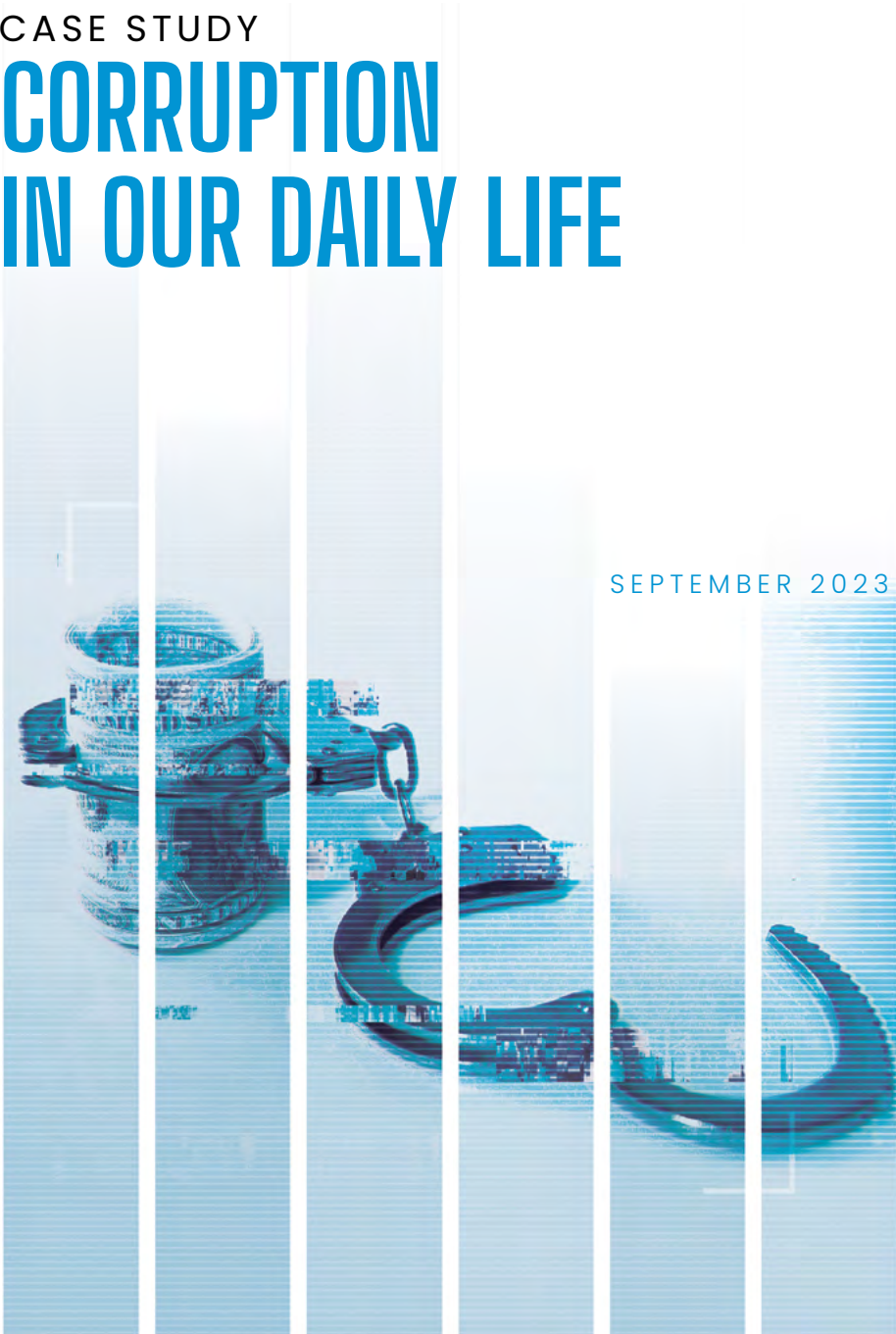




CASE STUDY

CORRUPTION IN OUR DAILY LIFE

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This paper was published within the framework of the project Improving transparency and the rule of law in communities with a Serb-majority population, implemented by NGO AKTIV and Advocacy Center for Democratic Culture (ACDC) with the financial support of the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs Bureau (INL.) The content of this publication is the sole responsibility of NGO Aktiv and does not necessarily reflect the views of INL.

Introduction to the causes of corruption

Today, corruption most often means the use or rather the abuse of social power for personal gain. However, when we talk about corruption in the Balkans, it is like when we talk about traditions or rituals. Bribing someone in order to return a favor is something that “is supposed to be done that way”, which was left to us by our ancestors, and its rightfulness is not to be questioned. As with any other custom, to those who observe it from the sidelines, who are not from around here, this may seem strange, retrograde, even repulsive. They could also question the legality of such an activity, such as, for example, questioning the cutting of young and healthy oak trees (shoots) on Christmas Day, or the traditional shooting of an apple at weddings. During Christmas, none of us is asking whether a permit was obtained from the forestry department to cut down a specific tree, and whether the planting of new trees was ensured so that the ecosystem would not be damaged. In the case of a wedding custom, no one questions whether the weapon that is being used to shoot the apple is registered, whether it functions properly and whether it's safe, or where the bullet might end up in its downward trajectory, whether someone might be wounded and the like¹.

However, when it comes to traditions and corruption, the legality of action is not being called into question, but the action is accepted as such, as necessary and unchangeable, even with a dose of superstition. Namely, if something is being done without corruption, what remains is a dose of mistrust towards its positive development and outcome. If, for example, someone was hired solely based on the vacancy announcement, without prior bribery of the employer, doubts remain about the sustainability of such employment. A surgery in a state hospital has a guaranteed recovery if the doctor is offered an envelope with money. A corrupt action is a guarantee of a safe and long-term employment contract, a certain and safe outcome of a medical procedure or surgery, easy way to get a passing grade at university and a diploma, or to evade justice in the judiciary or the police.

When we talk about corruption as a customary in the context of Kosovo, things seem to go even further. Given that throughout history, Kosovo never functioned independently, but existed within a larger state or kingdom, or as a territory under a protectorate,

¹ <https://www.danas.rs/zivot/obicaj-koji-je-krivicno-delo-zasto-se-na-svadbama-puca-u-jabuku/>

the institutions were seen as something foreign, while the position of proximity to the authorities was always used for personal gain and prosperity. Thus, the prevailing stance is that institutions serve to be flattered by their “subjects”, and therefore its officials are being bribed, in order to ensure their own prosperity.

A quarter of a century² after the end of the last armed conflict and the beginning of the establishment of democracy in Kosovo, what did not vanish was the ingrained habit of undermining and bribing in lieu of institution building. The idea of being freed from repression and the re-establishment of democracy, which was wholeheartedly supported by the majority in the international community, failed to overcome the chronic shortcomings and traditions of an unregulated society. The root of that tradition is corruption, which is still at a very high level and, accordingly, employment in institutions (“employment in state-run institutions”) is the most desirable, which does not fundamentally separate the so-called “new reality” in Kosovo from the old one.

² Isak Vorgucic, “The Key - Study on Key Problems of Kosovo Serbs”, KFOS 2022, page. 9

Brief review of the methodology

The basic methods used in the preparation of this short study are the review of extensive media material and newspaper articles, as well as direct participation in the work of media for more than two decades. In addition, what was taken into account were also the experiences of anonymous individuals, which is something that both Kim radio and the author of this study were privy to, as well as unpublished materials of the editorial office. For some parts, research data from the author’s previous study, which deals with the key problems of Kosovo Serbs, was used³.

³ <https://kfos.org/srb/publikacije/118/key-study-key-problems-kosovo-serbs>

The principle of functioning of Serb-majority municipalities in Kosovo

After the capitulation and the departure of Yugoslav army and Serbian police from Kosovo in June 1999, only these two institutions have been replaced immediately. NATO assumed the role of the army in the form of KFOR, while the police, under the auspices of the UN international mission called UNMIK, consisted of professional police officers recruited from other European and world countries. Apart from that, local UNMIK offices were formed with appointed international representatives, which had the task of assuming the role of municipalities. However, all other institutions in majority-Serb areas continued to work and provide services to residents, including health houses and hospitals, kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, mostly in relocated locations. The university was relocated from Pristina to North Mitrovica, the only city in Kosovo that, protected by the Ibar River, managed to preserve a significant number of Serbs.

Regardless of Pristina's insistence that when it comes to health care and education, these are "parallel institutions", the aforementioned institutions do not have, to this day, their parallel or "Kosovo variant" in Serb-majority areas. In the meantime, Kosovo did not show neither interest, nor does it have its own capacities and resources, to create its own health and educational institutions for Serbs, independently of the existing ones. However, funds are being allocated from the central level for these purposes, which will be discussed later.

What really continued to function in parallel after the end of the conflict in 1999, and especially after 2008 and following the constitutional obligation of Kosovo to form new Serb-majority municipalities, are the old municipalities that operate in accordance with the Serbian system. They still encompass the previously defined municipal territories, so the municipality of Kosovska Mitrovica does not divide the city into southern and northern parts, while, for example, the municipality of Pristina does not recognize Gračanica/ Graçanicë as a separate municipality according to the Kosovo system. However, when it comes to the work of municipalities under the Serbian system, it is important to highlight a couple of things. After 1999, there were no local elections organized by Belgrade in Kosovo, so after the expiration of the mandate of the previous

leadership, interim bodies were appointed in their place. These appointments are repeated cyclically, but the same people are being rotated in the leading positions in the municipalities, who are always affiliated with the party in power⁴.

As for the services that are being offered, these municipalities perform only some of the basic functions on the ground, which could be briefly defined as maintenance of institutional ties with Belgrade. Due to the lack of ties with the Kosovo system and difficulties in obtaining the necessary local permits, most of capital projects, infrastructure maintenance, and resolution of current communal problems in Serb-majority areas have been undertaken by Kosovo municipalities. Serbs in six southern Kosovo municipalities⁵ took over the local government in the 2009 elections, which Belgrade opposed⁶, while the four municipalities⁷ in the ethnically compact north, did so with the support of the Serbian authorities only in 2014. This was preceded by the Brussels Agreement⁸, by which Belgrade undertook to integrate the Serbs from the north into the Kosovo system, while in return the Serbs were supposed to receive a greater degree of autonomy and link with Belgrade through the Community of Serb Municipalities/Association of Serb Majority Municipalities. With this intervention of the Serbian authorities, that was assisted by the international community, political pluralism among the Serbs was practically abolished in Kosovo, and Serbian List, directly managed by Belgrade, was imposed as the exclusive and sole representative of Kosovo Serbs.

⁴ <https://kossev.info/kadriranje-u-po-iz-srbice-u-zvecan-lipljana-u-stimlje-stimlja-u-lipljan-kacanika-u-decane-k-polja-u-glogovac-glogovca-u-k-polje/>

⁵ Štrpce/ Shtërpçë, Klokot/Kllokot, Parteš/Partesh, Ranilug/Ranillug, Novo Brdo/ Novobërdë and Gračanica/ Graçanicë
<https://www.dw.com/sr/nesloga-srba-pred-kosovske-iz-bore/a-4892812>

⁶ <https://www.dw.com/sr/nesloga-srba-pred-kosovske-iz-bore/a-4892812>

⁷ Leposavić/Leposaviq, Severna Mitrovica/Mitrovica Veriore, Zvečan/Zveçan and Zubin Potok

⁸ <https://www.srbija.gov.rs/cinjenice/283757>

Corruption mechanisms and models

The two systems in which Kosovo Serbs live and work have their advantages. Although they are being educated in Kosovo, after completing their education, students can regularly enroll to obtain the next degree anywhere in Serbia, or switch schools during their education, and the diplomas of these educational institutions will be recognized anywhere in the world⁹. In addition to that, referrals by medical commissions or drug prescriptions are valid for all health institutions in Serbia, while patients are being transported wherever it is needed in order to undergo more demanding interventions and receive therapies. As for the services provided by municipalities that are part of the Serbian system, for example, one can obtain a certificate of title, or similar documents that are needed to solve administrative issues anywhere in Serbia.

It is also worth noting that after 2014 and after Serbian List assumed political primacy, the boundaries between “Serbian” and “Kosovo” were slowly being erased at the local level, and these two systems are intertwined with each other. We will merely mention¹⁰ that that the incumbent deputy mayor of Gračanica/ Graçanicë under the Kosovo system, Milan Joksimović, is also the president of the interim municipal council (IMC) of Lipjan/Lipljan under the Serbian system. Ljubinko Karadžić, while he was the president of the IMC of Pristina municipality (in Gračanica/ Graçanicë), simultaneously held the position of deputy mayor of the Kosovo municipality of Gračanica/ Graçanicë. Aleksandar Spirić, while he was the president of the Interim Municipal Council of Kosovska Mitrovica under the Serbian system, from 2020 he also assumed the position of acting mayor of North Mitrovica under the Kosovo system, while the long-term mayor of Štrpce/ Shtërpçë municipality under the Kosovo system, Bratislav Nikolić, at one point also assumed the position of President of the IMC of Ferizaj/Uroševac municipality (in Štrpce/Shtërpçë).

The prerequisite for the erasure of boundaries between the two systems at the local level is the erasing of political boundaries between their leaderships, which belong to the ruling parties of Serbs in Kosovo and Serbia, while one of the main reasons for such a partnership is the possibility of using the budget and exerting influence on the ground. As indicated earlier, in addition to the budget for capital projects, Kosovo municipalities also have the de facto authority to implement these projects,

⁹ Except in Kosovo

¹⁰ Isak Vorgucic, “The Key - Study on Key Problems of Kosovo Serbs”, KFOS 2022, page. 32

to obtain the necessary permits, and legal protection of institutions at the central level. On the other hand, those budgets ceased to be intended solely for the residents, and started to be directed towards party members, but also voters.

Tender for the Health House in Ugljare/ Uglar

At the high level of municipalities and municipal departments, most of the funds are channeled to the party through tenders. One such example is the tender for the completion of construction of the Health House in Ugljare/ Uglar village near Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje¹¹. Namely, health services in this place were being provided in private houses until 2021, when after 14 years, the construction of new facility, which started back in 2007, was completed. At that time, at the very beginning, the works were stopped because the Kosovo municipality of Fushë Kosovë /Kosovo Polje, which is mostly made up of Albanians and whose composition at that time included Ugljare/Uglar, did not want to issue a permit for the construction of the building to the Serbian institution.

After 2009, Ugljare/Uglar village was transferred administratively to the newly formed Kosovo municipality of Gračanica/ Graçanicë with a predominantly Serbian population, while under the Serbian system it remains part of the Serbian municipality of Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje. In order to complete the works on the aforementioned building, the money was allocated by the Office for Kosovo and Metohija, based in Belgrade, and the tender was announced by the municipality of Zvečan/Zveçan under the Serbian system. The construction company “Rad 028”, which is also from Zvečan/Zveçan, won the tender and the media¹² are connecting it with Milan Radoičić, vice-president of Serbian List and a man with a criminal past¹³. That time around, the construction permit was not a problem, because the competent municipality of Gračanica/ Graçanicë within the Kosovo system is also in the hands of the Serbian List.

What remains unclear is the basis that enabled Zvečan/Zveçan municipality to issue a call for a tender for the execution of works in the municipality of Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje, which is about 50 kilometers away. The owner of that construction company Radule Stević, who was blacklisted by the US Department of Treasury¹⁴, on the occasion of being selected for

¹¹ <https://www.radiokim.net/vesti/drustvo/ima-li-kraja-gradnji-objekta-za-srpske-institucije-u-ugljaru.html>

¹² <https://www.facebook.com/ninonline/posts/237503669589997/>

¹³ <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/kosovo-milan-radoicic-posao/32236115.html>

¹⁴ <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/kosovo-americka-crna-lista-radule-stevic/32523073.html>

job for the completion of the works, explained to journalists that this happened because the municipality of Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje did not have the capacity to announce a tender on its own. However, the president of the municipality of Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje, Ljubiša Ćirković, said in his comment: “It is not logical and I don’t know why they are doing it, but they know the best why they are doing what they’re doing”¹⁵ It is rare for this kind of statement to be made in public, but it clearly testifies that the local institutions, which are led by Serbs in Kosovo, have their hands tied when it comes to the manner of spending of allocated funding.

Little is known in the public about the construction company “Rad 028”, and on the website of Serbian Business Registers Agency it is stated that it was founded in 2014, with a capital of 1,000 dinars as a limited liability company. According to media reports, in the period up to 2018, in just four years of existence, this company won as many as 72 tenders published announced by the Serbian municipalities in the north of Kosovo, that is, the Office for Kosovo and Metohija of the Government of Serbia. The value of all those jobs is more than 700 million dinars or about six million euros¹⁶.

The number of tenders which the companies close to Serbian List leadership received in the municipality of Gračanica/Graçanicë is not known, but what is known to the public is that the mayor of the municipality, Ljiljana Šubarić, at the celebration of the Day of municipality in 2022, sent Milan Radoičić a letter of appreciation to a “distinguished individual, for special merits”. On behalf of the vice-president of the Serbian List, Radoičić, who was not in Gračanica/Graçanicë that evening, or who did not come ever since Šubarić took over as the mayor of the municipality, the letter of appreciation was received by the spokesperson of Serbian List, Igor Simić¹⁷.

Speaking with an owner of a construction company who is known to the author, we have also learned the manner in which the contract issuer and those who win the tender earn extra money. By “inflating” the purchase prices of construction materials to double the amount, part of the received funds is returned to the contract issuer, while at the same time it remains “covered” through paperwork. In order to keep knowledge of such activities in a smaller circle of people, the same companies, usually with mutual party and criminal ties¹⁸, win the tenders. Constructed buildings, usually typical houses for returnees, are often built for people who do not even reside in Kosovo, and who have already solved their housing issue, and therefore never move in, but the completed buildings are sold or rented to third parties.

¹⁵ <https://www.radiokim.net/vesti/drustvo/ima-li-kraja-gradnji-objekta-za-srpske-institucije-u-ugl-jaru.html>

¹⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/ninonline/posts/2375036695899997/>

¹⁷ <https://www.radiokim.net/vesti/drustvo/da-gracanica-bude-mestu-u-koje-se-vise-dolazi-nego-odlazi.html>

¹⁸ https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy0519?fbclid=I-wAR1451_JddIHfQF9CeoaSVgZ-t0QurNN1HR3Tjrn-CRrXTNuBurs-FK1C7lUk

Grants for the prevention of Covid-19 in Gračanica/ Graçanicë

At the end of November 2020, in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic, the councilors of the Municipal Assembly of Gračanica/Graçanicë adopted a proposal on the allocation of funds to 14 non-governmental organizations, in order to implement projects aimed at “prevention of spreading of the COVID-19 virus and mitigating its consequences”¹⁹. Municipality of Gračanica/Graçanicë has at its disposal financial resources in the amount of nearly 285 thousand euros and they were provided by the Government of Kosovo as part of economic measures for recovery during the pandemic. 14 non-governmental organizations from Gračanica/Graçanicë responded to the municipality’s public call, and funds were approved for all these organizations in an identical amount - 20,356.11 euros each.

Regardless of the opposition of some councilors, the appeals committee made a decision that the procedure was in line with the law, however, certain changes occurred only after the reaction of the media²⁰. Although councilors supported the decision based on a document stating that the organizations would receive the same amount of money, a few days later a new document appeared with different, other amounts. Dušan Borisavljević, a member of the municipal commission, stated on that occasion that a technical error was made, and that the working version of the document was initially published.

Apart from problems with the amount of money, in several cases there were also conflicts of interest. One of the founders of the organization that won the grant was Srđan Popović himself who at the time was the mayor. The director of the Cadaster Office, Nebojša Perić, was registered as a contact person for the organization that also received the grant, while the municipal official, Slobodan Kostić, was a member of the organization that was the third winner. The aforementioned member of the commission Borisavljević said when asked by the journalist about these allegations regarding the conflict of interest: “Probably, and I agree with the fact that some of the founders are now in positions or doing something related to the municipality, but, as far as I know, no one is directly involved into work of organizations”.²¹

¹⁹ <https://www.radiokim.net/vesti/drustvo/podrska-nvo-projekti-ma-da-se-novac-ne-bi-vratio-u-budzet.html>

²⁰ <https://www.radiokim.net/vesti/drustvo/kako-su-i-kojim-nvo-dodeljena-finansijska-sredstva.html>

²¹ *Ibid*

After a month of pressure from the media and unresourcefulness of municipal leadership and the commission which allocated the grants, it was announced that all fourteen organizations had sent a request for annulment of the decision. Except in the case of the NGO Center for Peace and Tolerance, which also published its request in the media as well, the manner in which the other organizations withdrew from the process of grant allocation is not known. Additionally, it is known that the public is not familiar with most of the organizations which have applied or with their work, and that most of their representatives are close to the leaders of the municipality of Gračanica/Graçanicë, both through family ties, friendships and party affiliation, or are employed in this institution.²² In the meantime, the municipality of Gračanica/Graçanicë posted on its official website the decision to annul the public call, with the explanation that “NGOs gave up signing the contract and allocation of funds” and that the funds were returned to the budget of Kosovo.

At the central level of Kosovo, we have similar actions, as shown by the recent case of the allocation of grants from the Office of Community Affairs at the Prime Minister’s office. Grants with a total value of 500 thousand euros were allocated by the commission of this Office to 42 non-governmental organizations, of which only 3 are from the Serb community. More than 90 percent of the media and NGOs to which funds have been allocated come from the Albanian majority community, and some of the recipients of the funds cannot even be found in the public register of NGOs.²³ Elizabeth Gowing, who back then was acting director of this office, resigned, stating that she was “disappointed by the fact that a small number of NGOs and media selected for financial support actually represent organizations based in some of the non-majority communities”.

²² *Ibid*

²³ <https://www.radiokim.net/vesti/politika/ostavka-na-posao-u-kancelariji-za-pitanja-zajednica-zbog-rezultata-konkursa.html>

Connection with health and education through vouchers

As we have already mentioned, health care and education employees in majority Serbian areas in Kosovo work under the authority of ministries in Belgrade, for which they are provided with the so-called Kosovo salary supplement, which is a bonus to the basic salary in the amount of 50%. In addition to these incomes, some of the medical and school staff also receive monthly allowances, so-called “vouchers” from the ministries in Pristina. For instance²⁴, Ministry of Health of Kosovo, which is responsible for all health institutions, is not responsible for three Serb-majority municipalities: North Mitrovica, Gračanica/Graçanicë and Štrpce/Shtërpçë, which are exceptions to this general institutional arrangement. These three municipalities, in addition being in charge of primary level health care, also manage the provision of secondary health care. According to the Law on Local Self-Government, the expanded competences of these municipalities include the right to pay the salaries of health personnel and health care administrators²⁵. In a similar way, the municipalities also dispose of the fees of educational workers, which they pay in cooperation with the Kosovo Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Innovation (MEST).

The exact number of those who are on these payrolls is not known, since the municipalities do not offer transparent data on payments, and those who are on the payrolls do not want to talk about it. However, from anonymous conversations with employees, we can learn that this is a smaller number of “privileged”, mainly management personnel, professors, directors or doctors. This serves to repay them for their obedience and loyalty to the party, as well as for influencing their subordinate colleagues and other staff when voting in elections. This is supported by the example of the Interim Municipal Council of Kosovska Mitrovica municipality, which “urged the directors of municipal public companies to vote with their workers and their family members and to go to the polling stations in an organized manner”²⁶.

Municipalities also pay out the vouchers to unemployed individuals, thus buying their loyalty, so that, in addition to health and educational institutions, they would work to obtain safe votes from the wider and poorer sections of the population. There are also frequent cases of nepotism, when

²⁴ Isak Vorgučić, “Ključ - Studija o ključnim problemima kosovskih Srba”, KFOS 2022, str. 20

²⁵ Zakon o lokalnoj samoupravi, usvojen 2008. godine, <https://gzk.rks.gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2530>

²⁶ <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/politika/vece-organizova-no-glasanje-u-severnoj-mitrovici-u-nedelju/rx8eyyq>

municipal leaders pay such fees to persons who do not live in Kosovo at all, in accordance with the family ties.²⁷

The payment of fees for health and education workers by Kosovo institutions through vouchers may represent an attempt by Pristina to show more interest in these institutions, but in practice they are an instrument by which municipalities reward their henchmen or buy votes in elections²⁸.

²⁷ <https://www.radiokim.net/vesti/drustvo/protest-u-vrbovcu-se-nastavlja-predsednik-ops-tine-bezi-od-gradjana-i-novinara.html>

²⁸ Isak Vorgucic, "The Key - Study on Key Problems of Kosovo Serbs", KFOS 2022, page. 33

Conclusions and recommendations

In this study, only a few examples are listed, which obviously represent corruption and abuse of public functions for personal gain, while in practice we have countless examples of such actions on a daily level. Spending of citizens' budgets along the party lines is not something that is unknown in majority Albanian municipalities in Kosovo, so we have a recent case when the Government, which is made up of members of Self-Determination, allocated as much as 2 million euros or one quarter of the total funds for projects in four municipalities, where their party colleagues are assembly chairpersons²⁹. Apart from that, it is often the case that Serbs and Albanians jointly participate and cooperate in major activities related to corruption³⁰, which makes it easier for them to protect and conceal each other, because ethnic barriers are still high in Kosovo.

The aforementioned examples show that the main shortcoming of this way of functioning of institutions in Serb majority areas is the lack of transparency, lack of control and a possibility to avoid accountability. All this makes the implementation of corruption quite certain, and its suppression brings it to the brink of being impossible. Corruption is a problem with which we live, and which we will certainly often encounter in the future, however, for Kosovo to begin to provide the conditions for the suppression of corruption in Serb majority municipalities, it is necessary to:

- Systematically suppress corruption, primarily at the central level in Pristina, which would create both the legal and moral preconditions to encourage anti-corruption investigations and actions in Serb majority municipalities as well, without fear of being interpreted as directed against Serbs.
- Strengthen the bodies that are in charge of the controlling the transparency of the work of municipalities, proportionally and simultaneously in majority Albanian and Serbian areas.
- Form the Community of Serb Municipalities in accordance with previously reached agreements, which is supposed to:
 - ▶ Enable the Government of Kosovo to, above all, show that it cares about a better quality of life, human and minority rights of Kosovo Serbs.

²⁹ https://kallxo.com/lajm/qeveria-kurti-ndan-2-mili-one-euro-per-komunat-cer-eku-shkon-per-ato-te-lvv-se/?fbclid=IwAR2xcNFgUc7Uin8C-nEwFnIac8tS_Vz2DKW2lI84F-sHJ-e1QmEc_0oT9-Ypc

³⁰ <https://n1info.rs/vesti/novinar-gasi-o-hapsenjima-u-strpcu/>

- ▶ Create better connections of Serbs with central level institutions of Kosovo and legalize the necessary connections with Serbian institutions that provide services to citizens (education, health, public enterprises).
- ▶ Ensure the creation of the necessary mechanisms and bodies that would guarantee that the functioning of the Community will be transparent both towards Pristina and Belgrade, which would reduce the space for acts of corruption.

On the other hand, in order for Serbia to ensure the suppression of corruption in Serb majority areas in Kosovo, it would be necessary to have functional judiciary and police as support on the ground, however, the police were integrated into Kosovo in 2014 and the judiciary in 2017. Apart from the fact that these preconditions do not exist, Belgrade has no will, and one could argue that it also has no intention to ensure the fair and legal work of its institutions. The precondition of one-party system that controls employment in the public sector, both in Serbia and in Serb majority areas in Kosovo, is the obedience to the party, above all of the management in the institutions, which dictates that their manpower and resources, whenever necessary, are to be made available to the party. The fact that their work is far from the public eye in Serbia, as well as the general sentiment towards the Kosovo Serbs, which is diminishing but still prevails, is used as an opportunity to, under the guise of alleged patriotism and “preservation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country”³¹, cover up actions that are illegal under any system.

Under the assumption that at some point Belgrade would be ready to join the fight against corruption in Serb majority areas of Kosovo, it would be necessary to:

- Prevent targeting and disabling of the establishment, actions and work of individuals and political parties among Kosovo Serbs, who have a different program and political stances than Serbian List.
- Optionally, enable the Serbian List to start functioning as an organization that would unite different political opinions and individuals, foster intra-party democratic dialogue, and independent election of its representatives, without the influence of Belgrade. This would be aimed towards the joint action of all Kosovo Serbs for the sake of advocacy in problem solving, with the necessary and natural maintenance of ties with Belgrade, but not as a center that only issues directives.

³¹ <https://insajder.net/emisije/serijali/patriotskapljacka>

- In order to provide services to their compatriots, efforts need to be made in the direction of initiating the cooperation with Kosovo institutions, which would have as a prerequisite the cessation of inflammatory rhetoric and disparagement.
- Provide maximal support to Pristina, if necessary, with international mediation, for the formation of the Community of Serb Municipalities/Association of Serb Majority Municipalities, in a way that would be most beneficial for all parties that are involved.
- To participate and encourage the creation of better connections of Kosovo Serbs with institutions at the central level of Kosovo.
- Create legal prerequisites at the level of Serbia for unhindered cooperation and assistance to the Community/Association, so that the institutions that provide services to citizens (education, health, public enterprises) would continue to function.
- Support the creation of the necessary mechanisms and authorities to control the transparency of the work of the Community, which would reduce the space for acts of corruption.
- Enable the creation of trust and the cooperation of police and judicial authorities with relevant authorities in Kosovo, in order to coordinate the fight against corruption and organized crime.

Unfortunately, based on the familiarity with the situation and clearly visible signs, one can ascertain that corruption is something that will certainly be a problem for a long time, which we will face. It may seem as something unusual only to observers from the sidelines, either to those who are from the area and who resist it despite of everything, or those who come from democratic countries governed by the law. Here, however, it is just another custom: when there is a celebration, one gets drunk to the point of numbness, and when one applies for a tender, a percentage is foreseen for a bribe. Whoever does not get drunk at the celebration, and whoever does not offer compensation for a public service, is not among the “normal”, while whoever accepts these customs without question, regardless of his/her nationality and religion, is considered “one of us”.

