

# **THE KOSOVO SECURITY SECTOR OBSERVER**

This publication is part of the “Monitoring the Security Sector in Kosovo”, and is supported by



Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft  
Confédération suisse  
Confederazione Svizzera  
Confederaziun svizra

**Swiss Agency for Development  
and Cooperation SDC**

the Project for the Democratic Society Promotion  
(DSP), financed by the Swiss Cooperation Office –  
Kosovo (SCO-K), and managed by the Kosovar  
Civil Society Foundation (KCSF).

The content of this edition is the responsibility of KIPRED only, and it can not be considered in any way as an attitude of SCO-K, or of KCSF.

Prepared by: Lulzim Peci, Mentor Agani, Gent Gjikoilli dhe Blend Zyrapi

Copyright © 2017, KIPRED. All the rights are reserved. No part of this edition can be reproduced, stored in any retrievable system, or transferred, in any form, and with any devices, electronic, mechanic, photocopying, registering, or other, without the previous written permission from the publisher. Please contact: [info@kipred.org](mailto:info@kipred.org), or + 381 38 227 778.

Published by:



Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development (KIPRED)

Str. Abdyl Frashëri, No. 44

10 000 Prishtina, Kosovo

Telephone and Fax: +381 38 227 778

[www.kipred.org](http://www.kipred.org)

## Content

Introduction .....	4
1. The Monitoring of the Internal Affairs Sector .....	5
2. The Monitoring of the Security Force Sector .....	15
3. The Monitoring of the Intelligence Sector.....	29
4. From 'Fragile Détente' Towards the Comprehensive Normalization of Relations: Building of Confidence Measures in the Field of Security between Kosovo and Serbia .....	38
5. A Brief Analytical Review of the Public Opinion Survey .....	51

## **INTRODUCTION**

The sixth issue of the first volume of the Kosovo Security Sector Observer (KSSO) discusses analytically the key issues of the sectors of internal affairs, intelligence and Security Council, as well as of the Security Force, which has dominated the public debate and the parliamentary oversight of these sectors during the period November 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016 – February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017. In a separate section of the public policy analyses, KSSO also discusses the issue of the confidence building measures between Kosovo and Serbia in the field of security, and in the following section it presents the results of the public opinion survey about the trust that Kosovo citizens have regarding the security issues in the respective governmental institutions and their heads, as well as on the respective parliamentary commissions.

The section on internal affairs analyzes briefly the developments related to “the Russian train,” as well as the work of the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force which was related to internal affairs.

The section on Kosovo Security Force discusses the key issues related to the transformation of the KSF, and the work related to the Kosovo Security Force, of the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force.

The section on Intelligence and the Security Council discusses the resignation of the Director of KIA, Agron Selimaj, and the nomination of the new director, Driton Gashi, as well as the media reportings on the irregularities and possible financial misuses within KIA.

At the end of this issue of KSSO, a brief analysis is presented on the key findings of the public opinion survey on the trust that the citizens of Kosovo have on the institutions of security sector in Kosovo, which was conducted at the beginning of March 2017.

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

### **Introduction**

During the period November 15<sup>th</sup> 2016 – February 15<sup>th</sup> 2017, the key public issue related to the Internal Affairs Sector and the Police was the attempt of the “Russian train” to come from Belgrade to Mitrovica, an event that was accompanied with a number of statements of institutional leaders of Kosovo on “the merits” for ordering the Special Unit of the Kosovo Police to deploy at the border point in Jarinje.

We will discuss here this issue, and, also, in a separate section we will discuss the Oversight of the Internal Affairs Sector by the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF.

### **Tensions with “the Russian train”**

The train of Russian production<sup>1</sup> that was given as a present to the Serbian Railroad,<sup>2</sup> resembled much more to a mobile church<sup>3</sup> than to a common train for transporting passengers, given that on the outside it was full with provoking inscriptions, mainly the slogan “Kosovo is Serbia,”<sup>4</sup> written in more than 20 languages, including Albanian.<sup>5</sup>

At the beginning of January 2017, the Director of the Office of Kosovo in the Government of Serbia, Marko Đurić, had declared for the Serbian media that for the Serbian New Year the

---

1 BBC.com: Serbian train sparks escalation in tensions with Kosovo, 14 January 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38625872>

2 Ibid.

3 Kallxo.com: Treni Si Kishë nga Brenda, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/treni-si-kishe-nga-brenda/>

4 Botasot.com: Treni Beograd-Mitrovicë, me një parullë të madhe provokuese – dhuratë e Rusisë për hekurudhën e Serbisë, 15 janar 2017, <http://www.botasot.info/aktuale-lajme/639628/treni-beograd-mitrovice-me-nje-parulle-te-madhe-provokuese-dhurate-e-rusise-per-hekurudhen-e-serbise-ndalet-ne-rrashke/>

5 Ibid.

railroad line Belgrade - Mitrovica will be established.<sup>6</sup> “The Russian train” that was being prepared to travel in this route, was considered by the Kosovar institutions as a provocation and the violation of the territorial sovereignty and integrity of Kosovo,<sup>7</sup> given that it didn’t have, either licence, or authorizatón, and its entrance in the territory of Kosovo was illegal, and as such, the decision was taken that it should be banned.<sup>8</sup> This activity was requested in a written form from the Director of the Kosovo Police, Mr. Shpend Maxhuni, by the Minister of Infrastructure, Lutfi Zharku.<sup>9</sup>

### **The Departure of the Train from Belgrade**

Two weeks after the return in Belgrade of the “Russian train”, the Minister of External Affairs of Kosovo, Mr. Enver Hoxhaj, before the Parliamentary Commission for External Affairs of Kosovo, declared that “we have had informations four weeks earlier about the scenario of the train, and we have known how we are going to react about this issue three weeks earlier.”<sup>10</sup> However, the day of the departure of the train from Serbia was not clear, as well as the silence of institutional heads regarding its coming from Belgrade to Mitrovica,<sup>11</sup> a fact that caused confusion and uncertainty among the Kosovo citizens.

Only several hours before the arrival of “the Russian train” in the North of Mitrovica, the institutions of the country gave the order to Kosovo Police to interfere for preventing its

---

6 Zëri.info: Serbia lëshon linjë treni nga Beogradi për në Kosovë, 8 janar 2017, <http://zeri.info/aktuale/125006/serbia-leshon-linje-treni-nga-beogradi-per-ne-kosove/>

7 Kallxo.com: Edita Tahiri i Lutet Brukselit ta Ndalë Trenin Ilegal të Serbisë, 13/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/edita-tahiri-i-lutet-brukselit-ta-ndale-trenin-ilegal-te-serbise/>

8 Kohavision.tv: Lajmet e mbrëmjes, 14/01/2017, <http://www.kohavision.tv/lajmet/1752/lajmet-e-mbremjes/>

9 Ibid.

10 Kallxo.com: Hoxhaj: E Dinim se do të vinte treni, 08/02/2017, <http://kallxo.com/hoxhaj-e-dinim-se-te-vinte-treni/>

11 Gazetaexpress.com: Thaçi, Mustafa e Veseli heshtin për trenin e Serbisë, 14/01/2017, <http://www.gazetaexpress.com/lajme/thaci-mustafa-e-veseli-heshtin-per-trenin-e-serbise-307285/>

entrance in Kosovo.<sup>12</sup> Thus, in the evening hours, the Kosovo Police units were deployed in the North of Mitrovica to prevent the entrance of this train in Kosovo,<sup>13</sup> and these, together with the Special Unit of Kosovo did go to the border unit in Jarinje.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, the major heads of Kosovar institutions began to give public statements on the arrival of the Serbian train in Kosovo only in the afternoon of January 14<sup>th</sup>. On this occasion, the President of Kosovo, Mr. Hashim Thaçi, through the Facebook social network declared that “This train is just the next in line of provocations , and Kosovo’s authorities should undertake all the necessary legal actions to stop it immediately.”<sup>15</sup> There was also a reaction by the Prime Minister of Kosovo, Mr. Isa Mustafa, who declared that “this train should not be allowed to enter in Kosovo.”<sup>16</sup> That the entrance of the train coming from Serbia will be halted was declared also by the Minister of Interior Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni, who said that “the train will be reversed, and it will not enter Kosovo.”<sup>17</sup>

### **The Train goes to Raška, not to the North of Mitrovica**

“The Russian train” did not arrive in the destination planned by Serbia, and it stopped in Raška of Serbia, a city that is not far away from the border of Kosovo,<sup>18</sup> and after remaining there for several hours, it went back from where it came, to Belgrade.<sup>19</sup>

---

12 Infokosova.net: Ekskluzive: Zyrtarisht kërkohet nga Ministria e Brendshme dhe Policia të ndalojnë hyrjen e trenit të Serbisë, 14/01/2017, <http://infokosova.net/ekskluzive-zyrtarisht-kerkohet-nga-ministria-e-brendshme-dhe-policia-te-ndalojne-hyrjen-e-trenit-te-serbise/>

13 Kallxo.com: Zyrtare: Policia e Kosovës me Autoblinda në Veri, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/zyrtare-policia-e-kosoves-autoblinda-ne-veri/>

14 Kallxo.com: Policia Speciale Përforcohet në Veri, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/policia-speciale-perforcohet-ne-veri/>

15 Kallxo.com: Thaçi: Autoritetet e Kosovës Duhet Ta Ndalojnë Trenin, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/thaci-autoritetet-e-kosoves-duhet-ta-ndalojne-trenin/>

16 Kallxo.com: Isa Mustafa: Treni Nuk do të Lejohej të Hynte në Kosovë, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/isa-mustafa-treni-nuk-te-lejohej-te-hynte-ne-kosove/>

17 Top-channel.tv: Hyseni: Treni serb do kthehet mbrapsht, nuk hyn në Kosovë, 14/01/2016, <http://top-channel.tv/lajme/artikull.php?id=345539>

18 Kallxo.com: Treni nuk Leviz nga Rashka, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/treni-nuk-leviz-nga-rashka/>

19 Rtklive.com: Ekskluzive: Policia e Kosovës bllokon trenin, kthehet për në Serbi, 14/01/2017, <https://www.rtklive.com/sq/news-single.php?ID=128740>

After this, the game of the strongest started, namely, the declarations on who gave the order for stopping the entering of the train in Kosovo. The first to give a declaration was the Head of the Assembly, Mr. Kadri Veseli, who in the Facebook social network declared that “the Kosovo institutions, by respecting the order of the President Hashim Thaçi, for stopping the entrance of the Serbian train in Kosovo, showed their commitment for protecting the state sovereignty,”<sup>20</sup> thus giving “the merits” for non-entry of the Serbian train in Kosovo to President Thaçi. Also, declarations for ordering the intervention of Kosovo Police were given by the Minister for Internal Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni, who, before the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, declared that the decision to stop the train was taken in the Kosovo Security Council, and, after this, the order was given by the Director of the Kosovo Police, Mr. Shpend Maxhuni.<sup>21</sup> These declarations point to the tendency for taking “the merits” for political parties, and for underestimating the governmental partners, something that puts doubts on the institutional capacity of Kosovo to confront even more complex situations which Kosovo can face in the future.

On the other hand, after the train returned from Raška to Belgrade, the Prime Minister of Serbia, Mr. Aleksandar Vučić accused directly the Kosovo Police for undermining the railroad for preventing the entrance of the train, and he said that the train was stopped in Raška for this reason.<sup>22</sup> This declaration of the Serbian Prime Minister Vučić was supported by video recording which showed two masked persons while putting explosive in the railroad tracks.<sup>23</sup> This was, however, immediately refuted by the Kosovo Police, when its Deputy Director, Mr. Besim Hoti, declared that “Kosovo Police and its bomb units have controlled the railroad tracks after

---

20 Kallxo.com: Veseli: Institucionet Treguan Vendosmëri, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/veseli-institucionet-treguan-vendosmeri/>

21 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverbali i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, 17/01/2017, Diskutim rreth situatës së sigurisë në Republikën e Kosovës, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2017\\_01\\_17\\_11\\_6801\\_al.pdf/](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2017_01_17_11_6801_al.pdf/)

22 Kallxo.com: Vuçiq: Policia Speciale e Kosovës Tentoi ta Minojë Hekurudhën, 14/01/2014, <http://kallxo.com/vuciq-policia-speciale-e-kosoves-tentoi-ta-minoje-hekurudhen/>

23 Botasot.info: A po përgatitet bombardimi i trenit serb që është nisur drejt Kosovës?, 14/01/2017, <http://www.botasot.info/aktuale-lajme/639291/a-po-pergatitet-bombardimi-i-trenit-serb-qe-eshte-nisur-drejt-kosoves/>

reports that explosives were put on them ... and we didn't find anything"<sup>24</sup>. Meanwhile, in a statement for media, the Prime Minister of Serbia declared that he personally gave the order for stopping the train in Raška, as well as for its return to Belgrade, from where it departed.<sup>25</sup> After the return of the train, the Kosovo Police started its withdrawal from the border point of Jarinje between Kosovo and Serbia.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, several hours after all this, video recordings of special units started to emerge in social networks and portals, in which their members were singing patriotic songs,<sup>27</sup> and, also, taking photos while making the sign of the double-headed eagle.<sup>28</sup> Such a behavior of the members of Kosovo Police is irresponsible and contrary with the state character of Kosovo, given that our country is not a state of Albanians only, but of all of its communities. With such activities, Kosovo Police can only lose the already low trust among the minority Serbian community in Kosovo. Furthermore, there was not even a single member of Kosovo Police who was sanctioned for these activities. And, the most important thing, it is truth that the Serbian provocative train did not enter in Kosovo, but it remains unclear whose pressure has really prevented its entering in Kosovo, despite the declarations of Vučić and of the institutional heads of Kosovo.

The decision of Serbia for starting the railroad line from Belgrade to the North of Mitrovica brought about an increase of tensions that could have ended with a conflict between Kosovo and Serbia.<sup>29</sup> The American Ambassador in Kosovo, Mr. Greg Delawie expressed his concern on

---

24 Kallxo.com: Policia: Hekurudha u Kontrollua për Eksploziv, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/policia-hekurudha-u-kontrollua-per-eksploziv/>

25 Klankosova.tv: Vuçiq: Trenin e ndala unë (VIDEO), 14/01/2017, <http://klankosova.tv/vuciq-trenin-e-ndala-une-video/>

26 Kohavision.tv: Lajmet e mbrëmjes, minuta 9:15, 15/01/2017, <http://www.kohavision.tv/lajmet/1758/lajmet-e-mbremjes/>

27 Youtube.com: Trimat e policisë Rosu duke kenuar, pas ndalimit të trenit në veri të Kosovës, 14/01/2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j30gWlp-CdQ/>

28 Botasot.info: Shqiponja zbret në veri, 14/01/2017, <http://www.botasot.info/aktuale-lajme/639552/shqiponja-zbret-ne-veri/>

29 BBC.com: Serbian train sparks escalation in tensions with Kosovo, 14 January 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38625872>

this, through a communication in which he declared that “he was concerned about the issue of the train”, and on this occasion, he appealed “all the parties for restraint, and there is a need for normalization, not confrontation.”<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the President of Serbia, Nikolić, militarized the political language, by declaring that Serbia can send the army in Kosovo for defending the Serbs.<sup>31</sup> The President and the Prime Minister of Kosovo reacted to this declaration of President Nikolić. President Thaçi accused directly the Serbian President by saying that he is threatening with war and that this is “contrary with the dialogue on the normalization of relations and it threatens directly the peace in the Western Balkans.”<sup>32</sup> Also, the Prime Minister of Kosovo said in his reaction that “the Serbs of Kosovo are equal citizens. There is no need for Belgrade to protect them” given that they are not, and they will not be threatened in any form.<sup>33</sup>

The tensions between the two countries were softened after a tense meeting between President Thaçi and Prime Minister Mustafa, with President Nikolić and Prime Minister Vučić, which, with the mediation of EU, took place in the Brussels, on January 24<sup>th</sup><sup>34</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>.<sup>35</sup>

## **Parliamentary Oversight**

During the period from November 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016, to February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the Parliamentary Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force, did

---

30 Kallxo.com: Delawie i Shqetësuar për Trenin, Thërret për Përmbajtje, 14/01/2017/ <http://kallxo.com/delawie-shqetesuar-per-trenin-therret-per-permbajtje/>

31 Kohavision.tv: Lajmet e mbrëmjes, minuta10, 15/01/2017, <http://www.kohavision.tv/lajmet/1758/lajmet-e-mbremjes/>

32 Kallxo.com: Hashim Thaçi i përgjigjet Tomislav Nikoliqit, 15/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/hashim-thaci-pergjigjet-tomislav-nikoliqit/>

33 Kallxo.com: Mustafa: Serbët e Kosovës s’ka nevojë t’i mbrojnë Beogradi, 15/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/mustafa-serbet-e-kosoves-ska-nevoje-ti-mbroje-beogradi/>

34 Kallxo.com: Nis takimi i nivelit të lartë në Bruksel, <http://kallxo.com/nis-takimi-nivelit-te-larte-ne-bruksel/>, 24 janar 2017

35 Kallxo.com: Në takimin e radhës në Bruksel edhe Thaçi edhe Nikoliqi, <http://kallxo.com/ne-takimin-e-radhes-ne-bruksel-edhe-thaci-e-nikoliqi/>, 30 janar 2017

held seven meetings, on November 29<sup>th</sup>, 2016, on December 7<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016, on January 17<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017, and on February 8<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017, as well as one meeting with delegations of international representatives.

On the meeting of November 29<sup>th</sup>, 2016, the reports were delivered by Valdet Hoxha, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Drita Hoxha, Director for Budget and Finances, Granit Fetahu from the Procurement Department at Kosovo Police, and Hamdi Hyseni from the Directorate for Budget and Finances at the Kosovo Police. In this meeting, the draft-budget for security institutions for the year 2017 was discussed. The Head of the Commission, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, referred to the reports for financial expenditures, to the report of the Auditor General, and the media also reported that there were delays of payments, the postponements of capital projects, as well as transfers of different projects.<sup>36</sup>

Valdet Hoxha, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Drita Hoxha, Director for Budget and Finances, did not give direct answers to the issues raised by the Head of the Commission.<sup>37</sup> The Deputy Minister of the MIA, Mr. Hoxha, stressed that the MIA did spend 98% of its budget, and he added that there is a five million Euroes increase in the budget for 2017. Regarding the budget for 2017, Mr. Haradinaj asked again for informations on why the means for 2016 were not fully spend, a fact that was identified also in the report of the Auditor General.

Meanwhile, the report in the meeting of the Commission of January 17<sup>th</sup> 2017, was delivered by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Skender Hyseni. The discussion was on the issue of the security situation in the Republic of Kosovo, and on the attempt of “the Russian train” to enter in Kosovo. Minister Hyseni emphasized that since the day of the warning on the coming of the train, the MIA and the Police were in coordination on this issue. He also added that the Prime

---

36 Kuvendi i Kosovës: Procesverbali i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës Mbledhja nr. 41, 29/11/2016, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2016\\_11\\_29\\_11\\_6748\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2016_11_29_11_6748_al.pdf)

37 Ibid.

Minister and the other heads of the security institutions did have meetings with the representatives of the Quint countries, and that they were informed on the actions to be taken. Nevertheless, the plans of the Police were not made public.<sup>38</sup>

As a matter of fact, on the day of the departure of the train for Kosovo, several local media discussing this issue, wrote on “the silence of institutional heads” regarding the arrival of the train.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, from this reporting of Minister Hyseni, we see that the institutions have planned their actions.<sup>40</sup>

After the reporting, the deputies who are members of the Commission asked Minister Hyseni on several related issues. Thus, Mr. Anton Quni asked on the giving of the order, that is, who was the one to give the order to stop the train.<sup>41</sup> This question was made given that there was a spread of conviction in the public opinion that it was the President of Kosovo, Mr. Hashim Thaçi who gave the order to not allow the entering of the train.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, Minister Hyseni said that the institutions did undertake actions earlier, that is, before the gathering of the Kosovo Security Council, and that the decision for stopping the train was taken in this meeting, but that there was no order given, since the orders are given by the Director of the Police.<sup>43</sup> The deputy and the member of the Commission from the Bosniak community, Mr. Qerim Bajrami commented the threatening declaration of the President of Serbia, who said that “I will intervene if any Serb is touched,” and he stressed that the Serbs of Kosovo are not touched by

---

38 Kuvendi I Kosovës: Procesverbali i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës Mbledhja nr. 44, 17/01/2017, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2017\\_01\\_17\\_11\\_6801\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2017_01_17_11_6801_al.pdf)

39 Gazetaexpress.com: Thaçi, Mustafa e Veseli heshtin për trenin e Serbisë, 14/01/2017, <http://www.gazetaexpress.com/lajme/thaci-mustafa-e-veseli-heshtin-per-trenin-e-serbise-307285/>

40 Kuvendi I Kosovës: Procesverbali i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, Mbledhja nr. 44, 17/01/2017, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2017\\_01\\_17\\_11\\_6801\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2017_01_17_11_6801_al.pdf)

41 Ibid.

42 Kallxo.com: Veseli: Institucionet Treguan Vendosmëri, 14/01/2017, <http://kallxo.com/veseli-institucionet-treguan-vendosmeri/>

43 Kuvendi I Kosovës: Procesverbali i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, Mbledhja nr. 44, 17/01/2017, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2017\\_01\\_17\\_11\\_6801\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2017_01_17_11_6801_al.pdf)

anyone, given that they are Kosovo's citizens.<sup>44</sup> In this reporting, Minister Hyseni did not answer the question of the deputy, Mr. Rexhep Selimi, who asked "Why is the railroad line Kralevo – Mitrovica not being closed down, and if this train is licenced or not"<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, in the meeting of the Commission of February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the reports before the Commission were delivered by Mr. Shpend Maxhuni, General Director of the Kosovo Police, Rashit Qala, Director of the Directorate of Operations, and Muhamet Berisha from the Kosovo Police. In this meeting the discussion was on the issue raised by the deputy Anton Quni in the meeting of the Commission of February 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017, "on several movements of some uniformed members in the North of Kosovo, the recordings of which were broadcasted in the media."<sup>46</sup> This event did actually happen in August 2016, and in February 2017, the RadioTelevision of Kosovo, in the program "Udhëve" ["On the roads"], broadcasted the documentary with the title "Sport, or Military Training," on an organization called "Air soft Club Vukovi," in which it was said that this organization is declared to have only sport objectives, but in reality it seems different, given that the things being done by them are military trainings.<sup>47</sup> This event was recorded in the municipality of Leposaviq. During the program, but also in the Proceedings of the Commission, it is seen that the persons of this organization are conducting trainings of military character, that they are dressed with the uniforms of the military, and, also, that they possess air guns, which, in their forms look like real guns.<sup>48</sup>

The deputy Quni requested from the Director of the Police of Kosovo, Mr. Maxhuni, an explanation regarding this issue. According to the Director of the Police, Mr. Maxhuni, we are talking here about an Aero Club organization (Aero Soft), which is registered at the respective

---

44 Ibid.

45 Kuvendi I Kosovës: Procesverbal i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, Mbledhja nr. 44, 17/01/2017,  
[http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2017\\_01\\_17\\_11\\_6801\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2017_01_17_11_6801_al.pdf)

46 Kuvendi I Kosovës: Procesverbal i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, Mbledhja nr. 46, 08/02/2017,  
[http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2017\\_02\\_08\\_11\\_6845\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2017_02_08_11_6845_al.pdf)

47 Rtk, emisioni Udhëve, "SPORT APO STËRVITJE USHTARAKE", 03/02/2017,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gNxBKyJbBZW>

48 Ibid.

Kosovar bodies, that is, at the Ministry of Public Administration, as an NGO, which promotes sport disciplines, and which is headed by a person whose name is Momčilo Aler.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, the deputy of the Commission, Mr. Nuredin Ibishi, provided other details about the head of this NGO, Momčilo Aler, by saying that he has been a member of paramilitaries in Bosnia, and that he was captured in 2011 near Zveqan with weapons and explosives.<sup>50</sup> Regarding the question of Mr. Ibishi, the Director of Kosovo Police, Mr. Maxhuni, stressed that based on the measures undertaken by the Kosovo Police on the verification of his criminal past, in the Kosovo Police system, it follows that he has not been against any legal procedures.<sup>51</sup>

Nevertheless, the issues raised by the deputy and the member of the Commission, Mr. Nuredin Ibishi, were admitted by the very person who was discussed, Momčilo Aler, in the program Udhëve,<sup>52</sup> and the Director of the Police, Mr. Maxhuni stressed that the Police has no information, given that there was no willingness by the Serbian side to give any information about this person.<sup>53</sup> Also, based on the program 'Udhëve', as well as on the Proceedings of the Reporting, we can understand that at the time when this "sport" training of military character was conducted, the Kosovo Police was present, given that this organization has informed the Police for such a training.<sup>54</sup> Regarding this organization, the Director of the Police Maxhuni stressed that the Police has recommended the revocation of the license of this NGO.<sup>55</sup> Regarding this issue we can see that the Ministry of Public Administration on February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017, took the decision for the suspension of the organization "Airsoft Club Vukovi".<sup>56</sup>

---

49 Kuvendi I Kosovës: Procesverbal i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, Mbledhja nr. 46, 08/02/2017, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2017\\_02\\_08\\_11\\_6845\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2017_02_08_11_6845_al.pdf)

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Rtk, emisioni Udhëve, "SPORT APO STËRVITJE USHTARAKE", 03/02/2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gNxBKyJbBZw> (nga minuta 7)

53 Kuvendi I Kosovës: Procesverbal i Komisioni për Punë të Brendshme, Siguri dhe Mbikëqyrjen e Forcës së Sigurisë së Kosovës, Mbledhja nr. 46, 08/02/2017, [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc\\_\\_2017\\_02\\_08\\_11\\_6845\\_al.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/proc/proc__2017_02_08_11_6845_al.pdf)

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Gazetaexpress.com: Këto janë arsyet e pezullimit të organizatës serbe (Dokument), 18/02/2017, <http://www.gazetaexpress.com/lajme/keto-jane-arsyet-e-pezullimit-te-organizates-serbe-dokument-326381/>

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

### **Introduction**

During the period from November 2016 until March 2017, the Kosovo Security Force sector was characterized by several key statements of international and local stakeholders on the future of KSF. Firstly, there was the declaration of the new American Secretary of Defense, James Mattis, on Kosovo and KSF, in the hearing session before the American Senate, then, the Resolution of the Kosovo Assembly on the transformation of the KSF into the KAF, there also were the visits in Kosovo, of the Secretary General of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, and of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, general Curtis M. Scaparrotti, and their declarations in the respective press conferences, and, finally, the contradictory statements delivered during this period by several from the key Kosovar leaders regarding the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces of Kosovo.

### **The Declaration of the New US Secretary of Defense, James Mattis, on Kosovo and KSF**

During the four month period since the previous issue of the Observer, the former President of the United States of America, Barack Obama, has finished his mandate, and the new President, Donald Trump, took the office. Many from the declarations that President Trump made during his electoral campaign did create uncertainty in many states regarding the new policies that the new American Administration might follow. Such uncertainty was created in Kosovo as well, above all regarding the declarations of President Trump that were warning the change of the United States policies towards NATO. However, these uncertainties disappeared, after the answers that the nominee of the then President elect for the post of the Secretary of Defense of the USA, James Mattis (who has in the meantime taken this post) gave in the hearing session before the American Senate.

Two from the questions made to the new Secretary Mattis had to do with Kosovo, and in one from the two answers, he spoke on the KSF as well.<sup>57</sup> The question asked was “Approximately 650 U.S. troops remain in the Balkans as part of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) that first deployed to Kosovo in 1999 and today is comprised of over 4,600 personnel from 30 countries. What major lines of effort do you think are required to further reduce or eliminate U.S. and NATO presence in Kosovo?”. Meanwhile, the answer of the Secretary Mattis was: “Kosovo is an example of what happens when the international community, led by America, commits itself to the defense of its interests and values. In general, I would recommend reductions commensurate with the security situation on the ground, but my understanding is that, at present, the Force remains critical to ensuring the stability of the region. Moreover, before it would be prudent to reduce U.S. military presence, *the Kosovo Security Forces must receive a mandate to conduct domestic security and territorial defense, a shift that will require constitutional change with parliamentary support.*” [Italics added.]<sup>58</sup>

Given that this answer expresses the policy of the new American administration towards Kosovo regarding this issue, it is appropriate to provide a brief interpretation of its implications and significance. For doing this we should stress several points of this answer:

Firstly, the question implies the aim for the reduction or withdrawal of both, US and NATO troops from Kosovo (‘Which are ... the efforts ... to reduce or eliminate the presence of USA and NATO in Kosovo?’). Secondly, from the answer can be inferred that this withdrawal of the USA and of NATO from Kosovo, at the time when it might be desirable, can be made only after the circumstances will be created which would enable the preservation of peace and stability even after the reduction or elimination of the international military presence in Kosovo. And, thirdly, it can be noticed that the receiving ‘of the mandate by KSF for conducting domestic security and territorial defense’ [which has the meaning of its transformation into an army], is a step

---

57 These two questions related to Kosovo, and the answers provided on them can be found at: <https://xk.usembassy.gov/secretary-of-defense-mattis-responds-to-questions-on-kosovo/> and the entire text of the hearing session at: [https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Mattis%20APQ%20Responses\\_01-12-17.pdf](https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Mattis%20APQ%20Responses_01-12-17.pdf)

58 Ibid.

towards the creation of this stability which will be sustainable even with the reduced (or eliminated) military presence of the USA and NATO, given that this receiving of this mandate by the KSF will be made “with constitutional changes with parliamentary support”.

In other words, the US does not consider the delay in the creation of the Armed Forces of Kosovo as a priority problem during the creation of the Kosovar army. The priority problem is the preservation of regional stability even after the withdrawal of KFOR and the creation of the Armed Forces of Kosovo. Consequently – and this is the most important thing for the policy-makers of Kosovo – the best way, and, very likely, the only one, for the creation of the Kosovo Army is to focus on the increase of the stability and security as the major goals that will result from the creation of this army. The USA and NATO are not hurrying with the creation of the AFK, not because they have ‘surrendered’ in front of the requests of Serbia that AFK should not be created altogether, but because they want to create it within the framework of a policy which will increase the stability of the region. Therefore, only through the focus on the preservation of the stability of the region during the transformation of KSF into the AFK, Kosovo will be congruent with the priority goals of both, the US and NATO, and will create a situation in which it can count on their full support for this transformation. Whatever focus on the creation of the Army of Kosovo for the sake of its creation, can only impede, and, very likely, disable its creation for a long time.

### **The Resolution of the Kosovo Assembly for the Transformation of the KSF into the AFK**

On February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo approved the Resolution for the transformation of the KSF into the AFK.<sup>59</sup> The initiative for this Resolution was given by the deputy of AAK , Daut Haradinaj, who is also the Head of the Parliamentary Commission for Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF. This Resolution authorizes the Government for initiating and coordinating a strategy for the transformation of the KSF into the

---

59 [http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/2017\\_02\\_20\\_Rezoluta\\_nr\\_010\\_per\\_FSK.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/2017_02_20_Rezoluta_nr_010_per_FSK.pdf)

AFK in the Assembly of Kosovo. Also, the Resolution expresses the commitment of the Kosovo Assembly, the Government and other institutions, for integration in NATO, and, consequently, it presents the request for harmonization of the efforts for this transformation with NATO and the USA.<sup>60</sup>

Otherwise, this Resolution is an effort for getting out from a stalemate in which the process of the transformation of the KSF is stumbled. It is interesting that even during the voting of this Resolution, there were insults in the Assembly, as a continuation of the prolonged disputes between the position and opposition of Kosovo. Thus, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, who initiated this Resolution, during the session of the Assembly said that “regardless the fact that there are so many things with which I don’t agree with this coalition, we are ready to support the transformation of the KSF into the AFK at any time.”<sup>61</sup> Also, “Daut Haradinaj said that Hashim Thaçi is fraudulent. If he wanted, the Army could have been created in 2013.”<sup>62</sup> Mr. Daut Haradinaj continued to express such opinions in several interviews that he delivered in the following days. Thus, in the interview that he gave to RTV 21 on February 24<sup>th</sup>, he declared that the army does not belong to any political subject, and that “if there is a political will, the issue of the transformation of the KSF into the AFK can be accomplished within a day.”<sup>63</sup> And, then, he repeated: “If there is a political will, the President can call a session, and this will pass within a day.”<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, there is a fact that remains unclear here: If the Resolution on the Transformation of the KSF, which Mr. Daut Haradinaj initiated himself, says that “the Assembly of Kosovo, the Government of Kosovo and other institutional mechanisms [should] coordinate its engagements for harmonization of joint efforts with NATO and the USA ...”<sup>65</sup>, then, how can this

---

60 Ibid.

61 <http://www.preshevajone.com/kalon-rezoluta-per-ushtre-e-kosoves-ishalla-se-ka-fatin-e-rezolutive-tjera/>

62 Ibid.

63 <http://fax.al/read/article/14037387/haradinaj-transformimi-i-fsk-se-mund-te-kaloje-brenda-nje-dite>

64 Ibid.

65 Rezoluta për FSK-në.

[http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/2017\\_02\\_20\\_Rezoluta\\_nr\\_010\\_per\\_FSK.pdf](http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/2017_02_20_Rezoluta_nr_010_per_FSK.pdf)

‘coordination of engagements’ and ‘harmonization of joint efforts with NATO and the USA’ be achieved within a day?

### **The Visits to Kosovo of the Highest Representatives of NATO**

During the last four months, Kosovo was visited by two highest representatives of NATO, the Secretary General of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, and the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, General Curtis M. Scaparrotti. Both of them in the press-conferences spoke on the KSF, and they both gave almost the same declarations.

Thus, the Secretary Stoltenberg, in the press conference of February 2<sup>d</sup>, regarding the KSF said that the decision on this structure is not made by NATO, but by Kosovo.<sup>66</sup> “NATO is committed to the preservation of stability in Kosovo. We don’t decide on this structure, Kosovo decides on it.”<sup>67</sup> After this, he added that “the stability of Balkans is of critical importance for NATO. The security in this region is important for the stability. KFOR is the longest mission. We are interested to strengthen the domestic capacities, and we will also support the KSF within its *actual mission* [italics added].”<sup>68</sup>

Meanwhile, general Scaparrotti, in the press conference of February 21<sup>st</sup> said that “the transformation of KSF into an army is the right of Kosovo, but, according to him, even in its actual form, the KSF is professional and capable to continue its work based on the mandate it has.”<sup>69</sup> After this, he added that “the biggest danger that threatens Kosovo, is that it might depart from the road of the Resolution 1244 and from the dialogue.”<sup>70</sup> He repeated the words of the NATO Secretary, Jens Stoltenberg, that the stability of the Balkans plays a key role in the stability of Europe.<sup>71</sup>

---

66 <http://www.gazetaexpress.com/lajme/stoltenberg-kosova-vendos-per-ushtirine-jo-nato-318091/>

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid; emphasis in italics added.

69 <http://fax.al/read/article/14010340/nato-le-ne-duart-e-kosovareve-formimin-e-ushtirise>

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

Again, these declarations of the Secretary Stoltenberg and General Scaparrotti, similarly to the analyzed answers of the American Secretary of Defense James Mattis, look at the ambitions of Kosovo to transform KSF into an army as fully reasonable, and as an internal issue of Kosovo, but, at the same time, they emphasize that this transformation should be in harmony with the necessity of the preservation of the stability of the region. Again, we should stress that the best, and, perhaps, the only way for Kosovo to create the army of its own, is to focus on the fulfillment of both these objectives: of the Kosovo's objective to transform KSF into an army, and of USA's, NATO's, and international community's objective to preserve the stability of the Balkans during this transformation.

### **Contradictions in the Declarations of Kosovo's Officials on the Transformation of the KSF**

During the analyzed period, November 2016 – March 2017, several from the highest officials of the Kosovo institutions have given declarations on the KSF and on the process of its transformation into the AFK, which were contradictory to each-other.

Thus, for instance, the newspaper 'Fjala,' in an article with the title 'Messages of the high representatives of NATO on the KSF were understood differently in Kosovo,' reports on the disagreements between the declarations of the head of the deputies of the LDK, Mr. Ismet Beqiri, and former commander of the KSF, general Kadri Kastrati, on the declarations of the Secretary General of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, and the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, general Curtis M. Scaparrotti.<sup>72</sup> As it was mentioned above, both these guests "stressed that the future of the KSF is an internal issue of the official Prishtina, and that, regardless of that, KFOR, according to them, will continue to contribute for the stability of the region."<sup>73</sup> However, the deputy Beqiri insists that "the Americans have told them overtly that the KSF cannot become an army without the consent of the Serbs and without the

---

72 <http://fax.al/read/article/14026333/mesazhet-e-krereve-te-larte-te-nato-s-per-fsk-ne-u-kuptuan-ndryshe-ne-kosove>

73 Ibid.

constitutional changes, and that, in the contrary, there is a threat of the withdrawal of KFOR from Kosovo.”<sup>74</sup>

On the other hand, the former commander of the KSF, general Kastrati interprets the messages of the heads of NATO differently. General Kastrati said that “he has prepared himself the strategy for the transformation of KSF in 2014, and he stressed that there is the plan B for the future of this force.”<sup>75</sup>

Nevertheless, the contradictions between the declarations of the high officials of Kosovo are incomparably more problematic when these are given by the Prime Minister and the Minister of the KSF, on the one hand, and by the President of Kosovo, on the other. Thus, in the article of GazetaExpress, “The Minister of the KSF: We will not make an army unilaterally,”<sup>76</sup> of February 28<sup>th</sup>, the Minister of the KSF, Mr. Haki Demolli says that “the very Constitution of Kosovo, which gives the Serbian community the right of the dual vote, without which the constitutional changes can not be made, was created in coordination and cooperation with the international factor.” Based on this, according to Minister Demolli, “the solution for the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces, should be find in cooperation with international factor.”<sup>77</sup> At the end, Minister Demolli says that “We should not undertake in any way any unilateral decision, and we should certainly coordinate our activities with the international factor, and if we have find together solutions for so many problems of the most different natures, I believe that we will find also the solution for the situation in which we are, that is, for the issue that has to do with the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces of Kosovo.”<sup>78</sup>

In a similar way was declared the Prime Minister of Kosovo, Mr. Isa Mustafa. In the article “Mustafa: The Serbian List is being directed by Serbia, we have the support of NATO for the

---

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

76 Shih: <http://fax.al/read/article/14066344/ministri-i-fsk-se-ushtrine-nuk-do-ta-bejme-njeanshem>

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

KSF,” published in the Gazeta Monitor on February 16<sup>th</sup>,<sup>79</sup> the Prime Minister Mustafa “spoke on the transformation of the KSF into an army, for which he said that in a near future this issue will be solved.” He mentioned that the will of the deputies is sufficient for the formation of the Army of Kosovo. He also stressed that “the Government of Kosovo has the support of internationals for the process of the army.”<sup>80</sup>

However, these declarations of the Prime Minister Mustafa and of Minister Demolli, on the support for the cooperation with international allies during the process of the transformation of the KSF into the AFK, are in complete contradiction with the declarations of the President of Kosovo, Mr. Hashim Thaçi, that he gave to the RTV Dukagjini in the program ‘Personal.’ According to the report of Oralinfo, in the article of February 16<sup>th</sup>, “Thaçi: The Parliament did bewilder Kosovo citizens,”<sup>81</sup> in this interview to RTV Dukagjini the President said that he is not satisfied with the Resolution adopted by the Kosovo Assembly for the change of the mission of the KSF into an army, and that the Assembly should have requested directly the establishment of the army: “I think that the Kosovo Assembly has bewildered Kosovo citizens. It should have instructed the founding of the army, and not to talk on the coordination with internationals. We are being coordinated with the internationals for 17 years now.”<sup>82</sup>

While the ambition of President Thaçi for the transformation of the KSF into an army as soon as possible is completely understandable, his critique towards the recommendation ‘for being coordinated with internationals’ is also something that will bewilder citizens, and, even more so given that, at the time when the President is talking about how the coordination with the internationals is not necessary, he is doing this in a complete absence of any coordination with the Prime Minister of the country and with the Minister of the respective sector. Furthermore, the entry of Kosovo in the process of transformation of the KSF, without support of the USA and

---

79 See: <http://fax.al/read/article/13965420/mustafa-lista-serbe-po-dirigjohet-nga-serbia-e-kemi-mbeshtetjen-e-nato-s-per-fsk-n>

80 Ibid.

81 See: <http://fax.al/read/article/13962609/thaci-parlamenti-i-ka-vene-ne-lajthitje-qytetaret-e-kosoves>

82 Ibid.

NATO can only damage this process and can cause the shrinking of the relations with the supporters of our country.

### **The Parliamentary Oversight**

During the last four months, the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF held three meetings in which the issues on, or related to, the KSF were discussed – these meetings took place on November 29<sup>th</sup> 2016, January 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017 and February 8<sup>th</sup> 2017.

In the meeting of November 29<sup>th</sup> 2016,<sup>83</sup> chaired by the Head of the Commission, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, the reports were delivered by the Minister of the KSF, Mr. Haki Demolli, and the Secretary General in the Ministry of the KSF, Mr. Shkëlzen Sylaj.

Initially, Minister Demolli spoke on the budgetary issues of the KSF. He stressed that the budgetary planning is based on three major segments: The long-term developmental plan 2017-2026, the mid-term plan 2017-2019, and the Analysis of the Strategic Review of the Security Sector. He added that the long-term plan was prepared in consultation with the supportive American team DIR, and that this plan contains all the costs for the creation of the full operational capacities of the Armed Forces for the ten-year period, and that the budget foreseen for this is 811 million €. He also added that the budget planned for 2017 is 51 million €. Regarding the capital projects whose value is higher than one million €, he said that there are four of these foreseen for 2017.

After this, the members of the Commission asked questions on the issues of this reporting, among other, on whether there were budgetary requests that were not supported by the Ministry of Finances (Zafir Berisha), if the possibility was discussed to treat the budgetary issues in the Commission, before they are put into the draft-law on the budget, and if there were

---

<sup>83</sup> See the web-page of the Assembly of Kosovo with the transcriptions of the meetings of the Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF: <http://kuvendikosoves.org/?cid=1,110,130> .

budgetary requests which could have been supported by the Commission (Nuredin Ibishi), then, on which were the budgetary requests that could have been changed by the Ministry of Finances (Ganimete Musliu), and if there is any assesment regarding the armies of the region, and where the KSF stands compared to them as far as budget is concerned (Anton Quni).

Minister Demolli answered that the budget requested for the KSF for 2017 was 54 million €, and that 3 million were not given because the political decision for the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces was not taken yet, and that this was conditioned with the increase of the budget for 2018 and 2019. He also stressed that the ten year term for the accomplishment of the full operational capacities of the Armed Forces can be shortened if the respective financial means will be provided.

Otherwise, the Secretary General in the Ministry of the KSF, Shkëlzen Syla, speaking on the issue of the ways in which the means are being spend, stressed that all the requests made for 2017 that have remained without financial support, will be transferred for the years 2018 and 2019. Secretary Syla emphasized that according to governmental policies and those of the International Monetary Fund, the increase of the means for capital investments are allowed, and the decrease of the spending for merchandise, services, and municipal spending is required, and that this is welcomed by the KSF. Secretary Syla spoke also on the issue of the donations given to the Ministry and KSF, then for the issues of auditing, as well as on those of the proprietorship of the facilities in the use of the KSF.

Secretary Syla also said that, as far as the contracts over one million € are concerned, it should be taken that as long as the draft law on the budget is approved by the Assembly, this should be considered as consumed, and that if there will be changes of this budget, the Commission should be informed. Nevertheless, the question asked by the member of the Commission, Nuredin Ibishi, remained in a large measure unanswered.

At the end, Minister Demolli, asked by the deputy, Mr. Nuredin Ibishi on the Draft-Law for the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces, said that the draft-law of this transformation is already proceeded in the Government together with the amendments to the Constitution, and that the issue now remains on the voting by the Serbian List.

The issues discussed on KSF in the second meeting, of January 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017, at the Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF,<sup>84</sup> had to do mainly with the transformation of the KSF into the AFK. At the beginning, the Head of the Commission, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, stressed that, as long as the constitutional changes related to the issue of the KSF cannot be done, he proposes the change of the Law on the Kosovo Security Force, which will change the Mission of the KSF, given that the issue of the transformation, as it seems, for a time will remain hostage of the Serbian List. The changes of the Law on the KSF will provide the full capacities, and this, according to the Head Haradinaj, should be done in coordination with the Government of Kosovo, NATO and KFOR, and he requested from the members of the Commission to discuss this issue with the heads of the parliamentary groups, in order to continue with a joint attitude.

Similar was the opinion of the member of the Commission, the deputy, Mr. Rexhep Selimi, who said that as long as the necessary constitutional changes can not be done because of the obstacles that are being created by a parliamentary group (the Serbian List), the change of the mission can be made through the change of the law. He stressed that the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo does not disallow the KSF to be supported more, to have more budget, more equipments, more soldiers, and more armament.

After this, the member of the Commission, deputy Anton Quni, did not oppose the idea of the two above mentioned members, but he stressed that, regarding the alternative to solve this issue through the change of the Law on the KSF, the obstacles to this should be noticed, and he assessed that the cooperation with all the local and international institutions is necessary. Mr.

---

84 Ibid.

Quni also stressed that this process should not be transformed into a competition on who will take the merits for the positive result, by judging that this process should start and end successfully, so that, at the end, we will have the possibility to greet the Armed Forces of Kosovo in a parade.

Member of the Commission, Mr. Fatmir Shurdhaj, said that he considers the finding of a modification for the adjustment of the mission of the KSF through the change of the law as something positive, and he said that these changes should continue until the change of Constitution, where, in the future, these will figure as the Armed Forces of Kosovo, and he added that this should be done in coordination with the international factor and the North-Atlantic Alliance.

At the end, the deputy and the member of the Commission, Mr. Nuredin Ibishi, said that the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces of Kosovo through the change of the law is a proper solution in the circumstances that are created, and that this should be done in coordination and with the international civil and military presence.

The major issue regarding the KSF that was discussed in the meeting of the Commission of February 8<sup>th</sup> 2017,<sup>85</sup> was the one of the debate proposed by the Head of the Commission for the session foreseen for a day after, regarding the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces of Kosovo, as well as the one on the signatures of the members of the Commission for this debate. The Head of the Commission, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, said that the objective of this debate is not to shock the opinion, but to provide the feeling of emergency to the Government for the solution of this problem that was not solved so far. Meanwhile, the member, Mr. Rexhep Selimi said that for most of the issues, the Commission has reacted with unity, and he said that he is surprised by the lack of signatures of several members of the Commission for the request of the Head of the Commission for debate. After this he assessed that it belongs to the Commission to have a single attitude in the following session. Member of the Commission, Mr.

---

85 Ibid.

Zafir Berisha, said that the lack of signatures is a consequence of several important visits outside of the country, and he requested that the debate should result with an idea, namely, that the Commission should request that the issue of the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces of Kosovo should be done in concrete steps, by following the plan B.

On the other hand, the member, Mrs. Ganimete Musliu, said that she felt disappointed after reading the declarations of the members of the Commission, in which it is said that the members from the position are against the debate. She added that it was meaningless when she was contacted by the assistant of the Parliamentary Group of AAK, to sign the initiative undertaken by the Commission for Internal Affairs, Security and the Oversight of the KSF, at the time when she, as the vice-Head of this Commission, was not informed about this. Regarding to this, the Head of the Commission, Mr. Daut Haradinaj, said that this initiative derived from the last meeting with the Minister of KSF, but, also, from the previous meetings, and that he has had numerous meetings with the Prime Minister, Minister and the Commander of KSF. He also said that there was pressure exercised to withdraw signatures, and that, related to this, the Minister of KSF has phoned with the request to postpone the debate for later.

The member of the Commission, Mr. Nuredin Ibishi said that the formal decision for calling a debate was not taken in the Commission, and that the conditions for a political debate are not created yet, given that the interpretation of the Constitution, for seeing if this possibility exists, and for other aspects related to civilian and military presence, is not given yet. Meanwhile, the member of the Commission, Mr. Fatmir Shurdhaj, said that in the meeting with the Minister of the KSF and the Commander of the KSF, there was an agreement to exhaust all the possibilities in the Commission, so that the process should not be damaged, and he added that there still was no debate with all the communities, for convincing them that the KSF in the future will belong to all the citizens. He also assessed that it is not good to try to built the army through the party flags.

Then, the Head of the Commission, Mr. Daut Haradinaj said that the Rules of the Procedure of the Assembly enable the calling and the organization of a debate, and that he, as the Head of the Commission, has this right, by adding that regarding the procedure, if there is someone who has any objections, in the request for the debate the name of AAK is not mentioned. After this, Mr. Fatmir Shurdhaj, said that the Commission did not take any final decision about the debate, that there is a need for previous debate on this, and that he considers that there should be talks with the representatives of the Serbian List, as a Commission, and at the end he mentioned also the need for discussion and the exhaustion of the debate with the international factor. The member of the Commission, Mr. Rexhep Selimi said that it is okay to have a previous debate, but the place for such a debate is the Assembly, and he added that he is surprised by the lack of unity, and that the proposal is wellcomed by the Minister of the KSF and the Commander of the KSF. The member, Mrs. Ganimete Musliu, said that as long as we are calling for unity, the acts we do should be for unity, and that, regarding the procedure, the request for debate should be done by the coordinating office of the supportive staff of the Commission, by repeating that she doesn't accept to sign documents from the assistants of whichever parliamentary groups. The member of the Commission, Mr. Zafir Berisha stressed that he doesn't agree with the attitude of several members of the Commission, by saying that this is not the logic of state building, by adding that it is the PDK which has pushed forward the process of the transformation of the KSF into the Armed Forces. At the end, the member Nuredin Ibishi stressed that the mission and the organogram of the KSF are not constitutional categories, meanwhile, regarding the possibility for sending this law, after approving it, to the constitutional, there was no report received, and for this reason he requested that for this issue, as well, the interpretation should be provided.

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

#### **Introduction**

During the period November 2016 – March 2017, the intelligence sector in Kosovo was characterized by two events that can have an important impact in the future of the Kosovar Intelligence Agency (KIA). One was the resignation of the Director of the KIA, Agron Selimaj, and the nomination of the new director, Driton Gashi, and the other was related to the reportings by the media on the potential financial irregularities and misuses within the KIA.

#### **The Resignation of the Previous, and the Nomination of the new Director of the KIA**

The year 2017 started with an event that could have destabilized Kosovo, the attempt of coming of “the Russian train” with nationalist inscriptions, which was to depart from Belgrade to Mitrovica. This train ended its trip in the city of Raška in Serbia, without entering in Kosovo.<sup>86</sup>

At the time when the Kosovar public opinion was still focused on potential dangers that were threatening the state of Kosovo, the letter of resignation of the Director of KIA, Agron Selimaj, which was send to high officials of the state was a totally unexptected event.<sup>87</sup> There were speculations that the resignation of the director of the KIA will be followed with the potential resignation of the Inspector General of KIA, Mr. Shkëlzen Sopjani, because of the reportings by media on the misuses in this institution.<sup>88</sup> However, this did not happen, and Mr. Sopjani is still continuing to exercise his function.

---

86 “Prishtina ndal trenin serb, Vuçiqi akuzon Prishtinën se po bën “lojëra lufte”, <http://www.evropaelire.org/a/28233077.html>

87 “Kërkesë për lirim nga detyra”, <http://www.aki-rks.org/Doreheqja.pdf>

88 “Valë dorëheqjesh në AKI: Pritet largimi i inspektorit Shkëlzen Sopjani”, <http://www.insajderi.com/vale-doreheqjesh-ne-aki-pritet-largimi-inspektorit-shkelzen-sopjani/>

Nevertheless, the resignation of the director of KIA, Agron Selimaj, which came within less than two years since he was nominated in this post,<sup>89</sup> is not an act without a precedent, given that on January 16<sup>th</sup> 2015, the former Director of KIA, Bashkim Smakaj, did also resign from this position, after heading this institution for six years.<sup>90</sup> The reactions on the resignation of Mr. Selimaj from this post were different, given that he didn't disclose the reasons for this act. The members of the Commission for the Oversight of the KIA said that they didn't know for the resignation until the moment when it was made public. At the time when the Deputy Head of the Commission, Mr. Rustem Berisha, said that he is surprised by the resignation of the Director, the Head of the Commission, Mr. Haxhi Shala said that the Commission did not receive any official document for the resignation of the Director of the KIA, by adding that the resignation was not made in a convenient political moment for Kosovo. Furthermore, at the time when he expressed that he was not convinced on the letter of resignation of Selimaj, Shala said that he "[...] believe[s] that the now former Director of KIA, will provide his explanation of the resignation. The things he provided in his letter are not explanations. The head should also tell the truth on why the director of KIA has resigned, and [if he doesn't tell it] then within a short time [I] will tell the informations that I possess regarding this issue. I am waiting for Mr. Agron Selimaj to explain for the public opinion why he resigned at this time."<sup>91</sup> Regardless of this declaration, the Head of the Commission for the Oversight of the KIA, Haxhi Shala, did not provide any other public statement on this issue until now.

Meanwhile, according to reports by some Kosovar media, the reason of the resignation of Mr. Selimaj from his official post was the lack of informations on the events in the North, given that, according to some anonymous sources, the Kosovar Intelligence Agency did not provide sufficient warning informations to the Government and the Presidency on the case of the Serbian train with offensive and provocative messages for the state of Kosovo.<sup>92</sup> Some media

---

89 "Agron Selimaj emërohet drejtor i AKI-së", <http://kallxo.com/agron-selimaj-emerohet-drejtor-i-aki-se/>

90 "Drejtorët e dorëhequr të AKI-së", <http://www.insajderi.com/drejtores-e-dorehequr-te-aki-se/>

91 "Haxhi Shala thotë se shefi i AKI-së dha dorëheqje për shkak të presionit", <http://telegrafi.com/haxhi-shala-thote-se-shefi-aki-se-dha-doreheqje-per-shkak-te-presionit/>

92 "Raport i KTV-së për dorëheqjen e Agron Selimajt nga posti i të parit të AKI-së [video]", <http://archive.koha.net/?id=27&l=154009>

reported that the director of KIA was requested to resign directly by the very President of Kosovo, Hashim Thaçi.<sup>93</sup>

Several days later, according to the Article 84 (21) and Article 94 (8) of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, as well as to the Article 5 (3 and 5) of the Law nr. 03/L-063 on KIA, President Thaçi and Prime Minister Mustafa took the decision to nominate Mr. Driton Gashi as the new Director of KIA.<sup>94</sup> According to his public biography,<sup>95</sup> Driton Gashi was a member of the presidency of the branch of PDK in Prishtina, and, later, he was a Political Adviser of the former Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Zenun Pajaziti, and he was also Deputy Director for qualitative research of public opinion at the Center for Political Studies, which was created by the Democratic Party of Kosovo at the time when it was in opposition, and it functioned within the Office of the then Head of the Party, Hashim Thaçi.<sup>96</sup>

Meanwhile, according to the reports of local media, there was an indictment against the new Director of the KIA, Mr. Driton Gashi, in which the prosecutor withdrew the charges several days before his nomination as the head of KIA. The head of one from the divisions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Luan Ismajli, has made criminal charges against Driton Gashi for the misuse of the post, in which it was said that Driton Gashi has violated the legal authorizations in the position of the Secretary General of Ministry of Interiors, by degrading the position of Luan Ismajli, and the Department of Serious Crimes in Prishtina, in May 2016, has raised an indictment against him. According to this indictment, Luan Ismajli was pretending that he was downgraded in the position because the defendant, Driton Gashi, was considering him as a political counter-candidate. Meanwhile, Luan Ismajli was returned to his position, but the Court has found that Mr. Driton Gashi, in his capacity of an official has misused his official duty by

---

93 "Ekskluzive: Shefi i AKI-së nuk dha dorëheqje, atë ia kërkoi Hashim Thaçi", <http://gazetablic.com/ekskluzive-shefi-aki-se-nuk-dha-doreheqje-ate-ia-kerkoi-hashim-thaci/>

94 "Aktivitetet e Presidentit, nr. 39", <http://www.president-ks.gov.net/?page=1,6,4733#.WLkzIIUrLbg>

95 Biografia zyrtare e drejtorit të AKI-së, Driton Gashi, <http://www.aki-rks.org/agron.html>

96 "Drejtori i ri i AKI-së e kishte shef Hashim Thaçin edhe para 13 vjetësh", <http://www.insajderi.com/drejtori-ri-aki-se-e-kishte-shef-hashim-thacin-edhe-para-13-vjetesh/>

exceeding his powers in order to deliberately damage the official of the MIA regarding his employment.<sup>97</sup>

The first court session was determined to take place on December 2016, but, neither the judge, nor the accused, Driton Gashi, did appear on it. Meanwhile, the mediatic sources did understand that in February, shortly before making the nomination of Driton Gashi as the new Director of KIA, the prosecutor withdrew the charges against him.<sup>98</sup>

Despite of the fact that they were unexpected, the resignation of Mr. Agron Selimaj, and the nomination of Driton Gashi for a five year mandate as the Director of KIA,<sup>99</sup> when having in mind the experience from the past of this institution, were not an unknown development, given that the previous Director of this institution, Bashkim Smakaj, has resigned in this way.

The fact that in the past Driton Gashi had links with a political party, namely, with the Democratic Party of Kosovo, regardless of the fact that this is not forbidden by the Law on KIA, was not welcomed by the public opinion, given that the expectations are that the director of KIA should be a person who is independent from possible party influences during the exercise of his duty. Also, the indictment that was made against him, from which the prosecutor withdrew shortly before his nomination as the head of KIA, at the very beginning of the mandate, has created a pronounced skepticism in the public opinion about the credibility and the independence of the new Director of KIA, which, together with the total lack of transparency of KIA, can lead to further fall of trust of the citizens in this vital security institution of Kosovo.

The resignation of Directors of KIA has stressed several unregulated issues that are not foreseen within the legal framework of Kosovo. Both former Directors of KIA, despite of the fact that

---

97 “Drejtori i posaemëruar i AKI-së ishte nën akuzë”, <http://archive.koha.net/?id=27&l=155954>

98 “Drejtori i posaemëruar i AKI-së ishte nën akuzë”, <http://archive.koha.net/?id=27&l=155954>

99 Neni 5, paragrafi 5.5, Ligji për Agjencinë e Kosovës për Inteligjencë, fq. 4, <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2538>

according to the decision of the Government continue to take salary for one year after the completion of their mandate,<sup>100</sup> are actually without a job, given that former heads of KIA, because of the sensitive duty that they have exercised in the past, are quite limited in their opportunities to engage in the non-state sector, which brings them in a difficult and vulnerable situation.

### **Dubious corruptive affairs and financial irregularities in the KIA**

On September of 2016, three employees of the Auditing Department of the KIA send a letter to the Prime Minister, Isa Mustafa, in which they informed him on several financial irregularities within the KIA. According to this letter, the findings evidenced by the auditing were not included completely in the financial reports, when these were delivered to Government. These employees, as it was said, did have pressure in 2015 for removing two findings from the auditing report: those on buying cell phones for managerial positions, as well as for the repair and service of the armored vehicles.<sup>101</sup>

In the first case, according to the internal auditing report, in 2015 KIA paid 12,612.00 €. The buying procedure was realized with only one economic operator, “by adjusting the technical specifications to one given brand, without providing respective reasons.” In their letter the employees said that the requesting unit has made the adjustment of the criteria for only one operator and type of phones, and that the offers from other economic operators were not taken. “Concretely, the technical specifications were adjusted to the type “iPhone 6S”, and the reasons for buying was the motivation and the facilitation of the work of the officials for whom they were bought”, as it was stated in this letter. In this letter, send to the Prime Minister by the employees of the Auditing Department of KIA, it is also said that the officials who were

---

100 Vendim i mbledhjes së Qeverisë së Republikës së Kosovës, [http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Vendimet\\_e\\_Mbledhjes\\_se\\_59-te\\_te\\_Qeverise\\_se\\_Republikes\\_se\\_Kosoves\\_2015.pdf](http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Vendimet_e_Mbledhjes_se_59-te_te_Qeverise_se_Republikes_se_Kosoves_2015.pdf)

101 “AKI përshtatë specifikat teknike në tender për të blerë iPhone 6S”, <http://archive.koha.net/?id=27&l=154128>

supplied with these phones were not permitted to take them with themselves in their working place, in which occasion the buying did not justify the reasons that were provided officially.<sup>102</sup>

In the second case, the tender for reparation of the armored vehicles, in the value of 12,133.37 € was given to the company “Makcar” (a company that is the property of the sons of the Prime Minister), a price that was assessed as higher than the real value, and this tender was given in illegal way given that there were no three offers, as foreseen by the Law on Public Procurement.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, according to the auditor, at the time of taking the tender, the company “Makcar” was not authorized by the BMW to conduct repairs.<sup>104</sup>

Another finding on irregularities within the KIA, according to the (non-public) draft report for the year 2015 that was interpreted by the media, was that KIA did not pay taxes on the contributions and rewards that were paid to the workers of KIA.<sup>105</sup> According to the reports, the unpaid amounts for pensional contributions and taxes total the value of 48,389.51 €, which is not in accordance with the Law on Taxes on personal income,<sup>106</sup> as well as with the Law on the Pensional Funds of Kosovo.<sup>107</sup>

Another issue is that the draft-report foresees the payment of the subventions and transfers, which, as it was ascertained, was done without a legal base. During the analysis of the expenditures from the categories of subventions and transfers, the auditors have found that in 12 cases, and in the total value of 244,750.00 €, the subventions and transfers were used without the payment of the rewards (bonuses) in the lack of criteria and procedures which

---

102 “AKI përshtatë specifikat teknike në tender për të blerë iPhone 6S”, <http://archive.koha.net/?id=27&l=154128>

103 Ligji 04/L-042 për Prokurimin Publik, <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2772>

104 “Marrëdhënia e dyshuar korruptive mes shtetit dhe djemve të kryeministrit”, <http://www.insajderi.com/hulumtime/marredhenia-e-dyshuar-korruptive-mes-shtetit-dhe-djemve-te-kryeministrit/>

105 “AKI-ja nuk ka paguar tatimet dhe kontributet për shpërblimet e punëtorëve të vet”, <http://archive.koha.net/?id=27&l=154184>

106 Ligji 05/L-028 për Tatimin në të ardhurat personale, <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=11014>

107 Ligji 04/L-101 për fondet pensionale të Kosovës, <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2815>

regulate the way in which these payments should be realized, and which is not in accordance with the Law on the Budget of Kosovo.<sup>108</sup>

According to Article 10, paragraph 10.4 of the Law on KIA, despite of the fact that the responsibility of the General Inspector includes the financial activities of the KIA, this responsibility does not imply the possible pressure that can be exercised against the members of selective committees as in the above mentioned cases. Furthermore, the reasoning (according to the letter of the employees send to the Prime Minister) that the tender should have been given to the Mustafa brothers, in order “to improve relations with the Prime Minister” would have been a flagrant misuse of the official position which would have damaged the public, institutional and the state interest.

Also, according to the Law on Public Procurement, for ensuring the sufficient competition, it is required that at least three qualified economic operators are involved in the offer of the public service,<sup>109</sup> and it is pretended that this condition is not fulfilled in the tenders of KIA for celular phones and of repairment of armored vehicles. There was no official explanation provided on this by the relevant institutions, for determining the fairness of the process with documented facts.

In the third case in which it is said that KIA did not pay taxes and the contributions for the rewards, as well as that there were payments made of subventions and transfers, despite of the fact that according to the Law on KIA, Article 19, Paragraph 19.4, the authorized additional payments are determined and paid in accordance with the procedures defined with the respective law and with the regulations of the Government, according to the media cited above (Koha and Insajder), these financial activites were not done in accordance with the Law on Taxation of personal income, the Law on Pensional Funds of Kosovo, and the Law on the Budget of Kosovo.

---

108 “AKI-ja nuk ka paguar tatimet dhe kontributet për shpërblimet e punëtorëve të vet”, <http://archive.koha.net/?id=27&l=154184>

109 Neni 84, paragrafi 4, Ligji për Prokurimin Publik, <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2772>

Despite the media reports on the possible irregularities mentioned above in KIA, the Head of the Parliamentary Commission of KIA, Mr. Haxhi Shala, in the interview for KIPRED,<sup>110</sup> declared that in both cases of tenders, for cell phones, and for servicing the armored vehicles, during a visit realized from the members of the Overseeing Commission to KIA, there were no evidences mentioned of legal violations.<sup>111</sup>

As we can see in all the above mentioned cases, the possible financial irregularities within the KIA did not have to do with activities that are of high importance for the security of the country and institutions (namely, they don't contain secret/classified informations) - these are only on technical activities, which are regulated clearly with given laws.

According to official documents and official communication of the relevant institutions from the intelligence sector, all the three above mentioned cases have a common denominator: non-transparency. The general non-transparency, and particularly the financial one, of KIA, on the issues that are not classified and which are not state secrets (and the above mentioned cases are such), engenders possible problems of the misuse of authority, of financial misuses of public money, and of the misunderstanding by the broader public opinion because of the lack of communication or information about the possible events that have to do with KIA. KIA, or the Overseeing Parliamentary Commission did not see it necessary at any moment to provide explanations and to communicate with the public opinion, something that would have helped a lot to the improvement of the image and credibility of this institution. On this problem and on the communication with the public, in an informal meeting of the Overseeing Committee with the new Director of KIA,<sup>112</sup> according to Mr. Shala, the Commission has indicated its willingness to help the transparency process of KIA, as a necessary step for the future of this institution.

---

110 An interview with the Head of the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of KIA, Haxhi Shala, March 6, 2017.

111 The Overseeing Parliamentary Commission of KIA, according to its legal mandate based on article 36, paragraph 36.6 of the Law on KIA, should undertake actions to correct the problems that have emerged through the internal audit within KIA.

112 Takimet, Komisioni për Mbikëqyrjen e AKI-së, <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/?cid=1,110,131>

## Parliamentary Oversight

In the period November 2016 – February 2017, the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of KIA was gathered three times.<sup>113</sup>

On January 20<sup>th</sup>, based on the agenda published in the official web-page of the Kosovo Assembly, there was a report delivered by the Director of KIA, Mr. Agron Selimaj. There was no statement for media on this reporting, either by the Head of the Commission, or by any of its members. In the meeting of January 25<sup>th</sup>, the agenda included the approval of the annual working report of the Commission for the year 2016, as well as the approval of the working plan for 2017. Meanwhile, the last meeting for this period was that of February 24<sup>th</sup>, and in the agenda was written only “the following issues”, without any additional explanation, and this meant that this institution continues to be closed for media and for public opinion.

---

113 Takimet, Komisioni për Mbikëqyrjen e AKI-së, <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/?cid=1,110,131>

#### **4. FROM “FRAGILE DÉTENTE” TOWARDS COMPREHENSIVE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS: BUILDING THE CONFIDENCE MEASURES IN THE FIELD OF SECURITY BETWEEN KOSOVO AND SERBIA**

##### **Introduction**

Kosovo and Serbia have a more than 20 year long history of talking with one-another, and these talks took place in different formats of mediation and representation. The talks between the two parties did have an interesting trajectory; initially, they were talks on normalization of educational system of Kosovo, under the condition of the Serbian rule, then, on the self-governance of Kosovo, at the time of war, after that, on the final settlement of Kosovo's status, in the condition of peace and enmity, and, now, the talks are ongoing on the normalization of their relations, in the condition of a fragile détente, which is sometimes accompanied with high tensions between them.

The first talks between the two parties were those on the normalization of the educational system of Kosovo, which took place in 1996, with the mediation of Sant Egidio. As a result of these talks, an agreement was achieved between the leaderships of two parties on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1996, which is known as the Agreement Rugova–Milošević, and it was also supported by the General Assembly of the UN, through the Resolution 51/111 of December 12<sup>th</sup> 1996, which welcomed the agreement and called for its proper implementation. However, the agreement was not enforced by the Serbian side, and, as a consequence, within a year, the situation escalated into an armed conflict.

However, despite the following talks that lasted for almost a decade, which were mediated by the great powers and the UN, Kosovo and Serbia never reached any agreement. In February 1999, the two parties talked in Rambouillet, with the mediation of the Contact Group (USA, Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy), and, on this occasion, on March 15<sup>th</sup> 1999,

Prishtina signed the “Agreement on Peace and Self-Governance of Kosovo,” while Belgrade refused it, and, as a consequence, NATO military intervention against Serbia ensued, which resulted with the retreat of Serbia from Kosovo, and with the deployment of KFOR and UN in Kosovo. Then, the two parties talked again for more than a year (from February 2006 until March 2007) in Vienna, with the mediation of the Special Envoy of the UN, former President Ahtisaari, who also drafted the Comprehensive Proposal on Kosovo Status Settlement, and, again, as in Rambouillet, the Kosovar side accepted it, which the Serbian side refused. On this occasion, it should be emphasized that the talks in Vienna were the first that took place in the condition of peace, that is, in the condition without repression, because of the strong presence in Kosovo of the peace enforcement mission (KFOR) lead by NATO. Kosovo declared independence on February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2008, by adopting as a foundation for its state regulation the proposal of the former President Ahtisaari, but Serbia did not recognize it, and continued to oppose it with all but the military means. The relations between Kosovo and Serbia remained *de facto* in a condition of a “precluded war,” because of the peace that was enforced by NATO, and without mutual measures for confidence building.

After the validation of the Declaration of the Independence of Kosovo by the International Court of Justice, through its Advisory Opinion published on July 2010, and the Resolution of September 9<sup>th</sup> 2010 of the General Assembly of the UN, the mediation of the dispute resolution between Kosovo and Serbia was transferred from the umbrella of UN and of the Contact Group, to the European Union, a step that took Russia out from the talks table, at the time when these talks were supported from the background by the USA.

The EU facilitated dialogue began on March 8<sup>th</sup> 2011, initially with the “technical dialogue,” and latter with the political one, which resulted with the First Agreement for Normalization of Relations between Prishtina and Belgrade of April 2014, and with 15 other technical agreements, most of which were not applied fully and are facing considerable stumbles. Furthermore, this dialogue is conjoined with the process of integration in the EU of both

countries, that is, with the conditions that were put to Serbia by the Chapter 35 of the Acquis Communautaire, and to Kosovo by the Stabilisation Association Agreement.

However, the agreements reached in Brussels are the first ones with which both, Kosovo and Serbia have complied. In addition to the fact that this process has achieved a fragile détente between Kosovo and Serbia, it has simultaneously served as a process for building confidence between them, and the agreements reached were enforced based on the good will of the parties. On this occasion we should not forget that the conditions for dialogue related to the process of integration of both parties into the EU have served Brussels, not only to play the role of the supporter, but also to be a catalyst for building confidence measures between the parties, despite the tensions that have accompanied the dialogue process.

However, the sudden escalation of tensions between Kosovo and Serbia, related to the “Russian train” crisis, and to the militarization of the political discourse in Belgrade and Prishtina, has emphasized the fragility of this dialogue process. The very events related to the “Russian train” highlight the fact that the complete normalization of the relations between two countries will be impossible, if they don’t have regulated and functional confidence measures in the field of defense and security, as it was the case until now.

In order to discuss the need for building the confidence measures in the field of security, as well as their format, we will first discuss the doctrinal confrontation of the defense and security policies of Serbia and Kosovo, as well as the military capacities, which, in essence, are the key issue for comprehensive normalization of the relations between them.

### **The Doctrinal Confrontation between Kosovo and Serbia in the Field of Defense and Security**

The EU facilitated dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia has had an impact for a gradual alleviation of relations between the two countries, despite of periodic tensions, which achieved their peak with the “Russian train” crisis. However, the problem, in its essence, is much deeper,

and it rests in the doctrinal confrontation between the two countries in the field of security and defense, which is yet another invisible dam to the dialogue process, which can endanger seriously the normalization, not only of the relations between them, but also of the regional security.

The Serbia's National Security Strategy (October 2009), considers that "despite of the fact that the danger of the renewed outbreak of wars and armed conflicts in the region of the South-East Europe is reduced", it was not eliminated fully, and at the same time it treats Kosovo as "a very particular problem" of "separatist aspirations in the region"<sup>114</sup>, which is named as "the biggest major danger"<sup>115</sup> for its security, by including the Kosovo Security Force as well, which is considered as a direct threat to "the existing regional structure for the control of armament, which endangers the regional balance". Furthermore, Kosovo is considered as a "regional cradle" of terrorism, organized crime, and of drug, arms and human trafficking<sup>116</sup>. The same narrative on Kosovo, and its projection as the highest threat for security is also used in the "White Book of the Defense of the Republic of Serbia".<sup>117</sup>

In addition, Serbia is the only country in the region which aims to use deterrence for defending its defense interests from dangers and threats that can challenge them,<sup>118</sup> including terrorism and separatism. Regarding to this, the determination of security threats by Serbia is very problematic, given that both, Kosovo and KSF are considered as separatist, terrorist and military threats.<sup>119</sup> Consequently, regardless of whether the methodology that will be used for defensive planning will lead to planning that is based on capabilities, threats, or scenarios,<sup>120</sup> that what is said above imposes the assumption that Serbia already has in place contingency planning against Kosovo. The projection of Kosovo as such a huge threat for security is an evident proof of

---

114 Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia, "National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia", Belgrade, October 2009. pg.6

115 Ibid pg.8, pg. 10

116 Ibid pg.7

117 "White Paper on Defence of Republic of Serbia", Ministry of Defence of Serbia, Belgrade, 2010.

118 Ibid.

119 See the Table: Security Threats – Column on Serbia.

120 On further explanations on the defense planning based on capacities, threats and scenarios, see: NATO Handbook on Long Term Defence Planning, RTO/NATO, St. Joseph Print Group Inc., Ottawa, Canada , April 2003.

security and defense aims of Belgrade against Prishtina, which, even six years after the beginning of the EU mediated negotiations have remained unchanged.

On the other hand, the Kosovo Government, in its Strategic Review of the Security Sector (2014), has neglected these evidences. Furthermore, it considers that “the alleviation and normalization of relations between the Republic of Kosovo and Serbia has started, and is continuing in the spirit of non-confrontation and European Integration,”<sup>121</sup> at the same time when it hastily presupposes the full change of Belgrade’s policy towards Kosovo. Similarly to Kosovo’s Government, there were no reactions whatsoever to these Belgrade’s policies, either by EU, or by NATO. The disregard of this problem is not the proper cure for its solution, regardless of NATO’s presence in Kosovo and its mandate for the maintenance of peace.<sup>122</sup>

If we look carefully at the facts and numbers, we will clearly see that the planned security/defense budget of Kosovo, in all of its aspects, is matchless to that of Serbia.<sup>123</sup> The defense budget of Serbia in 2016 has had a decline compared to that of 2015, but in 2017 it has had a high increase compared to 2016, by rising for 135.09 million €, and this budget is now 608.06 million €. Furthermore, Serbia has planned to buy 10 military aircrafts MIG 29, in the value of 185 million €, over the next 5-6 years.<sup>124</sup> On the other hand, the security/defense budget of Kosovo for 2017, has increased symbolically for 5.53 million €, and the total value of this 2017 budget is 51.03 million €<sup>125</sup>. Also, the per capita defense budget in Serbia for 2017 is 84.8 €, and that of Kosovo is 27.9 €.

---

121 Analysis of the Strategic Environment Review of the Republic of Kosovo, March 2014, pg, 16.

[http://www.kryeministri-](http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Analysis_of_Strategic_Security_Sector_Review_of_RKS_060314.pdf)

[ks.net/repository/docs/Analysis\\_of\\_Strategic\\_Security\\_Sector\\_Review\\_of\\_RKS\\_060314.pdf](http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Analysis_of_Strategic_Security_Sector_Review_of_RKS_060314.pdf) .

122 Lulzim Peci, “Kosovo in the Security and Defense Context of the Western Balkans”, KIPRED, 2015.

123 The Government of the Republic of Serbia, “Fiscal Strategy for 2014 with Projections for 2015 and 2016”, Belgrade, 2013. P. 61 and The Law on the Budget of the Republic of Serbia for the year 2017,

<http://www.mfin.gov.rs/UserFiles/File/zakoni/2016/budzet%202017/Zakon%20o%20budzetu%202017.pdf> .

124 Mobilizohet Serbia, ndanë 185 milionë euro për aeroplanë luftarakë, Gazeta Express, 22 shkurt 2016,

<http://www.gazetaexpress.com/lajme/mobilizohet-serbia-ndan-185-milione-euro-per-aeroplane-luftarak-328474/>

125 Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Kosovo, “Budget of Kosovo 2014-2016”, Prishtina, December, 2013, and Ligji për Buxhetin e Republikë së Kosovës për vitin 2017, <http://mf.rks-gov.net/desk/inc/media/DC67BF47-157C-4802-9837-976CBBDE9F5B.pdf>

DEFENSE BUDGETS						
State	2015		2016		2017	
	Defense budget (million €)	Per capita defense budget (€)	Defense budget (million €)	Per capita defense budget (€)	Defense budget (million €)	Per capita defense budget (€)
Kosovo	44.00	23,67	45.50	24,47	51.03	27.9
Serbia	501.14	69,95	472.97	66.02	608.06	84.8

The same disproportion between Kosovo and Serbia is in the military capacities. At the time when KSF has 2,500 members as active personnel, and 800 in the reserve, and almost nothing except for light armament, the army of Serbia has 28,150 active members and 50,150 in reserve, and incomparably more powerful armament.<sup>126</sup> If we take into the consideration the fact that the planning is that the Armed Forces of Kosovo will have 5,000 active members and 3,000 in reserve, and that its weapons will be much more modest than those of Serbia, we can see clearly that their foundation will not have any significant impact in the regional military balance.

In these circumstances of “doctrinal confrontation,” and of very large disparity in military capabilities between Prishtina and Belgrade, it is clear that the security of Kosovo depends completely on the presence of KFOR, which has the full mandate to act against Serbia in the case of violation of the Military-Technical Agreement of June 9<sup>th</sup> 1999, which prohibits any presence of security and defense forces of Belgrade in the territory of Kosovo.<sup>127</sup>

---

126 See the Table: Military Capabilities. Source: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, “The Military Balance 2014”, 2nd revised edition, London, 2014.

127 Military Technical Agreement between the International Security Force ("KFOR") and the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia, 9 June 1999, <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/a990609a.htm>.

MILITARY CAPABILITIES					
State	Population	Active forces	Reserve forces	Major land units	Major air units
Kosovo	1,859,203	2,500	800		
Serbia	7,243,007	28,150	50,150	<b>Special Forces</b> 1 bgd SF (1 btn CT, 1 btn kom, 1 btn prsht, 1 btn logj) <b>Manouvring</b> Mechanized 1 bgd (first) (1 btn tk, 2 btn mek kmb, 1 btn kmb, 1 btn art SP, 1 btn MRL, 1 btn AD, 1 btn inxh, 1 btn log) 3 bgd (second, third & fourth) (1 btn tk, 2 btn mek kmb, 2 btn kmb, 1 btn art SP, 1 btn MRL, 1 btn AD, 1 btn eng, 1btn log)  <b>Combat support</b> 1 bgd art (mix) (4 btn art, 1 btn MRL, 1 btn spprt) 2 btn prkr link 1 btn NBC 1 btn spec int 2 btn MP	<b>Combat</b> 1 skdr with MiG-21 bis Fishbed; MiG-29 Fulcrum <b>Combat/Land attack</b> 1 skdr with G-4 Super Galeb*; J-22 Orao; Isr; 2 flt with IJ-22 Orao 1*; MiG -21R Fishbed H* <b>Transporting</b> 1 skdr with An-26; Do-28; Yak-40 (Jak-40); 1 PA-34 Seneca V <b>Training</b> 1 skdr with G-4 Super Galeb* (targets/land attack); SA341/342 Gazelle; Utva-75 (basic targets) <b>Attacking helicopters</b> 1 skdr with SeA341/342L Gazelle; (HN-42/45); Mi-24 Hind <b>Transporting helicopters</b> 2 skdr with Mi Hip; Mi-17 Hip H <b>Air defense</b> 1 bde (5bn) 2msl, 3SP msl) with S-125 Neva (SA-3 Goa); 2K12 Kub (SA-6 Gainful); 9K32 Strela-2 (SA-7 Grail); 9K310 Igla - 1 (SAP-16 Gimlet) 2 btn radar (for early warning and reporting) <b>Combat support</b> 1 spec int <b>Combat support</b> 1 btn

On the other hand, paradoxically, Serbia itself sees the presence of KFOR in Kosovo as necessary for securing and defending of the Serbian community.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, in such circumstances, the military presence of NATO in Kosovo will remain decisive for the stability and security of Kosovo and of the region, and this, in fact, presents an indicator of the absence of sustainable external and internal stability of the country.

As a summary, the only external threat for Kosovo is derived from hostile policies of Serbia in the field of defense and security, which provide the political direction for the Serbian army. Therefore, it is difficult to believe that Belgrade does not have military planning for unpredictable situations against Kosovo. As a matter of fact, it is clear that Kosovo does not

---

128 Vucic: NATO potreban da cuva nas narod na Kosovu, 16 shkurt 2016, Vesti.rs, <http://www.vesti.rs/NATO/Vucic-NATO-potreban-da-cuva-nas-narod-na-Kosovu.html>

present, either now, or in any foreseeable future, any military threat for Serbia, regardless of “securitization” of this non-existent issue by Belgrade, a fact which, in its essence, is a consequence of continuity of aggressive policy of Belgrade against the statehood of Kosovo.

Therefore, it is evident that the comprehensive normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia is not possible, as long as, on the one hand, Belgrade has in effect aggressive defense and security policies towards Kosovo, and, on the other, the military security of Kosovo, furthermore, exclusively in relation to Serbia, depends on the deterrent presence of NATO.

### **What Next?: From doctrinal confrontation towards the building of confidence measures in the field of defense and security**

In accordance with its policy of non-recognition, Serbia, as it was elaborated above, has projected Kosovo as a major threat to security in almost all the aspects, including the military one. On the other hand, Kosovo has formally – although, non-realistically – decided to don’t consider Serbia as such. This political decision of Kosovo might have been result of: (a) wishful thinking; (b) the defense provided by KFOR/NATO, which eradicates the existing fear, or (c) suggestions made by several from Western governments that support the transformation of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) into the Armed Forces of Kosovo (AFK). Nevertheless, this option does not solve the problem spontaneously, regardless of ‘fragile détente’ between Kosovo and Serbia, which is a result of the EU facilitated dialogue.<sup>129</sup>

On the other hand, Kosovo, as an independent and sovereign state, has the full right to have the armed forces of its own. However, regardless on whether the transformation of KSF into AFK is initiated by the Government of Kosovo, the Assembly of Kosovo did not make the necessary constitutional changes for formalization of this ambition. The respective changes of the Constitution of Kosovo depend on the support of the non-majority communities represented in the Assembly, including the qualified majority of the representatives of the

---

129 Lulzim Peci, “Kosovo in the Security and Defense Context of the Western Balkans”, KIPRED, 2015, pg.68.

Serbian community. It is difficult to believe that the representatives of the Serbian community will vote for such constitutional changes without the support of Serbia. Thus, the formalization of the transformation of KSF into AFK, in reality, remains hostage of the willingness of Belgrade, as well as of the pressure that the USA and the major countries of the EU will exercise on it, for not impeding this transformation.

The major reason of the opposition of Belgrade to the creation of the armed forces of Kosovo, as well as of all of its efforts to treat Kosovo as a major threat, is in the efforts to keep alive the hopes for any possible failure of the statehood of Kosovo, as well as in keeping the strategic partnership with Russia, which is not in favor of consolidation of Balkans, and of integration of Balkan countries, particularly in NATO, but, also, in the EU as well. At any rate, in the last instance, Serbia will have to make its choice between Brussels and Moscow, and this choice will certainly have the cost of its own.

Nevertheless, despite of the fact that at the first sight this might seem paradoxical, the consolidation of the security architecture of Kosovo, in its very essence, is in the best interest of Serbia, if it aims to keep the course of European integrations. Firstly, given that this will pave the way for Kosovo to build partnership relations with NATO, which, in turn, will enable the development of the AFK under the guidance of the Alliance. As a country that aspires the membership in the Alliance, Kosovo, in this way, will not have even theoretical possibilities to build any threatening army, or to undertake any hostile activities against Belgrade. Secondly, the participation of local Serbs in the multi-ethnic armed forces of Kosovo will engender trust of the members of the Serbian community on these forces. Also, the officers from the Serbian community will have to participate in defense planning, and it is unthinkable that they will agree with whatever planning, or that they will obey whatever orders, in the cases when these are hostile to Serbia. Thirdly, through defensive cooperation with Serbia, Serbia, as a member of PfP, and as a country that aspires to become integrated in the mechanisms of the European Policy for Security and Defense, will provide its contribution to the closing of the last opened chapter of security and stability in the Western Balkans. And, fourthly, in these circumstances, the situation in the region could gradually evolve in the direction of the development of a

security community, similar to that of Nordic countries, which brings together NATO and neutral states that are members of the PfP.<sup>130</sup>

Thus, the opening of the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia on the measures for building the confidence in defense, is a necessary step towards the full normalization between two countries, and for the final stabilization of the region. Only, this dialogue might require the change of the recent format of the European Union support. The inclusion of NATO, as a supreme organization in the security issues, is instrumental for the formation and implementation of any agreement that might be achieved between Prishtina and Belgrade, as well as for the increase of capacities for its enforcement. Therefore, because of its importance and its high stakes, this dialogue should be enforced within the cooperating framework in the field of defense and security between EU and NATO, which has had a large push with the Joint Declaration of NATO and EU in the Warsaw Summit of the Alliance, on July<sup>8th</sup> 2017.<sup>131</sup>

For the creation of a secure environment and of a sustainable stability in the region, Brussels, , within the Chapter 35 of the negotiations for the accession of Serbia in the EU, has the opportunity to condition Belgrade by requesting the change of its security and defense policies related to Kosovo, that is, by requesting the respective changes of its National Security Strategy and Defense Strategy, which, after all, are documents designed and adopted before the dialogue in Brussels. Furthermore, the undertaking of these steps is necessary, in relation to the normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia, and because of the accession process of Serbia in the EU, which implies its integration in the mechanisms of the European Policy of Security and Defense, which would have been absurd with the recent Belgrade's of defense and security policies.

Furthermore, the KFOR itself and the Army of Serbia have built confidence measures with each-other, through meetings of the Joint Committee for Implementation of the Kumanova

---

130 Ibid.

131 Joint declaration by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, and the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization , [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_133163.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133163.htm), 8 July, 2017

Agreement, through joint patrols in the border Kosovo-Serbia, through periodical meetings between the Commands of KFOR and the Chiefs of General Staff of the Army of Serbia. Nevertheless, even after the independence of Kosovo, KFOR does not inform the Kosovo's authorities on the details of this cooperation, and on the talks between the Commanders of KFOR and the Chiefs of the Serbian Army,<sup>132</sup> by keeping in this manner the pre-independence status-quo of Kosovo in relation to local authorities, on the security issues that have to do with Serbia.

On the other hand, the dialogue in Brussels has treated the security issues that have to do with the management of the border points and of the internal ones of Kosovo, through the Agreement for Integrated Management of the Borders,<sup>133</sup> the Agreement for the dissolution of the so-called "Civil Defense",<sup>134</sup> and the First Agreement for the Normalization of Relations (and, particularly, its section on the police and on the undoing of the paralel security structures).<sup>135</sup> However, so far, this dialogue has not treated the open bilateral issues in the field of defense and security, and particularly not the non-confidence and non-cooperation of the countries in this field, which, as an issue, continues to remain the "Achilles' heel" in the relations and in the process of normalization of the relations between the countries, as was testified by the events related to "the Russian train." However, on the other hand, the confidence that was already built in the enforcement of the above mentioned agreements related to the issues of security, can certainly serve as basis for making the next step, the one of building the confidence in the field of security and defense between the two countries.

The dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade regarding the measures for confidence building in the field of security between two countries, can be based on the OSCE model for Building the

---

132 An interview with a high official of the Kosovo Government.

133 See: Qeveria e Kosovës, Marrëveshjet e Dialogut Teknik, <http://kryeministri-ks.net/?page=1,191>

134 Ibid.

135 See the details on the Plan for the Implementation of the First Agreement on Normalization:

[http://kryeministri-](http://kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Plani_i_Zbatimit_te_Marreveshjes_se_Pare_per_Normalizimin_e_Marredhenieve.pdf)

[ks.net/repository/docs/Plani\\_i\\_Zbatimit\\_te\\_Marreveshjes\\_se\\_Pare\\_per\\_Normalizimin\\_e\\_Marredhenieve.pdf](http://kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Plani_i_Zbatimit_te_Marreveshjes_se_Pare_per_Normalizimin_e_Marredhenieve.pdf)

Measures for Confidence and Security,<sup>136</sup> and particularly on those for the Reduction of Risk,<sup>137</sup> on Prior Notification of Specific Military Activities, as well as on Observing of Military Activities, given that Serbia is a member of OSCE, and, as such, it has the liability to share the data which are related to these issues with other member countries, as well as the right to request these data from them. For this reason, the enforcement of these confidence measures will not endanger the national security of either Serbia, or of Kosovo; in the contrary, it would build a “firewall” for the dialogue process and for the achievement of a comprehensive normalization agreement between the two countries. Furthermore, the enforcement of these measures will provide to both, Kosovo and Serbia, the security that the other country will not use the military threats as a mean for solving the possible disagreements between them, and it can, thus, contribute to significant diminution of fear among the members of the Serbian community in the North of Kosovo.

On the other hand, there is no doubt whatsoever that NATO, together with the EU, are the most convenient organizations to support such arrangements between Prishtina and Belgrade, given that NATO and EU are present in both, Kosovo (KFOR and the Advisory and Liaison Team of NATO, and the Liaison Office of EU), and Serbia (The Military Liaison Office of NATO and the Delegation of the EU), and that they have the necessary capacities for supporting the enforcement of the confidence measures between the two countries in the field of security and defense.

Therefore, it is fully clear that the building and the enforcement of the confidence measures in the field of security between Kosovo and Serbia is a necessary instrument for enabling and ensuring the continuity of the dialogue process in the circumstances of a fragile *détente*, towards a comprehensive agreement for the normalization of bilateral relations.

---

136 Ibid, Risk Reduction Section: Mechanism for Consultation and Cooperation as regards unusual Military Activities, Cooperation as regards Hazardous Incident of a Military Nature, and Voluntary Hosting to Dispel Concerns about Military Activities, pg. 12-14.

137 Ibid, Risk Reduction Section: Mechanism for Consultation and Cooperation as regards unusual Military Activities, Cooperation as regards Hazardous Incident of a Military Nature, dhe Voluntary Hosting to Dispel Concerns about Military Activities, pg. 12-14.

**Recommendations:**

- EU in cooperation with NATO should initiate as soon as possible, the opening of the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia for confidence building measures in the field of defense and security.
- The framework of this dialogue can be based on the model of OSCE for Confidence and Security Building Measures, and particularly on those for Risk Reduction, for Prior Notification of Specific Military Activities, and for Observing of Specific Military Activities.
- Brussels should explore the possibility to condition Belgrade, in the Chapter 35 of the negotiations for the accession of Serbia in the EU, for changing its security and defense policies that are related to Kosovo, and particularly its National Security Strategy and Defense Strategy, which are documents that were designed before the beginning of the dialogue in the Brussels.
- KFOR should explore the possibility to include, in its joint border patrols with the Serbian Army, initially the Kosovo Border Police, which would later be replaced with the personnel of the Kosovo's Armed Forces, after its foundation and consolidation.

## **5. A BRIEF ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF THE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY**

As in the previous issues of the Observer, a review of the public opinion survey regarding the trust that Kosovo citizens have on major institutions of the Republic of Kosovo on the security related issues was conducted. Again, the tables that follow this section provide, not only the responses of citizens on the trust that they have on these institutions, but also some comparisons with the respective results obtained in the past issues. The question asked was again: “Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions on the security issues?”, and, again, the institutions were: 1) the President; 2) the Prime Minister; 3) the Minister of Internal Affairs; 4) the Kosovo Police; 5) the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the Kosovo Security Force; 6) the Minister of the Kosovo Security Force; 7) the Kosovo Security Force; 8) the Kosovo Intelligence Agency; 9) the Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency, and; 10) the Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence. The trust was expressed in numbers from the lowest, 1, up to the highest, 5, and the survey was conducted by the firm UBO Consulting, from 3<sup>d</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> of March, 2017. The reliability interval was 95%, and the margin of error  $\pm 3\%$ .

Here, at the beginning, we will look at the values obtained in this last survey, of March 2017, by comparing them with the respective values from the penultimate survey, of November 2016. Firstly, the highest values of trust are enjoyed by the KSF (3.74) and the Kosovo Police (3.65). Meanwhile, the obviously low levels of trust (under 2.40) during this period were recorded by six institutions: KIA (2.39), President (2.22), Director of KIA (2.14), the Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence (2.10), Minister of Internal Affairs (2.06), and Prime Minister (2.00). Thus, only the KSF and the Kosovo Police enjoy a considerable trust, meanwhile, the above mentioned institutions are quite poor on trust, and the other two (Minister of KSF [2.88] and the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF [2.45]) remain with average values of trust.

On the other hand, it should be emphasized a worrisome phenomenon: all the analyzed institutions have recorded decline in the trust of citizens when compared with the survey of

November 2016. Considerable declines are recorded in the trust on the Minister of Internal Affairs (−0.55, from 2.61 to 2.06), Director of the KIA (−0.48, from 2.62 to 2.14), President (−0.46, from 2.68 to 2.22), Prime Minister (−0.43, from 2.43 to 2.00) and the Parliamentary Commission for the Oversight of the KIA (−0.42, from 2.52 to 2.10), meanwhile, the smallest declines are recorded in the trust on the KSF (−0.24, from 3.98 to 3.74) and the Kosovo Police (−0.16, from 3.81 to 3.65).

Otherwise, it is interesting to analyze here the tendencies of the trust of citizens during the last two years for the most important institutions included in this research. Here, again, all the analyzed institutions, in March 2017 have recorded decline in trust compared to that of July 2015. During this two year period, the biggest decline in trust was recorded for the Parliamentary Commission for Intelligence (−0.91, from 3.01 to 2.10), Director of the KIA (−0.74, from 2.88 to 2.14), President (−0.73, from 2.95 to 2.22), the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF (−0.72, from 3.17 to 2.45) and the Minister of Internal Affairs (−0.69, from 2.75 to 2.06); meanwhile, the smallest declines during the last two years were recorded, again, for the KSF (−0.26, from 4.00 to 3.74) and the Kosovo Police (−0.14, from 3.79 to 3.65). Also, during these two years, from July 2015 to March 2017 the most uniform values of trust, and, consequently, the smallest deviations of trust over time were those of the Kosovo Police: the lowest recorded value of trust in the Kosovo Police during these two years was recorded in November 2015, 3.58, and the highest in December 2016, 3.81: therefore, the difference between the maximal and minimal trust on Kosovo Police recorded during the last two years was only 0.23.

Related to this, it is also interesting to look at the trust on the President during these two years. In the first five measurements, the President, similarly to the Kosovo Police, did not have any significant changes regarding the trust of citizens, despite the fact that during this period the previous President, Mrs. Atifete Jahjaga, was replaced in this post by the recent President, Mr. Hashim Thaçi – the change of the person did not have almost any impact on the trust of citizens in the President.

However, in the last measurements, of the March 2017, an abrupt and considerable decline was recorded in the trust enjoyed by the President (from 2.68 to 2.22), which shifted the President, from a trust which was not very distant from that of the champions in trust of citizens, KSF and Kosovo Police, to a streak of trust that is very close to that of the institutions with the lowest level of trust of citizens of Kosovo.

Regarding the trust of the Albanians from the North of Kosovo, we can see that they have the highest trust on the KSF (3.70) and on the Kosovo Police (3.60), and the lowest on the President and Prime Minister (both 1.80), the Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and Oversight of the KSF (1.75) and the Minister of Internal Affairs (1.70). The Serbs from the North have the highest trust on the Kosovo Police (2.21) and the Minister of Internal Affairs (1.92), and the lowest on the Kosovo Security Force and the Minister of the Kosovo Security Force (both 1.02), and the KIA, the Director of KIA and the Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence (all three institutions are evaluated with 1.00). On the other hand, the Serbs of the South have the highest trust on the Kosovo Police (1.60), the President (1.19) and KIA (1.17), and the lowest on KSF (1.09), Minister of the KSF (1.06) and the Director of the KIA (1.05).

Regarding the variable of gender, we can notice that all the analyzed institutions enjoy a slightly higher trust of women. In the variable of age, evaluations were scattered, and they don't show any particular tendencies. Also, in the variable of the education of respondents we don't have any particular tendencies, except for the one that was also noticed in the previous measurements of the public opinion, namely, that the respondents with higher levels of education have the tendency to have lower trust in the analyzed institutions than those with lower levels of education.

At the variable of employment, again, we don't have any pronounced tendencies which would require any explanation, but here we can look at who has the highest and the lowest trust on whom. Thus, the President enjoys the highest trust among students/pupils, housewives and

those unemployed who are not searching for job, and the lowest among those employed in the private sector, and the unemployed who are searching for job. The Prime Minister enjoys the highest trust among the retirees and housewives, and the lowest among those employed in the private sector and those unemployed who are searching for job. Kosovo Police enjoys the highest trust among the housewives, retirees and students/pupils, and the lowest among the periodically employed and those employed in the private sector. KSF enjoys the highest trust among the retirees and students/pupils, and the lowest among those employed periodically and those employed in the private sector.

As far as ethnicity is concerned, the analyzed institutions have the lowest trust among the Serbs, and they enjoy a higher or combined trust among the Albanians and the other communities (non-Albanian and non-Serbian communities). Thus, Albanians have higher trust than other communities on Kosovo Police, Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF, KSF, KIA and the Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence, meanwhile, the other communities have higher trust than Albanians on the President, Prime Minister, Minister of Internal Affairs and the Director of KIA.

If we focus on the type of residence of the respondents, we see that the respondents from rural areas have a higher trust on all the analyzed institutions, than the respondents who live in urban areas.

In this last, March 2017, research, we can notice a rapid and emphasized decline of trust in all the institutions, among the respondents from the region of Prizren, who have expressed the lowest level of trust compared to all the regions, and this lowest level of trust was expressed for all the institutions analyzed. Also, a very low level of trust was expressed – as in previous surveys – by the respondents from the region of Gjakova. Meanwhile, the highest level was expressed, as in the previous surveys, by the respondents from the region of Ferizaj. It is interesting to look at the trusts on several major institutions according to regions. Thus, the President has the highest levels of trust in Ferizaj and Peja (3.10 and 2.38), and the lowest in

Gjakova and Prizren (1.86 and 1.83); the Prime Minister has the highest trust in Ferizaj and Gjiilan (2.91 and 2.50), and the lowest in Gjakova and Prizren (1.69 and 1.56); Kosovo Police enjoys the highest trust in the regions of Ferizaj and Prishtina (4.21 and 4.19), and the lowest in the regions of Gjakova and Prizren (3.19 and 2.65); and, at the end, the KSF enjoys the highest trust in Ferizaj and Peja (4.79 and 4.42), meanwhile, the lowest one in Gjakova and Prizren (3.00 and 2.61).

At the end, as far as the trust according to ethnicities based on the regions, is concerned, we can see here again the tendencies recorded in the previous surveys: namely, higher levels of trust recorded among the Albanians and other communities, and lower levels of trust recorded among the Serbian community, in all the regions, together with the abrupt phenomenon of a considerably lower trust than in the previous surveys expressed by the respondents from Prizren.

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
The President	1056	1	5	2.22	1.306
The Prime Minister	1054	1	5	2.00	1.155
The Minister of Internal Affairs	976	1	5	2.06	1.039
The Kosovo Police	1046	1	5	3.65	1.263
The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF	970	1	5	2.45	1.123
The Minister of Kosovo Security Force	987	1	5	2.88	1.311
The Kosovo Security Force	1054	1	5	3.74	1.349
The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	964	1	5	2.39	1.142
The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	944	1	5	2.14	1.041
The Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence	915	1	5	2.10	1.022

Table 1. The General Trust on 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	Mar-17	Difference (March 2017 - July 2015)
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	
The President	2.95	2.69	2.68	2.77	2.68	2.22	-0.73
The Prime Minister	2.67	2.50	2.31	2.47	2.43	2.00	-0.67
The Minister of Internal Affairs	2.75	2.49	2.35	2.55	2.61	2.06	-0.69
The Kosovo Police	3.79	3.58	3.64	3.63	3.81	3.65	-0.14
The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs and the Oversight of the KSF	3.17	2.71	2.71	2.91	2.63	2.45	-0.72
The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	3.33	2.86	3.00	3.07	3.14	2.88	-0.44
The Kosovo Security Force	4.00	3.58	3.69	3.59	3.98	3.74	-0.25
The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	3.02	2.57	2.57	2.73	2.73	2.39	-0.63
The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	2.88	2.40	2.40	2.55	2.62	2.14	-0.74
The Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence	3.01	2.52	2.38	2.61	2.52	2.10	-0.92

Table 2. The Comparision of Trust Through Months

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?										
Albanians North		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency
	Mean	1.80	1.80	1.70	3.60	1.75	2.22	3.70	2.30	2.22
	N	10	10	10	10	8	9	10	10	9
	Std. Deviation	.789	.789	.823	1.075	.463	.833	.949	.675	.667

Table 3. Albanians from the North

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?											
		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence
Serbs South	Mean	1.19	1.15	1.12	1.60	1.17	1.06	1.09	1.17	1.05	1.10
	N	89	88	89	89	89	89	89	89	88	89
	Std. Deviation	.395	.357	.364	.822	.376	.232	.325	.433	.209	.303
Serbs North	Mean	1.05	1.08	1.92	2.21	1.03	1.02	1.02	1.00	1.00	1.00
	N	61	61	61	61	61	61	61	60	61	61
	Std. Deviation	.218	.331	1.100	1.266	.256	.128	.128	0.000	0.000	0.000

Table 4. The Serbs – North and South

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?											
D12. Residence		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence
Urban	Mean	2.12	1.91	1.98	3.53	2.43	2.76	3.61	2.34	2.07	2.03
	N	492	490	456	490	463	462	490	456	446	432
	Std. Deviation	1.251	1.047	.949	1.294	1.153	1.317	1.402	1.161	1.036	1.031
Rural	Mean	2.31	2.08	2.13	3.75	2.48	2.99	3.86	2.44	2.19	2.15
	N	564	564	520	556	507	525	564	509	499	482
	Std. Deviation	1.347	1.237	1.108	1.227	1.096	1.297	1.290	1.125	1.044	1.011

Table 5. Residence

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?											
D1. Gender		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence
Male	Mean	2.20	1.95	2.02	3.58	2.38	2.79	3.71	2.33	2.09	2.07
	N	526	523	509	523	503	512	527	508	495	479
	Std. Deviation	1.356	1.187	1.076	1.368	1.188	1.361	1.427	1.173	1.077	1.063
Female	Mean	2.23	2.06	2.11	3.71	2.53	2.98	3.78	2.46	2.18	2.13
	N	531	531	466	523	467	476	527	456	449	436
	Std. Deviation	1.256	1.121	.995	1.145	1.044	1.248	1.266	1.105	.999	.975

Table 6. Gender

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?											
D2. AGE		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence
18-24	Mean	2.15	1.87	2.03	3.70	2.50	2.86	3.75	2.38	2.10	2.15
	N	251	252	231	250	238	241	254	232	222	217
	Std. Deviation	1.229	1.050	1.009	1.215	1.104	1.222	1.316	1.183	1.071	1.055
25-34	Mean	2.08	1.84	1.91	3.56	2.30	2.70	3.63	2.34	2.09	2.02
	N	201	201	194	201	189	194	200	188	186	175
	Std. Deviation	1.305	1.108	1.001	1.340	1.117	1.331	1.391	1.134	1.069	1.033
35-44	Mean	2.25	2.03	1.98	3.56	2.34	2.76	3.66	2.24	1.97	1.91
	N	207	206	190	206	189	192	207	194	190	181
	Std. Deviation	1.294	1.177	.895	1.249	1.017	1.247	1.342	1.018	.909	.881
45-54	Mean	2.15	2.02	2.03	3.68	2.41	3.00	3.74	2.44	2.13	2.15
	N	185	183	170	182	162	167	182	159	158	153
	Std. Deviation	1.286	1.179	1.095	1.311	1.168	1.454	1.450	1.238	1.101	1.146
55-64	Mean	2.52	2.21	2.40	3.72	2.79	3.12	3.91	2.65	2.40	2.23
	N	135	134	121	131	124	121	133	124	121	122
	Std. Deviation	1.405	1.227	1.147	1.255	1.162	1.325	1.261	1.158	1.038	.991
65+	Mean	2.36	2.34	2.24	3.74	2.52	3.07	3.96	2.43	2.35	2.25
	N	78	78	69	75	68	72	78	68	68	67
	Std. Deviation	1.392	1.258	1.147	1.144	1.200	1.267	1.243	1.052	.990	.937

Table 7. Age

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?										
D7. What is the level of your education?		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency
Elementary School or lower	Mean	2.55	2.33	2.18	3.82	2.50	3.07	3.88	2.42	2.29
	N	203	203	175	199	168	174	199	166	164
	Std. Deviation	1.450	1.272	1.066	1.223	1.158	1.325	1.275	1.107	1.012
High School	Mean	2.17	1.98	2.09	3.70	2.48	2.94	3.82	2.40	2.13
	N	519	517	480	517	474	485	520	475	466
	Std. Deviation	1.305	1.176	1.063	1.255	1.127	1.317	1.367	1.148	1.050
Several years undergraduate	Mean	2.05	1.72	2.00	3.46	2.39	2.62	3.50	2.37	2.10
	N	148	147	142	145	146	144	148	143	137
	Std. Deviation	1.179	.920	.985	1.224	1.136	1.208	1.332	1.149	1.125
Undergraduate	Mean	2.09	1.87	1.91	3.47	2.30	2.71	3.52	2.33	2.01
	N	150	150	142	149	146	147	150	144	142
	Std. Deviation	1.145	1.011	.951	1.334	1.042	1.304	1.371	1.176	.978
Master	Mean	2.31	2.04	1.99	3.39	2.63	2.92	3.80	2.49	2.07
	N	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	33
	Std. Deviation	1.357	1.098	1.084	1.307	1.192	1.437	1.289	1.137	.955
No answer/Refuses	Mean	2.00	3.97	1.34	4.32	2.66	2.66	3.97	2.00	2.00
	N	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Std. Deviation	0.000	2.088	.696	1.392	.696	.696	2.088	0.000	0.000

Table 8. Education

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?

D6. Are you actually employed?		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency
Not employed - Searching for job	Mean	2.08	1.86	1.87	3.67	2.30	2.92	3.85	2.19	1.95
	N	206	206	192	204	182	188	206	180	175
	Std. Deviation	1.386	1.232	1.100	1.343	1.170	1.390	1.398	1.108	1.065
Not employed - Not searching for job	Mean	2.35	2.13	2.43	3.48	2.45	2.75	3.72	2.66	2.20
	N	40	40	38	40	38	40	40	36	37
	Std. Deviation	1.302	1.065	1.019	1.386	1.020	1.262	1.313	1.164	1.055
Employed in the public sector	Mean	2.29	1.94	1.95	3.69	2.42	2.88	3.70	2.55	2.05
	N	96	95	92	93	93	94	96	94	93
	Std. Deviation	1.298	1.135	.945	1.373	1.170	1.438	1.477	1.309	1.063
Employed in the private sector	Mean	2.04	1.84	2.00	3.47	2.40	2.73	3.59	2.21	1.97
	N	226	226	221	227	223	219	227	224	218
	Std. Deviation	1.241	1.091	.995	1.362	1.119	1.330	1.411	1.120	.957
Employed periodically	Mean	2.17	2.07	1.97	3.29	2.35	2.47	3.39	2.36	2.14
	N	44	44	43	44	44	43	44	44	44
	Std. Deviation	1.338	1.289	1.155	1.500	1.271	1.273	1.527	1.283	1.175
Retiree	Mean	2.32	2.23	2.25	3.78	2.57	2.99	3.94	2.39	2.33
	N	97	97	88	94	87	91	97	87	86
	Std. Deviation	1.398	1.247	1.108	1.074	1.175	1.261	1.234	1.000	.941
Housewife	Mean	2.35	2.20	2.20	3.79	2.55	3.11	3.75	2.52	2.36
	N	187	186	152	183	150	154	182	148	149
	Std. Deviation	1.247	1.096	.959	1.083	1.090	1.258	1.249	1.052	.983
Student/ pupil	Mean	2.36	2.02	2.14	3.73	2.60	2.92	3.80	2.62	2.29
	N	153	152	142	152	144	151	154	144	136
	Std. Deviation	1.248	1.076	1.057	1.117	1.035	1.195	1.257	1.170	1.124
Other	Mean	2.33	2.00	2.00	4.33	2.67	3.00	4.33	2.00	3.00
	N	4	4	2	4	4	4	4	2	2
	Std. Deviation	2.209	1.657	0.000	.552	.552	.957	.552	0.000	0.000
Self-employed	Mean	2.75	2.50	2.00	4.00	2.50	2.50	3.75	2.75	2.50
	N	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	Std. Deviation	1.657	1.681	.792	.792	.560	.560	.485	1.221	1.253

Table 9. Employment

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?											
D3. Ethnicity		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Parliamentary Commission on Intelligence
K-Albanian	Mean	2.24	2.02	2.07	3.71	2.50	2.95	3.84	2.44	2.17	2.14
	N	808	806	744	800	741	755	806	737	721	697
	Std. Deviation	1.303	1.155	1.030	1.219	1.108	1.286	1.272	1.135	1.035	1.018
K-Serb	Mean	1.13	1.12	1.45	1.85	1.11	1.04	1.06	1.10	1.03	1.06
	N	150	149	150	150	150	150	150	149	149	150
	Std. Deviation	.341	.347	.848	1.066	.339	.197	.265	.344	.162	.238
K-Të tjerë	Mean	2.50	2.18	2.27	3.59	2.47	2.84	3.40	2.29	2.19	1.99
	N	100	100	93	98	87	88	99	86	85	83
	Std. Deviation	1.508	1.321	1.252	1.435	1.247	1.312	1.491	1.126	1.129	1.076

Table 10. Ethnicity

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?									
Region		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency
Prishtina	Mean	2.13	1.85	1.96	4.19	2.89	3.21	4.24	2.40
	N	271	272	256	267	250	245	268	244
	Std. Deviation	1.331	1.188	1.034	1.113	1.189	1.297	1.073	1.276
Mitrovica	Mean	2.17	1.87	1.99	3.66	2.08	2.66	3.85	2.39
	N	142	142	140	142	129	140	142	138
	Std. Deviation	1.347	1.150	.997	1.251	.949	1.225	1.344	1.098
Prizreni	Mean	1.83	1.56	1.62	2.65	1.90	2.09	2.61	1.89
	N	163	162	162	159	161	158	163	159
	Std. Deviation	1.268	.952	.994	1.404	1.154	1.231	1.479	1.081
Peja	Mean	2.38	2.27	2.32	3.91	2.62	4.02	4.42	2.91
	N	104	104	103	104	103	104	104	104
	Std. Deviation	1.375	1.269	1.154	1.124	1.134	1.194	.896	1.217
Ferizaj	Mean	3.19	2.91	2.49	4.21	2.53	3.74	4.79	2.50
	N	105	105	65	104	60	73	105	59
	Std. Deviation	1.331	1.245	1.102	.793	1.002	1.126	.795	1.097
Gjakova	Mean	1.86	1.69	2.10	3.19	2.19	2.28	3.00	2.19
	N	155	155	154	153	154	155	155	155
	Std. Deviation	1.159	.849	.880	1.098	.840	.879	1.085	.811
Gjilan	Mean	2.48	2.50	2.52	3.62	2.84	2.79	3.49	2.85
	N	116	113	96	117	113	112	116	106
	Std. Deviation	.736	.814	.895	1.004	.935	.949	1.089	.939

Table 11. Region

1. Could you, please, tell us how much do you trust the following institutions regarding the security issues?

D3. Ethnicity		The President	The Prime Minister	The Minister of Internal Affairs	The Kosovo Police	The Parliamentary Commission on Security, Internal Affairs, and the Oversight of the KSF	The Minister of the Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Security Force	The Kosovo Intelligence Agency	The Director of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency	
K-Albanian	Mean	2.14	1.86	1.97	4.23	2.92	3.25	4.29	2.42	2.05	
	N	209	210	197	206	193	189	207	188	177	
	Std. Deviation	1.330	1.185	1.037	1.061	1.172	1.283	1.005	1.279	1.157	
	Mean	2.28	1.95	2.00	3.82	2.22	2.85	4.19	2.56	2.11	
	N	102	102	100	102	92	101	102	99	94	
	Std. Deviation	1.367	1.181	.985	1.129	.924	1.152	.992	1.052	.956	
	Mean	1.82	1.55	1.60	2.67	1.90	2.09	2.65	1.90	1.77	
	N	125	124	124	122	123	121	125	122	122	
	Std. Deviation	1.270	.957	.978	1.405	1.162	1.232	1.482	1.094	.977	
	Mean	2.36	2.28	2.33	3.94	2.66	4.10	4.50	2.96	2.76	
	N	80	80	79	80	79	80	80	80	80	
	Std. Deviation	1.362	1.263	1.140	1.095	1.131	1.132	.763	1.206	1.117	
	Mean	3.21	2.93	2.52	4.29	2.57	3.84	4.89	2.56	2.41	
	N	81	81	50	80	46	56	81	45	44	
	Std. Deviation	1.291	1.212	1.054	.620	.935	1.005	.500	1.056	.948	
	Mean	1.85	1.69	2.08	3.18	2.18	2.26	3.01	2.18	2.02	
	N	124	124	123	122	123	124	124	124	124	
	Std. Deviation	1.167	.849	.874	1.106	.840	.873	1.093	.807	.715	
	Mean	2.59	2.61	2.66	3.77	2.98	2.94	3.69	3.00	2.66	
	N	87	85	71	88	85	84	87	79	80	
	Std. Deviation	.657	.742	.810	.840	.831	.827	.880	.816	.871	
	Mean	2.24	2.02	2.07	3.71	2.50	2.95	3.84	2.44	2.17	
	N	808	806	744	800	741	755	806	737	721	
	Std. Deviation	1.303	1.155	1.030	1.219	1.108	1.286	1.272	1.135	1.035	
Mean	1.14	1.05	1.14	1.50	1.18	1.09	1.09	1.10	1.00		
K-Serb	N	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	21	22	
	Std. Deviation	.351	.213	.351	.740	.501	.294	.294	.301	0.000	
	Mean	1.06	1.09	1.85	2.15	1.02	1.02	1.00	1.05	1.02	
	N	66	66	66	66	66	66	66	66	66	
	Std. Deviation	.240	.339	1.085	1.256	.123	.123	0.000	.274	.123	
	Mean	1.43	1.43	1.29	2.00	1.43	1.29	1.00	1.29	1.14	
	N	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	
	Std. Deviation	.535	.535	.756	1.000	.535	.488	0.000	.488	.378	
	Mean	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.23	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
	N	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	
	Std. Deviation	0.000	0.000	0.000	.599	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
	Mean	1.24	1.20	1.14	1.71	1.21	1.02	1.17	1.19	1.05	
	N	42	41	42	42	42	42	42	42	41	
	Std. Deviation	.431	.401	.354	.864	.415	.154	.437	.455	.218	
	Mean	1.13	1.12	1.45	1.85	1.11	1.04	1.06	1.10	1.03	
	N	150	149	150	150	150	150	150	149	149	
	Std. Deviation	.341	.347	.848	1.066	.339	.197	.265	.344	.162	
	Mean	2.33	2.10	2.00	4.36	3.08	3.46	4.62	2.62	2.28	
	K-Të tjerë	N	30	30	28	28	26	26	29	26	25
		Std. Deviation	1.516	1.398	1.054	.989	1.262	1.029	.622	1.169	1.173
		Mean	2.44	2.11	2.33	3.89	2.00	2.17	3.11	2.00	1.80
		N	9	9	9	9	5	6	9	6	5
		Std. Deviation	1.333	1.054	1.118	1.453	1.000	1.169	1.054	.894	.837
		Mean	1.93	1.67	1.90	2.37	1.87	2.00	2.00	1.73	1.80
N		30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	
Std. Deviation		1.258	.884	1.213	1.402	1.042	1.259	1.313	.868	.961	
Mean		3.14	2.36	2.50	3.93	2.14	3.07	3.71	2.31	2.14	
N		14	14	14	14	14	14	14	13	14	
Std. Deviation		1.610	1.550	1.454	1.328	1.099	1.269	1.204	1.182	1.167	
Mean		4.75	4.25	4.67	4.63	4.67	4.67	4.88	4.50	4.50	
N		8	8	3	8	3	3	8	2	2	

Table 12. 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).