

# Prishtina Insight

February 3 - 16, 2012 Issue No. 81 www.prishtinainsight.com Price € 1



## Ministry of Interior Built New Offices Illegally

The Ministry of Interior has added two floors to its new building in the heart of Prishtina without planning permission, Prishtina Insight has learnt.

See Page 5

**NEWS**  
**Kosovo Seeks Full Independence in 2012**  
> page 3

**NEWS**  
**BIRN Launches 2012 Balkans Journalism Fellowship**  
> page 4

**NEWS**  
**Dropped PTK Advisor Leaves with Million-Euro Fee**  
> page 5



**FEATURE**  
**Ghost Companies Stalk Albania's Energy Ambitions**  
> page 12-13

**REVIEW**  
**Postmodern Theatre, Albanians and Serbs**  
> page 14



# Kosovo Steel Plant Linked to Russian Oligarch

Prishtina Insight can reveal that Jeton Sadiku, new owner of Kosovo's Llamkos steel plant, had close ties to one of Russia's richest oligarchs, and may have been ineligible to buy the facility.

By Lawrence Marzouk and Tinka Kurti

It was billed as a great British investment in Kosovo. But the truth behind the privatisation of the troubled Llamkos steel plant is far more complicated, an investigation by Prishtina Insight can reveal, uncovering a trail leading from the Gulf state of Dubai to the Siberian steppe.

Our probe also raises questions about whether the sale of the plant to Kosovo businessman Jeton

Sadiku, and British national, broke privatisation rules.

Prishtina Insight's investigation of company accounts in Britain, Switzerland, Russia, Kosovo and Dubai shows that the company that purchased Llamkos was not British in the normally understood sense of the word.

The company is based in a Gulf tax haven and is owned by a Kosovo Albanian who holds a British passport. He had close connections to a Russian oligarch and a string of insolvent companies

under his belt.

Dubai-based Coresteel DMCC is at least Jeton Sadiku's fourth steel business. His three other companies in that field - Bel & Steel, Coresteel Ltd and Coresteel AG - have been, or are being, closed for insolvency or for failure to file accounts.

Prishtina Insight has discovered that the forced liquidation of Swiss-based Coresteel AG, following an application to the High Court in London by Fortis Bank to have the firm wound up because of

unpaid debts from 2009 onwards, ought to have prevented Sadiku from competing to buy Llamkos. He secured the plant in July 2011 for 5.1 million euro.

Company documents for Bel & Steel and Coresteel AG reveal that Kosovo-born Sadiku has business links with Russian oligarch Andrey Dobrov, rated Russian's 162nd richest man by Forbes magazine last year with an estimated fortune of 400 million euro.

continues page 2-3



## Brussels Reviews EULEX Mission

Cuts in staffing numbers and a hand-over of responsibilities to Kosovo authorities are among the options on the table as the EU's top foreign diplomat, Catherine Ashton, reviews EULEX's remit.

Ashton's office told Prishtina Insight that a strategic review is under way into the structure and priorities...

news

page 4



## Wind Tunnels Promise Green Energy For Kosovo

Scientists have for the first time pinpointed potential sites in Kosovo for wind farms capable of generating significant amounts of renewable energy.

Electricity demand in Kosovo is currently 1,000 MW, 99 per cent of which comes from the state-run Kosovo Energy Corporation, KEK...

business

page 7

**Prishtina Insight**  
Kosovo's only English-language newspaper is available:

**Delivered to Your Door**

**From Newsstands across Kosovo**

**Sent To Your Inbox**

**From our partners**

see page 16 for more info

Prishtina Insight

is supported by:



## Kosovo Steel Plant Linked to Russian Oligarch

from page 1

Dobrov made his fortune in the Siberian town of Novosibirsk in coal, steel and construction following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Sadiku says he severed relations with Dobrov and with Dobrov's former firm, Belon Group, in 2005. Earlier, he admitted to Prishtina Insight, he had been part owner of the Russian coal and steel giant.

### Coresteel AG goes bust:

According to the latest company statements filed in 2008 in London, where the Swiss firm also has a branch, Coresteel AG made 185 million euro worth of sales in 2007 and generated a gross profit of 9 million euro.

But Coresteel AG also had a significant bank overdraft of around 50 million euro at the end of 2007.

In 2009, Fortis Bank, which had lent an undisclosed sum of money to Coresteel AG, petitioned the London High Court for it to be

forcibly wound up, closed and the debt repaid.

It is not clear from the accounts whether these sums have been repaid, and the company has yet to be formally liquidated, although this process appears to be nearing an end.

Despite the ongoing insolvency process with Coresteel AG, Sadiku was able to purchase Llamkos in 2011 for 5.1 million euro with a promise to invest significantly in developing the business, through Coresteel DMCC.

Ownership of a company in the process of being liquidated should have barred him from participating in the bidding process.

According to the rules of PAK, the Kosovo privatization agency, bidders are prohibited from competing if they are "natural and legal persons that are currently subject to bankruptcy or insolvency".

But a spokesman for PAK defended the sale and said all the necessary checks had been carried out.

"PAK has researched the legality, qualifications, financial stability



Andrey Dobrov, one of Russia's richest men.

and other research before the Board of Directors of PAK's decision to pick the winners of the tender.

"The bidder, now the winner, at the request of the management of PAK, sent audited financial statements made by renowned companies," he added.

### History of insolvencies:

Sadiku arrived in the United Kingdom in September 1991 a few days after receiving call-up papers for the Yugoslav army, JNA.

He applied for asylum in June the next year when it became apparent that the situation in Kosovo was unlikely to improve.

In 1996 he, alongside seven Kosovars, unsuccessfully appealed to the UK High Court in an attempt to force the Home Office to rule on their asylum applications.

In the court documents from 1996, published by UNHCR online, Sadiku is described as a "successful businessman here who employs a number of British citizens". It's not clear when he received his passport.

But scrutiny of records in Companies House, the UK's official business registry, reveals that many of Sadiku's firms have been liquidated or closed because they did not file accounts.

These include Fertrade UK, dissolved in 2004; East West Europe, dissolved in 2002; Capital Productions Limited, dissolved in 1998; Fameborune Limited, liquidated and dissolved in 1998; and Goldman International Ltd. Sadiku was the owner, director or secretary of all these companies.

### Russian links:

Sadiku also had a strong stake in the steel industry and strong links to Russia.

Sadiku directed and part-owned Bel & Steel, a UK-based firm involved in the steel trade. Andrey Dobrov owned 90 per cent of the firm, according to official documents secured by this newspaper.

The firm formed in 1995 went bust in 2002 with more than a million pounds sterling of debt, including to Dobrov's own firm Belon, the steel and coal giant

## Court battle

Turkish firm Mutafqi Dragon was disqualified as winner of the bidding process in March 2011 despite offering the highest price.

It believes the sale to Coresteel DMCC will be overturned by the Supreme Court to which the company has complained.

It was announced as the winner in March 2011 after making an offer of 6.5 million, but PAK cancelled this in June, ruling that it was not convinced of the firm's business plan or the authenticity of some of the documents offered.

"As a temporary winner, we met all the required conditions such as a guarantee of 30 million dollar banking, maintaining the same activities [at Llamkos], the number of employees, over 72 references, an annual turnover of 28 million euro and management staff," the firm's Kosovo representative, Enis Cela, said.

"We have been damaged, based on the fact that the PAK Board sought their preferred company, which was ranked third [in the competition] with a price of 5.1 million euro," he said.

"PAK says the winner [of the bid] promised to maintain the number of employees, but this is no excuse because we pledged to hire 457 workers, which is 20 more than the obligation of 437 workers," Cela added.

based in Novosibirsk, in Siberia.

In September 2001, the similarly named Belsteel Management was set up in Switzerland. Allan Dennis Cooper, an investor in Eastern European businesses who directs a number of companies based in London and Switzerland, was one of the founders with his business partner Christian Sutter.

Its name was quickly changed to Coresteel AG. Cooper was a board member of Belon Group from 2004, according to a published interview with Dobrov.

According to Swiss public records, Sadiku is the sole owner of Coresteel AG, although it is not clear if he was so throughout the firm's history. He became director in 2003.

It is not clear whether Coresteel AG also did business with Belon AG - despite the links through Alan Cooper and the similarities in its initial name, Belsteel Management, to Bel & Steel, owned by Dobrov. Cooper has declined to comment.

Questioned about Sadiku's links with Dobrov, a spokesman for Sadiku said Sadiku had been part owner of Belon Group.

Belon Group has shown interest in investing in the Balkans. In 2005 it bid for, but then withdrew from, the sale of the Pljevlja Power Plant in Montenegro, for example.

Questions to Belon Group on

their business links with Sadiku, Coresteel and any potential involvement with Llamkos went answered.

Sadiku's spokesman said he had conducted business with Dobrov and Belon up until 2005.

Regarding Coresteel AG, which has yet to be formally liquidated, he would only say that the Swiss-based firm and the Dubai-registered Coresteel DMCC were not connected.

"It is true that Jeton Sadiku was an owner of Belon Group along with Andrey Dobrov," Labintot Demi, spokesman for Coresteel DMCC, said.

"In 2005, Sadiku severed relations with Andrey Dobrov, and Andrey Dobrov inherited the businesses in London; consequently there was no further responsibility on behalf of Jeton Sadiku [for these businesses]," Demi added.

"As far as the ownership of the Coresteel Company in Dubai is concerned, the Sadiku family owns the company and this is a fact which they do not hide or deny," he continued.

"Belon is not linked to Coresteel DMCC, which is different to Coresteel AG."

As Coresteel DMCC is registered in Dubai, a tax haven, it is impossible to independently verify ownership of this company.

## Former problems

The first sale of Llamkos in 2005 was also heralded as a great success.

Llamkos GalvaSteel is the largest steel galvanizing plant and production facility in the region and has been operating for over 30 years.

Buyer Bulgaria's Kremikovtzi paid 4.2m euro for the plant and committed itself to investing 15 million euro over two years.

The plant started to work again for the first time since the conflict, but soon after Kremikovtzi was sold to Global Steel of India and problems emerged.

An argument between the two over ownership of Llamkos was followed by a collapse in the metal industry market, prompting claims by local managers that they could no longer cover staff wages.

By the time the issue was resolved and Global Steel declared the owner, investments had fallen behind schedule and the government was keen to renationalise.

Under the contract struck by the UN-led agency, the Kosovo Trust Agency, the spin-off sale in 2005 included a "recall" clause if the levels of investment were not met.

In December 2010 PAK liquidated Llamkos, paving the way for a new sale.

Yili Kaloshi would not confirm how much Coresteel DMCC had promised to invest, describing it only as "substantial".

"Regarding the investment,

the buyer through the signed contract is required to invest in the company a substantial amount of working and investment capital," he said.

Box: One of Russia's richest:

Andrey Dobrov, according to his profile in Forbes Magazine, is one of the richest men in Russia.

Almost 50 years old, he was born in Kazakhstan before moving to Novosibirsk, where he studied and set up his business. He is married with three children.

He is estimated to have a fortune of 400 million euro, making him the 162nd richest Russian, a fortune largely earned through his mining and mineral empire, Belon Group.

He founded and headed Belon in 1991. It started up as a humble video club chain before turning into a coal trader that then expanded into coal extraction and processing at the turn of 1990s and the 2000s.

Belon then expanded into transport, service, metal trade, banking and construction.

From 2007 through to 2009, Magnitogorsk Iron & Steel Works purchased Dobrov's stake in Belon.

Dobrov retained Bank Belon, which was renamed Bank Vzaimodeistvie in October 2010.

Little was known about his involvement in businesses outside of Russia, until Prishtina Insight discovered his links to the Kosovar businessman Jeton Sadiku.



British MPs on their tour of Llamkos steel plant.



## Rental of simultaneous translation equipment.

Services for conferences, presentations and trainings.

For prices and booking call: +381 38 602042, +377 44 243367, +386 49 243367

info@avc-group.cc  
avcprishtina@hotmail.com

The previous ownership of the Belon Group is also shrouded in secrecy because two key major shareholders, Onarbay Enterprises Ltd and Sapwood Investments Ltd, are registered in Cyprus, which publishes virtually no information on companies based there.

Both firms are listed at Naousis 1 Karapatakis Building, Larnaca, 6018, Cyprus, the address of A.J.K. Bureau of Consultants Limited, which helps set up companies in various tax havens and which serves the Cyprus office "serves as a regional promotion centre" for former Soviet countries.

### Llamkos - a British investment?

Coresteel UK Limited, also based in London, was set up in July 2007. Initially its director was listed as Worldform Ltd, based in east London. Worldform is a named director on hundreds of companies.

A few weeks later Sadiku was appointed director and Worldform "resigned". In March 2009, Sadiku also resigned.

The company carried out no transactions and was dissolved in August 2010, according to the official record.

Despite this, PAK announced it as the winner of the bidding process in August 2011. A press release emphasized that a "British" firm had won.

But the sale contract was signed on August 21 between Dino Asanaj, then head of PAK, and Adrian Holmes, who is a representative of the Dubai firm and who now manages the Vushtrri plant under the name of Coresteel DMCC.

In November, Llamkos was visited by the British

inter-parliamentary Union delegation, including a number of UK parliamentarians, as an example of British investment in Kosovo.

Lord Wallace of Saltire told the House of Lords in September 2011: "We were delighted recently when the British company Coresteel completed the purchase of the Llamkos steel plant."

PAK has since admitted that the company was actually bought by the Dubai-based Coresteel DMCC.

Little is known of Coresteel UK as no accounts were filed and its activities are shrouded in secrecy.

Asked whether, given the problems with the other Coresteel companies, PAK had verified the origin of its funds, spokesman Yll Kaloshi said: "For us it is sufficient that the payment is made through the bank, as banks handle and verify the origins of the funds more than 10,000 euro. We do not ask for anything more."

Coresteel Shpk, registered in Vushtrri, where the plant is located, is owned by Coresteel DMCC, with "authorised persons", usually referring to managers or those allowed to sign on behalf of the company, named at the official business register as Arlind Jupolli, a Prishtina-based lawyer, and Jeton Sadiku.

According to its website, www.coresteel.ae, it has offices in Lebanon, the UAE, London and now Vushtrri.

It describes itself as "an international metals and mining company with offices and agents placed in strategic locations throughout the world", but its only fixed asset listed is the Llamkos steel plant.

## Kosovo Seeks Full Independence in 2012

Kosovo's parliament has adopted a resolution calling for the international community to permit full independence by the end of this year.



By Fatmir Aliu

Four years after seceding from Serbia, Kosovo's parliament has adopted a resolution calling for an end to "internationally supervised" independence at the end of 2012, pledging to meet all obligations needed to reach this goal.

In vote the vote, 83 MPs voted for and 13 against a resolution tabled by Hashim Thaci's ruling Democratic Party of Kosovo, PDK, at an extraordinary session called on Tuesday.

Prime Minister Thaci said adoption of the resolution marked the beginning of a new phase for Kosovo.

"Kosovo enters a new era," he said, calling on the international community to set the benchmarks and priorities for the work needed to be done in implementing the remaining provisions of the Comprehensive Kosovo Status Settlement Proposal, known as the Ahtisaari Plan.

Kosovo declared independence from Serbia on February 17, 2008. Since then 86 states, including 22 EU member states and the US, have recognized it. But as part of the independence process, the country has remained under a form of international monitoring.

The group of 25 member states, known as the "Friends of Kosovo", met last week Vienna, and announced that preparations for winding up these activities will start soon.

The International Steering Group, the body tasked with overseeing Kosovo's supervised independence, has endorsed a twin-track strategy for the beginning of the end of the process, asking for more guarantees from the Kosovo government in such fields as decentralization, community rights, cultural heritage and dealing with the past.

Pieter Feith, the International Civilian Representative in charge of implementation of the Ahtisaari plan, said adoption of the resolution by the Assembly set out the next steps needed to reach the objective. He welcomed signs of a political consensus on beginning constitutional amendments.

"If a national consensus is maintained throughout, this will send a powerful message about the sustainability of the reforms and their implementation, thus enhancing Kosovo's international reputation and credibility as a modern European state," he said.

The ISG has reiterated that the Ahtisaari Plan's core principles of strengthening transparent, legitimate local democracy, and respecting community rights and identities, provide the best model for the future of the troubled, Serb-run northern municipalities of Kosovo.



Kosovo parliament voted to end supervised independence.

## Editor's Word Facebook: Friend or Foe?



By Lawrence Marzouk

Facebook: worthy of the Nobel Peace Prize, or the epitome of corporate evil?

I should be lauding it for building strong networks beyond the reach of tyrants and jackboot regimes across the world, providing the space for a resistance movement to grow.

It democratizes conversation: no longer do people need to speak through traditional media such as this newspaper. The top-down model of information distribution which has lasted for centuries is dead, and with it the Establishment's grip on the means of distribution.

Facebook allows creative, imaginative people to reach an audience without facing the usual barriers to production. There are no hosting, printing or distribution costs and everyone has a level playing field: the design remains the same for all. This means that content, not capital, is king.

In Kosovo, everything from cultural events to political poetry is distributed on Facebook's ever-changing Timeline. It is the dominant medium by quite some distance; nothing else comes close.

The revolution will not be televised in the 21st Century, but it will be streamed live on Facebook.

I am in awe of what Mark Zuckerberg has achieved. Who wouldn't be? But I am also uncomfortable with what Facebook could become.

Its flotation on Wall Street this week shows this giant spider's web in a more sinister light.

Facebook has 800 million members - a large customer base, you might think, to warrant its extraordinary valuation at 100 billion dollars.

But the lowly users of this social network are not customers, as we pay nothing. We are the product.

Facebook is an advertising company and what is being offered to investors is me and you: holiday photos, private conversations, information on where you have been logging on from, stories you read online and networks of friends and family.

Obviously the company isn't selling those wholesale, but it is using that information to provide pinpoint advertising.

Facebook continues to promote itself as a tool for good, but it is also a multinational company in possession of the greatest-ever database on humankind. It is the closest we have come to a Doomsday Book and demonstrates the immense power of this company.

Whether you like it or not, Facebook is here to stay. And it will continue to play a critical role in all arenas in Kosovo. Those who know how to exploit it will reap the rewards.

A word of caution: Facebook's quirky business style and free-radical statements may comfort you in your continued use of its service. But there is no such thing as a free lunch. When Mr Zuckerberg invites you to his table, remember, you are the lunch.

## PRISTINA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT "ADEM JASHARI"

Bëhu pjesë e kujtimit  
nga Kosova - blej  
**DUTY FREE**  
Share the experience - buy  
**DUTY FREE**

Bëhu pjesë e kujtimit  
nga Kosova - blej  
**DUTY FREE**  
Share the experience - buy  
**DUTY FREE**

Bëhu pjesë e kujtimit  
nga Kosova - blej  
**DUTY FREE**  
Share the experience - buy  
**DUTY FREE**

WE ARE OPEN FOR ALL DEPARTING FLIGHTS • CALL US ON 038 594422

# Brussels Reviews EULEX Mission

The European Union is considering "re-formatting" of EULEX ahead of a decision on a new budget for the rule-of-law mission.



By Petrit Collaku

Cuts in staffing numbers and a hand-over of responsibilities to Kosovo authorities are among the options on the table as the EU's top foreign diplomat, Catherine Ashton, reviews EULEX's remit.

Ashton's office told Prishtina Insight that a strategic review is under way into the structure and priorities of EULEX, which will involve input from many stakeholders, including EULEX and the Government of Kosovo.

Recommendations arising from this review must then be approved by EU member states.

"It is possible that the mission will be subjected to a re-formation during the next twelve months, taking into account the progress made by Kosovo authorities in the rule of law and the needs of changing the mission," Maja Kocijancic, spokeswoman for the chief of EU foreign policy, told Prishtina Insight.

Kocijancic added that the next meeting of EU foreign ministers is expected to be held on February 27 but she did not confirm if the meeting will discuss the changes in EULEX's mission.

Prishtina Insight understands that once the new strategy has been defined, a new budget, starting from June, is likely to be mooted in April or May.

Kosovo officials said they were confident that the EULEX mission will change, regardless of the progress of the Kosovo institutions.

Bekim Collaku, chief of the cab-

inet of the Prime Minister, said that the review should look at areas such as customs and police, and that it is the first phase of EULEX's exit strategy.

He reiterated that the "re-formation" of the EU mission comes as a result of a positive assessment of Kosovo institutions by an EU fact-finding team, who were on the ground last year.

"We expect that in regions like in Mitrovica and Prizren, no EULEX police officers will be stationed due to the good performance of the police. The same goes for customs," said Collaku.

He added that he expected EU to cut the staffing levels of the mission, which is costly.

However, according to him, the EULEX mandate will not change. "In the judiciary, and justice in general, it will continue as their expertise is essential," added Collaku.

EULEX has also confirmed the mission will change, but has not announced what these changes are.

The developments come at a time when plans are being made to end the period of supervised independence of the country.

On January 27, leaders of all par-



Staff numbers are expected to be cut as part of a reformatting of EULEX

liamentary parties, except for the Vetevendosje movement, met and signed a declaration on the end of supervised independence.

EULEX is the largest mission of its kind, with its primary purpose to support the Kosovo authorities in the rule of law, in particular policing, judiciary and customs.

The mission has 3,000 employees,

with 1,100 local staff. Contributing states include all countries of the European Union as well as Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Croatia, and the US.

In a documentary recently aired by Deutsche Welle on EULEX, it revealed that the mission had spent 400,000 euro on sending customs personnel to the north to avoid the

road blocks.

The European Union in December approved EULEX's budget for the six months to June 2012.

The mission saw a 10 per cent reduction in its funds, and money has also been reallocated to improve witness protection and pay for the new unit dedicated to the Marty investigation.

## BIRN Launches 2012 Balkans Journalism Fellowship

Balkan Investigative Reporting Network has announced a call for applications for its 2012 fellowship for journalistic excellence.



By BIRN

Experienced journalists from across the Balkans are invited to apply for the sixth annual fellowship programme, which will focus this year on investigations on the theme of community.

Ten journalists will be chosen, through open competition, to receive funding and professional support for further research into an investigative story on this year's topic - community.

Applicants are encouraged to consider the theme in a broad sense, looking at different groupings - political, economic, national, gender, generational - and the relationship between them.

Journalists might examine the rural to urban movements that have put stress on villages across the Balkans in recent years, or look at how well cities have absorbed this influx of young people looking to improve their prospects.

Investigations might look into the political representation of communities across the Balkans, or examine communities which find themselves on the margins because of the state they call home. What efforts have been made to build bridges between different communities in the war-torn former Yugoslavia?

Fellows are expected to deliver investigative stories of no more than 2,000 words, and will receive a 2,000 euro bursary, up to another 2,000 euro for travel and research expenses and will attend career development seminars in Vienna and Skopje.

In addition, the top three articles, again judged by an independent committee, will attract awards of 4,000 euro, 3,000 euro and 1,000 euro.

Completed articles will be published in English and local languages in regional and European online and print media.

Remzi Lani, director of the Albanian Media Institute and a member of the programme's selection committee, described the fellowship as "a success story".

"Publication of the fellows' articles in the most important media in the region and internationally is certainly clear proof that this project is a worthy venture - an opportunity that should not be missed," he said.

The closing date for applications is March 5, 2012. The application form, guidelines and further information about the fellowship are available online.

The fellowship was established in 2007 by the Robert Bosch Stiftung and ERSTE Foundation, in cooperation with the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network, to promote journalistic excellence and advance balanced coverage of complex reform issues that have regional and European Union significance.

## North Kosovo Serbs Dismiss Tadic Plan

Serbian President's "four-point proposal" to resolve the stalemate in ethnically riven North Kosovo has received the thumbs down from local Serbs and from the nationalist opposition in Serbia.



By Marija Ristic

Kosovo Serbs have dismissed Serbian President Boris Tadic's plan to end the turbulence in Northern Kosovo, saying they rejected a similar plan years ago.

"The President's proposal on North Kosovo solution is basically a copy-pasted version of the Ahtisaari Plan. We did not accept this plan five years ago, so there will be no change of attitude now," Marko Jaksic, vice-president of the Assembly of Association of Serbian Municipalities and Settlements in Kosovo and Metohija, said last Wednesday.

The Ahtisaari Plan was presented by Martti Ahtisaari, Finnish UN chief negotiator on Kosovo in 2007, but was never accepted by Serbia.

The plan recommended international recognition of Kosovo's independence in return for the Kosovo government agreeing to decentralization and special protection for minorities, including education in their own languages, special health services and broad autonomy.

Aleksandar Vucic, vice-president of Serbia's opposition nationalist Progressive Party, also condemned the President's proposals, stating that he saw nothing new in the plan.

Tadic's plan has not been disclosed in detail to the public. He sent

a detailed version of the "four-point proposal" to the so-called Quint countries [Germany, France, Italy, Britain and US] this month but the plan itself was not made available for the broader public.

However, the plan is believed to advocate special status for Serbian Orthodox monasteries in Kosovo, guarantees for Serbs in the south of Kosovo, resolution of Serbian property claims and a special solution for mainly Serb northern Kosovo.

According to media reports Tadic's approach leaves aside the thorny question of Kosovo's status. Serbia has refused to recognise Kosovo's independence.

Gerrard Galluci, former UN Regional Representative to Kosovo, said the plan deserved consideration.

"The recent 'four-point proposal' by President Boris Tadic may provide the foundation for a lasting solution," Galluci said in an article published on the website of Belgrade think tank Transconflict.

The British and French ambassadors to Serbia and Kosovo have welcomed the plan as well, reportedly agreeing that the proposals "could open the door to a lasting solution".

The plan was also presented to Philip Reeker, Deputy US Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, during his visit to Belgrade last week.

After the meeting, Borislav Stefanovic, chief of the Serbian negotiating team with Kosovo, said the US showed understanding for the plan.

Prishtina Insight

www.pristinainsight.com

Publisher:

BIRN

Balkan Investigative Reporting Network

Mensa e Studenteve, first floor  
10000, Prishtina

Kosovo

Phone: +381 (0) 38 24 33 58

Fax: +381 (0) 38 22 44 98

lawrence@birn.eu.com

Editor-in-Chief:

Lawrence Marzouk

lawrence@birn.eu.com

Editorial Team:

Ana Petruseva, Gordana Igric,  
Jeta Xharra, Marcus Tanner,  
Petrit Collaku, Shengjyl Osmani,  
Artan Mustafa and Donjeta Demolli.

Marketing, Sales & Distribution:

lawrence@birn.eu.com

Design & Layout: "Rrjeti"  
Arben Grajqevci

Printing: Lindi Printing Center

Copyright © BIRN

# Dropped PTK Advisor Leaves with Million-Euro Fee

Telco AG may have been dropped from its role advising the Ministry of Economic Development on the now delayed sale of PTK – but the Liechtenstein-based firm has still walked away with its 1.1 million euro fee.



By Lawrence Marzouk

The Ministry of Economic Development is expected to select its third set of advisors for the delayed sale of Kosovo's most lucrative public firm, Post Telecoms of Kosovo, soon.

After one of the two bidding firms – Deutsche Telecom – dropped out of the race to buy PTK, last October, the process was stopped and the contract with the controversial transaction advisors, Telco AG, terminated.

Prishtina Insight has discovered that despite the fact PTK has not been sold, Telco AG was still paid its full fee of 1.1 million euro.

The Ministry says it decided to end the contract with Telco AG as a hiatus in the process had not been predicted, while the consultants suggested that they had walked away because they did not believe it was the right time to sell PTK.

## Advisors' Galore

Just a few months after the appointment of Telco AG in October 2009, and allegedly under pressure from international actors in Kosovo, the government appointed a second tier of advisors for a further 500,000 Euros to supervise the work of Telco AG and its consortium.

Sources close to the process described the decision at the time as "highly unusual" and said it was motivated by concerns among international diplomats



Kosovo's government is expected to employ its third advisor for the sale of PTK in the coming weeks.

about Telco's relatively unknown status.

The Liechtenstein-based telecommunications firm had, as a company, yet to establish itself as a major name in the telecoms consultancy market, although its staff include a number of consultants who have worked on major privatization deals in the region.

In an earlier investigation, Prishtina Insight discovered that the firm has been dogged by a series of unofficial and official complaints levelled against it in another field in which it operated.

For a number of years, Telco AG rented out premium rate, Liechtenstein-based numbers across the world which, according to complaints from phone users on internet forums, and a case taken out by the Italian telecommunications regulatory authority, have not always been used in accordance with the law.

According to mobile phone users in different corners of the world, complaining on internet forums, they were contacted by text messages with news that they had won a prize and were given a number to call which was

owned by Telco AG. Those who followed up the text with a call where then charged premium rates without their knowledge, it is alleged.

The Liechtenstein-based firm was also fined 100,000 Euros in 2009 in Italy for providing premium-rate numbers to an erotic phone service which did not advertise the cost of calls, according to the official findings of an investigation seen by Prishtina Insight.

Telco AG, according to its website, has stopped selling international premium rate numbers.

In an earlier briefing note sent to Prishtina Insight, Telco AG, said it was 'merely the owner of numbers' and not responsible for services provided by those renting the numbers.

The firm's relationship with Mobilkom Austria, which was among the last two in the running to buy PTK before Deutsche Telecom's withdrawal, also came under scrutiny. Telco AG admitted it acted as advisors to Mobilkom Austria in a number of previous transactions in the region, including in Kosovo, but said it no longer works for the

Austrian mobile giant.

The earlier investigation also revealed that Telco AG paid the US lobbying firm Rhoads Group USD75,000, 55,000 euro, in the run-up to the tender decision, according to official lobbying reports filed in US Senate Office of Public Records, to lobby the "State Department" in Kosovo and the US about issues related to the tender. No other firms in the process used US lobbyists.

Among the team assigned to lobby in Kosovo was Shawn Sullivan, who was brought in from another lobbying firm, Cassidy & Associates, where he was senior vice-president.

From 1995 to 2003, Sullivan served in various capacities at the US Departments of State and Defense. In 2001, he was appointed political advisor to the NATO Commander General in Kosovo and later as the NATO Secretary General's personal representative to Serbia.

Telco told Prishtina Insight in an earlier interview that the decision to employ lobbyists was a legitimate tactic, aimed at "neutralising" other US-based bids.

## End of a Relationship

The Ministry of Economic Development said that the contract with Telco AG was cancelled as the "restarting of the process was not foreseen according to the contract".

"The engagement of a professional consultant with experience in transactions in this process is necessarily rather than a desire," a spokesman added. He added that the ministry was satisfied with the six were pre-qualified firms, who, he said, had a "global reputation in this field".

Harald Grytten, of Telco AG, said that it decided not to pursue the contract as it felt the market was not correct to privatise PTK.

"We agreed with the Ministry of Economic Development to terminate our relationship and our contract based on the market situation and privatization climate in Kosovo," he said. "We believe that timing is not correct now, and would therefore prefer not to continue the process as is.

"However, we wish our successor luck in the continuation of the privatization process, and hope that the project will bring the success the Ministry has proclaimed and is seeking."

# Ministry of Interior Built New Offices Illegally



By Florina Hajdini and Shengjyl Osmani

The Ministry of Interior has added two floors to its new building in the heart of Prishtina without planning permission, Prishtina Insight has learnt.

The building, located opposite the State Prosecution and the Supreme Court and next to the former OSCE building, was built by the construction firm Albes to the initial

specification for 1.8 million euro, after a tender in October 2009.

But last year, the ministry decided to add a further two floors – as a cost of almost 500,000 euro – without receiving permission from the municipal authority in Prishtina.

The town hall then refused to grant the ministry retrospective planning permission.

The issue, the newspaper has learnt, has now been passed to the Anti-Corruption Agency.

The building will become the Municipal Centre for Civil Registry (MCCR) and Vehicle Registration Centre (QRA).

Luljeta Ceku, who was director of the planning department at Municipality of Prishtina until recently, confirmed to Prishtina Insight that the extra floors did not have a building permit.

The Ministry said that it had met all conditions set by the municipality and provided all the relevant information.

"MIA has met all conditions set forth, but the Municipality of Prishtina, respectively, the Department of Urbanism, has not answered on the basis of the Construction Law 2004/15," said a spokesman.

The Ministry also added that it had

encountered difficulties in communicating with the former director of urbanism, who, it said, "had not offered cooperation and has not responded in the legal terms".

The Anti-Corruption Agency has expressed an interest in the matter on January 4, 2012 and has asked the Department of Urbanism of the Municipality of Prishtina for documents related to the affair.

Muharrem Mavraj, director of Albes, told the newspaper that it needed only a further ten working days to complete construction. "Currently works are to stop because of bad weather."

# EU Prosecutor Refuses to Testify in Limaj Trial

After an EU prosecutor, Maurizio Salustro, refused to testify in the Klecka case, saying he had immunity as an international staffer, Fatmir Limaj's defence asked the Chief Prosecutor to suspend the Italian lawyer from the trial.



By Fatmir Aliu

Fatmir Limaj's defence team yesterday demanded the suspension of EULEX prosecutor Maurizio Salustro from the Klecka Case.

They say they want to question him concerning allegations that the late key witness in the trial said that he had testified under pressure from the Italian lawyer.

During Tuesday's session at the Prishtina District Court, Salustro answered that because he had immunity as an international staffer, he would not testify in the case as Limaj's defence lawyers had asked.

One of Limaj's defence lawyers, Karim Khan, responded that his client also had immunity as a lawmaker, as does the Italian prosecutor.

"I told the court that Limaj has immunity, and the internationals here should make sure that the applicable standards for local Kosovars are applicable to them too," Khan said outside the court-

house in Prishtina.

Limaj, an MP known once by the nom-de-guerre "Commander Steel", and nine other ex-Kosovo Liberation Army, KLA, fighters, are charged with committing war crimes against civilians, mainly Serbs, during the Kosovo war in 1999, in the so-called Klecka Case.

Limaj and the other former KLA fighters have pleaded not guilty to charges of ordering the torture and killing of at least eight prisoners, mostly Serbs, in 1999 at Klecka in central Kosovo.

The case rests mainly on the key testimony of Agim Zogaj, better known under the coded-name "Witness X", who killed himself last September in Germany before the trial started.

"Witness X" provided key testimonies relating to the events alleged to have taken place at the Klecka camp during the 1999 war in Kosovo, where he reportedly served also as the prison guard.

In his 13 testimonies, Zogaj confirmed to prosecutors of the EU rule of law mission that he took orders from Limaj to execute both Albanians and Serbs.

But according to published fragments of Zogaj's diary, he also



The PDK has called on EULEX prosecutor Salustro to end his immunity.

wrote of being threatened by Salustro.

"All those who have immunity are indeed immune from the prosecution," another of Limaj's lawyers, Tahir Rrecaj, said on Tuesday.

"But if such allegations have been raised by witness Agim Zogaj concerning pressure on him, making him sign forcibly records which he didn't understand, as it was done in English... then I think he [Salustro] should be questioned as a witness with regard to the circumstances of the allegations

raised against him," he added.

The defence have been demanding the removal of the EULEX prosecutor from the case since last October, claiming Zogaj had called him corrupt.

During Monday's session, lawyers for the former Transport Minister asked the court to order a detailed analysis of the diary left by Zogaj.

The EULEX Chief Prosecutor is expected to make a decision on the defence lawyers' request by next week, since the trial will resume on Monday.

Limaj, who remains a popular figure in Kosovo, has already faced a war crimes trial before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, ICTY.

Along with Isak Musliu and Haradin Bala, he was charged with committing war crimes against Serbs and Albanians suspected of collaborating with Serbia in the Kosovo war.

In November 2005 the ICTY acquitted him and he returned home to a hero's welcome, with street celebrations in the capital, Prishtina.

## Kosovo Fines Officials For Not Declaring Assets

Prishtina's Minor Court has punished senior public officials for not honouring a deadline to declare their assets, fining most of them 300 euros



By Fatmir Aliu

A court in Kosovo has fined over 60 government officials for not declaring their wealth as they are required to by law.

Hasan Preteni, director of the Anti-Corruption Agency, told Prishtina Insight that the officials did not meet a deadline to declare the status and origin of their assets after which their files were sent to court.

"The court found them guilty of not respecting the deadlines, and fined 62 officials based on the pleas we had filed," Preteni noted.

Kosovo's Anti-Corruption Agency is an independent institution tasked with implementing state policies to combat and prevent corruption. It also monitors the property and assets of top

public officials.

The agency warned some months ago that around 90 senior government officials, including lawmakers, ambassadors and ministers, had not submitted forms declaring their wealth.

According to Preteni, only about 22 of this 90 met the legal deadline and responded to last-minute requests from the Anti-Corruption Agency to act, and so were not sent to court. Prishtina's Minor Offences Court fined most of the rest 300 euros.

Media reports initially claimed that among the senior officials fined were two MPs: Azem Sylja and Rada Trajkovic. Sylja is vice-president of the ruling Democratic Party of Kosovo, while Trajkovic is president of the United Serb List.

But the Anti-Corruption Agency denied the reports, saying that both MPs had respected the deadline. Neither was in fact fined, according to the agency website.

## Thousands Oppose "Discriminatory" Law in Kosovo

Thousands of protesters braved freezing temperatures in Prizren, Kosovo, on Sunday to protest against a law aimed at protecting the city's historic centre, but which opponents say favours the Serb Orthodox Church.

The demonstrators gathered peacefully around the central Shatervan Square to call for the law not to be adopted by parliament.

The protest was called by a coalition of non-governmental organisations, and supported by most opposition parties.

"We don't want the law on Prizren because if it is adopted this will be our last gathering in this very place," said Hajrullah Ceku from the "Coalition for Prizren", organisers of the protest. "We rejected the law by all means but were ignored."

Passing of a law on the "Historic Centre of Prizren" is listed as a requirement in the Ahtisaari Plan, a roadmap used by the newborn country to declare its independence from Serbia, on February 17, 2008.

Opponents in civil society see the law as discriminatory, as, they say, it creates two municipalities within one city. Officials in Prizren say parliament should not adopt it, as it gives the Serbian

Orthodox Church a de facto veto on development.

But it is supported by the government and international communities.

The political heat centres on point four of article 18 of the law, which says that "the agreement of the Serbian Orthodox Church" is required "for any activities that would affect the Serbian Orthodox Church's properties in the Historic Centre of Prizren".

"The adoption of the draft-law, in this form, will lead to the feder-

alization of governance in Prizren, by creating two institutional units, the existing one and the Historical Centre, with exclusive powers," the head of the Centre for the Defence of Human Rights and Liberties in Prizren, Bashkim Kajdomcaj, said.

"The citizens concerns should be heard and listened to," he told the protesters, while announcing that the coalition of NGOs will address the issue to the Constitutional Court.



The law aimed at protecting Prizren's historical zone faces a strong backlash.



# Wind Tunnels Promise Green Energy For Kosovo

New scientific research has revealed that the country has several potential sites for viable wind farms.



By Petrit Collaku

Scientists have for the first time pinpointed potential sites in Kosovo for wind farms capable of generating significant amounts of renewable energy.

Electricity demand in Kosovo is currently 1,000 MW, 99 per cent of which comes from the state-run Kosovo Energy Corporation, KEK, with use of lignite coal.

It is hoped that the use of renewable energy could lessen Kosovo's dependence on polluting fossil fuel.

While wind speeds in the country's towns and cities are believed to be insufficient for wind turbines, a number of suitable locations have been found where a wind-tunnel effect is created between two mountainous zones.

Wind tunnels are open spaces where wind is channelled between two objects, be that buildings or mountains.

A study carried out last year by the Hydrometeorology Institute of Kosovo, and funded by the Ministry of Education Science and Technology, looked at areas across the country.

Researchers say that in some specific corridors wind speeds reached 8 metres a second (m/s), double the minimum speed of 4

m/s needed for commercial turbines.

Given that wind turbines reach heights of 50 to 80 metres, researchers believe this would add a further 2.5 m/s.

"If investments are made in wind energy generation as well as solar energy, I'm sure we will be able to produce [another] 50 per cent to current electricity [production] in Kosovo," said meteorologist Syle Tahirsylaj, author of the report.

Potential sites include the village of Landovica, near Prizren, a corridor between Fushe Kosove and Shtime and near the Drini i Bardh river in the west.

Perhaps the most promising site is in the east, near Kamenica, where speeds of up to 8 m/s have been recorded.

Investment in renewable energy is costly, Tahirsylaj says, but worthwhile. "Just think of the dust that we inhale in Prishtina that comes from the KEK [power stations]," he added.

His report concludes that Kosovo has great potential for wind energy. "There are enough locations. All the ones I mentioned in my study have great potential for using wind energy," Tahirsylaj says.

He said that Kosovo needs to spread this message to foreign investors.

## Private prospects:

A report this week by the Renewable and Appropriate Energy Laboratory of the



Kosovo has a number of good sites for wind turbines.

University of California, Berkeley, on Kosovo's energy future, also speaks optimistically of its prospects.

"Studies of wind energy potential of Kosovo vary widely," the report reads, referring to an earlier report by Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and a PhD thesis.

The study also notes that three private operators have so far applied to build wind farms, which, if they get permits, will produce almost 150 megawatts of energy.

To date, the private development of wind farms has not proved easy.

The first attempt in Kosovo to exploit wind to make electricity was by "Wind Power", a private German-Kosovar company.

This company installed three windmills by 2008, but the KEK disconnected them from the network after the firm failed to reach an agreement with the energy regulator about prices. According to KEK, the firm remains disconnected.

In 2011 Wind Power stopped its three turbines on Golesh mountain, next to the international airport, after the regulator refused to pay the required price of 84 euro per MWh, allegedly because the firm used old

equipment.

The firm disputed the regulator's set price of 48 euro per MWh, saying it would force them to work at a loss.

Wind Power invested 800,000 euro initially and had hoped to bring this figure up to 2.4 million.

The Government says it is still working towards the promotion of electricity production through wind by setting incentive fees and guaranteed sales.

"From our information from various stakeholders investing in wind energy, they are developing... feasibility studies concerning wind power in the region of Mitrovica in Bajgora and their measurement results show the good potential of wind power," says Gezim Baxhaku, an advisor to the ministry of economic development.

But if the investors apply "outdated technology, the energy sales rate is not guaranteed by contractual incentives but by market prices," Baxhaku added, referring to the Wind Power case.

Baxhaku also said several measures have been taken in the Zatriq area of Rahovac by interested private firms and the results were encouraging.

## World Bank Experts Back Coal

World Bank experts have backed the Government's plans for a new coal power plant of 600 megawatts, provided that the plant is split into two units that produce 300 megawatts.

But the experts also call for more exploration of hydropower, wind energy and campaigns to cut the losses, both technical and commercial, of electricity.

The trio of experts were brought in by the World Bank to evaluate whether the Government's Kosova e Re power plant project meets the organisation's guidelines.

The World Bank must now decide whether to provide the financial guar-

antee to the project, which has been requested by the government.

The World Bank has said it will pay for a study of renewable energy in Kosovo - but only if it backs a proposed new coal-powered plant.

The government is expected to announce the winner bidder to build the new power plant this month.

Pre-qualified companies to build Kosova e Re are: Consortium Adani Power/PT Adani Global, from India and Indonesia; the consortium of AES Electric Ltd and Demir Export A.S. from the US and Turkey; Park Holding Submission from Turkey and the consortium PPC and Contour Global LLP, from Greece, Britain and the US.

+

Y  
M  
C  
K



Chinese traders in Belgrade's Block 70

# Downturn Prompts Belgrade Chinese to Shut Up Shop

After more than three years of dwindling sales, more and more Chinese traders are leaving Belgrade.



By Gordana Andric

Su Lin is busy cleaning the floor of his half empty shoe shop in a Chinese shopping centre in New Belgrade's Block 70. On the left hand side of the shop there are three shelves with a scattering of shoes and stacked up against the opposite wall are about 30 boxes. That's all he has left in his shop.

The little stock he has was bought from another trader who previously rented the shop before deciding it was time to leave the Serbian capital.

"There is no money, no money at all. No one is buying," says Su Lin who left China five years ago and has been trading in Serbia ever since. "Only five people have even passed by the shop since I opened an hour ago. I don't want to order any more shoes as I simply don't know if I will be able to sell them."

When he first arrived in Belgrade, the shopping centre was crowded every day. Now, he says, it is not even busy at weekends. "I hoped that before New Year's Eve things would improve but they didn't. It was just like today, not a single person came in to buy anything."

Lin is just one of the many Chinese who are thinking that it's time to pack their bags and try their luck elsewhere.

Block 70 is a magnet for Chinese traders. It is home to two shopping centres built a decade ago and packed to the rafters with all kinds of goods from China. Until recently they were also a mecca for Serbian shoppers hunting for bargains.

According to the shopping centres' Chinese shopkeepers however, the amount of money that Serbs have left in their pockets after paying for essentials is now so little that even cheap Chinese products are too expensive for them.

Three Serbian shop assistants say that the turnover in the shops where they work has fallen drastically since 2008.

"I know my boss is thinking of leaving Belgrade and just waiting for the best opportunity," says one. "I hope he'll let me know in time so I can look for another job."

Relations with China date back to the Tito era. With a few ups and downs, Yugoslavia and China had friendly relations since 1948.

After the country's demise though relations became even closer for Serbia during the heyday of Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic. His government relaxed visa requirements

for Chinese citizens who began arriving in Serbia in the late '90s. The biggest influx of Chinese immigrants came between 1998 and 2002.

There are no exact figures on how many Chinese currently live in Belgrade, but according to some estimates three years ago there were about 6,000 in the Serbian capital.

Liu Feng Dun, vice president of the Chinese Union of Serbia, says that when he first arrived in Belgrade, 14 years ago, Serbia had a stable market and Belgraders had money to spend.

Back in China, says Dun, Yugoslavia has a reputation for having a welcoming, educated population that enjoy a high standard of living.

Dun, a medical and marketing graduate decided to come to Serbia when he was still a young boy.

"I watched the Yugoslav movie Walter Defends Sarajevo at least ten times. It was huge in China," says Dun laughing.

Dun says that once one family decided to move they were quickly followed by another. In some places 20 per cent of the population packed up and moved to Serbia, where they received a friendly welcome.

"People were really kind and life was good. Chinese shops were crowded as shoppers wanted Chinese products," says Dun.

However, the economic crisis has slashed Serbs' purchasing power. New customs tariffs that have forced up the price of Chinese goods have also added to the woes of Chinese shopkeepers, just as they began to find themselves facing stiff competition from cheap goods imported from Turkey and Taiwan.

"Traders have a lot of unsold stock and dwindling profits, so they are deciding to leave," says Dun who adds that even though rents in Block 70 have fallen in the past three years to just a few hundred euros a month it's not enough to convince traders to stay," said Dun.

"When I came here you could buy one German mark for three dinars, but now a euro is worth 105 dinars," he says. "That's the difference between doing business here ten years ago and today. Bad business doesn't make for a happy life."

The Chinese started leaving Serbia in 2008, but in 2010 and 2011 a record breaking 3,000 Chinese left the country. The majority went to Poland and Croatia, but they also headed out to oil rich African countries, Latin America and the U.S.

"Many Chinese are literally on standby, waiting to see how things will pan out in Serbia. I expect that a lot of them will leave in the next two years," he added.

## News in brief

### Lukoil Announces Massive Bulgaria Investment

Bulgaria's Lukoil Neftochim Refinery, a subsidiary of the Russian energy giant, has kicked off a massive investment in a hydrocracking catalyst installation that will process petroleum waste.

The 1.5 billion dollar investment represents 10 per cent of Russia company Lukoil's global projected investments for the next ten years.

Lukoil Neftochim Burgas and Italian company Technip signed Wednesday a contract worth 950 million for the construction of the hydro-cracking facility.

### Serbian Trade With Russia Grew in 2011

Serbia's exports to Russia grew by almost sixty per cent last year, while imports rose by 17 per cent.

The Serbian Chamber of Commerce, PKS, said that Serbian exports to Russia grew by 57 percent in 2011 and reached 754.2 million dollars in 11 months.

According to the PKS, trade between Serbia and the Russian Federation totalled just over 3 billion dollars, which is 25 per cent more than the first eleven months of 2010.

### Macedonia Plans to Revive FDI to 2008 Level

Macedonia plans to restore foreign investments in 2012 to the level last seen in 2008, one year before the global economic downturn sliced investments in half.

Macedonia's government says it hopes to attract some 380 million in foreign investment this year, about the same amount that the country attracted in 2008.

"This would mark a significant step towards the country's gradual recovery from the crisis," a spokesperson of the Economy Ministry, Suzana Pranjic, told Prishtina Insight.

### Serbia Telekom Buys Up Greek Shares

Serbia Telekom is now entirely domestically owned, after the firm bought up the remaining shares owned by Greek OTE for 380 million euro.

Telekom Srbija director Branko Radujko and Michael Tsamaz, the executive director of Greek OTE, signed the contract on the transfer of OTE's shares to Telekom Srbija in the presence of Serbian President Boris Tadic and Prime Minister Mirko Cvetkovic.

OTE, whose biggest shareholder is Deutsche Telekom, had been the owner of 20 per cent of the Serbian telecoms firm since 1997.



# Church Almost Burned in Struga, Macedonia

An Orthodox church was set on fire on Monday night in the latest in a series of violent incidents that started when Muslims in Struga took offence at a local carnival.



By Sinisa Jakov Marusic

Unknown arsonists on Monday night set ablaze an Orthodox church near Struga in south-west Macedonia in the latest in a series of ethnic and faith-related incidents in the area.

The trouble dates back to a village carnival where locals wore masks deemed offensive to Muslim Albanians.

Firefighters fought till midnight to douse the fire at the St Nicolas church in the ethnically mixed village of Labunishta near Struga.

Police on Tuesday said they saved the 200-year-old church from the blaze but the nearby facilities had burned to the ground, including the parish dining hall.

Last Friday Muslims in Struga staged protests over what they said were insulting masks worn in a nearby village festival.

On January 14, at the annual carnival in Vevcani, ethnic Macedonians wore masks supposedly representing Muslim believers, including women in burqas.

Following the peaceful protest on Friday other incidents occurred over the weekend, including the burning of a Macedonian flag, an attack on a church and the stoning of a bus.

On Saturday, a local ambulance in the village of Labunishta, known to employ locals from Vevcani, was also pelted with stones.

In another incident on Sunday in the village of Borovec, a cross standing in the courtyard of the Orthodox church was demolished.

"This nonsense must stop," Valentina Bozninovska, head of the national Commission for Religious Communities, told Prishtina Insight on Monday.

The Commission is to hold an emergency session on Tuesday in parliament to discuss the issue.

The village of Vevcani, which is almost exclusively populated by Macedonians, has issued a press release saying their intention was

not to offend anyone. They said the violence was "politically motivated". But Ramiz Merko, the ethnic Albanian mayor of Struga, who took part in Friday's protest, said the townspeople had every right to protest. He too called for stop to the incidents.

"I participated because the feelings of the Muslim populations were offended," he said. "I would do the same and support the Orthodox [Christian] population if they ever felt offended over something".

All the main political parties in Macedonia on Monday condemned the violence as did the Islamic Religious Community.

Albanian Muslims make up about

a quarter of the population of Macedonia but form a local majority in Struga and in most parts of the west of the country.

Struga has seen trouble before. In 2009 fights between Macedonian and Albanian high-school students left several youngsters injured. The authorities then decided to establish ethnically separate school shifts.

In 2001 Macedonia suffered a short-lived armed conflict between the Macedonian security forces and ethnic Albanian rebels. The hostilities ended with the signing of a peace deal that same year that granted greater rights to the country's Albanians.



Struga is a town of different religions and ethnicities.

# Croatian TV Risks Row Over Serbian Film

Defying a request from the broadcasting regulator, Croatia's RTL says it will air a popular Serbian movie on Sunday without dubbing or subtitles.



By Boris Pavelic

RTL Croatia says it will air the Serbian film "Zika's Dynasty" on January 29 without Croatian subtitles.

The decision comes after Croatia's Council for Electronic Media earlier this month asked the broadcaster to translate the popular movie from Serbian to Croatian, two nearly identical languages.

The council acted after an anonymous viewer complained when RTL aired the popular pre-war Serbian movie "Tight Skin" without Croatian subtitles.

After receiving a warning from the council, RTL initially withdrew plans to broadcast "Zika's dynasty", but later announced it would air the movie. RTL also called on the council to resign.

If the station goes through with its plan to air the film without subtitles, the regulatory council could revoke RTL's operating license.

The Croatian public, meanwhile, has overwhelmingly condemned the council's warning. "This is a scandalous nationalistic incident which testifies to the absolute incompetency of the council," movie director Hrvoje Hribar, director of the state-funded Croatian Audiovisual Centre, HAVC, said.

HAVC noted that Croatian law excludes movies aired in national minority languages from any translation obliga-

tions. "That means that a Serbian movie can be aired without subtitles," the Centre argued in a press statement.

Croatia's Culture Ministry has indicated that it cannot interfere in the council's work because it is an independent regulatory body.

However, the Ministry has suggested that "certain inconsistencies" in applying the law on electronic media could be avoided.

That law obliges media services to air their programmes in the Croatian language and Latin alphabet, or translate them into Croatian.

The catch is that Croatian and Serbian languages, according to many linguists, are essentially the same language, with minor grammatical differences.

Croatian linguist Snjezana Kordic, who recently published the noted book "Language and Nationalism", writes that "Croatian and Serbian are a singular polycentric language".

In the former Yugoslavia, the two languages were treated as one, called Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian.

But the language question is sensitive in the former Yugoslavia, where it is linked to the ethnic conflicts of the 1990s.

The situation has been met with irony by some Croatian commentators. One noted that if the Croatian media adhere to the regulatory council's request, the statements of Serbian President Boris Tadic would have to be subtitled for Croatian viewers.

# Privatization of Albanian Monuments Opposed

A proposal to sell off some 40 castles and towers has encountered stiff opposition among archeologists and historians.



By Besar Likmeta

The plan, spearheaded by the head of the Institute of Monuments, Apollon Bace, envisages the sale of 99-year leases to private companies.

These will then have the right to turn the historic sites into bars, cafés and inns while investing in their restoration.

In an interview for the daily newspaper Shqiptarja, Bace maintained that this is standard prac-

tice "all over the world". He says it is also backed by Prime Minister Sali Berisha and the Minister of Culture, Aldo Bumci.

However, the proposal, which could be acted on as soon as next month, has drawn a fierce response from historians, archaeologist and architects, some of whom accuse the authorities of failing to safeguard the nation's heritage.

"The proposal from the Ministry of Culture to give concessions for cultural heritage monuments is an awful idea," historian Auron Tare said.

"The state's rejection of its

responsibilities for cultural heritage and the transfer of this responsibility to private hands is testimony to the collapse of state institutions," Tare said, adding that the consequences "will be unimaginable and unrecoverable".

The Institute of Monuments has in the past rented two medieval castles to private companies and Tare maintains that the results of this exercise were poor.

"If the authorities cannot even control two single projects, the question is how will they be able to control more monuments?" he asked.



Could Kruja castle be privatised?



# Music Falls Silent in

Chronic shortages of cash and instruments have left Kosovo's few dedicated music schools in a semi-ruined state, while music classes of any type at all in many ordinary schools are just a memory.



By Besiana Xharra

Primary schools in Kosovo have a legal requirement to provide music lessons to pupils, but a chronic lack of space and equipment means that most of these lessons involve nothing more practical than reading a textbook.

In Prishtina municipality, 90 per cent of primary schools teach pupils without a dedicated music room and without musical instruments.

Even specialist music students, according to our research, are taught in buildings with little equipment and in poor condition.

Professor Ahmet Derguti, who teaches singing in Prishtina, said lack of investment in music in schools was stunting the development of musical talent in Kosovo.

"Starting from the primary schools up to the top, music schools are in a terrible condition," he said.

"Classes take place in facilities that do not have even the most basic conditions for work and which have received no investment for decades.

"This situation will remain as it is while we have leaders who do not value art or know what music is," he added. "All they know is how to get rich."

## Smashes windows in elite academy:

Built after the Second World War, the Prenk Jakova Music School in Prishtina started life as a carpet factory, then was used as a hospital, and today is the capital's only professional, publicly funded music school.

Despite that, it has a chronic lack of facilities. Some 550 students of secondary school age are taught by 70 professors in rooms with smashed windows, broken floorboards and no insulation.

Teachers and students have pleaded with the Municipality of Prishtina and with the Ministry of Education for funds, but have yet



Most students in Kosovo learn music solely from a book.

to see any cash.

"We made requests, we have protested, we have tried all options, but we have not managed to convince Prishtina to invest," former school director Elizabeta Musliu said.

M.K, a professor at the school

who asked not to be named, said they had received promises from the Ministry of Education to build a new school this year, but says this "remains just a hope, until we see the project realised".

The situation is no better for music lessons in the city's pri-

"Starting from the primary schools up to the top, music schools are in a terrible condition," he said.

marketing

**RADIKA**  
HOTEL, SPA & CASINO RESORT  
★★★★★

**WINTER COMES FIRST IN RADIKA**

**"BOOK NOW!"**

Book mobile: +389 75 32 53 06  
Book tel. : +389 42 22 33 00  
Mail to: [reservations@radika.com.mk](mailto:reservations@radika.com.mk)  
[www.radika.com.mk](http://www.radika.com.mk)

# Kosovo's Schools

"We know this is not okay, but schools are lacking other rooms too, and not only for music," said Prishtina Municipality.

many schools where some 90 per cent lack dedicated music rooms.

"Even schools that once had music rooms, in the absence of space in recent years have turned them into common classrooms," Muhamet Gashi, spokesperson at Prishtina municipality, said.

"It has been calculated that around 90 per cent of elementary schools have no music rooms," he added.

"We know this is not okay, but schools are lacking other rooms too, and not only for music," he continued.

The Faik Konica elementary school, one of the most popular schools in Prishtina, is one of the few to have such a space. It even has a piano.

But no other instruments are available for pupils even here, so most of the tuition takes place through textbooks.

"We only have a piano; as for other instruments, the students just learn the theory," the deputy director of school, Arsim Gashi, said.

"But we hope that with a help of Ministry of Education, or through a donation in future, we will be supplied with other instruments."

## Problems across Kosovo:

Kosovo has a total of only six professional music schools and conditions in all but one of them are just as poor as they are in Prishtina.

Nexhat Cocaj, director of education in Prizren municipality, said that the city's Lorenc Antoni professional music school, which has 150 students, lacks decent facilities.

"There is no equipment, the building is old, there is no space – they don't have even basic conditions," he said.

As for the presence of dedicated music rooms in primary schools, he believes the situation in the city is "alarming".

In Gjilan, Gezim Pirraj, a professor at the town's professional music school, said their conditions were also poor.

"Even in elementary schools, music teachers are often not taken on as there is nowhere for them to teach," he noted.

Mitrovica's director of education told Balkan Insight that there were virtually no dedicated music rooms in this northern town.

"I can say that hardly any elementary schools in Mitrovica have music rooms," Ali Bejta said.

"We are the only school in Kosovo to have a music building that offers all the necessary features," the director,

## Gjakova hits right note:

While just three primary schools in the western town of Gjakova have dedicated rooms, the town's one professional music school is well equipped following major investment.

After 40 years of neglect, the Prenk Jakova school received a major facelift from the Ministry of Education with the help from Swiss funds in 2010.

The school has produced some internationally well-known musician, some of whom have played with the Vienna Philharmonic, such as Shkelzen Doli and Rrauf Dhomi.

"We are the only school in Kosovo to have a music building that offers all the necessary features," the director, Astrit Pallaska, said.

The school covers 1,420 square meters, has nine classrooms, a room for listening to music and a concert hall with 270 seats.

Ragip Gjoshi, spokesperson at the Ministry of Education, said that in their 2012 budget they come up with funds to construct a new facility for the Prenk Jakova school in Prishtina, but there was no money as yet for any equipment.

*Astrit Pallaska, said.*



The Ministry of Culture has promised funds to rebuild Prishtina's only music school.

He said around 120,000 euro has been allocated for the building, and they were now looking for a site in the municipality for the new school.

But this sum is well below the amount dedicated to its counterpart in Gjakova, which received 1 million euro.

Gjoshi said that they would consider co-financing with Prishtina municipality or were looking for donor funds to make up the rest.

"Besides this investment, there were none [in musical education] during 2012," Gjoshi said.

As for the lack of music rooms in primary schools in Kosovo, he said that professors have to "compensate for the lack of rooms, as almost every school in Kosovo possesses at least one musical instrument through which music teachers can teach lessons in class".

## Better back in the 1970s:

Professor Derguti, a singing teacher in Prishtina, disagrees with this assessment. He says

very few instruments of any type are available in schools.

"Music, schools and opera indicate a civilized state, and every emancipated state invests in this direction, except Kosovo," he said.

"Music in Kosovo is the last thing that our institutions deal with. Kosovo is the only country in the region that does not have even an opera house," Derguti said.

"Conditions in Kosovo for students learn are so tough that I deeply regret that talented students here don't have the opportunity to be educated properly," he added.

Derguti recalled that matters were better in the 1970s when Kosovo was part of Yugoslavia and when he studied in Belgrade.

"At that time, Yugoslavia invested in this field. Although the music schools were in Serbian, Albanians were able to study there and the staff at that time were of a high standard."

He said that each municipality then provided scholarships to good students, which is how he was able to study in Belgrade, and completed a master degree in Sarajevo.

He was the first Kosovo Albanian professor of music with a masters degree, he noted.

The situation had deteriorated markedly in the 1990s under the grim regime of Slobodan Milosevic, and has yet to recover.

"Politics destroys everything, like music and many other fields," he said.

"From the time that Milosevic took away Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 and destroyed the school system, removing Albanians from jobs, the professors had to hold classes in their own homes," he recalled.

"I taught students in my apartment for six years. This situation continued for 10 years until the war began in 1998," he said.

"But since we returned after the war in Kosovo, the teaching has continued in difficult conditions."

While schools received funding, he said, music did not.

"Music has remained the same as before the war, stuck in the worst buildings which don't offer basic conditions.

"This situation will not change until our leaders are changed for other leaders who know what culture, art, music and opera are," he concluded.



Students at Prenk Jakova suffer poor conditions and broken windows.

# Ghost Companies Stalk

Aspiration to become a regional electricity powerhouse by building hundreds of new power plants are running into sand amid allegations of corruption and murky bidding procedures.



By Besar Likmeta

An investigation by Prishtina Insight has found that tendering procedures run by Albania's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Energy to build hydropower stations have been riddled with problems and complaints by businesses that participated in them.

Of about 110 tenders to build more than 300 power plants in the country's river system awarded since 2006, dozens of cases have been characterized by unclear bidding procedures and claims of apparent favoritism towards companies that did not meet standards.

The tenders, which transfer ownership of river basins to private companies under built-operate-transfer concessionary agreements lasting 35 years, are part of a government plan to turn the country into an electricity powerhouse.

But six years after the process of awarding contracts to investors started, little has been achieved. Only ten out of the 300 hydropower stations are complete and connected to the grid.

Data obtained by the National Agency of Natural Resources, AKBN, a division of the energy ministry, METE, show many of the companies that obtained tenders have invested little or nothing.

By the government's own admission, in 15 cases the would-be investors turned out to be "ghost" companies that bid for contracts to resell them to other investors.

Allegations of corruption over the tendering process have reached the highest echelons of power after the broadcast last January of a video in which the former deputy prime minister, Ilir Meta, and the former economy minister, Dritan Prifti, could apparently be heard discussing favours over a contract.

Meanwhile, according to experts, these "ghost" purchasers are holding Albania's hydro-energy potential hostage, blocking much needed investments while the country suffers a severe power crisis and regularly has power cuts.

When Prishtina Insight asked METE to comment on the problems about tenders for hydropower stations, the ministry did not respond.

## Energy 'superpower' still in the dark:

Albania's Energy Association, AEA, an umbrella group of investors in the energy market, says Albania is currently using only 40 per cent of its hydro potential for the production of electricity.

The country has a total installed capacity of 1,461 megawatt and an average hydropower production of 5,267 gigawatt hours a year. Its main hydro power stations are located in the cascade of the river Drin in northern Albania.

The power generation system has seen no major investment since the early 1980s when the cash-strapped Communist regime stopped investing in new hydropower dams.

After the fall of Communism, demand for energy grew rapidly. The power grid is estimated to need \$1.6 billion in investments to eliminate the risk of power outages.

A drought that engulfed the Balkans in the summer of 2007 reduced the ability of the state-owned power corporation, KESH, to generate electricity from its hydropower plants, leading to outages of 16 hours a day in some areas.

Facing a cold winter this year, the government is struggling to underwrite costly electricity imports. The hum of generators has become a familiar sound again as the country faces new power shortages.

KESH says it faces difficulties in maintaining supplies owing to a combination of dry weather and accumulated debts from the privatized electricity distributor, CEZ Distribution.

KESH says CEZ owes roughly 58 million euro in unpaid electricity as a result of which the company is facing difficulties in securing costly imports.

But CEZ is refusing to pay the debt while it says state-owned companies and public institutions owe it nearly 150,000 million euro.

With KESH's finances in a precarious situation, parliament last November acted to liberalize the power market, removing subsidies for industrial consumers like the steelworks company, Kurum.

As a result, the Turkish company, operating a plant in the economically depressed city of Elbasan, closed its doors on

January 12, suspending more than 700 workers, saying it had failed to secure electricity on the market at "a reasonable price."

## Murky tenders:

From 2006 till now Albania's government has awarded 110 concessionary agreements for a total installed power of 1,300 Megawatts and an investment value of nearly 3 billion euro.

But not all the companies that have won tenders have demonstrated that they have the financial capacity to complete these investments.

Data obtained by the AKBN shows that the majority of the envisioned power plants are either not built at all, or construction is still at the initial phase, while deadlines loom for the completion of the projects.

Research by Prishtina Insight into complaints and administrative investigations carried out by the Procurement Advocate Office, AVP, shows more than a third of the tenders have turned out to be problematic.

Complaints to the AVP about tenders for hydro power station concessions account for 95 per cent of the total number of complaints registered against the energy ministry as a contracting authority since 2007, when the office first opened.

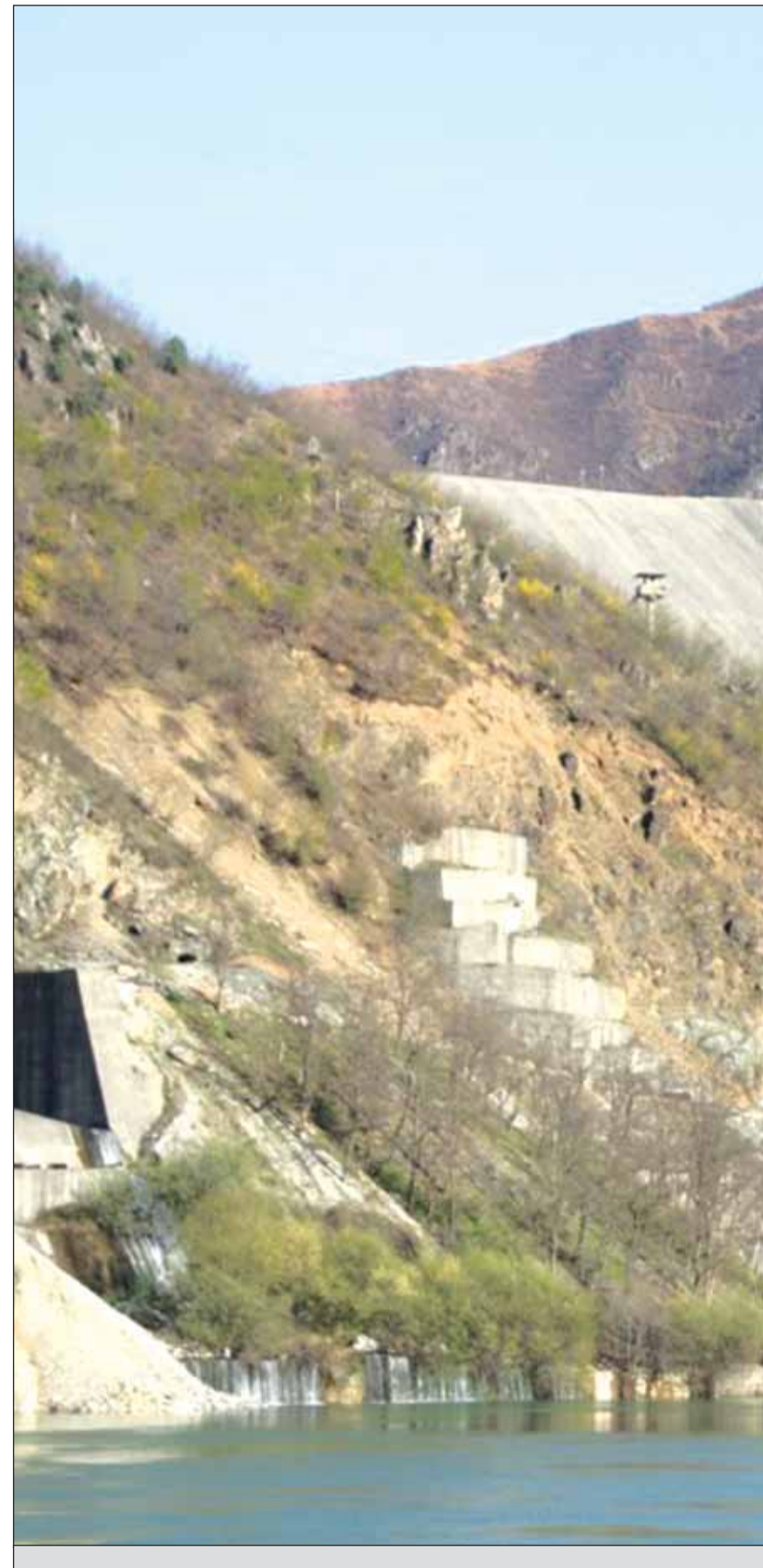
Since 2006, the AVP has received nearly 40 complaints from various companies about the 110 power plant construction tenders.

Following up on these complaints, AVP auditors found nearly two dozen instances in which tendering rules had not been respected.

In many of its investigations, AVP says the way that the ministry drafted standard documents for concessionary procedures was incomplete.

"The information presented in the documents of the concessionary procedures... is not only unclear but lacks elements, which creates confusion in the economic operators interested [in the tender]," the AVP writes in a ruling concerning a dispute over a power station on the Gomsiqe river.

In another tender, held in 2006 for the construction of a hydro power plant on the river Benc in the Tepelena region, the AVP found that an Italian company, Radigi Energy, was disqualified from the tender after the energy ministry provided the company



with the wrong information concerning the technical scale of project.

In a tender for the Fan i Vogel river, which was conditioned by the construction of Albania-Kosovo highway, an opinion from the road department of the Ministry of Transport was required.

Because the bidders did not file their offers electronically, the ministry tendering commission then annulled the whole procedure instead of simply requesting electronic files from the bidding companies. This was a breach of the law on public procurement.

In a tender held in December 2007 to construct a power plant

that would have used water from a reservoir, the tendering commission took almost ten months to issue a ruling on the proposals after opening the offers.

"The commission charged with evaluating the offers unjustifiably extended the review procedure," the AVP noted.

In many cases the AVP advised the Public Procurement Agency to discipline staff responsible for breaching administrative tendering rules in the contracting authority.

But Prishtina Insight has found no evidence that the recommended disciplinary measures were ever acted on.

In an investigation from the

# Albania's Energy Ambitions



Berisha's government claims that the construction of new hydropower stations will turn the country in a "regional energy superpower," in July the Minister of Economy, Nasip Naco, admitted mistakes have been made.

"We will not tolerate companies that have received a concession back in 2007 and have yet to register in the business registrar," Naco said.

According to the Chairman of AEA, Erlet Shaqe, the energy sector has been usurped by speculators and the government's admission of problems only confirms this.

"For many of these concessions the [promised] investments are not being realized" Shaqe said.

"This all translates into frozen investments, which do not get injected into the economy and as a result our national resources are held to ransom," he added.

*The investigation was supported by the Danish association of investigative journalism, FUJ, under its SCOOP programme.*



Albania already generates 40 per cent of its electricity from hydropower plants, but a plan to expand this with dozens of smaller facilities has been dogged by difficulties.

AVP in 2009, ministry staff refused to grant auditors of the Procurement Advocate's office access to documents for more than three months.

## Corruption claims:

Problems in the process of awarding concessionary contracts for power plants came to the fore in September 2010.

It then emerged that the husbands of ruling Democratic Party MPs Albana Vokshi and Rajmonda Bulku held shares in companies that had been awarded contracts.

The Socialist opposition accused the ruling parties of corruption and nepotism.

An investigation by the Tirana's prosecutor's office in December 2010 found no evidence of wrongdoing in Vokshi's case. No investigation was launched in Bulku's case. Both MPs have denied wrongdoing.

But the issue refused to go away, especially after a video emerged in January 2011 showing the head of the Socialist Movement for Integration, Ilir Meta, discussing a 700,000 euro bribe with the former minister of economy Dritan Prifti.

The General Prosecutor's office then indicted Meta of corruption.

The transcripts appeared to show Meta asking Prifti to swing a concession tender for a hydropower station in return for a bribe by

the businessman concerned of 700,000 euro, or a 7 per cent stake in the project.

Meta denied wrongdoing and called the accusations politically motivated. Prosecutors sought a two-year prison sentence and a fine of a million lek (8,300 euro). However, the Supreme Court cleared Meta of the charges on January 16.

## Investments on hold:

A recent study conducted by AEA says many of the problems in Albania's energy sector originate in the tendering process for concessionary contracts.

"The system of selecting win-

ning bids from the contracting authority [METE] is based on a point system where the best project on paper is selected," the AEA notes.

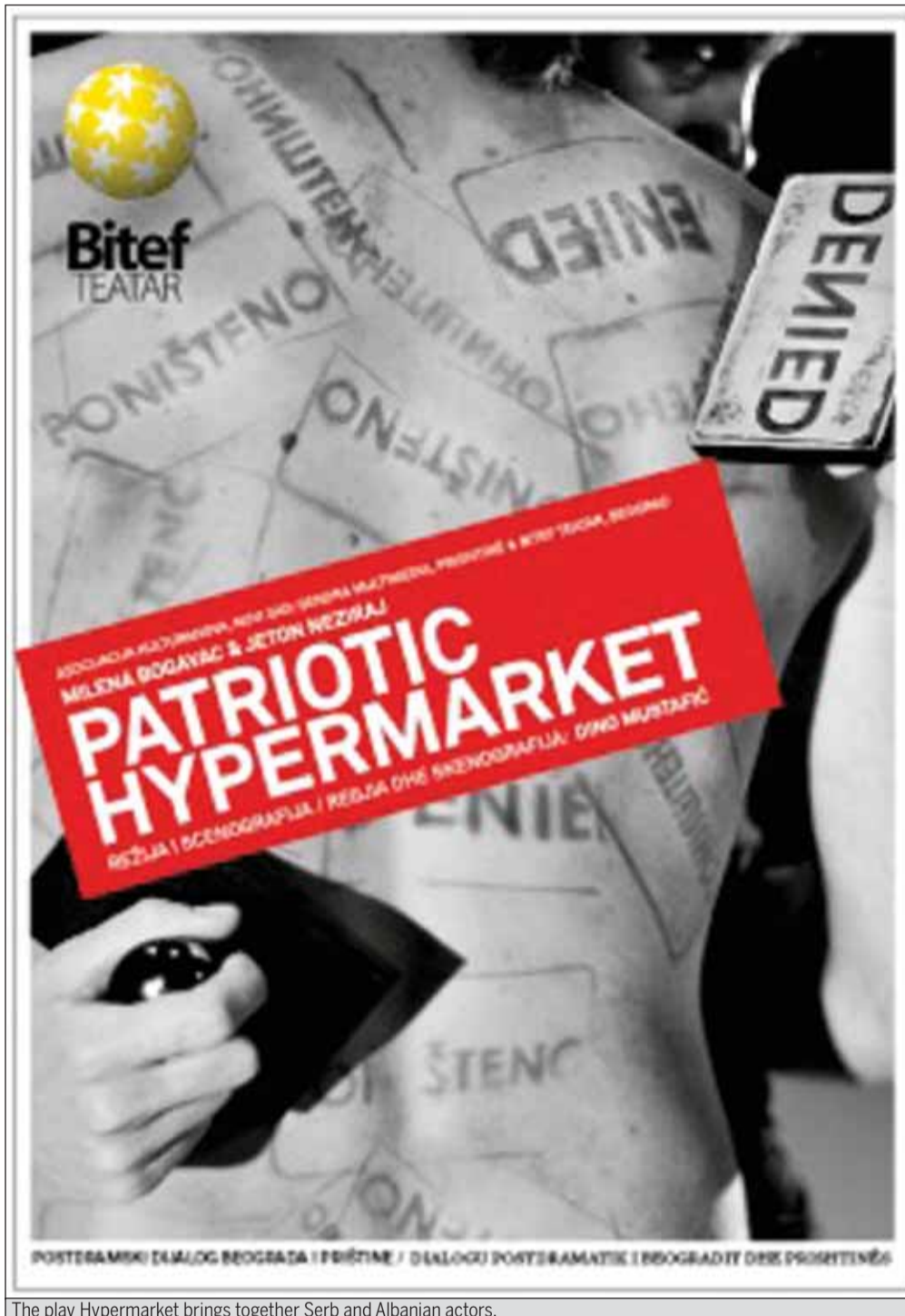
However, "[often] the project that emerges as the winner of the bidding process is unrealizable," it adds.

The AEA underlines that a good part of the projects did not give the companies enough time to apply for construction permits with the local authorities and many of these companies having been shunned by the banks when they applied for financing.

Meanwhile, though Sali

Ilir Meta - now cleared of corruption.

# Postmodern Theatre, Albanians and Serbs



The play Hypermarket brings together Serb and Albanian actors.

While the political relationship between Serbs and Albanians may be in rough waters, a recent theatre production shows that artistic cooperation between the two groups is flourishing.



By Nemanja Cabric

**I**n a region where walls built of prejudices divide us, can a play tackle the relationship between Serbs and Albanians?

"Patriotic Hypermarket", a play performed this week at the Bitef Theatre, does just that. Actors from Belgrade, Prishtina, Skopje and Tirana perform together in a postmodernist play which deals with their common schizophrenic reality - that alone makes it a great success.

When I first heard about the Patriotic Hypermarket show, I wondered how all the ideas would fit together - politics, postmodern theatre, Albanians and Serbs. Would the art falter under the weight of tragic everyday stories of people that went through the hell of war?

How would postmodernist theatre, which tends towards the ambiguous, incorporate the political component of the play?

Now I had the chance to see for myself!

What I found is a proper postmodernist play, almost made by the rulebook - with sketches of characters deriving from a central theme: the relationship between Serbs and Albanians based on recent shared history - Tomahawks, murders, rapes, prejudice, and mutual stereotypes.

Their relationship is interpreted through various stories that hang from the frame of the central idea, and each is presented as a completely new spectacle.

The actors perform the stories in a variety of ways - from simple confessions followed by rhythmical whispering to real-life situations, poetry recitals, music and dance.

The twisted setting of the play is the chaotic world of the hypermarket. This is the frame I mentioned earlier.

Actors sing, run, throw shopping carts at each other, sit in them and shoot from them as if they were machine guns, shouting "ra-ta-ta-ta!".

"Satisfied customers are the best compliment we can get," one of the play's musicians says, and then drills out a shopping mall jingle. Then he takes his violin bow, turns on his guitar processors and joins another story, completely different from the last.

One could interpret this as a story in which people are treated as goods for sale in a world in which patriotism rules.

But that's just my angle. Postmodernists would say that every viewer is an angle by himself.

It sure did bring back old, suppressed memories. The endless black humor jokes on the streets of Belgrade about the intelligence of Tomahawk missiles, the juicy curses of people imbued with nationalism and hatred, news articles with daily updates on people killed and buildings blown up.

The show captured almost all of these things, which unfortunately, belong to our common heritage.

The play's futuristic satire, which mocks and at the same time warns of the absence of dialogue between Serbia and Kosovo, sums up with a noisy and aggressive call to make this happen.

After the play ended on Tuesday night, the voices still echoed in my head: "We need to talk, we need to talk!"

I went back to my initial question then, as I do now, while writing: does art suffer when politics enters its world?

Go and see for yourself. You can't expect me to tell you the secret - that's what postmodernism is all about.

Patriotic Hypermarket will again be performed in Belgrade at the beginning of March.

## Wartime Photo Exhibit Opens in Sarajevo

An exhibition of some 30 black and white photos of the siege of Sarajevo contrasts the wartime atmosphere of the Bosnian capital with the face of the city today.



By Elvira Jukic

**T**he exhibition of Bosnian photographer Dejan Vekic, called 'Like Sarajevo - 20 years later', shows a collection of photographs that documented everyday life in the city during the 1992-95 war in the country.

Most of the photos are unique, made in wartime conditions and most do not have a negative, the gallery curator explained during the opening of the exhibition last Friday night.

Vekic said that the photos and the accompanying video documentary, also shown at the exhibition, will later be part of a photography

book he plans to publish - a 'story' he has yet to finish.

"It was a challenge for me to make a slightly different document of the war than all the other photographers did at the time," Vekic told Prishtina Insight.

The photographs, showing destroyed buildings and bullet-riddled walls, represent a stark contrast with the Sarajevo of today.

One Sarajevo resident who lived through the siege and attended the opening of the exhibit was Jovan Divjak, a former Bosnian Army general.

"What we saw here [at the exhibition] is something that does not exist anymore," Divjak said: "There is no longer anything in the city that shows what really happened in Sarajevo during the war."



One of Dejan Vekic's haunting photos of wartime Sarajevo.

# Macedonian Artists Keep Silent Over Skopje 2014

While foreigners are often caustic in their appreciation of Skopje's controversial revamp, some comparing it to Disneyland, the local artistic community is keeping strangely quiet.



By Maja Nedelkovska

As the government-sponsored facelift of the Macedonian capital, dubbed Skopje 2014, gains new additions almost every month, it is drawing increasingly vocal criticism from the outside world.

Foreign experts often mock the revamp or compare the effects to those of Disneyland. Many question its architectural and aesthetic values and find its politically imposed obsessions with the artistic styles of Classical Antiquity anachronistic.

Back at home, however, artists, architects and city planners seem strangely reluctant to raise their voices.

One possible explanation for this critical silence is that many are engaged in projects connected to the costly makeover that pay their bills.

Architect Vangel Bozinovski, author of the "Memorial House of Mother Teresa", one of the most controversial additions to Skopje 2014, insists there is no enforced culture of silence.

"Artists can freely say what they want [about Skopje 2014]," he says. "Criticism also means affirmation."

Bozinovski adds that the revamp, which incorporates dozens of new buildings as well as statues, fountains, bridges, a triumphal arch and an obelisk, is "carrying out the long-term desires of Macedonians", and that "the people are loving it".

Valentina Karanfilova Stevanovska, author of Skopje 2014's most famous statue, the 20-metre-high equestrian statue of Alexander the Great, also rubbishes the idea that artists are afraid to speak out, suggesting that, like herself, many simply are not interested in politicised debates.

"I'm an artist and have never been inter-

Culture expert Robert Alagjovzovski says many artists face a dilemma. "Caught between the hammer and the anvil, they'd rather stay silent," he added.

ested in politics. I create artworks and, as an artist, am totally incompetent to talk about politics," she told Prishtina Insight.

"This project gave us a chance to show our qualities and we're happy that our works will leave their marks on time," she added.

Meanwhile artist Aleksandar Stankoski, who is well known for his criticisms of former Yugoslavia, and of Macedonia's NATO and Europe aspirations, stands up for aspects of Skopje 2014.

"I'm not part of the project but those that are, are recognized by the government as the best in their fields," he said.

"It's unprofessional to say that politics and their employment [prospects] are affecting artists," Stankoski added.

He said it was wrong to connect the debate - or lack of it - over the aesthetics of the project to political influence and artists' own circumstances.

"Art goes beyond political polarization; it is historical, not political. It is wrong to put it into a political mould," he said.

Culture expert Robert Alagjovzovski says many artists face a dilemma.

"On one hand their profession is finally getting its recognition and they're earning big salaries, but on the other hand, their talent has to make compromises with kitschy political orders," he said.

"Caught between the hammer and the anvil, they'd rather stay silent," he added.

Alagjovzovski explains that "artists are careful about the hand that feeds them. They don't have any interest in biting it."

Meanwhile he believes the government is becoming ever more authoritarian.

"For those willing to think in those norms it will go well," he predicted. "For all the others who have their own focuses and concerns, it is going to be difficult."

Not everyone is keeping silent however. Matej Bogdanovski is one of the few artists to have publicly opposed Skopje 2014. He blames apathy and a weak tradition of politically engaged art in Macedonia for the fact that, as he sees it, most artists have succumbed to the influence of the ruling centre-right VMRO DPMNE party.

"In our tradition, engaged art barely exists. To create engaged art, you have to have strong attitude, courage and creativity," Bogdanovski said.

He believes the artistic community's lack



A man on a horse, or Alexander the Great?

of initiative reflects a broader apathy in society as a whole.

## Next stop, Impressionism:

Aleksandar Stankoski says the decision to opt for a Classical style came as a shock - but predicts that it won't be the last surprise in the Skopje 2014 saga.

"Everybody was confused by what was going on: Classicism coming after Modernism? In art history, it is hardly possible, but we are doing it: a bourgeois version of Social Realism, with Art Deco touches!"

He predicts that official styles will change as the interest of Macedonia's rulers jumps from one style towards others. "I believe that Impressionism is coming next," Stankoski said.

"They are passive and can't feel what is going on around them. It is as if the devastation of the city is not such a big deal for them. They see themselves as 'only artists,'" he added.

Bogdanovski's own collection "Skopje - rados ti ke bides," ("Skopje- you will shine with joy") has won popularity among critics of the government project.

"It was an instinctive and spontaneous reaction to the huge wave of absurdity and craziness covering my hometown," he recalled.

"When you see that the monster is too big, all you can do is scream, not because of fear but because you are angry. I screamed 'Skopje- rados ti ke bides!'," Bogdanovski added.

"But the wave has swept over us all and today we're all swimming in a murky swamp full of Baroque facades, Antique columns, Classicism, warriors, horses, bronze, marble, a glorious past, an unde-

finied future... while the world is laughing," he continued.

Architect and Professor Miroslav Grcev is another trenchant critic of Skopje 2014. He says most artists have kept quiet because the country is sliding into a kind of one-party dictatorship.

"The assumption that Macedonia is a democratic society is totally wrong. Our society is becoming a quiet and soft dictatorship," he said. "Institutions are there only to execute one political will."

Grcev argues that not only artists but lawyers and judges, engineers, doctors, professors have also been silenced.

"They [the authorities] use the same techniques when they need to subdue people, corrupting those who have no moral problems and making them their servants.

"Then they destroy those that oppose them. They keep the majority in fear, with the threat: if you keep silent, you won't be hurt," he said.

"Only a few who remain unstained raise their voice against this, while the majority is patient, and silently waits for better times," he added. "This is natural behavior in a totalitarian social system!"

He fears that some foreign artists can see what is going on in Macedonia much more clearly than most people at home can do.

"Mario Botta, one of the greatest living architects, visited Skopje recently and told me, concerned and impassioned, that the buildings in the city centre were 'a sign that something terrible is happening in Macedonian society'," Grcev recalled.

*This article is funded under the BICCED project, supported by the Swiss Cultural Programme.*

marketing



**BIRN** Consultancy

Introducing BIRN's newest commercial service  
**BIRN Consultancy**

Corporate research and tailored country reports, explanation of banking and finance structures, assessment of political and security risks

To find out more, please visit the Consultancy website at:  
[consultancy.bim.eu.com](http://consultancy.bim.eu.com)

# Where to pick up Prishtina Insight?

Prishtina Insight has teamed up with these excellent venues to offer a limited number of complimentary copies of Kosovo's only English-language newspaper. Grab a copy of the publication and settle down with a drink or a meal to read it.

## Hotel Prishtina

Hotel Prishtina's 43 charming guest rooms and suites are reminiscent of a small hotel in the European tradition. You'll immediately feel at home in our living room, sipping a glass of wine in our fine restaurant surrounded by a gallery of paintings by local artists.

The hotel offers free, fast wifi internet, complimentary breakfast, conference room, swimming pool, sauna and laundry service.



## A taste of Napoli in Prishtina.

After ten years of making pizza in Napoli, and only with love to blame, Fatmir the chef returned to Prishtina. His pizzas, made in a woodburn stove, are definitely genuine napolitanas.

For those who consider pizza to be boring, Fatmir has several pastas on offer, also a true joy for the taste buds. Napoli has an excellent selection of red and white wines or, for the more ambitious, one of the region's best Quint's raki. Napoli makes for delicious lunch, dinner or even after-theatre time out in the centre of Prishtina.



*Pizzeria Napoli*  
off Luan Haradinaj, opposite Newborn  
044/409-402402

## Te Komiteti

Te Komiteti's large trees and a beautifully garden, which surround the small outdoor terrace, give you an impression of an exclusive place for ordinary people. And this is exactly what it is. From brunch to lunch-time snacks and special evening meals, this restaurant offers dishes comprising quality, varied ingredients, combined to perfection. Alongside one of Prishtina's best 'modern European' style menus, you'll also find a good selection of wine, and great sangria and cocktails.

*Te Komiteti*  
Qamil Hoxha  
Street  
Prishtina  
+381 38 24 96 63



## Hotel AFA

Located in a quiet neighbourhood just outside the city centre, Hotel Afa can guarantee guests a peaceful night while being within walking distance of all the action. The venue has won a host of awards for its excellent service to customers and offers a good range of facilities, from an exclusive restaurant and VIP bar to pretty, tranquil garden. Rooms start at 45 euro for a single, and luxury rooms and apartments are available. The hotel's rooms are well appointed and comfortable.

15, Rr Ali Kelmendi,  
Sunny Hill, Prishtina  
+381 38/225 226  
www.hotelafa.com



## CHURCHILL'S PUB

Churchill's Pub is a place where you can associate with its unique, casual, cozy and friendly atmosphere where you can enjoy an affordable pub style.... That comfortable atmosphere combined with that special music, the great range of drinks and the chance to get to play a game of pool and dart board on the second floor.

A pub where you can go and enjoy everynight live music, different ones like evergreen, traditional, unplugged and rock. You can also enjoy the happy hour which starts at 20:00-21:00 everynight.

Beers (Peja and Skopje) for only 0,99 Euros, Gin Mix and Vodka Mix for only 1,50 Euros.

Churchill's Pub is located in the heart of Prishtina.

Str: Johan V. Hahn,  
Peyton, Prishtine  
+377 44 728 750



## Restorant Brasserie Lura

At 450-square-metres Restaurant Lura is as spacious as you get in Prishtina. It's also surrounded by the towering trees of Germia and offers a pleasant garden where, in the summer, this eatery prepares food al fresco. Its large meeting room is also ideal for that private lunch or dinner.

The combined style classical and modern interior leaves you with an impression of refined taste.

The newly opened restaurant is already famous for its Mediterranean specialties, exquisite seafood and fine selections of Italian, French and Local wines. But that's not all, for music lovers, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday night dinners are accompanied by jazz, whereas on Saturdays local patriots can enjoy live traditional Albanian music.

Lura Restaurant  
Str. Nazmi Gaffuri • 10 000 Prishtina • +381 (0)38 763 763 ; +386 (0)49 763 763 •  
www.lurarestaurant.com  
info@lurarestaurant.com



## Paddy O'Brien's

The staff at Paddy O'Brien's have a saying: "It's easy to walk in, but very hard to leave."

And with its warm atmosphere, fantastic range of drinks and excellent food, it is easy to see why.

There have been many attempts to establish a proper Irish pub in Prishtina, but this is the only one to hit the spot.

From classic coffees to cocktails, via, of course, Guinness, you really won't find it difficult to select the perfect drink.

A mouth-watering menu of Irish specialties is also on offer, spanning from all-day breakfasts to Irish stews at night.

Options include shepherd's pie, bangers and mash, fish 'n chips, and whopping great burgers.

Thursday is pub quiz night, but there is always something going on at the pub, whether it is sport screenings or just a good shindig.

*Paddy O'Brien's*  
Tringe Smajli Street, by the  
Illyria Hotel  
Prishtina: 045-420900







## Alvin and the Chipmunks

Every day at 5 pm

Kino ABC screens the premiere of the movie "Alvin and the Chipmunks" by the director Tim Hill.

Three musically inclined chipmunks, Alvin, Simon and Theodore, find their tree cut down and sent to Los Angeles.

Once there, they meet the frustrated songwriter David Seville, and despite a poor, house-wrecking first impression, they impress him with their singing talent.

Seeing the opportunity for success, both man and chipmunks make a pact for them to sing his songs.

But success presents its own trials and tribulations as their unscrupulous record executive, Ian Hawke, plans to break up this family to exploit the boys.

Can Dave and the Chipmunks discover what they really value amid the superficial glamor around them?



## The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo

Every day at 10 pm

The director of the movie is David Fincher. Cast includes Daniel Craig, Rooney Mara and Christopher Plummer etc.

This English-language adaptation of the Swedish novel by Stieg Larsson follows a disgraced journalist, Mikael Blomkvist (Daniel Craig), as he investigates the disappearance of a wealthy patriarch's niece from 40 years ago.

He is aided by the pierced, tattooed, punk computer hacker named Lisbeth Salander (Rooney Mara).

As they work together in the investigation, Blomkvist and Salander uncover immense corruption beyond anything they have ever imagined.

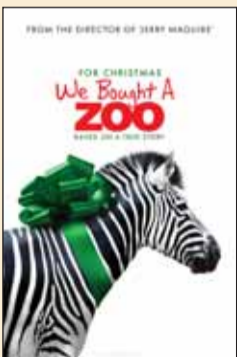


## We Bought a Zoo

Every day at 5 pm and 7.30 pm

The director of the movie is Mike Mitchell. Cast includes Matt Damon, Scarlett Johansson, Colin Ford, Thomas Haden Church, Patrick Fugit

Facing his son's expulsion from school, recent widower, Benjamin Mee decides to begin a new life. To escape the sad reminders of his deceased wife, he buys a large house with a zoo in the backyard. Although reluctant to take on the zoo with all its animals - he decides to give it a try. His daughter, 7-year-old Rosie is happy with the decision, while his 14-year-old son Dylan unhappily retreats into his art work. Benjamin meets the zoo staff, led by head zookeeper Kelly, and they begin their work to have the zoo up and running by summer. Meanwhile, Dylan and Kelly's 13-year-old cousin Lily begin a friendship, although Dylan is shy and uneasy initially.



For any further questions or reservations call at 038 243 238 or visit them at [www.kinoabc.com](http://www.kinoabc.com)

## Oda Theatre



Every Tuesday at 8 pm

### Tre Gjermanët e Trashë II (Three Fat Germans II)

Thanks to this play you will understand "What did Brigel say when he asked for a drink?"; "Why Hans didn't let him drink Mojito?"; "How did Gani experience his 21st snow?"; "Is Vukashin really Ukshin?"; "Does KFOR-ja still work for KFOR or she just loves him?"; "How did Hekuran boil eggs in the middle of the North Pole?"; These and other events you can see in the play "Tre Gjermanët e Trashë II".

**Author:** Lirak Celaj; **Producer:** Florent Mehmeti; **Roles:** Naser Rafuna, Adrian Morina, Kushtrim Sheremeti, Lirak Celaj, Fisnik Ademi, Ard Islami, Arta Selimi, Florent Mehmeti.

For more information call +381 (0)38 246 555 or write [oda@teatridoda.com](mailto:oda@teatridoda.com).

rejects this and after several attempts of suicide, she decides to accept her husband's offer because in fact it's the only way to remain married. The man is happy. He, no longer needs to hide his girlfriends and is released from feelings of guilt. Now everything is democratic and open. Everything goes well until the day when the woman finds the love of her life, which is what her "modern" husband cannot accept.

**Cast:** Edona Reshitaj and Besart Sllamniku; **Costumes and the setting:** Njomza Luci. **Composer:** Trimor Dhomi; **Choreographer:** Bruno Saqipi; **Light; Designer:** Skender Latifi; **Stage manager:** Bedri Maloku, Albert Bektashi and Fadil Gashi, **Photographer:** Arton Humolli.

For more details email [teatridodona@yahoo.com](mailto:teatridodona@yahoo.com); [besart.sll@gmail.com](mailto:besart.sll@gmail.com)

## Stacion Cca Prishtina

"I have also other favorites" with Jen Davis, Qëndresë Deda, Majlinda Hoxha, Joanna Jennings, Genc Kadriu, Blerta Kambo, Wei Leng Tay, Ferdinand Von Bozen, Mimi Youn, Shen Wei and Lin Zhipeng.

"I have also other favorites" is the final phase of a process based project with a working title MINE, working with contemporary photography.

It closes on February 4.

## PRISHTINA DIARY

Friday, February 02, 2012

Peppermint Club, 9pm  
MC Kresha & Ghetto  
For more information call at +381 (0) 38 552 555

Te Veni, 9pm  
Pentagrami & Anita  
For reservation call +377 (0) 45 361 210

Hamam Jazz Bar, 9pm  
Crossroad Blues Band  
For reservation call +377 (0) 44 222 289

Saturday, February 04, 2012

Peppermint Club, 9pm  
Hip-Hop & R'n'B  
For more information call at +381 (0) 38 552 555

Hamam Jazz Bar, 9pm  
Zig Zag Orchestra  
For reservation call +377 (0) 44 222 289

Te veni, 9pm  
Yllka Kuqi & Visar Kuqi  
For reservation call +377 (0) 45 361 210

Friday, February 10, 2012

Hamam Jazz Bar  
Georgi Sareski quartet, 9pm  
For reservation call +377 (0) 44 222 289

## Dodona Theatre



Every Thursday 7.30pm

Çifti I Hapur is being staged with the text of Italian authors Dario Fo and Franca Rame, directed by Kushtrim Koliqi

A man proposes to his wife of eliminating the concept of martial loyalty and creating an "open relationship" in their lives. The woman

**PRISTINA**  
inyourpocket

**PRIZREN**  
inyourpocket

# inyourpocket

ESSENTIAL CITY GUIDES

Get the **Pristina In Your Pocket** and **Prizren In Your Pocket** city guides now, at bookshops or via [www.kosovo.inyourpocket.com](http://www.kosovo.inyourpocket.com)

# Arm and Leg Buy a Delicious, Awkward Meal Chez Pacolli



By Gravlax

It wasn't a good sign that the only other diners at Iliria Restaurant on a Friday night were seated with Behgjet Pacolli. The deputy prime minister and construction mogul, who's purportedly the world's richest Albanian, seemed right at home at what just might be the priciest restaurant in Prishtina.

The vast, nearly empty dining room Pacolli's newly opened Swiss Diamond Hotel was sea of chandeliers, fine china and mirrors. It felt like a throwback to fine continental European dining circa 1979, suitable for Tito himself. If I hadn't known better, I might have even mistaken Pacolli for the well-tanned ghost of the late Yugoslav emperor.

The wait staff appeared a bit caught off guard by our arrival. A team of three oversaw my fellow diner and me. Our waiter couldn't have been more than 15 years old; he was in turn supervised by an adult waiter who was in turn under the charge of a maître d'. The elders loomed over the petrified boy at times. When he was alone, my companion whispered to him in Albanian, "It's going to be OK."

The team supplied us with just one menu to share. It abounded in languages — five total — and double-digit prices. By Prishtina standards, it had an impressive cocktail menu with a few classics from 8 to 10 euro. I went for the Manhattan while the Swiss Diamond lured in my companion with promises of Champagne, Campari and grapefruit juice. The Manhattan tasted mostly of sweet vermouth with a touch



Deputy PM's hotel, which offers great food in a subdued atmosphere.

of Canadian whiskey and not the slightest hint of the requisite Angostura bitters. And whatever sparkling wine went into the Swiss Diamond had lost its bubbles. The 18 euro for the two drinks would have been better spent on a bottle of Stone Castle cabernet from the extensive wine list.

The food offerings lived up to the antiquated continental European decor. A largely generic array of starters, pastas and mains that showed little Albanian influence that the name Restaurant Illyria would imply. We opted to share the most interesting and locally sourced appetizer, dried beef with goat cheese for 8 euro. Various forgettable-sounding

preparations of meat and fish dominated the main-course offerings, many of which exceeded 20 euro. I elected to take the trout while my fellow diner went for the salmon filet, which also represented the least expensive options on the menu at 12 and 11 euro respectively.

As we awaited our orders, the waiters brought us each an amuse bouche of fresh mozzarella and tomato slices located near a trite phenomenon known as the balsamic reduction squiggle. We devoured with pleasure. The appetizer's arrival proved to be a pleasant surprise. A sophisticated interpretation of the standard djath and pershut plate, the dried beef strips formed a short pyramid around a collection of grilled vegetables. Wedges of goat cheese drizzled with olive dotted the perimeter. Both the cheese and per-

shut exhibited delicate flavors often lacking in the standard overly salty fare.

The salmon and trout arrived on plates concealed by silver domes, in another throwback to the stuff continental cuisine of yesteryear. Once the waiters removed to shiny veils, the fish appeared most gloriously with similar flair for presentation as the dried beef and goat cheese. The trout came as two tick filets resting atop grilled vegetables and potatoes in a creamy red pepper sauce, topped with a single beet chip as a silly but tasty crown. In something I've never seen with trout or any fish in Kosovo, the filets were seared predominately on the skin side, for just long enough to leave the crispy outside and the fish slightly rare as it should be. In other words, perfect. The kitchen handled the

salmon with similar care, opting for the slight rareness instead of overcooking the fish as most restaurants do.

Afterward, we didn't have the motivation to attempt dessert and its 8 euro entry fee. With a relatively Spartan meal at more than 60 euro with tip, price really gets to the heart of the problem at Iliria. If the menu was about a third less expensive and the surroundings leaned more toward understated sophistication, Illyria could easily be the best restaurant in town. Perhaps target is the dignitaries he hopes will frequent the hotel and perhaps never leave it.

Iliria Restaurant



Mother Teresa Boulevard at  
Tringe Smajli  
+381 (0) 38 220 000



A fine slice of fish available at Hotel Iliria.

## International School Unveils New Home

The International Learning Group School, ILG, officially opened its new home in Veternik last week. ILG is an international school providing English language instruction for children from ages two to ten. Currently the school has children from 25 different countries, and teachers from USA and Europe.

The school was established 7 years ago in Prishtina and recently moved from its former location near Germia.

ILG is a non-profit school, and is registered with both the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and the NGO office in Kosovo.

# Inside Prishtina



Prishtina through the Eyes of:

## Rand Engel

In Kosovo since 1999 and coordinator of Balkan Sunflowers.



# Prishtina Under the Snow



By Petrit Collaku

Kosovo received its biggest snow fall in nearly three decades last week, carpeting the country with up to 2.5 metres.

Temperatures fell to -22C as most of Eastern Europe suffered a deadly cold snap and more snow is predicted for the coming days.

According to Sylva Tahirsylaj, Director of the Hydrometeorology Centre, this winter has been mild compared to that of 1984, when the whole country was blocked.

And while pedestrians in Prishtina may be cursing the snow-come-ice, for skiers and farmers, the snowfall is good news he says.

"The snow has created perfect condition for skiers and it will enrich the lakes in Kosovo increasing the level of water.

"Also, another important aspect is the agricultural aspect as the snow will protect the winter seeds in plants."

Prishtina Insight has selected some of the best of your snowy photos.



**1. What surprised you most about Prishtina?**

The building boom never stops.

**2. What's your favorite hang-out?**

The office at BSF with our ethnically diverse, young and enthusiastic team that functions so well together.

**3. Do you do anything cultural?**

Some Red Hall concerts, Hamam occasionally, dream about museums.

**4. What is the most annoying thing about Prishtina?**

Cars on the sidewalks - people in the streets.

**5. If you were mayor of Prishtina for the day what would you change?**

With dictatorial powers? Mandate a Prishtina Parking Authority to build multi-floor parking garages on the edges of Prishtina and a day tax for non-residents driving into Prishtina.

**6. How many macchiatos do you drink a day?**

Who's counting?

**7. What's the tastiest Kosovar food?**

Anything from Lumi.

**8. What landmark do you use to tell taxi drivers where you live?**

Police headquarters. No, really.

# Dell and Ismaili Spar Over Pimpsons Cartoon

Fisnik Ismaili's political cartoon, The Pimpsons, pulls no punches, but has rarely drawn a reaction from the characters it lampoons. But the latest offering has sparked an intriguing and enlightening verbal battle between Ismaili and the US Ambassador to Kosovo, Christopher Dell. The cartoon portrayed Chief Pimp – Ambassador Dell – and Snake – Kosovo PM Hashim Thaci – singing a foul-mouthed version of Frank Sinatra's My Way, marking the departure of Ambassador Dell. Here, Prishtina Insight brings you the heated debate between Dell and Vetevendosje supporter Ismaili.

**Christopher Dell:** Gee, Fiz, almost funny this time. You're getting better. Would you autograph a copy for me so I can hang it in my office alongside my Robert Mugabe poster? Thanks.

**Fisnik Ismaili:** Yes, señor Dell... Your Royal Highness. Thank you, Boss. It is such an honor to get a compliment like that... I am speechless. You caught me unprepared... half dressed, even. Somewhat a specialty of yours, that. It will be my pleasure to send you the autographed copy for your collection. Would you like some pancakes with that, Sir? Oh god, where's my camera. Somebody. A picture! Somebody!

**Christopher Dell:** Fiz, nah, don't need pancakes or any other failed attempts at clever sarcasm from you.

While the thought of you half-dressed is no doubt titillating in certain self-determined circles, I'll quietly put my thoughts elsewhere.

A mere autograph will do fine and nicely round out my collection of vicious calumny by worthy anti-democrats. Still waiting for Boris to send me something, but you're a good start. As they say, judge a man by his opponents.

Happy and proud to have you and Comrade Bob on my list of haters.

Christopher Dell

**Fisnik Ismaili:** Dear Ambassador Christopher Dell, sarcasm aside, I would much prefer to leave it to the audience to judge my sense of humour, rather than the protagonists doing so, since the latter seem to be a bit biased.

As much as I would like to write a rather long list of anti-democratic decisions made by the current Government of Kosova, many of which influenced directly by yourself, I will spare both of us of doing so. We both know what they are and at least I am ashamed of them. Hopefully you are, too.

It saddens me deeply that you have come to believe VV is an anti-democratic, radical and violent "gang" of people, mainly due to Snake's remarks and advice, which comes as no surprise. But I assure you, and I know you know this very well, that this "gang" consists of more people educated abroad, of higher intellect, knowledge and experience than all the other parties in the Parliament combined.

I don't see anything wrong if someone cares about his/her own country and its people. After all, isn't that exactly what being an American is all about? How anti-democratic is it if Albanians are not allowed to do so? Basically, this is what VV stands for and anywhere else in the world, including the US, this would be considered a highly humane gesture.

I also know you are very aware of Snake's limitations (both professional and intellectual) and his readiness to work against the will of his people, due to his shady criminal past, which, quite understandably, you used for other interests other than our people's. After all, why should you care about our kind if he doesn't?

But, having said that, it is very unfortunate Kosova had to become a Frankenstein country, patched up all over, about to rip apart, because of a group of people willing to sell it and you willing to support them.

I sincerely hope you bothered to closely fol-

low VV's activities, both inside and outside of the Parliament, without people around you misguiding you and trying to misinterpret them. I genuinely believe that deep down you agree to every statement and action we undertook, but circumstances don't allow you to say it openly.

The picture Snake is trying to portray of VV pushing the international community is totally wrong, but you know that, too. You also know that VV is all about partnership rather than total obedience, but you never cared to discuss that with its leader. Maybe his meetings with German high officials these days did shed some light, hopefully.

I would like to conclude this comment by reminding you how holy your Constitution is for you and your fellow countrymen and the lives they've given for it and, on that note, to also remind how many times you've made our Government step on our Constitution (as feeble as it is) with its both feet.

If all men are created equal, I wouldn't like to think us Albanians seem to you as cattle, because more often than not, you give that impression.

I would truly like to see you leave our country with dignity and remember you as an example of international diplomacy. All it takes is to rid Snake of our backs. Hope that's not too much to ask.

And, no, I am not being sarcastic. In fact, I don't remember ever being this serious.

Sincerely,

Fisnik

**Fisnik Ismaili:** On an informal note, I assure you Boris can never be as creative, as hard as he might try. And your attempt to compare me with him is so reminiscent of Snake's methods, I'm quite worried people might get irritated by that. But, hey, you're going, so why should you care? It's who you're leaving behind that you'll be remembered by, though. I will never hate you. It's not in my nature. How could I, when you made me famous? I would certainly like to have you as a Facebook friend, but there's an issue of 5000 friend limit, imposed by the anti-democratic totalitarian Zuckerberg. Hmm... maybe if I delete one or two of Snake's SHIK boys, who love prying around my profile... Hope you'll accept my friendship.

**Christopher Dell** Fisnik - the one thing I will attempt to convince you of in all seriousness is that I'm my own man and draw my own conclusions based on my own analysis. My views of VV are the result of my own judgments of your words and your actions. And let me assure you, I do pay careful attention. Unlike some around here, I don't need anyone giving me the party line to know what I think. As you say, I'll let the people judge whether I've done something to help this country and whether I've stood up for Kosovo (you will note that I speak of Kosovo, not Albanians, not Serbs - a fundamental difference between us, I think you'll agree). I don't lose sleep at night due to a troubled conscience on this score. I'm saddened to see the political movement to which you belong attempting, no doubt sincerely in its own mind, to protect the country by reverting to the hate language of the past. The hate language used by those who wielded power here before 1999.

Ironic to see the victims embrace the meth-

ods and ideas of the victimizers and to seek to become the victimizers themselves. If you think that's democratic, so be it. We will never agree on that.

I'm touched by your concern about how I leave the country and, lucky for you, I'll be around another six months or so to help you prepare the send off. Of course, if you think that the only way for that to happen is my complete embrace of your partisan agenda, then I fear I'm doomed to disappoint you yet again. C'est la vie, c'est la guerre, c'est le pomme de terre.

Now, I fear also that I must end this jolly little interlude. Looking forward to the next cartoon. Keep trying to get better. To quote Mr. Dylan, "we'll meet on edges soon said I, proud 'neath heated brow. But I was so much older then, I'm younger than that now." Yours in faith, & etc.

Christopher Dell

**Fisnik Ismaili:** Dear Ambassador Christopher Dell, May I just remind you, since you seem to have lost it in translation, of one single thing: VV has been repeatedly saying that it has a problem with the Serbian state and its government, not the Serbian people, which is of fundamental difference. You are, I am sure, fully aware of Serbian Government's politics and its attitude towards Kosova, considering it, above all, an enemy state, among many other negative connotations. What you call instilling hate, I call it demand for reciprocity and I'll be daaaymneeed if you don't fully agree with me, but something is just not letting you admit it. And I'm dying to know what exactly that is.

I'd give an arm and a leg to know why is the international community so supportive of the Serbian politics, always at a high cost of people of Kosova, especially Albanians, and its status. You may also have noticed that not a single Serbian person, from Kosova or otherwise, has ever been harassed or mistreated in any way by any of the VV activists, ever! Now, this tells a hell of a lot, even if you choose to ignore it. Especially when you know you're cooperating with a Government full of criminals who never hesitated to kill for power, many of which under investigations and trials for most gruesome counts, whose files you can pull out and blackmail them with any time you please.

And lastly, the reason why I am only mentioning Albanians and not Serbs in Kosova, is precisely because it is Albanians that are treated as second rate citizens in their own country. Kosovar Serbs not only enjoy full rights this country's Constitution gives them, together with all the extras from the Ahtisaari Pack, but most of them abuse it by setting up parallel structures that work against the interests of the state and people of the Republic of Kosova.

What you see as hate towards another nation, we see as will to finally create a state that ensures equal rights for any nationality, race and gender within a sovereign state. And, sir, only Lëvizja Vetëvendosje can do that right.

I truly hope this clarification will finally enlighten you and many of my countryfellows who follow you blindly, but are rapidly falling in numbers. Without quoting anyone, genuinely in original form, yours  
Fisnik.

## Outside In Snow Business



By Kreshnik Hoxha

**K**osovo, with its electricity-wire festooned streets and pothol strewn boulevards, is the mirror image of the United Kingdom's "Health and Safety" state.

The UK Health and Safety Act is seen by the inhabitants of the Sceptred Isle as a nemesis to tradition, common sense and old-fashioned fun.

School sports' day are cancelled, homeowners are banned from cleaning the pavement outside their front door of snow, traditional games such as rolling big bits of cheese down a hill are outlawed – all because of fears that it could breach the above-mentioned law.

At the forefront of this hugely exaggerated battle against any form of potential danger is the health and safety officer, usually accompanied, in people's imagination at least, by a clipboard and a knowing sneer.

If any of you fail to believe this then the experiment of bringing a health and safety officer to Kosovo would confirm the claim. It, however, might be at the cost of his, and it is usually a his, sanity.

From the minute the officer lands at Prishtina Airport to the second they leave, their head will be spinning from one trap to another. But he may also be amazed at how Kosovars have acclimatised themselves to living in these conditions without succumbing to a serious injury at every step.

We all know the dangers: from open manholes across streets, dozens of candles accompanying the gas cooker during blackouts, to more subtle, but life-threatening ones, such as landmines.

It's only when small things, which seem ludicrously unchallenging, happen in the UK that I realise what a great job Kosovars have done in just getting by despite those obviously serious obstacles.

I was recently forced to evacuate from the laboratory due to some water spillage.

Tucked in my lab coat while waiting outside the corridor of the department for the "slipping hazard" to dry out, I started to indulge in the mesmerising snowy photos of Prishtina emerging on Facebook. Judging from the photos and the claims of people in Prishtina, it appears that this was possibly one of the heaviest snowfalls the capital has seen in a long while.

This reminded me of the situation in Hull last year when a similar, but much less severe, snowfall covered the UK.

It felt like everything had stopped on the island. Train cancellations due to "collision hazard" from frozen rail tracks, blocked traffic due to panic, "dehydration hazards" due to frozen water pipes and a dysfunctional underground due to reasons that remain unclear to me. The "chaos" was diligently being addressed by road gritters, the fire brigades and the police, but it remained chaos in the minds of Britons.

Reports from Prishtina suggest the pavements of the capital are now more suited to Olympic lugging than walking.

What is evident is the fact that apart from the closure of schools for few days at the orders of the authorities, other civil servants and the private sector have managed to continue life as close to normal as possible.

The contrast to the Brits is striking, but it also enables us to understand the fact that when the state fails to provide for its citizens they make their own arrangements.

Many times this comes at the cost of health and safety.

But while we'd all be happy to see those manhole covers closed and more grit on the pavements, I doubt any of us would want to embrace the rule of the Health-and-Safety officer.

## Lustration Should Not be About Purges

The lustration process in Macedonia is one of several in the region that have gone horribly wrong - becoming a tool by which the authorities stigmatise their enemies.



By Harald Schenker

A society contaminated by totalitarian manipulation needs to be cleaned. This truth is as simple as it is almost impossible to carry out. I know of no single case that has passed uncontested by the former perpetrators. And it is the problem with democracies that the former manipulators are entitled to a voice, too, even after lustration, conviction, or whatever other measure are taken against them.

Ideally though, the process is primarily a social one. It is important to have a public discourse. It is important to make crimes committed by totalitarian regimes public, to have them enter the collective memory and condemn them. It is important to teach them, research them in detail, and make these details public.

Of course it is unacceptable that former perpetrators of these crimes and their informants, that spineless species, be granted public functions, at least for a period. And of course the failure to declare one's status as a collaborator should be penalised. And of course that is theory.

Look at countries like Romania or Bulgaria, where a large part of the political elites have emerged from the rank and file of the former perpetrators.

Look at Germany after the downfall of the Nazi regime, both West and East Germany (Yes, also there), where former Nazis were used as experts in their respective fields, despite denazification and despite various democratic pledges. Look at Germany now, where the former perpetrators of crimes not only have their own political party and interest groups but actively fight the lustration procedures, albeit not very successfully.

But Germany is also an example of a fair law and procedure. More than

20 years after the fall of the Communist regime, the archives are still open, victims can still access their files, perpetrators can still be prosecuted, and informers can lose their public jobs.

Public is the key word here. Public function is the one and only field of interest to the state in this respect. Whether a private company or organisation employs a former member of the Stasi or an informant is a private matter for them.

It might be slightly disgusting, but who would expect private matters always to be moral, and ethical? Or rather, who would assume the right to be the judge of that?

A different example is Romania, where my parents' victim files are hosted, as are those of some good friends, former dissidents. These files are incomplete and erratic. And this won't change. Why? Because they were under control of the perpetrators of the crimes for more than a decade after the regime imploded. They have been manipulated, tampered with, and destroyed in such a manner that proper reconstruction of events is an enormously complex puzzle.

A third example is Macedonia. Here, the process started two decades late and is flawed in almost every respect. Like so many other issues in Macedonia today, the process of lustration is subject to political warfare.

Instead of instigating a public debate on the role of the self-styled elites in the former Yugoslavia and discussing the collaboration of broad parts of the population with a system that oppressed other parts, the whole matter is limited to the exposure of alleged informants.

I will omit the details about how the commission in charge of the process is anything but independent, and how the political elites created yet another partisan institution that they can misuse in public according to their needs. I am talking about the political elites, plural, because both today's government and the opposition have

participated in creating the mess. And they have done so on purpose, for the purpose of control, to have ammunition in the fight against the political enemy.

The problem is that the "other" is indeed the enemy, not an opponent. It is the personalisation of politics, common in this part of the world, which holds the entire society hostage to the egos of a few. The lustration process is victim of the same reflexes.

Why else would there have been a political decision to extend the lustration process both in terms of the timeframe and in terms of the persons to be covered?

To explain to those who haven't followed the issue: the law as it is also covers the 1990s, a decade of democracy - however transitional and imperfect, but still a democratic decade.

One eyebrow goes up. Secondly, the law now seeks lustration of civil society representatives and journalists. Second eyebrow goes up, and the signal switches to alert.

Powerful opponents of the authorities in civil society and media have been stigmatised as traitors for years now. The lustration process, as it looks now, is an attempt to award this process of stigmatisation the equivalent of a diploma, a piece of paper that cannot be denied, refuted and forgotten.

Whatever the circumstances, damage is being done. Lustration is about the past, it is not to be confused with purges.

The decision by Macedonia's constitutional court to suspend 12 provisions of the lustration law is to be commended. Hopefully it will help bringing the process of lustration back to where it belongs: uncovering the crimes of the past.

Hopefully also it will send a clear signal to the political elites to continue their fight in the arena where it is supposed to take place: in the political arena of the present, in the institutions and not in the murky corridors of defunct secret services.

## Cover-Up of Protestor Deaths 'Blow to Albania's Reputation'

Gabriel Partos, an analyst with the Economist Intelligence Unit, tells Balkan Insight that allegations of a high-level conspiracy to cover-up the murder of protestors during the January 21 riots is a further blow to Albania's already tarnished reputation.



Gabriel Partos



By Besar Likmeta

**Q: What picture of Albanian democracy and rule of law emerges from the arrests of three state officials for the murder of protestors and conspiracy to conceal evidence during the January 21, 2011 riots?**

A: The new charges are very serious, because they allege a high-level conspiracy within government circles to cover up what appears to have been criminal activity. The charges represent a further blow to Albania's reputation for upholding the rule of law. It's a reputation that has already been seriously dented in recent years by the disputes over the results of the 2009 parliamentary elections and the 2011 mayoral elections in Tirana, the killings of the four demonstrators and by the failure of the legal system to produce any convictions of prominent figures who've been charged with corruption.

**Q: Prime Minister Sali Berisha considers the January 21, demonstration to be a coup d'état orchestrated by the general prosecutor, the president, the secret service head and the opposition. He recently threatened to arrest the general prosecutor and the president when they leave office. Should the EU tolerate this sort of behavior from an aspiring candidate state or speak out forcefully against it?**

A: Threats to arrest senior officials involved in law enforcement or the judiciary would appear to be a serious interference with justice. It's incompatible with the separation of powers between the executive and the judiciary, which is a cornerstone of democracy.

The EU tends to choose its words carefully, and it rarely speaks about forcefully, unless it's dealing with major threats to international peace or large-scale repression by dictatorial regimes. With an aspiring member such as Albania it has different, constructive relations. But its views in relation to Albania are very clear, and Albania's failure for two years in a row to secure the status of a candidate for EU membership is evidence of the EU's standpoint on this issue.

**Q: What impact will the attacks from Prime Minister Sali Berisha against the general prosecutor and the president have on Albania's EU bid?**

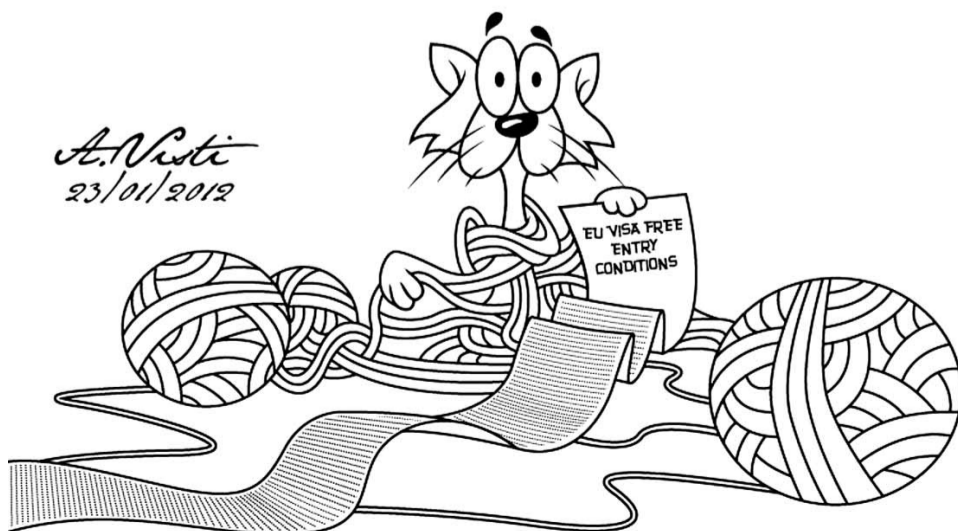
A: Albania has no chance of securing EU candidate status until it changes direction. That requires, among other things, the resumption of a constructive dialogue between the government and the opposition, an end to political interference with the judiciary and a genuine attempt to tackle corruption.

The conditions are not too onerous - after all, Montenegro, which started its EU integration process much later than Albania, has already secured candidate status, and is expected to open EU accession talks in June. Incidentally, the decline in democratic standards in Albania has been highlighted by various international surveys, including the EIU's recently published 2011 Democracy Index, which has tracked Albania's slide to 87th position (out of 167 countries) from 84th place in 2010 and 81st in 2008.

### Kosovo has received the list of conditions to be fulfilled for visa liberalisation

**Kosova pranoi listën me kushtet që duhet plotësuar për liberalizimin e vizave!**

A. Visti  
23/01/2012



## Ecosovo

# The Makiato that Makes a Difference



By Elizabeth Gowing

The ethical consumer movement is based on the belief that it matters where you spend your money. One shopper's choice of local honey, one passenger's decision to use the bus, one household's attempts to reduce their energy consumption... each of these small actions can make a difference. So then, where should you drink your makiato?

I have a suggestion if you want to take your custom somewhere where it can make a difference. X21 is a cosy café, centrally located, with good prices. But despite their friendly welcome, the staff who take your order, make your coffee, and manage the café's stock are young men who might find it difficult to find work elsewhere, because all of them live with Down's Syndrome.

Talking to Leonora Bajraktari and her husband, Driton who founded Down Syndrome Kosova, and the X21 café, you realize the challenges of living with Down's Syndrome in Kosovo, where general awareness about the condition is low, and misinformation and stereotypes are widespread.

"We want to show that people with Down's Syndrome can be part of society, can work, and can live lives that are useful to themselves and to their families" says Driton. His daughter, Mjalta, was born with Down's Syndrome during the war. His wife Leonora talks about huddling in Prishtina post-war internet cafes trying to download information in English to explain what the diagnosis meant for her child. She's a beautiful and determined-looking woman, but when she talks about those days she looks tired.

"There was no information available in Albanian, and no support for me as a mother." Leonora and Driton set out to change that: Leonora asked the hospital to pass her number on to any mother of a child diagnosed with Down's Syndrome. They founded their NGO in 2007 and started the X21 café (named for the extra 21st chromosome which causes Down's Syndrome) in 2008. Since then their organization has worked with around 600 children and adults living with Down's Syndrome and provided critical support for their families, and thousands of training days for medical and educational staff who can support families with accurate information

and appropriate support. In Prishtina, Ferizaj, Prizren, Mitrovica and Gjilan, they now have centres which are staffed by professional therapists along with students in psychology and education who work as volunteers. They have worked to get 52 children with Down's Syndrome, including Mjalta, registered in mainstream schools.

It's inspiring stuff, but Besnik who serves me my tea, doesn't present himself as a trailblazer, though what he is doing (as well as helping to warm me up on this snowy day) is an innovation in Kosovo. He is one of five waiters aged 18-36 employed in the X21 café. 'I like coming here. Why would I hang out at home? There's nothing to do there. Here I see my friends,' he shrugs, before moving on to clear away a used mug from the adjoining table.

The money raised by the X21 café funds life-changing support for the families with whom Down Syndrome Kosova is currently working, as well as for reaching out to new families. Twenty six children were born with Down's Syndrome last year in Kosovo, and unlike Mjalta, these children have the chance for organized support from the very beginning. Driton and Leonora and their colleagues are determined to reach all these families, whether they live in villages (where Leonora tells me many children with Down's Syndrome are still hidden away by their families) or cities, north or south of the Ibar, and whatever language they speak. 'Down's Syndrome is an issue for every group in Kosovo and we can all help one another.'

That includes you. Go on, have a makiato, and have it at café X21.

X21 is located behind the main PTK building in Dardania. From the Gazeta Express office, continue to the Furra Elisa bakery and turn left behind the bakery. Turning right off this colonnade is a row of businesses including the X21 café.

*Elizabeth Gowing is a founder of The Ideas Partnership, a Kosovan NGO working on educational, cultural and environmental projects. She is also the author of the recently-published, Travels in Blood and Honey; becoming a beekeeper in Kosovo. She can be reached at theideasp@partnership@gmail.com*



## US Says Vibrant Civil Society Key to Sexual Equality in Kosovo



By Shengjyl Osmani

Daniel Baer, the US's Deputy Assistant Secretary, told journalists this week that a "free and vibrant civil society" was crucial to promoting sexual equality.

He made the remarks during a live video conference with journalists in Kosovo, and a number of other countries, to discuss US's foreign policy toward acceptance, tolerance and inclusion of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender, LGBT, communities.

"What we see both in the American context and in many places around the world is that - and one of the things that Secretary Clinton has made a hallmark of her administration - is that having a, a civil society that is allowed to organize citizens around issues, that is allowed to appeal to the government to do better, that is allowed to engage with government and make recommendations about how government can better serve citizens - that that's really crucial," he said.

"We engage diplomatically with partners around the world, in both places where this is a more difficult conversation and places where we're working with other governments who want to collaborate with us and help to secure rights for everybody around

the world. So we have a range of conversations ongoing with other governments at the government-to-government level."

On the issue of dealing with LGBT issues in conservative countries such as Kosovo, Baer said that a conversation about the issue, rather than lecturing, was necessary. "What we've found and what many others have found around the world who have been working within their own societies to advocate for tolerance, to advocate for treating everyone equally, is that in many, many places, it requires an ongoing and a long-term conversation," he said.

"And one of the things that I most appreciated about Secretary Clinton's speech last month was that it really was overall an invitation to a conversation. It was not a lecture; it was an invitation to work through a set of questions that people have.

"And the invitation was put out there understanding that, for many people, this is a difficult issue to think through and work through. But it was put out there at the same time with the very clear conviction that all people are people and that being gay doesn't make you less human and doesn't make you less entitled to human rights. And so working through these questions is an ongoing process."

The US Embassy in Prishtina organised the round table debate with journalists from Kosovo dailies this week, allowing them to follow the live the conference from the White House.



STAY ONE STEP AHEAD

KEEP OUR OPINIONS  
TO YOURSELF

SUBSCRIBE TODAY  
and be the first to know what's really happening

BalkanInsight.com

Online news, views and analysis  
from our correspondents across the region

www.balkaninsight.com

## Embassies and Liaison Offices in Prishtina

### American

Address: "Nazim Hikmet" no. 30  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 549 516

### Austrian

Address: "Ahmet Krasniqi" no. 22  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 249 284

### Belgian

Address: "Taslixhe" I, 23 A  
10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 734 734

### British

Address: "Ismail Qemajli" no. 6  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 254 700

### Bulgarian

Address: "Ismail Qemajli" no. 12  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 038 245 540

### Dutch

Address: "Xhemal Berisha" no. 12  
Velania, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 224 61

### Finnish

Str: Perandori Justinian No. 19  
Pejton  
10 000 Prishtina  
Phone: +386 43 737 000

### French

Address: "Ismail Qemajli" no. 67  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 22 45 88 00

### Greek

Address: "Ismail Qemajli" no. 68  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 243 013

### German

Address: "Azem Jashanica" no. 17  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 254 500

### Italian

Address: "Azem Jashanica" no.5  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 244 925

### Japanese

Address: "Rexhep Malaj" no. 43  
10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 249 995

### Luxemburg

Address: "Metush Krasniqi" no. 14  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 226 787

### Malaysian

Address: "Bedri Shala" no. 48  
10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 243 467

### Norwegian

Address: "Sejdi Kryeziu" no. 6  
10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 232 111 00

### Saudia Arabian

Address: Dardania SU 7, building 2, #1  
10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 549 203

### Slovenian

Address: "Anton Ceta" no. 6  
10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 244 886

### Swedish

Str: Perandori Justinian No. 19  
Pejton  
10 000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 38 24 57 95

### Swiss

Address: "Adrian Krasniqi" no. 11  
10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 248 088

### Turkish

Address: "Ismail Qemajli" no. 59  
Arbëria / Dragodan, 10000 Prishtina  
Phone: +381 (0) 38 226 044

## Classified Ads



Do you have a flat to rent? Position to fill? Students to find for a language course? Why not speak directly to Kosovo's international community through Prishtina Insight' classified ads.

Almost every international organisation, embassy, NGO and many others subscribe to Kosovo's only English language newspaper, which is also on sale at newsstands in seven cities and received in electronic format by scores of paying clients across the world.

### Easy

6								9
	2		4	7	8	3		
					9	8		2
			5	3				
1		4				7		5
				2	7			
7		5	9					
		8	3	6	2		4	
3								8

### Medium

9			5			2	6	
		4			6		8	
8				1	9		4	3
	7	5						
			8		1			
						4	9	
5	2		9	4				8
	9		1			7		
8	7			3				4

### Hard

				6		4	9	
	1			5				8
		7		8	4			5
		5						9
	6		4		7		2	
7						6		
1			3	4		8		
5			7				4	
	4	9		2				

germanwings



**AMAZINGLY  
AFFORDABLE PRICES**

**Prishtina »» Stuttgart › München › Hamburg › Köln › Berlin ›  
Düsseldorf › Hannover › Frankfurt ›**

**Prishtina »» Zürich › Genève › Vienna  
Skopje »» Zürich › Düsseldorf**



**airberlin**

KOSOVA AIRLINES

eurokoha

[www.flyksa.com](http://www.flyksa.com)  
038 220 220