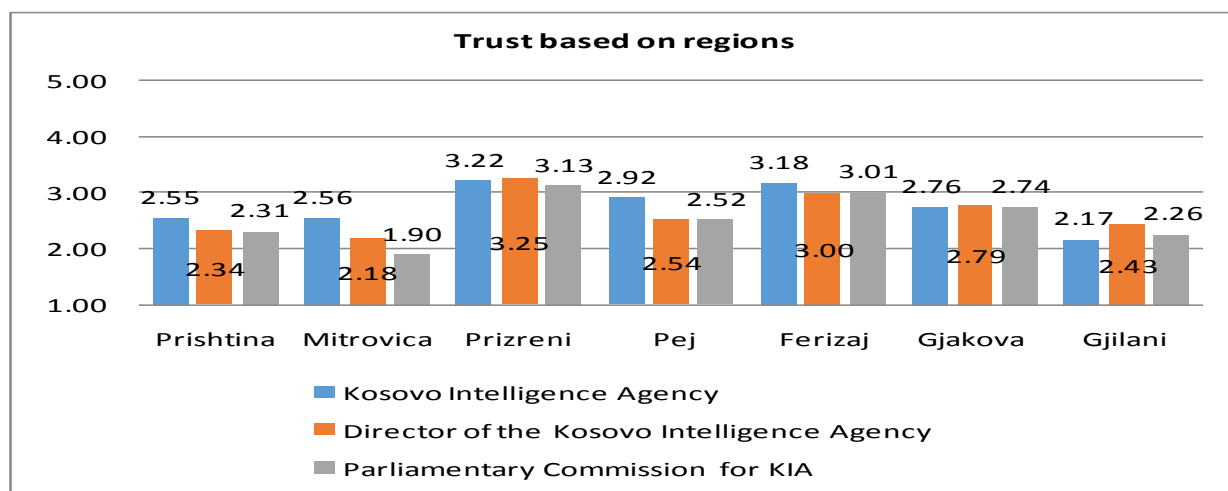
When we come to the trust of the Serbs in the North and South of Kosovo, we see an almost minimal trust on the institutions of the intelligence sector. The Serbs of the South of Kosovo have a slightly lower trust (1.17) compared with the Serbs of the North of Kosovo (1.23), but this difference can hardly be any important indication of the overall mood of the Serbian community in Kosovo towards the institutions of the intelligence sector in Kosovo.

The trust of the Serbs in the North and South of Kosovo



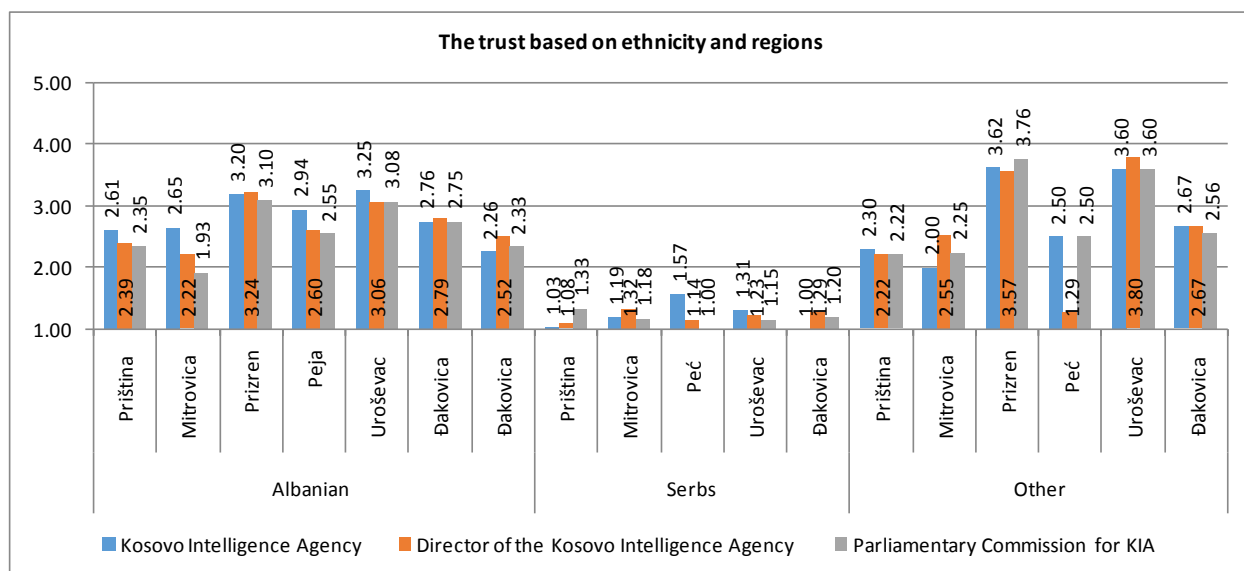
In contrast to the low trust that the Serbs of the South and North of Kosovo have on the intelligence sector, we see a considerably more positive evaluation, particularly of the Kosovo Police, among them, where, despite the minimal possible evaluations of the Serbs of the North for most of the institutions of the security sector of Kosovo, the trust on Kosovo Police is evidently higher than the evaluations of the Serbs of the South of Kosovo.

The trust based on the region



From the regional pointview, the general trust on the intelligence sector is the lowest in the regions of Mitrovica, Gjilan and Prishtina, and the highest in the regions of Prizren and Ferizaj.

The trust based on ethnicity and the region



The above graph records the evaluation data on the trust on the intelligence sector according to ethnicities and regions. On this occasion, we notice a higher trust on the intelligence institutions of the Albanian, and non-Albanian and non-Serbian communities in the regions of Prizren and Ferizaj. Meanwhile, the Serbian community has a very uniform and low evaluation in all the regions of Kosovo.

The General Evaluation of Trust on the Intelligence Sector, the Media Presentation and Recommendations

The trend of general trust on the institutions of the intelligence sector during the year (July 2015 – December 2016), as illustrated specifically in the above graphs, is not positive. Seen from the regional pointview, the differences in the evaluation of trust on intelligence sector are not as big, as they are from the ethnic pointview, where we have large disproportion as far as evaluations are concerned. Here it is worth mentioning the very large disproportion between the trust on this sector of the Serbian community, and that of other communities, and this trend is apparent in all the regions of Kosovo, without any changes for the North and South.

On the other hand, when we look at the archives of local news (including here the announcements in the official web –site of KIA) during the one year period July 2015 – July 2016, it is difficult to find any news on the intelligence sector of Kosovo, that is, on KIA, which has positive content. On the contrary,

the most different news that put doubt on the mission and the functionality of this important institution in Kosovo are predominant. Thus, some from the topics related to KIA, which took a prominent media place, were the following ones: the misuse of the positions, the issue of the verification of high officials, the obscurity and misinformation regarding the operations outside of the country (Turkey), the events in Kumanova – the revealing of classified document – the statement of the Prime Minister on the shortage of informations regarding the events in Kumanova, unprofessional recruitments and the falsification of documents for employment in KIA, the protests and the use of the tear-gas in the Kosovo Assembly, that brought to light the deficiencies in the security system, etc. All these topics were predominant and have associated the name of KIA during the period July 2015 – December 2016. Doubtless, such an archive, and such a media presentation, cannot ensure any positive reputation for a state institution such as KIA, and they have had a negative impact in the perception and judgement of the public opinion towards this institution.

Also, in the report issue 3, of the first volume of the Kosovo Security Sector Observer, KIPRED has expressed in more detail its concern of the low trust of citizens of Kosovo on KIA. The comparative research of the conditions in the countries of the Western Balkans, Central Europe and Baltics, was developed “with the goal of identification of the advanced practices of transparency of internal intelligence agencies, whose implementation would have enabled the increase of the trust of citizens as a consequence of the improvement of transparency and public accountability.”^{61 62}

One among the major findings of this research was the one that KIA has one among the lowest levels of public transparency from all the states considered (Western Balkans, Central Europe, and Baltics).

Thus, having in mind the trust lower than that of all the relevant institutions of the security sector, then the fact that it is one from the intelligence agencies with the lowest level of transparency in the countries of the Western Balkans, as well as a non-positive presentation in the local media, it is more than necessary for KIA to undertake concrete steps for the implementation of the recommendations

⁶¹ The Public (Non)Transparency of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency, pg. 35 <http://www.kipred.org/repository/docs/OBSERVERI - VOL I - N03. Shqip - Final 147110.pdf>.

⁶² The concrete recommendations of this research are the following ones: a) The presentation of the budget in the same format as the one presented in the Law on the Kosovo Budget; b) The presentation of data of public procurement; c) The presentation of the declassified general opinion of the audit of KIA finances by the General Inspector; d) The presentation of the organizational structure; and e) The presentation of the Annual Public Reports.

given by KIPRED, and, more concretely, this institution should get closer to the public opinion, by revealing the actions and the objectives materialized, given that the success of an institution is among the major yardsticks of the credibility and trustworthiness in the perception of the public opinion. The non-transparency of an institution, as it can be seen from the media presentation, brings in doubt its credibility and functionality.

Furthermore, the development of closer relations with the public through the press-conferences, the stress on the inter-institutional cooperation with local and international institutions, or even the organization of joint press-conferences with Kosovo Police, after successful accomplishments of operations, will undoubtedly increase the public trust on KIA.

Parliamentary Oversight

In the period March 2016 – July 2016, the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of KIA was gathered only twice.⁶³

According to the agenda published in the official web-site of the Kosovo Assembly, on September 16th the information was provided on the Annual Platform of the Intelligence and Security Policies. Regarding this information, there were no pronouncements for media by the Head of the Commission, or by any of its members. Meanwhile, in the last meeting of October 17th, on the agenda was the oversight of the application of the Law Nr. 03/L-178 for the Classification of Informations and Verification of the Security.

As discussed in the previous reports of the Kosovo Security Sector Observer of KIPRED, independently from the legal limitations, and always in accordance with the existing laws and regulations, the Commission for the Oversight of KIA has a sufficient space to be more transparent, by holding some from its meetings as open for media and public opinion, or, at least, by issuing press communiques after these meetings.

⁶³ The Commission for the Oversight of the KIA, “meetings”, <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/?cid=1,110,131>.

4. The Parliamentary Oversight of the Kosovo Security Sector:

The Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF

Introduction

The sovereign countries, democratic ones, as well as those autocratic and dictatorial, are considered to be the only legitimate possessors of the monopoly of force. However, in contrast to the latter, in the democratic countries the security institutions and agencies should be responsible to the citizens and authorities elected in a democratic manner. For this reason, the parliamentary oversight of the security sector is one from the most important pillars in the governance of a democratic country.

In the parliamentary oversight of the security sector, Kosovo has almost 15 years of experience, the origin of which is in the formation of the Parliamentary Commission for Emergency Readiness in the year 2002. In September 2006 this Commission changed its name into the Parliamentary Commission on Security, and the growth of its capacities at that time was supported by the OSCE, DCAF and KIPRED, which helped the drafting of the rules of procedure of the Commission, the formats of the hearing sessions, as well as of the reporting ones, and with trainings and research.

The Parliamentary Commission for Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the KSF executes its work according to the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, and on its annex on the scope of activities and responsibilities of the parliamentary commissions, as well as on the legal framework in power on the security sector of Kosovo.

This work analyzes the work of the Parliamentary Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF, in its normative and practical aspects, including its performance during the last two years, and presents a number of recommendations for strengthening the parliamentary oversight of the security sector.

1. The “Scattered Regulation” of the Parliamentary Oversight of Internal Affairs, Security and the KSF

The Parliamentary Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF has the status of a functional commission, whose competences and general activity are determined with the provisions of the Rules of Procedure of the Kosovo Assembly.⁶⁴

The amended Rules of Procedure of the Assembly (2012), in its section regarding the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF, is a general regulation that determines the scope of activities of this commission.⁶⁵ Also, the competences of the parliamentary oversight of this institution are determined by the Law on the Ministry of the Security Force⁶⁶, and, on the other hand, the Law on the Security Council of Kosovo determines the reporting obligations of this institution towards the respective parliamentary commission.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Chapter XIV, Commissions of the Assembly, Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, April 29, 2010, Prishtina.

⁶⁵ The amended Rules of Procedure of the Kosovo Assembly, January 2012: The Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF. The discussion of the draft-laws from its field of activities; The discussion of the draft-budget that has to do with the scope of internal affairs, security and the oversight of KSF; The discussion of all the security strategies, documents and policies of Kosovo; The discussion of all the projects for Equipments for the Kosovo Security Force in accordance with the law; The discussion of the ongoing ten-year plan for Kosovo Security Force; The discussion of the proposals for sending the Security Force and Kosovo Police in the missions outside of the country; The discussion of the security condition in the country; The parliamentary oversight of the security institutions in Kosovo; The oversight and the investigation of all the issues related to organization, financing, supplementation with staff and procurement of the Security Force and Kosovo Police; The oversight of the developmental reforms in all the security institutions in Kosovo; The oversight of the implementation of the international standards of security; The discussion of other issues determined by this Rules of Procedure, and of the issues which, with a decision of the Assembly, are conveyed to this Commission.

⁶⁶ Article 4, Democratic Oversight, The Law on the Ministry of KSF, March 2008, a) to analyze all the strategies, laws and documents on policies delivered by the Ministry on Kosovo Security Force to the Government of Republic of Kosovo; b) To request the presence of the Minister of the Kosovo Security Force, and of the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of the Kosovo Security Force in their meetings in order to answer the questions; 4 c) To discuss the budget of the Kosovo Security Force and of the Ministry of the Kosovo Security Force before it is delivered to the Kosovo Assembly for the adoption; d) to discuss all the projects for equipments in the value higher than 1.000.000 (one million) € proposed by the Ministry of the Kosovo Security Force, which will be financed by the Government, as well as those that will be financed by donors, before they are delivered to Kosovo Assembly for adoption.

⁶⁷ Article 9, Parliamentary Oversight, the Law on the Establishment of the Kosovo Security Council, April 2008; 9.1 The Head delivers the Annual Report on the Activities for discussion and adoption to the respective commission of the Assembly, not later than in the month of March for the previous year. The commission can request reports on the specific activities of the Security Council of Kosovo whenever it is ascertained as necessary. 9.2 The respective Commission of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo can organize sessions on issues related to the work of the Kosovo Security Council, which the Assembly wants to posit.

This “scattered regulation”, however, contains also elements of collision and of obscurity, between, and within, the legal and regulatory acts. If we look carefully at the legal regulation of the parliamentary oversight of the security sector, we can see that the most striking instance of its non-application is the non-treatment of the supplying projects which have the values higher than 1.000.000 (one million) €, of the Ministry of the Kosovo Security Force.⁶⁸

On this issue, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, the Head of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and Oversight of the KSF, has made a request for information to the Secretary General of the MKSF, Mr. Shkelzen Sylja, on November 16th, 2016. In his answer, the Secretary General Sylja, has provided the list of capital projects of the MKSF that have the value higher than 1 million €, based on the approved and reviewed budget for the year 2016, and here he explains that “The budget of the MKSF, which includes the capital projects for supplies whose values are over one million €, is prepared based on the instructions of the Ministry of Finances (in the Mid-Term Framework of Expenses, and in the budgetary circulars), and the same is proceeded to the Ministry of Finances. The Ministry of Finances, in accordance with the procedures in power, sends the annual draft-budget for approval to the Government. After the approval by the Government, the same is send to the Kosovo Assembly for scrutiny and approval.”⁶⁹ After this, Secretary Sylja emphasizes that regarding the application of the article 4.2, point d) of the Law on the MKSF, Nr. 03/L-046, which foresees that “The Commission discusses all the projects on the supplies that have the value higher than one million €, which are financed by the Kosovo Government, and by the donors, before they are delivered for approval to the Kosovo Assembly”, he considers that “this legal provision has consumed its juridical effect, as the Draft-Law on the Annual Budget is discussed and approved in the Assembly.”⁷⁰ Here we can add the question on how a legal provision can consume its juridical effect, if this provision is still valid. That is, the issue here is not on “whether this provision has consumed its juridical effect or not”, but “whether this provision is valid or not”. Nevertheless, the explanation so far puts light into the legal collision between the Law on the KSF, and the Law on the Kosovo Budget, as well as the accompanying instructions of the Ministry of Finances of Kosovo.

⁶⁸ An interview with Mr. Daut Haradinaj, the Head of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of KSF.

⁶⁹ Internal communication with Mr. Daut Haradinaj, the Head of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of KSF.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

The same problem was emphasized in the clause of the discussion of the draft-budgets for the security institutions by the Parliamentary Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of KSF, before delivering them for the discussion to the Kosovo Assembly. Based on the legal framework in power, this discussion is impossible before the approval of the draft-law on the budget from the Kosovo Government, and its delivery to the Kosovo Assembly for the first reading. Furthermore, the treatment of the draft-law on the budget from the Commission is sometimes difficult even in this phase, given that the first and the second reading in the Assembly quite often happen within a time-span of only few days.⁷¹ However, after the first reading, the representatives of the respective ministries are invited in the hearing sessions, but these do not have any pronounced effect, given that, these, on the one hand, do not provide sufficient space for a detailed discussion of the budget projects, and, on the other, the practice shows that the realization of larger changes in the budgetary lines from the first to the second reading is very difficult.⁷² Such circumstances makes it virtually impossible, both, for the Commission to discuss the connection between the operational policies, and the needs of the security institutions and the respective budgetary requirements, as well as for the deputies to lobby for the budgetary needs of the security institutions.⁷³

Another case of the “scattered regulation” was the non-specification of the “respective commission of the Assembly”, in the Law on the Establishment of the Security Council of Kosovo, and its non-inclusion in the Rules of the Procedure of the Assembly, a fact that has caused this key institution for the security of the country to bypass the parliamentary oversight ever since its establishment, as well as its non-performance, a fact that was evidenced in the Country Report of the year 2015 for Kosovo. For the first time, the Commission on Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF did include the reporting of the Security Council in its working plan in 2016.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the Head of the Parliamentary Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF – among others because of this legal non-clarification – was never invited in the meetings of the Security Council, despite the fact that this possibility is foreseen in the point 3.6. of the Law on the Establishment of the Security Council of Kosovo.

⁷¹ An interview with Mr. Haradinaj

⁷² An interview with Mr. Çeku

⁷³ An interview with Mr. Nuredin Ibishi, a member of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF.

⁷⁴ The Working Plan for the year 2016, Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of KSF, January 2016.

One handicap, in terms of oversight of the selection of the higher executive personnel of security institutions – despite the fact that this is considered a good international practice⁷⁵ – is the fact that the Commission does not have access, and is, furthermore, deprived, from giving its opinion in the selection of the Commander of the KSF, of the General Director of the Police, and of the General Director of the Police Inspectorate of Kosovo, which are functions of fundamental importance in the management of the security sector.

Also, it is considered that it is necessary that the manner of the oversight of the law enforcement by the Commission should be reviewed, given that this oversight should be conducted, by the ministries and the respective security institutions first, and they should then report before the Commission. Furthermore, up to now, the respective ministries did not report annually or periodically on the observance of respective laws, by including in these reports the reasons for non-observance of their particular sections as well.⁷⁶ On this occasion it should be stressed that the Commission did oversee the observance of the Law on the Police, which took a lot of time and provided 17 recommendations to be executed during a six month period, but there was no report by the Police and Inspectorate for their implementation.⁷⁷

Therefore, the regulation of this issue should be done by amending the Law on the Ministry of the KSF, and the Rules of Procedure of the Kosovo Assembly, and with this, the ministries and the respective security institutions would report on the observance of the respective laws, as well as on the potential obstacles, together with the accompanying measures, and the Commission should focus on the monitoring of their implementation.

Furthermore, regarding the sufficiency of the actual legal regulation of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF, its different members have different opinions. Thus, Daut Haradinaj, the Head of the Commission, considers that despite of the fact that the Commission does not have the working regulation of its own, the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly provide a good

⁷⁵ For more on this, see: Born H., Fluri Ph., Johnsson A., Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector, DCAF 2003.

⁷⁶ An interview with Mr. Ibishi.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

regulation of its particular mandate and responsibilities, and, as such, is sufficient.⁷⁸ On the other hand, the deputy Nuredin Ibishi considers that the Rules of Procedure of the Kosovo Assembly have numerous uncertainties, and he thinks that drafting and the approval of the working regulation for the Commission, or even drafting of the Law for the Oversight of the Security Sector, is necessary, and that it will strengthen the parliamentary oversight of the security sector.

Nevertheless, as the facts, and the previous analysis testify, the “scattered regulation” of the legal framework and of the regulation of the parliamentary oversight of the security sector in Kosovo, bring about segments of collision and uncertainty. However, these can be fixed not only with the drafting of the regulation on the work of the Commission on Internal Affairs, Security, and Oversight of the KSF. In principle, for fixing these issues, the Article 4 – Democratic Oversight – of the Law on the Ministry of KSF, should be amended, in order to avoid legal collision with the proceedings of the Law on the Budget of Kosovo by the Government in the Kosovo Assembly, and the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly should be amended as well, in order to include the competences for overseeing the Security Council of Kosovo. However, for regulating the competences, the scope of activities, and the functioning of the parliamentary oversight of the security sector in a detailed manner, it is necessary to prepare, at least, the Regulation on the Procedures of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF, and, in the meantime, the Law on the Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector can be prepared once after the Armed Forces of Kosovo will be created, and after the long-term institutional framework of the Kosovo security institutions will be clarified.

2. The Functioning of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF

The Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF, as a functional commission of the Kosovo Assembly, is confronted with problems related to insufficient infrastructure, non-efficient internal organization, as well as to deficiency and the non-use of the external expertise.

The inappropriate infrastructure, that is, its absence, is one from the most serious obstacles that hampers the work of the Commission. The Commission has at its disposal the office of the Head of the

⁷⁸ An interview with Mr. Daut Haradinaj.

Commission, the office of the Commission, and the office of the Supporting Unit that has the archive,⁷⁹ but the deputies, that is, the members of the Commission do not have offices and technical equipment of their own, that is, computers/laptops, and, as a consequence, for the needs of their work, 10-11 deputies can use only one desktop.⁸⁰ Also, the Commission is confronted with the absence of any space that can be used as a library, of the literature, including here the electronic one, and of the applications for the on-line submissions to the commission,⁸¹ and all these prevent in a large measure the successful exercise of its functionings, as determined by the law and the Rules of the Procedure of the Assembly.⁸²

However, it is an interesting fact that, while the Government of Kosovo has built a sufficient infrastructure for the needs of its own, there was no care altogether shown for building the infrastructure of the Assembly by the parties that are in power – which also manage this Assembly – and this has had its impact on the failure of the very parliamentarism in Kosovo. We can take as an illustration the draft-budget for the year 2017, in which it is foreseen that, for instance, the Ministry of Public Administration, which has 270 employees, will have a 17.586.374 € budget, from which 8.270.000 € will be used for capital expenses, at the same time when the Assembly of Kosovo, which has 357 employees, among which are the 120 deputies, will have an almost two times smaller budget, with the value 9.668.515 €, from which only 1.300.000 € are foreseen for capital expenses.⁸³ This fact expresses the entire absurdity of the budgetary planning by the Government for the Assembly of Kosovo. Furthermore, it remains incomprehensible how the absolute majority of civil servants of the Government of Kosovo have better working conditions than the deputies of the Kosovo Assembly themselves, who are deliberately prevented by the parties in power to effectively oversee the executive.⁸⁴ The regulation of the infrastructure of the Assembly should be a priority for the deputies themselves, given that the approval and the amendment of the very law on the budget of Kosovo is in their hands.

⁷⁹ Interviews with Mr. Daut Haradinaj and Mr. Nuri Çeku.

⁸⁰ An interview with Mr. Nuredin Ibishi.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ See the Draft-Law for the Budget of the Republic of Kosovo for the year 2017, <http://mf.rks-gov.net/desk/inc/media/6DDD4133-1111-41F8-AC33-AEC173203E63.pdf>

⁸⁴ An interview with the deputy, Mr. Ilir Deda, September 2016.

As far as the internal organization is concerned, up to now, the Commission has applied only the format of working groups, which have had the duration from three up to six months,⁸⁵ and by doing a voluminous work these groups were shown responsible, but, nevertheless, they are insufficient.⁸⁶ Organization on *ad-hoc* basis of the working groups does not provide foundations for securing any efficient oversight of the security institutions, as well as for developing a detailed expertise of the members of the Commission for overseeing the security policies, the personnel, the budget, and the procurement of these institutions, as recommended based on the good practices of the parliamentary oversight of the security sector.⁸⁷ For this reason, the Commission should discuss the possibilities for the creation of sub-commissions and of permanent working groups, which will oversee the Internal Affairs, Security Force, and Security Council, as well as the possibilities for inter-institutional oversight of aspects of security policies, personnel, budget and the procurement of the security institutions, which will be based on the reporter-systems.

Yet another element that presents a serious obstacle for the oversight of the security sector is the absence of external expertise. It is not accidental that, in the oversight of the finances, the Commission is limited only on the scrutiny of the Regularity Reports of the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) for respective security institutions,⁸⁸ and it doesn't follow the execution of the recommendations of the OAG.⁸⁹ The situation is further hindered by the fact that, up to now, the OAG has virtually not conducted any audit of the management, or of the performance, of the security institutions of Kosovo, with the exception of the auditing report of the performance of the Activities of the Traffic Police and that of the Road Traffic Security (2015).⁹⁰ Thus, the Commission has virtually remained without implementing its legal obligation of controlling the expenses of the security institutions, given that it doesn't possess any external expertise, in both, the economy, and the budgeting the security institutions.

⁸⁵ An interview with Mr. Haradinaj.

⁸⁶ An interview with Mr. Ibishi.

⁸⁷ For instance, for defense commissions, the division is recommended into sub-commissions for these fields, by including the peace-operations as well. For more on this, see: Born H., Fluri Ph., Johnsson A., Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector, DCAF 2003.

⁸⁸ Interviews with Mr. Haradinaj and Mr. Ibishi.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Audit Report on Performance, Activities of the traffic police and the security in the road traffic, the Office of Auditor General, March 2015, [http://www.zka-rks.org/repository/docs/Raporti - Policia e Trafikut 220406.pdf](http://www.zka-rks.org/repository/docs/Raporti%20-%20Policia%20e%20Trafikut%202015.pdf).

Also, in terms of the management of the expertise, a particular problem is the structuring of the Supporting Unit of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the KSF. This unit has two employees, a coordinator and an official, who are engaged predominantly in administrative, rather than in professional work in supporting of the Commission.⁹¹ The structure of this unit should be organized by dividing it into an administrative section, which should be directed from its secretariat, and the advising section, which should have a legal adviser, professional advisers for the entire scope of activities of the Commission,⁹² as well as an adviser on financial issues. Furthermore, the support for external expertise of the Commission is refused by President of the Assembly, Mr. Kadri Veseli, himself.⁹³

The current refusal of the President Veseli notwithstanding, the regulation of the support with expertise, that is, with the professionally prepared staff that will be sufficient in number, is an urgent need which should be regulated by the Kosovo Assembly and the Commission. This should include the financial implications and the selection of experts by merit, given that this is a necessity for efficient oversight of the security sector. For the regulation of this issue the budget of the Kosovo Assembly should be reviewed, in parallel with the evaluation of the specific needs of the supportive expertise of the Commission.

Furthermore, up to now the Commission has not used as well the expertise of the organizations of civil society involved in the security issues, with which it did not organize even a single hearing session, given that these are present in the meetings of the Commission in the quality of the observers, without the right to speak.⁹⁴ Therefore, the active participation of civil society in the work of the Commission should be regulated in a formal manner as well, and this is also recommended by the good practices of the oversight of the security sector.⁹⁵

⁹¹ An interview with Mr. Nuri Çeku.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ An interview with Mr. Daut Haradinaj.

⁹⁴ An interview with Mr. Ibishi.

⁹⁵ For more on this, see: Born H., Fluri Ph., Johnsson A., Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector, DCAF 2003.

3. The Performance of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the KSF: A Descriptive and Statistical Analysis

In this section of the work we will provide a descriptive and statistical analysis of the performance of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF during the period January 2015 – July 2016. This analysis is based on the working plans of the Commission, proceedings, agendas taken from the web-page of the Kosovo Assembly, the reports of the Commission, as well as on the interviews with the relevant officials of the Commission. On this occasion, it should be stressed that basic documents used for measurement and verification of the activities of the Commission were *the annual working plans* and *the proceedings*.

The annual working plans are formulated based on the legislative Annual Program of the Kosovo Government and these have to do with the scrutiny of the respective draft-laws, the oversight of the observation of laws, the oversight of the execution of the policies of the security institutions, the oversight of the execution of the strategies and action-plans, and the oversight of the execution of the budget by the respective executive ministries and agencies. The overseeing activities of the commissions included in the annual working plan have also the terms for their realization.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, *the proceedings* are documents that summarize the discussions and attitudes revealed by the members and other participants in the hearing. The Commission prepares and makes public the proceedings from the hearing for the needs of its own members, of the officials that support the work of the commission, of the participants in the hearing and of the broader public. The proceeding of the hearing should have the day, date, place and the number of the hearing, the time of its beginning, the names of the members of the Commission, of staff and of the presiding of the hearing, as well as the summary of the discussions from the members of the commission and of the participants. The proceeding should have as an attachment the list with the names of other participants present in the hearing.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Doracak – Funksioni mbikëqyrës i komisioneve parlamentare, pg. 12, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/SOM_Funksioni%20mbikqyres%20i%20komisioneve%20parlamentare-Alb%20\(2\).pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/SOM_Funksioni%20mbikqyres%20i%20komisioneve%20parlamentare-Alb%20(2).pdf).

⁹⁷ Doracak – Organizimi i dëgjimeve në komisionet parlamentare, pg. 22, http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/Doracak_Degjimet_e_Komisioneve_Parlamentare_ALB.pdf.

4. The Realization of the Activities of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of KSF for the year 2015

During the year 2015, the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF has carried out its activities according to its annual working plan, approved in the January of the same year. The activities of the Commission were realized through regular meetings, meetings of the working groups, public hearings, monitoring of the observance of the laws, official meetings in the country and abroad, as well as through official visits to respective institutions, with the goal of observing their work.

The Working Plan of the Commission did foresee these major objectives: the discussion and the amending of respective laws; public hearings and other forms of communication and cooperation, with the goal of adopting the most qualitative laws; the oversight of the observance of the laws (at least one law during one calendaric year); the discussion of the actual topics from the field of security and from other fields that are dealt with by the Commission; the increase of the quality of work and of internal cooperation, as well as the exchange of experiences with other commissions.⁹⁸ On this occasion, it should be stressed that the meetings of the Commission were public, and that they were monitored by the representatives of the governmental and nongovernmental organizations, both, local and international.⁹⁹

According to the annual working plan for the year 2015, for the period January – December 2015, the Commission did plan 54 activities, 33 from which were realized, and these were evidenced in 25 regular meetings. The major activities are presented in the following table.

Comparison between the planned and realized activities of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force for the year 2015			
Activity	The number of planned activities	The number of realized activities	Balance
Discussion of draft-laws	9	4	-5
Discussion of annual reports of reporting institutions	4	7	3
The visits realized outside of the country	1	4	3
The visits realized within the country	11	6	-5
Monitoring of the laws	1	1	0
Hearing/reporting sessions	14	12	-2

⁹⁸ The working report for the year 2015.

⁹⁹ The working report for the year 2015.

On the other hand, within the framework of the activities executed during 2015, 397 indicators were realized,¹⁰⁰ and they are presented in the following table.

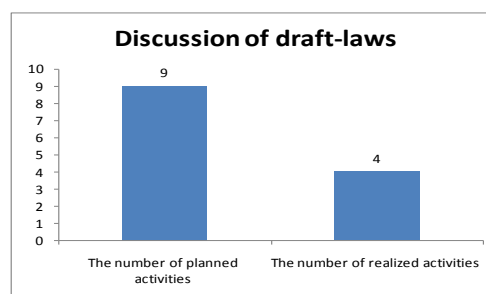
Activities of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force during the period January-December 2015		
No.	Indications	Results
1	The number of meetings held	25
2	Number of items on the agenda	96
3	Proceedings composed	25
4	Draft-laws discussed	4
5	Numri i grupeve punuese të formuara	5
6	Number of the working groups created	18
7	Number of amendments proposed	74
8	Number of amendments discussed	85
9	Number of reports composed for draft-laws	4
10	Giving opinions to other commissions	/
11	Discussion of annual reports of reporting institutions	3
12	Discussion of requests of public and private institutions	1
13	Number of decisions taken by the Commission	7
14	Visits realized outside of the country	4
15	Visits realized within the country	6
16	Hearing sessions	3
17	Monitoring of laws	1
18	Hearing/reporting sessions	12
19	Round tables	4
20	Major meetings of the Commission and the chairman	20
	Total	397

On this occasion, it should be emphasized that a number of activities, such as round-tables, particular meetings of the commission, and working visits, did undergo some changes because of political circumstances and contexts of Kosovo during 2015, and this has led to the non-realization of a number of the activities of the commission, as well as to the substitution of some of them with other priority activities (or those *ad-hoc*) that were realized outside of the working plan of the Commission.¹⁰¹

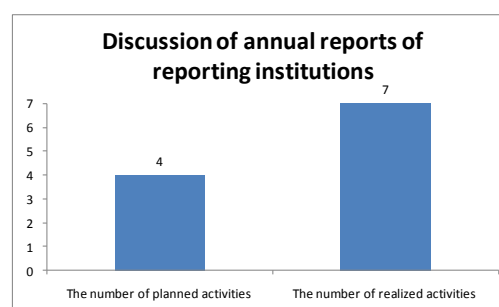
¹⁰⁰ The Work Report of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of KSF, for the year 2015.

¹⁰¹ An interview with Mr. Daut Haradinaj, the Head of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF for the year 2015.

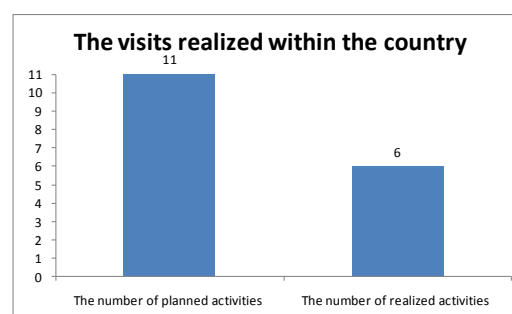
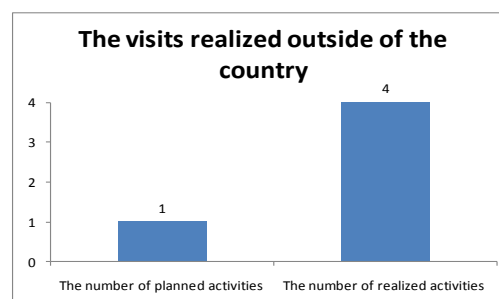
The planning of the discussion of the draft-laws by the Commission depends directly on the legislative agenda of the Government of Kosovo, and the discussions depend on their proceeding by the Government in the Kosovo Assembly. For this reason, during the year 2015, the Commission has discussed only four out of nine draft-laws that were planned.¹⁰²



On the other hand, during 2015, 7 annual reports were discussed, despite the fact that only 4 were planned, given that except 4 annual reports for the institutions for 2015,¹⁰³ there were 3 other reports that were discussed for the year 2014.¹⁰⁴



Regarding the working visits outside and within the country, we see a disproportion between the planning and the realization. For the year 2015 there was only one visit outside of the country planned, and there were 4 that were realized. Here we should stress that the visits outside of the country are not supported by the budget of Kosovo, but only by different organizations, or with special invitations made to certain members/individuals of the respective Commission.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, for 2015 the number of internal



¹⁰² The Draft-Law Nr. 05/L-02 for the prohibition of joining the armed conflicts outside of the country; The Draft-Law nr. 05/L-22 on weapons; The Draft-Law nr. 05/L-17 for changing and amending the Law nr. 03/L-246 for supplying the respective authorized state institutions for security with weapons and ammunition; The Draft-Law nr. 05/L-15 on identity cards.

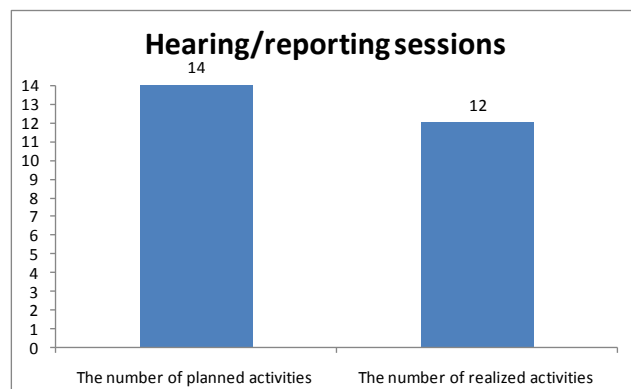
¹⁰³ It should be mentioned that the annual reporting of the relevant institutions for the year 2015 were realized during the year 2016 as well, despite the fact that the realization was considered as closed.

¹⁰⁴ The annual Report of the Ministry of the Kosovo Security Force for the year 2014; The annual Report of the Agency for the Protection of the Personal Data for the year 2014; The Report of the Police Inspectorate of Kosovo for the year 2014.

¹⁰⁵ An interview with Mr. Nuredin Ibishin.

visits planned was 11, and those realized were 4.¹⁰⁶

Meanwhile, regarding the hearing/reporting sessions during 2015, their realization was quite efficient, where 12 out from 14 planned hearing/reporting sessions were realized. Two non-realized hearing sessions during 2015 were the hearing session with the Minister of the KSF and the hearing session with the Minister of the Internal Affairs.



The Realization of the Activities of the Commission on Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force for the year 2016

During this period, the Commission has developed its activity based on the Annual Working Plan approved at the beginning of the year. These activities were realized through regular meetings, meetings of the working groups, public hearings, the monitorings of the observance of the laws, official meetings that were hold within and outside of the country, as well as through visits payed to respective institutions, with the goal of overseeing their work.¹⁰⁷ The measurement of the balance of the realization of the activities of the Commission for this year is treated for the period January – July, 2016.

For this working period, according to the annual working plan for the year 2016, the Commission has planned in total 28 activities, 14 from which were realized. Here we should mention that from the 14 un-realized activities, 6 were scrutinies of the draft-laws, which were not accomplished by the Commission because the respective draft-laws were not proceeded in the Assembly by the Government of Kosovo.

¹⁰⁶ Working visit to the Command of the Brigade for Rapid Reaction of the KSF, Istog, March 10, 2015; Visit to the Kosovo Academy for Public Security (June 30th); Visit to the Command of Training and Doctrine of KSF (June 29); Visit to the Regional Directory of the Police in Prizren (November 8th).

¹⁰⁷ The working report for the spring session for the year 2016.

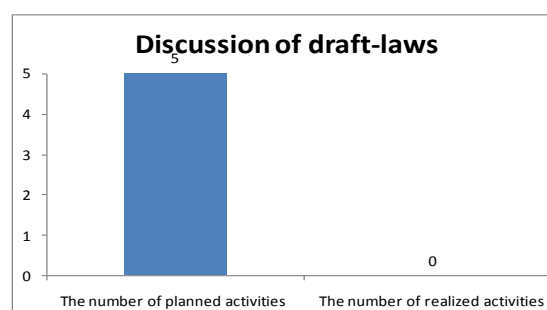
Comparison between the planned and realized activities of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force for the period January-July 2016			
Activity	The number of planned activities	The number of realized activities	Balance
Discussion of draft-laws	5	0	-5
Discussion of annual reports of reporting institutions	4	4	0
The visits realized outside of the country	0	2	2
The visits realized within the country	2	2	0
Hearing/reporting sessions	9	7	-2

Meanwhile, within the framework of activities accomplished during the spring session at the Assembly of Kosovo, the Commission has realized 75 indicators¹⁰⁸, which are presented in the table below.

Activities of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force during the period January-July 2016		
No.	Indicators	Results
1	The number of meetings held	11
2	Number of items on the agenda	39
3	Proceedings composed	11
4	Draft-laws discussed	/
5	Number of the working groups created	1
6	Number of meetings of the working groups	1
7	Number of amendments proposed	/
8	Number of amendments discussed	/
9	Number of reports composed for draft-laws	/
10	Giving opinions to other commissions	/
11	Discussion of annual reports of reporting institutions	3
12	Discussion of requests of public and private institutions	/
13	Number of decisions taken by the Commission	2
14	Visits realized outside of the country	2
15	Visits realized within the country	2
16	Hearing sessions	2
17	Monitoring of laws	/
18	Round tables	1
Total		75

Regarding the comparative balance for the general and priority activities during the period January – July, 2016, we can see a similar working trend of the Commission with that of the year 2015.

During this session, the Commission has not discussed any draft-law, despite the fact that such discussions were foreseen in the Legislative Plan of the Government and in the Plan of Activities of the Commission, because the laws were not proceeded by the Government of Kosovo for discussion and approval at the Assembly of Kosovo.¹⁰⁹



¹⁰⁸ The working report of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF for the spring session 2016.

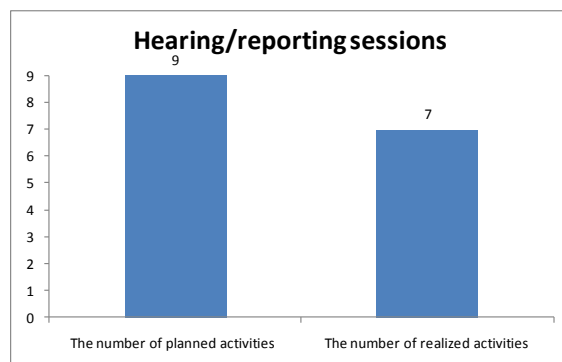
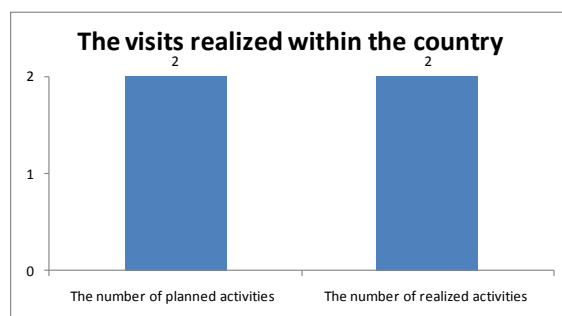
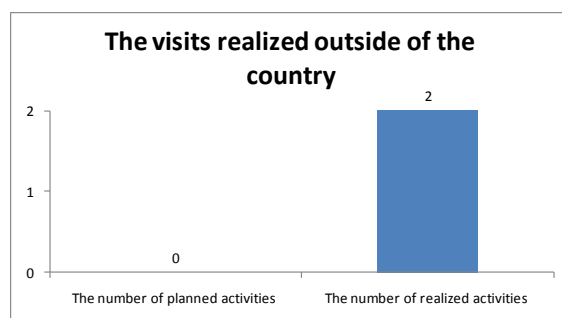
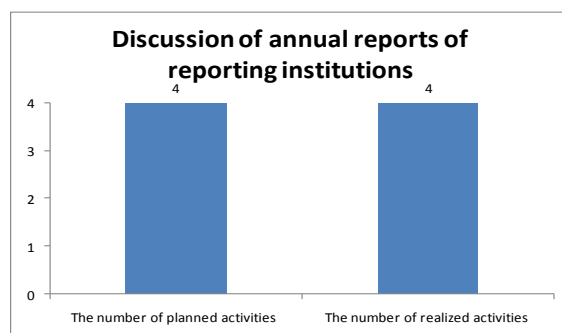
¹⁰⁹ The Working Report for the spring session for the year 2016, July 2016.

Meanwhile, regarding the scrutiny of the annual reports of the reporting institutions, the Commission did have a full accomplishment, given that all 4 annual reporting discussions planned for the period January – July 2016 were realized.

Regarding the visits realized outside of the country, in 2016, as in 2015, we have less visits planned, and more realized,¹¹⁰ meanwhile, regarding the visits realized inside the country, the Commission had had a full realization of the annual working plan for 2016.¹¹¹

In the first half of 2016, as in the year 2015, the performance of the Commission in realizing the hearing/reporting sessions was almost full. From the total of 9 planned activities for the period January – July 2016, the Commission has realized 7 of them.

From the observation of the fulfillment of the activities of the Commission, we can notice that the technical realization of the Working Plans is in a high level. However, substantially, we can notice that a deep oversight of the security institutions is still not turned into a working habit of the Commission, and particularly not regarding the issues of the



¹¹⁰ The participation of the delegation of the Commission in the Conference on Security and Defense Policies of the EU, The Hague, April 6-9, 2016; The participation of the delegation of the Commission in the Conference on the Policies of Migration, Asylum, and Citizenship in EU, Brussels, June 19-21, 2016.

¹¹¹ Working visit in the Kosovo Academy for Public Security, April 26, 2016; Working visit in the police station in the North of Mitrovica, June 27, 2016.

organization and management of the personnel, of the budget and finances, of capacities for confronting the security threats, and of the performance of the security institutions.

Not accidentally, the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF was criticized in the Country Reports of the European Commission for the years 2015¹¹² and 2016¹¹³, and particularly for not overseeing and not controlling the expenses of the KSF, as well as for the absence of independent assessments. While the financial oversight of the security institutions was not foreseen in the Annual Plan of the Commission for the year 2015,¹¹⁴ this oversight was foreseen in the Annual Plan of the Commission for the year 2016, but it was not realized during the spring session of this legislation, that is, until July 2016,¹¹⁵ and for this reason the objection of the European Commission was repeated in its report for the year 2016.

For this reason, having in mind the actual capacities, for conducting a more efficient planning and for strengthening the parliamentary oversight of the security sector, in its Annual Working Plans, the Commission should focus, not only on standard activities (such as scrutiny of the draft-laws, hearing and reporting sessions, and visits inside or outside of the country), but, also, on two or three topics of the security sector which will be researched and overseen in depth.

Recommendations:

Based on the above analysis, and with the goal of strengthening and increasing the quality of the oversight of the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF, KIPRED draws attention on the following:

¹¹² Civilian Oversight of Security Forces, Kosovo* Report 2015, SWD(2015) 215 final, European Commission, 10.11.2015, Brussels, http://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2015/20151110_report_kosovo.pdf.

¹¹³ Civilian Oversight of Security Forces, Kosovo* Report 2016, SWD(2016) 363 final, European Commission, 09.11.2015, Brussels, http://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2016/20161109_report_kosovo.pdf.

¹¹⁴ Working Report for the year 2015, Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF, December, 2015.

¹¹⁵ Raporti i Punës për Sesionin Pranveror 2016, Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrje të FSK-së, korrik 2015.

- a) For eliminating the elements of collision and of uncertainties between the legal and regulatory acts of the parliamentary oversight of the security sector, there is a need to:
1. Amend the Article 4 – Democratic Oversight – of the Law on the Ministry of the KSF, as well as the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, in order to avoid the legal collision with the Mid-Term Framework of the Expenses, and with the proceedings of the Law for the Budget of Kosovo in the Assembly of Kosovo.
 2. Amend the Law on the Ministry of the KSF and the Law on the Kosovo Police, as well as the Rules of the Procedure of the Assembly, in order to oblige the hearing sessions with the candidates proposed for the position of the Commander of the KSF and of the General Director of the Police, as well as to provide opinion on their nomination.
 3. Amend the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly in order to include the overseeing competences towards the Security Council of Kosovo.
 4. Compile the Regulation of the Procedure for the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security, and the Oversight of the KSF, and the Law on the Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector can be prepared after the creation of the Armed Forces of Kosovo, and after the long-term institutional framework of the security institutions of Kosovo is clarified.
- b) The physical and technological infrastructure for the deputies of the supporting unit of the Commission should be improved. This should be the priority of the deputies themselves, given that the approval and the amending of the Law on the Budget of Kosovo itself is in their hands.
- c) The re-structuring of the Supporting Unit of the Commission in the administrative and professional sections should be done, including the securing of a sufficient number of experts on legal, financial, and budgetary issues, as well as on respective security institutions. For regulating this issue, the budget of the Assembly of Kosovo should be reviewed, in parallel with the assesment of the specific needs of the supportive expertise for the Commission.
- d) Active participation of civil society in the work of the Commission should be regulated in a formal manner.
- e) In its Annual Working Plans, except for the standard activities (such as scrutinizing the draft-laws, hearing and reporting sessions, and the visits inside or outside of the country), the Commission should focus on two or three topics of the security sector which will be researched and overseen in depth, and particularly on the issues of the organization and management of the personnel, on the budget and finances, on the capacities for confronting the security threats, and on the performance of the security institutions.

5. A BRIEF ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF THE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

For this issue of the Observer, as for the previous ones, a public opinion survey was conducted, regarding the trust that Kosovo citizens have on major institutions of the Republic of Kosovo that are related to security issues. Again, the tables that follow this section, provide both, the responses of the citizens on the trust they have, as well as some comparisons with the respective results obtained in the past. The question asked was the same as in the previous issues: 'Could you, please, tell us, how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?', and, again, the given institutions were: 1) President; 2) Prime Minister; 3) Minister for Internal Affairs; 4) Kosovo Police; 5) the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force; 6) Minister of the Kosovo Security Force; 7) the Kosovo Security Force; 8) the Kosovo Intelligence Agency; 9) Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency; and 10) the Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence. The trust was expressed in numbers, from the lowest value 1, up to the highest 5, and the survey was conducted by the firm UBO Consulting, and its margin of error is $\pm 3\%$.

We can see that the highest values of trust among Kosovo citizens regarding the security issues are those on the Kosovo Security Force (3.98), the Kosovo Police (3.81) and the Minister of the KSF (3.14), meanwhile, the lowest ones are those on the Prime Minister (2.43), the Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence (2.52), the Minister of Internal Affairs (2.61), the Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency (2.62), and the President (2.68).

Regarding the comparison of the values obtained, with those of the July 2015, when the first measurement was conducted, all the institutions analyzed have recorded a fall in trust, except for the Kosovo Police, which has a slight increase (+0.02). The biggest decreases were recorded for the Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and KSF (-0.54), the Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence (-0.49), the Kosovo Intelligence Agency (-0.29), and the President (-0.27), meanwhile, the smallest decreases (except for the above-mentioned slight increase of trust on the KP) are recorded for the KSF (-0.02) and the Minister of Internal Affairs (-0.14). Meanwhile, if we compare the trust expressed in this December 2016 survey with the one expressed in the previous, May 2016 survey, we see that in December, most of the institutions enjoy a similar, or the same trust, as the one in May, and that some bigger differences are noticed for the Kosovo Security Force (increase of trust, from 3.59 to

3.98), the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and KSF (decrease of trust, from 2.91 to 2.63), and the Kosovo Police (increase of trust, from 3.61 to 3.81).

The Albanians who live in the North have the highest trust on the Kosovo Security Force (4.46), on the Kosovo Police (4.00), and the Minister of the KSF (3.77), meanwhile, they express the lowest trust on the Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence (1.77) and the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and KSF (1.92). Meanwhile, the Serbs of the North have the highest trust on the Kosovo Police (1.56), the Prime Minister (1.35) and the Minister of Internal Affairs (1.34), and the values obtained for the other institutions are in the range between 1.14 and 1.26. Similarly, the Serbs of the South have shown the highest trust on Kosovo Police, Prime Minister and Minister of Internal Affairs (the respective values are 2.32, 1.41, and 1.45), and their trust on other institutions is within the range between 1.10 and 1.27.

In the trust expressed on the above-mentioned institutions according to the gender of the respondents, there are no differences which would require some particular explanation. Regarding the trust expressed by the respondents according to the age-groups, we see that the highest trust expressed on the analysed institutions is the one of the age-groups over 65 years, and 55-65 years, meanwhile, the lowest trust is expressed by the respondents of the age-groups 18-24 and 45-54 years.

Regarding the education of the respondents, we can discern a propensity of respondents with lower levels of education to give higher evaluations, as well as of respondents who have finished faculties, as well as of those who have major and doctoral degrees, to give lower evaluations.

When we focus at the variable of the profession of the respondents, we see that there is no significant distribution of trust among certain professions, except for the very low level of trust expressed in the analysed institutions by the category of those who are employed periodically, and, up to a certain level, of retirees. In the first three issues of the Observer we have had a pronounced phenomenon, to record the highest trust on the given institutions by the house-wives, and the lowest one by those employed in the public sector. While this phenomenon did start to change a bit in the fourth issue of the Observer, in which the higher levels of trust started to be increasingly expressed by the retirees, the highest trust expressed by the house-wives is not repeated in this issue of the Observer. Otherwise, it is interesting to stress that the President enjoys the highest trust among the students/pupils, and the lowest among the

retirees; the Prime Minister enjoys the highest trust among those employed in the public sector and among the students/pupils, and the lowest among those employed periodically. The Kosovo Police enjoys the highest trust among the house-wives and retirees, and the lowest among those employed periodically and those employed in the public sector. The KSF enjoys the highest trust among the retirees and house-wives, and the lowest among those employed periodically.

Regarding the ethnicity of the respondents (on a Kosovar scale), the Albanians have the highest trust on the KSF (4.06), Kosovo Police (3.85) and the Minister of the KSF (3.20), meanwhile, the lowest one on the Prime Minister (2.45), the Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence (2.55) and the Minister of Interior Affairs (2.65). The Serbs believe most to Kosovo Police (2.03), and to the Minister of Internal Affairs (1.41), and least to Kosovo Intelligence Agency (1.12) and Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and KSF (1.16). Finally, the others believe most to Kosovo Police (4.17) and KSF (3.94), and least to the Minister of Internal Affairs (2.56), and to Prime Minister and the Director of the KIA (both 2.71).

The trust expressed by the urban and rural population of Kosovo does not have any pronounced differences that require explanation, and the only thing that might be stressed is that the trust expressed by the urban population in most of the cases has a slightly smaller value than the one expressed by the rural population – although, here we have some slight exceptions.

As far as the trust expressed based on the regions, we notice that the regions of Prishtina and Ferizaj, and, up to a certain measure, of Peja, have expressed highest trust, and, the lowest trust was expressed by the regions of Gjiilan and Gjakova. However, we have considerable deviations here, depending on the institutions on which the trust is related. Regarding the trust on the President, Prime Minister, and the Minister of Interior Affairs, this trust is the highest in the region of Prizren, but it has a very small value in the region of Gjiilan. The highest trust on the Kosovo Police is expressed in Gjiilan (4.30), Ferizaj (4.09) and Prishtina (3.96), and the lowest one in Gjakova (3.28). KSF enjoys the highest trust in Ferizaj (4.66) and Peja (4.24), and the smallest one in Gjakova and Prizren (3.58). The Minister of KSF enjoys the highest trust in Peja (3.87) and Ferizaj (3.68), and the lowest one in Gjiilan (2.44).

Finally, regarding the ethnicities according to regions, we notice the trends present in the previous issues of the Observer. The trust expressed by Albanians in all the regions is quite high, the one

expressed by the Serbs is quite low, and the one expressed by the others, again, quite high, and, quite often, even higher than that of the Albanians. This phenomenon is noticed particularly among the others in Prizren and Ferizaj. Thus, for instance, the trust of the Albanians and of the others of Prizren on the President is 3.43 and 3.76, on the Prime Minister 3.11 and 3.62, on the Kosovo Police 3.48 and 4.52, and on KSF 3.56 and 4.05. In Ferizaj, Albanians and the others evaluate the President with 2.83 and 3.70, the Prime Minister with 2.39 and 3.20, Kosovo Police with 4.11 and 5.00, and the KSF with 4.76 and 4.80. Except these two regions, this phenomenon of the higher trust of the others than that of the Albanians on the respective institutions, can be noticed in the other regions as well, but it is quite scattered.

**P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?
(where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)**

Institutions	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
President	1051	1	5	2.68	1.355
Prime Minister	1050	1	5	2.43	1.337
Minister of Interior Affairs	1003	1	5	2.61	1.161
Kosovo Police	1052	1	5	3.81	1.202
Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and the Kosovo Security Force	924	1	5	2.63	1.258
Minister of Security Force	1005	1	5	3.14	1.295
Kosovo Security Force	1052	1	5	3.98	1.223
Kosovo Intelligence Agency	956	1	5	2.73	1.152
Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	898	1	5	2.62	1.072
Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence	913	1	5	2.52	1.097

Table 1. The General Trust on the Institutions

Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?						
Alternatives	Jul-15	Nov-15	Feb-16	May-16	Dec-16	Differ. (September 2016 - July 2015)
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	
President	2.95	2.69	2.68	2.77	2.68	-0.27
Prime Minister	2.67	2.50	2.31	2.47	2.43	-0.24
Minister of Internal Affairs	2.75	2.49	2.35	2.55	2.61	-0.14
Kosovo Police	3.79	3.58	3.64	3.63	3.81	0.02
Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	3.17	2.71	2.71	2.91	2.63	-0.54
Minister of Security Force	3.33	2.86	3.00	3.07	3.14	-0.19
Kosovo Security Force	4.00	3.58	3.69	3.59	3.98	-0.02
Kosovo Intelligence Agency	3.02	2.57	2.57	2.73	2.73	-0.29
Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency	2.88	2.40	2.40	2.55	2.62	-0.26
Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence	3.01	2.52	2.38	2.61	2.52	-0.49

Table 2. The comparison of trust expressed in all the surveys

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)										
		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Force	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency
Albanians in the North	Mean	2.38	2.15	2.31	4.00	1.92	3.77	4.46	3.15	2.31
	N	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
	Std. Deviation	1.557	1.405	.947	.816	.641	1.092	.776	.801	.751

Table 3. The Albanians resident in the North

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)

		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Forcr	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency
Serbs in the South	Mean	1.27	1.41	1.45	2.32	1.16	1.25	1.18	1.10	1.19
	N	91	91	91	90	91	91	90	91	91
	Std. Deviation	.559	.715	.703	1.015	.478	.508	.384	.449	.556
Serbs in the North	Mean	1.24	1.35	1.34	1.56	1.16	1.26	1.14	1.19	1.32
	N	55	52	50	54	32	38	37	32	34
	Std. Deviation	.429	.480	.519	.502	.448	.503	.347	.397	.475

Table 4. The Serbs, North, South

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)

		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Forcr	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence
Urban	Mean	2.64	2.30	2.58	3.77	2.59	3.00	3.85	2.65	2.55	2.49
	N	519	518	501	520	457	497	518	472	456	468
	Std. Deviation	1.299	1.212	1.138	1.232	1.165	1.242	1.236	1.027	1.033	1.029
Rural	Mean	2.72	2.55	2.64	3.85	2.67	3.29	4.11	2.81	2.69	2.54
	N	532	532	502	532	467	508	534	484	442	446
	Std. Deviation	1.408	1.439	1.184	1.171	1.343	1.330	1.197	1.258	1.106	1.164

Table 5. Residence

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)

		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Forcr	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence
Male	Mean	2.66	2.39	2.57	3.74	2.61	3.09	4.00	2.75	2.63	2.53
	N	524	528	520	524	492	503	527	502	477	487
	Std. Deviation	1.384	1.345	1.180	1.228	1.251	1.338	1.254	1.161	1.089	1.117
Female	Mean	2.70	2.47	2.65	3.87	2.64	3.20	3.97	2.71	2.61	2.50
	N	527	522	483	528	432	501	525	454	422	427
	Std. Deviation	1.327	1.329	1.141	1.173	1.266	1.249	1.191	1.143	1.052	1.075

Table 6. Gender

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)

		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Forcr	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence
18 - 24	Mean	2.68	2.40	2.55	3.77	2.57	2.98	3.88	2.75	2.61	2.52
	N	275	275	267	272	251	266	274	257	247	248
	Std. Deviation	1.376	1.339	1.141	1.196	1.195	1.246	1.265	1.117	1.045	1.081
25 - 34	Mean	2.75	2.38	2.59	3.76	2.71	3.27	3.84	2.74	2.63	2.65
	N	281	283	271	281	242	262	281	262	238	251
	Std. Deviation	1.364	1.341	1.173	1.226	1.274	1.273	1.264	1.205	1.121	1.109
35 - 44	Mean	2.83	2.45	2.66	3.81	2.71	3.17	4.09	2.88	2.63	2.34
	N	178	176	165	178	148	166	176	151	137	143
	Std. Deviation	1.330	1.369	1.196	1.196	1.339	1.352	1.201	1.195	1.083	1.122
45 - 54	Mean	2.43	2.43	2.45	3.85	2.41	2.96	4.01	2.44	2.57	2.37
	N	155	153	142	155	131	148	154	139	134	127
	Std. Deviation	1.365	1.339	1.101	1.251	1.257	1.311	1.142	1.177	1.075	1.035
55 - 64	Mean	2.85	2.56	2.72	3.82	2.65	3.35	4.18	2.83	2.61	2.59
	N	97	98	96	100	89	98	100	87	84	86
	Std. Deviation	1.313	1.320	1.153	1.188	1.291	1.242	1.135	.996	.997	1.109
65+	Mean	2.32	2.47	2.99	4.06	2.78	3.36	4.33	2.75	2.72	2.56
	N	65	65	62	67	62	64	67	61	58	58
	Std. Deviation	1.223	1.281	1.193	1.042	1.170	1.381	1.135	1.019	1.084	1.101

Table 7. Age

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)											
		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Force	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence
Several years of elementary school	Mean	3.08	2.68	2.68	4.22	2.45	3.12	4.16	2.58	2.70	2.30
	N	31	29	22	31	24	26	31	22	22	17
	Std. Deviation	1.257	1.422	1.089	1.223	1.287	1.300	1.159	1.048	1.253	.826
Elementary school	Mean	2.79	2.52	2.76	4.02	2.88	3.23	4.28	2.78	2.77	2.48
	N	87	89	75	89	71	82	86	72	70	63
	Std. Deviation	1.482	1.287	1.247	1.170	1.279	1.276	1.034	1.151	1.130	1.073
Several years of secondary school	Mean	3.00	2.51	2.56	3.95	2.52	2.81	3.95	2.64	2.81	2.46
	N	43	43	37	42	35	39	42	34	35	34
	Std. Deviation	1.156	1.300	1.020	1.121	1.042	1.275	1.106	1.131	.869	1.116
Secondary school	Mean	2.60	2.38	2.61	3.77	2.60	3.15	4.04	2.73	2.62	2.51
	N	565	563	545	566	497	542	568	516	482	491
	Std. Deviation	1.367	1.333	1.155	1.220	1.268	1.335	1.226	1.155	1.076	1.111
Faculty	Mean	2.70	2.47	2.59	3.78	2.66	3.13	3.77	2.74	2.54	2.56
	N	298	298	296	298	272	291	297	284	264	280
	Std. Deviation	1.306	1.344	1.189	1.200	1.235	1.255	1.272	1.161	1.041	1.109
Master or doctoral	Mean	2.88	2.31	2.42	3.61	2.41	3.44	4.09	2.79	2.75	2.40
	N	27	28	27	27	25	25	28	27	25	28
	Std. Deviation	1.510	1.507	.999	.912	1.485	.878	1.113	1.188	1.237	.934

Tabela 8. Education

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)

		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Forcr	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence
Not employed - looking for job	Mean	2.77	2.33	2.61	3.81	2.56	3.38	4.14	2.86	2.55	2.47
	N	180	181	172	179	149	166	181	159	148	156
	Std. Deviation	1.407	1.358	1.125	1.219	1.341	1.282	1.214	1.217	1.109	1.149
Not employed - not looking for job	Mean	2.64	2.36	2.72	3.90	2.37	2.65	4.01	2.61	2.61	2.44
	N	22	22	22	22	21	22	22	20	21	22
	Std. Deviation	1.076	.955	1.179	1.048	1.224	1.387	1.321	1.254	1.009	.711
Employed in the public sector	Mean	2.71	2.59	2.71	3.72	2.62	3.34	4.11	2.76	2.61	2.49
	N	74	75	71	74	61	70	74	70	62	65
	Std. Deviation	1.626	1.522	1.108	1.044	1.184	1.156	1.136	1.264	1.153	.997
Employed in the private sector	Mean	2.69	2.29	2.46	3.75	2.44	2.93	3.88	2.64	2.52	2.43
	N	235	232	227	234	211	220	233	217	202	213
	Std. Deviation	1.336	1.364	1.224	1.282	1.340	1.377	1.268	1.136	1.097	1.171
Employed periodically	Mean	2.72	2.18	2.48	3.34	2.35	2.73	3.46	2.45	2.35	2.39
	N	38	37	35	37	33	34	36	34	33	30
	Std. Deviation	1.349	1.237	1.263	1.382	1.177	1.264	1.368	1.093	.968	1.311
Retiree	Mean	2.40	2.48	2.93	4.12	2.74	3.30	4.23	2.73	2.82	2.58
	N	67	67	64	69	63	66	69	61	58	56
	Std. Deviation	1.287	1.351	1.283	1.070	1.234	1.465	1.306	1.066	1.142	1.120
House-wife	Mean	2.73	2.59	2.60	4.14	2.70	3.25	4.21	2.70	2.59	2.46
	N	158	157	135	158	117	148	157	124	114	106
	Std. Deviation	1.352	1.361	1.165	1.109	1.390	1.330	1.090	1.166	1.089	1.058
Student/pupil	Mean	2.82	2.56	2.68	3.90	2.76	3.08	3.95	2.81	2.73	2.60
	N	162	163	160	162	153	160	163	154	145	149
	Std. Deviation	1.446	1.367	1.152	1.150	1.190	1.230	1.235	1.221	1.059	1.072
Other specify:	Mean	2.50	3.43	2.33	4.00	2.67	3.14	4.14	3.40	2.80	2.60
	N	7	9	7	9	7	9	9	6	6	6
	Std. Deviation	.822	.775	1.342	1.505	1.342	1.326	.680	.536	.819	1.484
Self Employed	Mean	1.25	1.38	1.38	2.13	1.00	1.00	1.14	1.00	1.00	1.00
	N	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2
	Std. Deviation	.673	1.081	1.081	1.636	0.000	0.000	.609	0.000	0.000	0.000

Table 9. Employment

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)

		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Forcr	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence
Albanians	Mean	2.71	2.45	2.65	3.85	2.67	3.20	4.06	2.78	2.66	2.55
	N	811	811	775	812	716	778	815	741	694	707
	Std. Deviation	1.344	1.337	1.152	1.164	1.246	1.267	1.144	1.130	1.052	1.080
Serbs	Mean	1.26	1.38	1.41	2.03	1.16	1.26	1.17	1.12	1.22	1.22
	N	146	143	141	144	123	129	127	123	125	125
	Std. Deviation	.513	.638	.644	.934	.468	.504	.373	.436	.537	.451
Others	Mean	3.06	2.71	2.56	4.17	2.72	3.05	3.94	2.74	2.71	2.81
	N	93	92	82	94	74	85	93	78	76	74
	Std. Deviation	1.466	1.411	1.228	1.267	1.319	1.379	1.223	1.242	1.153	1.279

Table 10. Ethnicity

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)

		President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Force	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency
Prishtina	Mean	2.52	2.26	2.53	3.96	2.56	2.98	3.92	2.55	2.34
	N	299	295	282	301	249	272	301	264	228
	Std. Deviation	1.391	1.330	1.164	1.147	1.281	1.332	1.255	1.128	1.007
Mitrovica	Mean	2.60	2.12	2.23	3.56	1.90	2.89	4.14	2.56	2.18
	N	139	138	138	139	134	135	135	134	133
	Std. Deviation	1.293	1.113	.937	1.200	.945	1.113	1.213	.999	.715
Prizren	Mean	3.44	3.13	3.12	3.53	3.24	3.31	3.58	3.22	3.25
	N	167	172	163	166	164	164	170	167	164
	Std. Deviation	1.316	1.422	1.235	1.213	1.235	1.273	1.146	1.185	1.110
Peja	Mean	2.48	2.52	2.66	3.93	2.88	3.87	4.24	2.92	2.54
	N	109	109	97	109	83	107	109	91	81
	Std. Deviation	1.395	1.579	1.411	1.377	1.548	1.443	1.276	1.333	1.249
Ferizaj	Mean	2.81	2.40	3.03	4.09	2.92	3.68	4.66	3.18	3.00
	N	104	102	89	104	63	93	102	69	65
	Std. Deviation	1.382	1.237	1.034	1.076	.946	1.056	.881	1.037	.983
Gjakova	Mean	2.51	2.39	2.63	3.28	2.95	3.20	3.58	2.76	2.79
	N	119	119	119	119	119	119	119	119	119
	Std. Deviation	1.055	1.046	.953	1.085	.879	1.000	1.106	.916	.959
Gjilani	Mean	2.32	2.15	2.14	4.30	2.05	2.44	4.12	2.17	2.43
	N	115	115	115	115	112	115	115	112	109
	Std. Deviation	1.210	1.222	.955	1.032	1.158	1.225	1.225	1.085	1.012

Table 11. Region

P1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues? (where 1 means not at all, and 5 means fully)

			President	Prime Minister	Minister of Internal Affairs	Kosovo Police	Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and Kosovo Security Force	Minister of Security Force	Kosovo Security Force	Kosovo Intelligence Agency	Director of Kosovo Intelligence Agency
Albanians	Prishtina	Mean	2.55	2.28	2.57	3.99	2.63	3.04	3.99	2.61	2.39
		N	230	227	217	232	192	209	232	203	174
	Mitrovica	Mean	2.73	2.19	2.32	3.74	1.94	3.01	4.39	2.65	2.22
		N	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	100
	Prizren	Mean	3.43	3.11	3.11	3.48	3.22	3.29	3.56	3.20	3.24
		N	131	135	128	130	129	129	134	131	129
	Peja	Mean	2.51	2.55	2.69	3.94	2.94	3.95	4.27	2.94	2.60
		N	86	86	77	86	65	84	86	72	63
	Ferizaj	Mean	2.83	2.39	3.07	4.11	2.98	3.74	4.76	3.25	3.06
		N	80	79	69	80	48	72	79	53	50
	Gjakova	Mean	2.48	2.39	2.64	3.29	2.95	3.20	3.58	2.76	2.79
		N	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Serbs	Prishtina	Mean	2.40	2.20	2.18	4.44	2.10	2.53	4.32	2.26	2.52
		N	88	88	88	88	86	88	88	86	83
	Mitrovica	Mean	1.28	1.33	1.47	2.56	1.00	1.25	1.11	1.03	1.08
		N	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
	Peja	Mean	1.24	1.35	1.34	1.56	1.16	1.26	1.14	1.19	1.32
		N	55	52	50	54	32	38	37	32	34
	Ferizaj	Mean	1.43	1.71	1.43	1.83	1.43	1.86	1.17	1.57	1.14
		N	7	7	7	6	7	7	6	7	7
	Gjilan	Mean	1.31	1.62	1.31	2.15	1.08	1.31	1.15	1.31	1.23
		N	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
		Mean	1.23	1.34	1.49	2.23	1.31	1.11	1.26	1.00	1.29
		N	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
Others	Prishtina	Mean	2.81	2.45	2.14	4.19	2.27	2.79	3.97	2.30	2.22
		N	32	31	29	32	22	28	32	27	23
	Mitrovica	Mean	2.58	2.17	2.00	3.67	1.82	2.42	2.67	2.00	2.55
		N	12	12	12	12	11	12	12	12	11
	Prizren	Mean	3.76	3.62	3.38	4.52	3.52	3.76	4.05	3.62	3.57
		N	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21
	Peja	Mean	1.89	2.11	2.00	4.30	1.67	2.00	4.67	2.50	1.29
		N	9	9	5	10	6	9	9	4	7
	Ferizaj	Mean	3.70	3.20	3.67	5.00	3.80	4.33	4.80	3.60	3.80
		N	10	10	6	10	5	6	10	5	5
	Gjakova	Mean	3.44	2.22	2.33	2.89	3.11	3.22	3.56	2.67	2.67
		N	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

Table12.Region-Ethnicity



Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

**Swiss Agency for Development
and Cooperation SDC**

Ky botim është përkrahur nga projekti Promovimi i Shoqërisë Demokratike (DSP), financuar nga Zyra Zvicerane për Bashkëpunim në Kosovë (SCO-K) dhe menaxhuar nga Fondacioni Kosovar për Shoqëri Civile (KCSF).