



OVER 100 MILLION EURO ARE THE BENEFITS THAT THE COMPANIES WHICH FINANCED PDK DURING THE LAST TWO ELECTION CAMPAIGNS HAVE REAPED.

Preportr ka marrë në shqyrtim afër 500 kontrata të ndryshme që janë lëshuar nga autoritetet publike ku nga këto ka nxjerrë të dhëna mbi kompanitë që kanë përfituar nga tenderët publik. Këto të dhëna janë krahasuar me të dhënat e nxjerra nga dy raportet e auditimit të KQZ-së, ku pasqyrohen subjektet fizike dhe juridike që kanë financuar partitë politike. Prej këtyre raporteve të KQZ-së, ka dalë që si subjekte juridike, 18 sosh i kanë financuar dy fushatat e fundit elektorale të PDK-së, ndërsa si subjekte fizike, (pronarët e kompanive të caktuara) janë 22 sosh. Nga shuma totale prej 100 milionësh që kanë përfituar financuesit e PDK-së, 80 milionë vijnë vetëm nga Ministria e Arsimit dhe ish-Ministria e Transportit tash Infrastrukturës.

VISAR DURIQI AND QËNDRIM BUNJAKU

his research carried out by "Preportr" on public procurement simply and plainly shows data regarding the 100 million euro granted by the party of the prime minister for the companies which lent him a hand during the election campaigns. From the official documents, this research has found that 43 different subjects, mainly construction companies which as businesses and physical persons financed the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) during the last two election campaigns have benefited over 100 million euro from public tenders. According to the audit report on the finances of the political parties for the campaign of 2009 and for the campaign of 2010, most of the donations that these 43 subjects gave to PDK sum up to a little more than 280 thousand euro. As regards 11 of them, the law was violated and the budget was affected by having to reward them. This means that the companies have increased their in come from the power for 350 times in comparison with what they donated to the party in power. After "Preportr" found these data, it has waited for more than two weeks for a comment by the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) and by the office of the Prime Minister Hashim Thaci, but none of them commented as regards

the rewarding of more than 100 million euro to the donors of this party through public tenders.

But this relationship, to a certain extent, develops outside the scope of the possibility of being monitored with documentation, since, plainly put, a considerable part of the finances of parties is not possible to be identified. We have only mentioned here the companies for which there is evidence of official documents that they are involved in the financing of political party in power, but we should be aware that a large number of public tenders is awarded to companies which are close with PDK, but which do not have any formal co-ownership, or they do not figure as donors of political parties. "Al-Trade", property of Bajram Gashani, is a company very much present in the field of public tenders, the owner of which comes from a stronghold center of PDK, Drenas. Only in the Ministry of Education, this company has won seven tenders in the amount of around 9 million e ro. This company, in consortium with "Ada Consulting Group", property of the official of Kosovo Information Center (SHIK), Avni Kastrati, has won a tender of 600 thousand euro from the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. Despite the fact that according to the Auditor General, the requirements of the donor, the British Embassy, had been violated as regards the special procurement procedures, the Ministry for Return awarded the continuation of the contract to this company for the design and construction of apartments for minorities.

PDK has also awarded the relatives of the journalists who sided with this party during the election campaign. The company "Albes" from Istog, property of Hajredin Mavraj has been awarded at the amount of 5.7 million only from MASHT, when this ministry was led by Enver Hoxhaj, now Chief Diplomat of Kosovo. The relative of the owner of this company, Muhamet Mavraj, publishes the daily newspaper "Epoka e Re", which is close with PDK. This company, apart from tenders in MASTH, has also won tenders in value of a million euro from other institutions headed by people of PDK, even bidding with prices 1200% higher than the market ones. In the tender of the Ministry of Public Administration (MAP) "The Construction of the building of the District Prosecution in Peja", the representative of the company "Albes", in the session held in OSHP regarding the problems that had arisen with this tender, he publicly admits that he intentionally used prices 1200% higher than the market ones. In this very session, the representative of this company says that he used the same strategy when he applied in over 100 other projects, but which he had never won a contract for.

"Preportr" has made an official request in the Regulatory Commission of Public Procurement (KRPP) to interpret the legality of the award to "Albes" with this "strategy", but this institution did not see it fit to interpret this issue.

The closeness with power has made it possible for the misuse of public institutions, such as RTK, in order to award its own people. Shaip Muja, ex-advisor of Prime Minister Hashim Thaçi, who gave 1 thousand euro donation to PDK, has 50% of the shares in "Ana Derm", whereas another 50% belong to his wife, Anita Muja. She is also owner in the other private company "Ana-Z", through which she has won a contract from the public fund of RTK, but the lat-

"DEVOLLI" CORPORATION GAVE 1 THOUSAND EUROS. WAS AWARDED THE CONTRACT FOR THE VIRTUAL MOBILE TELEPHONY WITHIN VALA 900. WHICH HAD MILLIONS OF EUROS OF TURNOVER ANNUALLY. AND TWO OTHER PRIVATIZATIONS WHICH ARE UNDER INVESTIGATION. DESPITE BEING IN VIOLATION OF RULES OF AKP 227 mijë eun mijë euro milionë euro "Ndërtimi" gave "Shkoza F07" gave "Stublla" gave 9700 "Timi Krško" gave ..Alfa" gave 2500 ..Beli" gave 500 "Arbëri -NS" gave "Adessa" gave 3 1 mijë euro, took 834 euro, took 3 milionë e 1 mijë euro, took 5, 9 3500 euro, took 1 milion 500 euro, took 1 milion mijë euro, took 76 euro, took 530 euro, took 130 milionë e 75 mijë euro 983 mijë e 684 euro e 129 mijë euro mijë euro e 130 mijë euro mijë euro "Riza A.M" gave "MEB-NG" gave 150 euro, took 495 500 euro, took 126 SA FITUAN FINANCUESIT E PDK-SË SI BIZNESE? mijë euro mijë euro

ILLUSTRATION ON TITLE BY ZGJIM ELSHAN

HOW MUCH DID THE DONORS OF PDK BENEFIT AS BUSINESSES? 11.700.000 11.000.000 2.497.000 7.500.000 8.000.762 **XHAFER ZHARKU VIKTOR DELIA** ISMET KONUSHEVCI **FLORIM ZUKA ABDURRAHIM BASRI KÇIKU** "BEJTA COMERC" "SHKËNDIA" "DELIA GROUP" "BENI COM" KELMENDI **GAVE 11.000 EURO** GAVE 1.499 EURO "SOLID COMPANY" **GAVE 4.000 EURO** 1.800.000 113.000 100.000 110.000 **SAFET SINANI HYSNI SHABANI NAIM BESIMI RESHAT KAMBERI SELVIJE DEDA AFRIM SYLA** "EUROTRANS" "NDERTIMI" "DONI COMERCE" "HYSNIA" "GETOARI" "ENGINEERING" **GAVE 1.000 EURO GAVE 1.000 EURO** 1.289.000 40.000 10.000.000 766.000 725.000 1.116.000 KASTRIOT FAZLIA ELBASAN ALIDEMA **PETRIT JERLIU BUJAR SHABANI ILMI AZEMI** MUSTAFË SHALA "COMPACT GROUP" "KASTRIOTI" "BAGERI" "KORABI-COMPANY" "METALI" **'TEUTA-M'** GAVE 1.000 EURO **GAVE 2.000 EURO** 123.000 53.000 126.000 HAJRUSH MISINI SHPEND MUSA **MUSTAFË BAJRAKTARI** "VISION PROJECT" **ISMAILI** "BAJRAKTARI" "Hajrushi" **GAVE 2.000 EURO** "MERMER COMMERC 1" GAVE 500 EURO

ter do not accept to make the value of the contract public.

Even Shaip Muja's brother, Fatmir Muja was not left with nothing. The company "CI-KOS", property of Fatmir Muja, which according to the data of the Agency for the Registration of Businesses, deals with recycling of metallic trash had won the tender for the sale of metal residue from this corporation, all this during the time when the procurement of the Kosovo Energetic Corporation (KEK) was led by Njazi Thaçi, now deputy director of this corporation, and at the same time cousin to Prime Minister Thaçi. This company now is property of Fatmir Muja, brother of Deputy Shaip Muja, and the contact number of this company is the same as the one of company "Kosova Green Energy", a business in property of Deputy Shaip Muja, a business which was not declared in the Agency Against Corruption.

Mst: Tenders for the donors of the party at any cost

The donors of the party of Prime Minister Thaçi, are traditionally also contractors of the municipalities which this party heads, but awarding these contracts both in the central but also in the local level, the institutions did not "spare" violating

the law. "Preportr" found that from 43 donors of PDK, including here those who donated as businesses, but also those who donated as physical persons and in turn benefited public contracts through their businesses, for 11 of them, excluding here the contract with Post and Telecom of Kosovo (PTK) and "Devolli Group", the law was violated in awarding them the contracts. The violations for these cases were established by the Office of the Auditor General (ZAP) and by the Procurement Reviewing Body (OSHP).

"Devolli Group", property of brothers Blerim and Shkëlqim Devolli, although officially donated only 1 thousand euro to PDK only for its branch in Peja, this corporation was awarded with the tender for the virtual operator as part of public mobile telephony, Vala 900, known in the market as "Z-Mobile". This contract, from which "Devolli" company makes millions of Euros turnover has been signed, apart from ex-Chief Executive of PTK, Shyqeri Haxha, also by the Head of the Board of this corporation, Rexhe Gjonbalaj, ex-head of PDK branch in Peja. For this very contract, EULEX has initiated an indictment for five criminal offenses, including organized crime, fraud and

falsification of documents, which has also been confirmed by the judges of this mission, and facing trial for this case now are:: Shyqeri Haxha, Rexhë Gjonbalaj, Blerim and Shkëlqim Devolli, as well as Ismet Bojku.

Being in penal proceedings, despite the rules of privatization, "Devolli Group" privatized two enterprises: "Amortizatorët" and "Emin Duraku" Serious violations of the law have also been observed from ZAP regarding the corporation "Compact Group" from Gjilan, property of Mustafë Shala. This company, the owner of which is also a business partner with the Mayor of Gjilan, Qemajl Mustafa in the company for maturing of bananas "Viva Fruta" is the contractor of the Municipality of Gjilan in an ongoing basis. Apart from having benefited millions of Euros of public money by the Municipality of Gjilan, this municipality in 2011 approved also the exchange of properties between Hotel "Kristal" of Mustafë Shala and the Municipality of Gjilan. Shala would give the Municipality a property of 479 square meters, which according to the opposition of this Municipality is much less valuable than one parcel of 433 square meters in front of this hotel and alongside the main street of the city, which the corporation "Compact Group" won in the exchange with the municipality.

But as regards "Compact Group' the law was violated on the million euro tenders it won in "Termokos", during the time when this company was headed by Fëllanza Pula. For two seasons, 2009-2010, 2011-2012 "Compact Group" was contracted by "Termokos" for the supply with mazut, for which a seasonal supply is around 5-7 million euro. For this very company, "Termokos" had violated the law by signing the contract with this company during the time when it had no license for the supply with mazut and oil derivatives, as well as by paying mazut many times a higher price than the one figuring in the contract. Furthermore, during 2010 when "Compact Group" again won the tender for mazut, the procedures for the selection of the company had been cancelled twice.

When we are speaking about the donors, not even the municipalities led by PDK did "spare" the law. The Municipality of Ferizaj, which was led by Bajrush Xhemajli of PDK, for the company "Bageri", which is in the property of Bujar Shabani from Ferizaj, who during 2009 had given 1000 euro donation to PDK, according to ZAP, this very company during 2009 had committed violations of the law on public finances. In the project for the asphalting of the road in the village of Komogllave, which cost the municipality 125 thousand Euros, the municipality of Ferizaj had paid installments in a larger amount than foreseen by the contract for "Bageri", in favor of the company, and ZAP had included this violation in the classification "high risk".

This company, according to its profile in the internet, as part of its business it also has the base of production of asphalt in the municipality of Lipjan, the name of which is "Kosova Asfalt". The latter, in a publication by the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning has been included in the list of companies which by their activities harm the environment. In this publication, "Kosova Asfalt" of the company "Bageri" it is said that it contaminates the underground waters, but it does not mention what measures should be taken against it.

As regards the company "Bajraktari", property of Mustafë Bajraktari, which had donated to PDK 500 Euros in 2009, the company "Trepca" "took" care to award a tender at any cost, thus violating the law. Through a contract in 2010, for supply with derivates, "Trepça" had violated the Law of Public Procurement (LPP) several times. ZAP has found that, in the contract with a value of 124,088€, "Trepça"had signed the contract by violating the legal deadlines, despite the fact that the company had lacked documents and that the money allocated for this contract had been transferred illegally for this purpose from the line of goods and services. ZAP had established that regarding "Bajraktarin', "Trepça" violated the agreement for Monitoring and Control. Despite the violations of the law in awarding the tender to "Bajraktari", this company lost this contract since it failed to supply "Trepça" and the contract was therefore awarded to "HIB Petrol" in the amount of $254,760 \in$, or the double of the amount.

PDK's Donor is supported by USAID-i

The company "Bejta Comerc", in property of Basri and Adem Kçiku, which during the last two election campaigns in 2009 and 2010 gave to PDK 1499 euros is loaded with conflicts of interest. This company, which was also supported by the program of USAID in Kosovo with a loan of 900 thousand Euros, had won a tender for the asphalting of several village roads in the Municipality of Kamenica, despite the fact that OSHP had established that Kamenica had violated the law when it had awarded this tender.

Violations continued for this very company. In July 2011, the Unit for Policies and Monitoring of Public Enterprises, within the Ministry for Economic Development (MZHE), led by PDK minister Besim Beqaj, had raised suspicions that the head of the board of the regional Water enterprise "Hidromorava" in Gjilan, Abdyl Hasani, is in conflict of interest. This conflict occurred exactly due to the fact that Hasani was working also in "Bejta Komerc" as Quality manager. Abdyl Hasani himself, engaged by the municipality of Gjilan also in the Council of Experts of this municipality, through a letter addressed to MZHE establishes that he does not have a conflict of interest, although "Hidromorava" had contracted "Bejta Komerc" for supply with fractions of sand. As regards the violations that had been committed in order to award "Beni Com", property of Ismet Konushevci, a "chronic" donor of PDK, "Preportr" had published research even in the past. In the research titled "The business of the party in power", for which "Preportr" was awarded for the best text in online media in 2011, it is observed that this company had been illegally declared winner of the tender in an amount of 3 million Euros by the Ministry of Infrastructure for the construction of the road Kuqishë - Bogë, but which had been cancelled by OSHP-ja. But this year has not started well for "Beni Com". KEK, which had awarded this company, in consortium with "Ndërtimtari" in the tender for the services of removing wasteland, the amount of which was 165 thousand Euros. KEK, according to OSHP, had committed several violations of LPP and the tender had gone for reevaluation.

Concerning company N.N.P. "
Engineering" owned by Reshat Kamberi, which in 2009 had given PDK 1
thousand Euros, the Municipality of
Ferizaj, led then by PDK's man, Bajrush Xhemajli, had violated the law.
It had transferred in the account of the
company more money than allowed
by the installment agreement for the
project of renovating the City Theatre, a project which cost the munic-

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ipality around 80 thousand Euros. In this very project, the works have not been accepted by more than half of the supervising team of works. ZAP has classified these violations as having a high risk.

Some institutions violate the law for the sake of one donor

Even small municipalities had violated the law in order to award the donors of PDK. Regarding "Getoar", in the tender for the construction of the road of Xërxë, in 2010, the municipality of Dragash had committed several violations, but OSHP cancelled the decision of this municipality to award "Getoar", a company owned by Naim Besimi, which had given PDK 2300 euros during the two election campaigns, a donation which was awarded by MTPT with three tenders and by MASHT with one tender, the overall amount reaching around 4.1 million Euros.

Also, two municipalities with a small territory, Kamenica and Novobërda, and the Company for the Management of Landfills in Kosovo (KMDK) had violated the law in favor of the company N.T.P "Metali", owned by Elbasan Alidema from Pozhora of Viti, which during the last two election campaigns had given PDK 2 thousand euros. ZAP had found that Kamenica had separated a project in some expenses smaller than 10 thousand Euros and had entered in special contracts and payments with company "Metali" during 2008, executing thus four special payments in a total of 18,286 Euros, which it had not published in the newspaper as tenders, as required by the Law on Public Procurement in power back then.

According to ZAP, this constituted a favoring of this company. One year later, in 2009, according to ZAP, the municipality of Noboberdo had twice violated LPP for "Metali" in the tender for supply with heating materials: wood and coal. In 2010, KM-DK had committed continuous violations in the tender for supply with heavy machinery, where "Metali" was declared winner, but the other PDK donor, "Getoar" from Prizren complained,. Regarding this tender, the amount of which was around 400 thousand euros, there were several sessions of OSHP which were also reported in the media.

The company "Shkoza FO7", a business owned by Fidaie Bytyçi, which in 2009 had given PDK 1 thousand euros was awarded by MTPT with two tenders in the amount of 800 thousand euros. In 2001, in consortium with "Ndërtimi", both donors of PDK were declared winners of the tender "Renovation of the Regional road R105, segment: Klinë-Brojë, L=4.0km". "Preportr", but also other media had reported several times that this tender was accompanied with violations, but the decision to award the tender to "Shkoza F07 & Ndërtimi", was cancelled by OSHP-ja. In 2011, the municipality of Vushtrri led

by Bajram Maloku of PDK took care of "Shkoza FO7", who commissioned this company for the maintenance of the roads during winter. This information was provided by the Centre for Emergency Readiness of Vushtrri, but the amount of the contract between the company and the municipality was never made public.

Buja in business with the donor and the contractor

The Mayor of Lipjan, Shukri Buja, also head of PDK in Lipjan, did not see it enough only awarding tenders to company "Stublla", property of Avni Stublla from Topliçan village of this municipality, which in 2010 gave 9700 euros to PDK, and in turn got from MASHT 4 million Euros worth of tenders. Buja, apart from having awarded "Stublla' the tender to build with concession the building for the families of war heroes, war veterans, families of martyrs and orphan children, he had also engaged in private business with it. According to the declaration of wealth of Buja, he had deposited the grain in the mill of this contractor of the Government of the Municipality which he heads, while Hasan Preteni, Director of AAK had said for "Zëri" that he would deal with this case. The law on public finances was violated also by the municipality of Viti in relation to company "Hajrushi", the owner of which, Hajrush Misini had given to PDK a donation of 1 thousand euros. In the tender worth 58 thousand euros published by the municipality of Viti for the construction of the open duct and roads in the street 'Kongresi i Manastirit', according to ZAP, the municipality had transferred in the account of "Hajrushi" more money than allowed according to the installments determined in the contract.

"There is a risk that the money of the Municipality has been misused during this process", says the report of ZAP for Viti in 2010, which classified this finding as high risk.

The donors of PDK managed to snatch also one-source tenders, which have been criticized by the European Commission as tenders with a high risk due to favoritism. Bejtush Zhugolli, who for the PDK branch in Peja had given 900 Euros in 2009, owns the company "Pejton". The companies of his brothers have been part of public tenders during the last three years, 2008-2009-2010, the amount of which exceeds 70 million. The Energy Corporation and the Operator of the System of Transmission of of Electric Energy KOSTT have declared the company "Eco Trade" as the winner, which is in the property of Mehdi Zhugolli and the company "ACDC-KOS" of Ilmi Zhugolli in around ten public tenders, which were related to replacement of installations, supply with equipment, and tenders for repair of transporting lines. These contracts amount to around 70 million Euros, and the largest part of these tenders have been one-sourced.

JUSI FOR SHOW

BESNIK BOLETINI

At least 25 high public officials, from which one Deputy Prime Minister, two ministers, four deputy ministers, five municipal mayors, one permanent secretary, four procurement directors and eight members/directors of boards of public companies have not declared all the businesses or activities in the Agency Against Corruption. These officials who have not declared a part of their wealth have not been investigated at all by AKK and they do not figure in the annual report of 2011, which was made public on 28 March of this year.

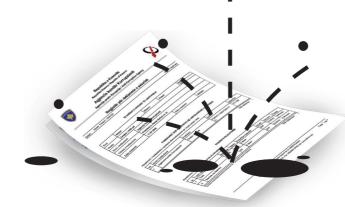


t least 25 high public officials, among them ministers, deputy ministers, municipal mayors, procurement directors and directors and members of the boards of public companies have not declared a part of their wealth at the Agency Against Corruption (AKK). Furthermore, this fact does not figure at all even in the Annual Report of AKK.

The finding of these undeclared businesses has been made possible through comparing the form on the declaration of wealth at AKK, which high officials have filled in (received by officials at AKK) and the database of ARBK, where the businesses of these high public officials have been detected according to the personal identification number. The businesses found at ARBK where these officials figure as owners or authorized persons do not figure in the form for the declaration of wealth, which means that these businesses have not been declared at all.

Preportr has also found from sources in the Kosovo Tax Administration (ATK) that from 25 businesses that the high public officials did not declare as part of their wealth, 5 of them have had financial turnover throughout the years, whereas 20 of them, at least officially, did not have financial turnover reported at ATK.

Nevertheless, through this act, these high public officials have violated the Law on the Declaration of Wealth by committing an offense. The Law on Declaration of Wealth, approved in 2010 article 4 – point 3 says that: "The declaration regarding the state of wealth of high public officials and their families includes information regarding their wealth and their income, such as: possession of shares in commercial enterprises". This obligation is also determined even more clearly through the Law on Declaration of Wealth which was empowered in 2011. In Header IV - article 12 of this law, among others, it is said that "the public person should declare also the functions or other activities that the official exercises alongside the public function". This answer was also provided by the director of AKK, Hasan Preteni. When asked whether the high public officials should also declare the businesses, regardless whether they have financial turnover where officials could be owners or authorized persons, he said that "High public officials, in



LIST OF UNDECLARED BUSINESSES

Behgjet Pacolli, Deputy Primeminister
Tempore (BN: 70508745)

Radoica Tomic, Minister for Communities and Return
STR Fan (BN: 70081961)

Agim Çeku, Minister at MKSF ATM Group (BN: 70656272)

Nexhmedin Kastrati, Deputy Minister at MPA
Qendra e Marketingut (BN: 70058118)

Cuneyd Ustaibo, Deputy Minister at MTI A.G.O.-AL - Kosovo (BN: 70673991)

Hajdin Abazi, Deputy Minister at MKRS
Conn - Con (BN: 70664860)

7 Rifat Krasniç, Deputy Minister at MAPL Mutlu (BN: 80485034)

8 Ilir Tolaj, Ex Permanent Secretary at MH IMC (BN: 70050519)

Blerim Kuçi, Governor of SuharekësUniverzal Group (BN: 70480619)

Nenad Cvtkovic, Governor of Parteshit
Mlp-Com (BN: 70348388), M&L-Com (BN: 70173874)

Shukri Buja, Governor of Lipjanit Bulevardi (BN:70158321)

12 Qemajl Mustafa, Governor of Gjilanit Vision Oil (BN: 70352038)

13 Avni Kastrati
Oil Trade (BN: 70150847), Eko-Kosova (BN: 70427328), Amar (BN: 70276279)

Afrim Maxhuni, Procurment Director at MSFK
AA-HD (BN: 70482717)

15 Feti Ibishi, Procurment Director at MPMS Malsia Agricultural Cooperative (BN: 70282175)

Adem Krasniqi, Procurment Director at MTI Rrjeta (BN: 70028120)

17 Arben Loshi, Procurment Director at MPJ Beni Keramikë (BN: 80427875)

Gani Sylaj, Board member of the PTK Dreni (BN: 70424955)

Nuhi Ahmeti, Board member of the PTK Natyra (BN: 80076436)

20 Fadil Ismaili, Director in KOSST Arting (BN: 70600560)

Flamur Keqa, Board member of the KEK IBF consulting training (BN: 70494558)

Asllan & Sons (BN: 80306989)

Hanefi Muharremi, Board Member of ANI
"Eksperti Muharremi" Services (BN: 70509717)

Aleksander Janicevic, Former member of the Board in RTK Inter Comerce (NB: 70204548)

Rrahman Paçarizi, Former Chairman of the Board in RTK Institute for Quality ARAC (BN: 70448807)

compliance with article 12 of the Law No. 04/L-050 are obliged to declare in the form for the declaration of wealth all the functions or other activities that the officials exercise alongside the high public function.

This legal obligation applies for all public officials until the point when they unregister the businesses or terminate their function in the respective businesses, and this should be done in the Agency for the Registration of Businesses (ARBK). The representatives of ARBK say that a business should be terminated when on such is deleted from the Regiter of Businesses and when it fulfills the tax obligations.

One for me, one for you...

The Agency Against Corruption has a much deeper conflict with its own role. It should control the officials from which its own director continuously requires a raise of salaries. It seems that this is the chief reason why AKK does not sanction the violators of the law, but protects them. Somehow this appears like one hand scratching the other, or the axiom one for me, one for you.

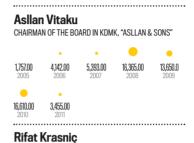
The businesses found at ARBK, where these officials are owners or authorized persons do not figure in the form for the declaration of wealth, which means that these businesses have not been declared at all. The AKK director, Hasan Preteni, during the presentation of the annual Report for 2011 did not mention at all the above-mentioned officials, and has furthermore stated that "there are no high government officials for which investigation procedures have been initiated due to non-declaration of wealth".

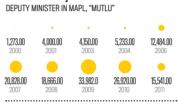
When businesses which had not been declared within the legal deadline were found in the past, AKK did not send them to the Minor Offense Court, but it contacted the officials who did not declare their businesses, and enabled them to declare them, through filling in these businesses or functions in the register for the declaration of wealth even beyond the determined legal deadline.

Officials of AKK, unofficially have stated that if the declaration of wealth is not done in full, there can be no sanctions, since according to them, "The Law on the Declaration of Wealth does not determine such s thing, and that the law in question creates space in this aspect and does not sanction partial declaration". This fact is con-

FINANCIAL TURNOVER OF 6 BUSINESSES OUT OF 28











firmed even in the AKK work report for 2011, since 10 Deputies of the Kosovo Assembly who have not declared their businesses, and after Çohu and Preportr sent those to AKK, the latter only added those businesses which had not been declared in the declaration form. So, they were obliged to declare them, but had hidden them, and AKK, considering this as declaration as per request, did not proceed them to the Minor Offense Court, excluding one case which did not respond to the letter of AKK for providing additional information. This means that one high public official can hide his/her businesses and can make such declarations only if his/ her businesses are discovered, and for such non-declaration, according to AKK, ni sanctions can be undertaken against him/her.

I knew, I knew not...

Preportr has contacted with all above-mentioned officials (except for Ilir Tolaj who is currently in detention), and asked them regarding the non-declaration of their respective companies. A large part of them say that these businesses are not active and they though that they should not declare them, since they claim that they do not have any financial turnover. But the Law on Declaration of Wealth obliges these officials to declare every business activity, regardless of the fact whether these businesses are profitable or not, or whether their turnover balance is zero, or even negative. This obligation is practically linked with the fact that even if the businesses of these officials presently do not have financial turnover, tomorrow they could commence with activities since they are registered in ARBK, in other words, they are active.

The Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo, Behgjet Pacolli, did not declare the company called "Tempore", in which he is the owner, while Rrustem Pacolli is the authorized person. Pacolli said that he did not declare this company in 2011 since, according to him, it does not have any business activity. "The company 'Tempore' is passive, it is undergoing the procedures of termination and is under the management of Rrustem Pacolli. AKK is informed about everything", Pacolli has said. But the data of the Kosovo Tax Administration show that Pacolli's Company has had turnover and its value is not zero. "Tempore" Company, in which Pacolli is the owner, in 2002 had 9 thousand and 290 euros of financial turnover, in 2003 had 10 thousand and 612 euros turnover, and in 2004 had 133 thousand and 450 euros of turnover.

The Minister for Communities and Return, Radoica Tomic did not declare his company "STR Fan" at all in the Agency Against Corruption (AKK). Minister Tomiç through the information office has said that this company for more than 8 years is passive, while he has declared that he will terminate this business in ARBK. "...there is no income in the account of this company, which can also be verified. This company is registered under the name of minister Tomic, while it is managed by his sister. In the coming days, procedures will be initiated for obtaining the necessary documents from the Ministry of Trade and Industry for the non-functioning of the company in question", says the answer that the minister has provided through the information office.

> VAZHDON NGA FAOJA 5

The Minister of the Security Force, Agim Çeku did not declare in AKK the company "ATM Group" Sh.p.k., in which he is co-owner with Tomislav Kaçiç -Alesiç and Mark Shalaj. Minister Ceku says that he did not declare this company, since according to him, this company never functioned and never had financial turnover. He says that, taking this in view, he thought that the company had itself been terminated and is not registered in ARBK. "It was simply and attempt and an idea by a Croatian friend of mine back when I was not employed. After you have contacted me, and I thank you for reminding me, I have immediately taken measures to get out of there", said Ceku.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of the Public Administration, Nexhmedin Kastrati, did not declare his company "Qendra e Marketingut". Cyneyd Usaibo, deputy minister in the Ministry of Trade and Industry did not declare in AKK the company "A.G.O.-AL." - Branch in Kosovo, where he is the authorized person. Haidin Abazi, deputy minister in the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports did not declare the company "Conn - Con", where he is co-owner with Ismet Bajrami. All three of these deputy ministers attempt to give the same justifications, saying that their businesses do not conduct any business activity. They say that they thought they should not declare them since they do not have any financial turnover.

Whereas, Rifat Krasniç, deputy minister in the Ministry of Administration and Local Government did not declare the company "Mutlu". Krasniç has been fined on 31.12.2011 by the municipal court for minor offense in Prishtina because he had not declared his wealth at all in AKK. He declared his wealth on 01.11.2011, but he did not declare "Mutlu" at all. He says that he had forgotten to declare this business. "I have this company functional for 20 years. I have received the official duty on 27 March of 2011 and I could not declare the wealth and the court has fined me with 200 euros. Whereas after I have declared my wealth, I had forgotten to declare it", says Krasniç. Krasniç in this company has had turnover for many years and still continued to have. His company in 2000 had 1 thousand 273 euros turnover, in 2001 it had 4 thousand euros, in 2006 it had 12 thousand and 484 euros, in 2007 it had 20 thousand 828 euros, in 2008 it had 18 thousand and 666 euros, in 2009 it had 33 thousand

and 982 euros, in 2010 it had 26 thousand and 920 euros and in 2011 it had 15 thousand and 541 euros of financial turnover.

Ilir Tola, ex-permanent secretary in the Ministry of Health did not declare his company "I M C", where he is co-owner with Gazmend Pruthi. He currently is arrested under the suspicion for involvement in corruption.

Also some municipal mayors did not declare their businesses in AKK. The mayor of Suhareka, Blerim Kuçi did not declare his company "Universal Group", which he co-owns with Blerim Grainca. The mayor of Partesh Nenad Svetkoviç did not declare his companies "Mlp - Com" and "M & L - Com". (Svetkovic in 2007 in the first company had a financial turnover of 3 thousand and 125 euros).

The mayor of Lipjan, Shukri Buja did not declare his business D.p.h "Bulevardi". Also the mayor of Gjilan, Qemajl Mustafa did not declare his company "Vision Oil "Sh.p.k. where he is co-owner with Selatin Mehmeti, Begator Hila and Alban Shehri. The mayor of Mitrovica, Avni Kastrati did not declare his three companies in AKK: "Oil Trade", "Eko-Kosva" , which he owns and the company "Amar", which is in the property of his son, while he is the authorized person. (Kastrati in the company "Oli Trade" has had financial turnover for many years. In 2000 it had 33 thousand and 371 euros of turnover, in 2001 it had 1 million 261 thousand and 300 euros, in 2002 it had 321 thousand and 360 euros of financial turnover).

The reasons for not declaring these companies by the mayors do not stand. They say that they are not operating with these businesses, they say they do not have financial turnover and they did not know that they are still registered in ARBK, since they thought that if the businesses do not have financial turnover they terminate themselves!

Also some procurement directors did not declare their businesses in AKK, which are in their name registered in ARBK, as are all the businesses of these 25 officials.

Afrim Maxhuni, director of procurement in the Ministry of the Security Force did not declare his company "AA - HD", which is his property. Feti Ibishi, director of procurement in the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare did not declare his agricultural business "Malësia" where he is co-owner. Also Adem Krasniqi, director of procurement in the Ministry of Trade and Industry did not declare his trade company "Rrjeta". While Arben Loshi, director

of procurement in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not declare his company "Beni - Keramikë", which is his property. Also these officials attempt to give the same justifications, saying that they did not have business activities during the last years and that they thought they should not declare these businesses in AKK.

Also some directors and members of boards of public companies did not declare their businesses in AKK. Gani Syla, director of the board in the Post and Telecom of Kosovo did not declare his company "Dreni", where he is co-owner. Also Nuhi Ahmeti, director of the board in the Post and Telecom of Kosovo did not declare his company "Natyra". While, Fadil Ismajli, director in KOSST did not declare his company "Arting", where he is coowner with Mehmet Ahmetaj and Misin Voci. Flamur Keqa, member of the Board in KEK did not declare his company "IBF consulting training". These officials say that their businesses are passive and did not know that they should be declared, although the Law on the Declaration of Wealth obliges them that, regardless of the business activity, the businesses that are registered in their names should be declared.

Asllan Vitaku, head of the board in the Company for the Management of Landfills in Kosovo did not declare his company "Asllan & Sons", where he is owner. He says that he did not declare this company, with the reason that he did not know it should be declared.

"In this company, my son is manager and I don't know why it was not declared. This does not have much business, we do little business...", said Vitaku. Through this company, he has had financial turnover throughout the years and it still continues to. Vitaku's company "Asllan & Sons", in 2005 had 1 thousand and 757 euros turnover, in 2006 it had 4 thousand and 142 euros, in 2007 it had 5 thousand and 393 euros turnover, in 2008 it had 16 thousand and 365, in 2009 it had 13 thousand and 650 euros, in 2010 it had 16 thousand and 610 euros and in 2011 it had 3 thousand and 455 euros financial turnover.

Also Hanefi Muharremi, member of the board in ANP did not declare his business "Zyra e Shërbimeve Eksperti Muharremi". He does not give any specific reason why he did not declare this business. "I have this business since 2007 and I don't know what is the matter. It should be active, some cases we do in the courts. But I will check what is the matter",



Remark on the violators of the law:

Politicians and high officials who are obliged to declare their wealth at the Agency Against corruption (AKK) can freely and without any concern hide their businesses or functions they might have in certain businesses, and they will not be penalized. This is because AKK considers that non-declaration of a part of wealth or function in businesses by the high public officials does not constitute a violation of the Law on Declaration of Wealth.

During a research published on November 2011, Organization ÇOHU! and QKGH-ja had found that 7 Deputies did not declare their wealth or functions they have in certain businesses and had denounced these findings at ALL. But, the Agency had decided that these Deputies did not violate the law, and as a consequence. AKK did not consider that the high officials, who are obliged by the law to make public all possessions they have under their name, as well as functions they might have in businesses, may not have to declare them, and they can sleep peacefully because AKK will not initiate penal procedures against them. Furthermore, the Agency has allowed all high officials to declare their businesses and functions they might have in businesses at AKK even after the legal deadline (31 of March of each calendar year). According to this interpretation that AKK did, one high official can hide a business, where potentially he might have financial turnover/profit and can win public tenders and cause conflict of interest, and if it is found that he/she did not declare the business or function, no sanctioning measure is undertaken against him/her, but simply the new data is added to the register for the declaration of wealth, and the official is ok with the law!...

The director of AKK himself, Hasan Preteni, during the presentation of the report of the Agency for 2011 had declared that there is no high official against whom procedures have been initiated as regards the full non-declaration of wealth.

said Muharremi.

Aleksandër Janjiçeviç, member of the board in RTK did not declare in AKK his company P.P. "Inter - Comerce", which he owns. Also Rrahman Paçarizi, ex-head of the board of RTK did not declare his business Institute for Quality "ARAC". These officials say that these companies are non-profitable and they did not know they should be declared even if they are non-profitable.

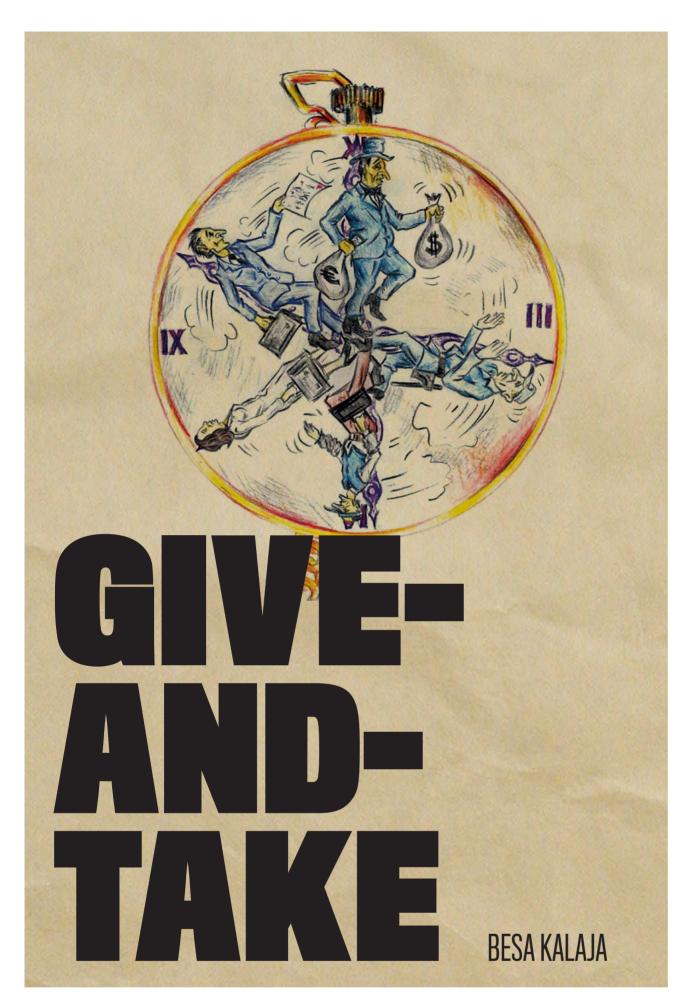
Active or passive?

The businesses registered in ARBK are active and have this status until the owners undertake the proper procedures for terminating the businesses. This is confirmed also by the chief executive of ARBK, Gazmend Mejzini. "A business is considered active as long as it figures as registered in the database of ARBK. If the business decides to be terminated then the procedures for termination should be respected, depending on the type of the business. In the website of ARBK you can find the procedures and documents necessary for the termination of businesses", says Mejzini.

Practically every business registered in ARBK can start to have financial turnover at any moment or even compete in different tenders to win projects. Furthermore, these companies, even if they are fictional, they can bid in different tenders in order to influence "the game" with bids. This is one of the reasons why the Law on Declaration of Wealth obliges the high officials to declare their businesses or their functions they have in the businesses in order to prevent possible conflicts of interest.

The documents which are necessary for terminating an individual business or general partnership are: Completion of the form, copy of owner's ID (owners), original business certificate, certificate by the Kosovo Tax Administration for terminating the business. Whereas, the documents necessary to terminate corporations are: Completion of the specific form, publication of liquidation in a daily newspaper in tree Languages ½ of the page, certificate by the Kosovo Tax Administration for the termination of the business, copies of ID of owner or copies of passports, if the owner is a foreigner, the decision on Liquidation of the Corporation, the decision for the naming of the Liquidator, report on the assets of the capital.

So, only through following these procedures can businesses be terminated, and until a business is terminated in ARBK, it should be declared, regardless whether it is profitable or not.



olitical parties coming to power in Kosovo are closely linked to their donors. During elections, they receive amounts of money from physical and legal subjects in violation of the Law on Financing of Political Parties. During the elections of 2010, the parties in power, PDK and AKR have received the most of donations from physical and legal persons, in comparison with other competing parties in the elections. The audit report commissioned by the Central Election Commission (CEC) on the financial statements of the political parties for 2010, published during June of this year, observed that the biggest violators of this law are the two political parties - the Democratic Party of Kosovo and New Kosovo Alliance.

These two subjects have the largest number of donors, and as a consequence the largest number of violations. Disregarding the law, the donors, be it physical or legal persons, have given larger amounts of money than allowed by the law. Previous research carried by "Preportr" shows that the donors of political parties in power are mainly companies which win public tenders as a compensation for their support to the parties during election campaigns, which represents a serious violation of competition in public procurement. During the last research, "Preportr" has found that 43 different subjects, mainly construction companies, which as businesses and physical persons financed the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), during the last two elections campaigns have benefited in the amount of more than 100 million euro through public tenders. The Democratic

Party of Kosovo (PDK), led by Prime Minister Hashim Thaci, is the party which has received the most donations both from physical but also from legal persons. The audit report has found this political subject to have committed the most violations, as well as other irregularities in the financial statements it has submitted to CEC.

PDK with numerous violations of the law

This research has mainly focused on the amount received by political parties in the form of cash, but this is not the only form the parties receive support from the private sector. Not rarely do companies offer support in the form of services, especially marketing, which it can be said go almost unmonitored. "Magjistralja" from Gjilan has given PDK 16 thousand euro, which is in violation of the Law on Financing of Polit-

The political subjects have received donations for the campaign exceeding what is allowed by law. CEC, as an overseeing body of the parties, has not sanctioned them for the violations they have committed, but has only obliged them to return the prohibited contributions to the contributors. During the last research carried out by "Preportr", it was found that 43 different subjects, mainly construction companies, which as legal and physical persons financed the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), during the last two election campaigns have benefited more than 100 million euro from public tenders.

ical Parties, and article 1 and 1.2 says "Political Subjects are allowed to receive contributions from: legal persons in the amount of – not more than ten thousand (10.000) for one (1) calendar year". Also "Euro Trans" company, also from Gjilan, has given more money than allowed by the law. This company has given PDK 10,500 euro. Apart from companies, also individual person, mainly businessmen related with the public sector, have exceeded the limits determined by the law in financing of political parties. Even as physical persons who have financed the parties by exceeding the legal limits, Nijazi Idrizi within one day has given 7000 euro. According to CEC audit report for 2010, also Florim Zuka, owner of "Tali" company has donated 3000 euro to PDK election campaign as a physical person. Amounts exceeding what is allowed have also been given by: Gëzim Duraj 5000, Naser Kurti 5000, Shefki Xhakli 4500, Bejtush Mustafa 3500, Rexhep Ferizi 2.500, Musli Ramadani 6,497, Flurim Zeqiri 5.000, etc. These donations exceed the legal limit for donations by individuals, respectively physical persons, which according to the law the limit determines amounts not more than two thousand (2,000) Euro for one (1) calendar year - article 1 and 1.1 of the Law on Financing of Political Parties. Regarding PDK, the auditor has found other violations as well. In some cases when amounts exceeding 1,000 donated by physical persons, the personal data of the donors and the date of the donation have not been filled in. The external audit report observes that the data on the registration and operation of political parties according to Regulation 01/2008 have not been completed. The auditor has found that this political subject (PDK) has not maintained a proper accounting, according to applicable standards in Kosovo, and therefore, the data presented in the form do not reflect reliability, since according to the auditor, the verification was impossible due to the lack of supporting evidence. Ironically, the violation of the law by non-complying with the required accounting standards, respectively the lack of financial documents have been turned around to serve as defense by the violating parties, since according to the audit report, it is impossible to establish whether there is material misuse or not. "...due to lack of supporting documents, we were not able to ... verify whether the financial statements declared by the political subject are free of material misuse, and whether they are in harmony with regulation 01/2008 for the Registration and Operation of Political Parties and with the Law on general elections 03-L/073", the audit report says.

Donations from overseas

After PDK, the party which has received the most donations is New Kosovo Alliance (AKR) of Behgjet Pacolli. According to the audit report, this party has received more money from a single person within one day. Furthermore, this party has received a lot of donations from Switzerland. The clan support given to AKR is what makes

> CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

this party different from the others. Thus, individuals with the last name of the head of the party prevail in the list of donors, but taking in view that the head of the party, Behgjet Pacolli is a multimillionaire, it is possible that these names have simply been used to create the impression that the financing of this political party is not one-source.

Habibe Bunjaku, Tahije Pacolli, have donated 15,000 euro each, Enver Pacolli 14,992 euro, Erika Campello 13, 475 euro, Flamur Sefaj 20.000, Adnan Pacolli 19, 965 euro, the amount of 19 thousand and 963 euro given by Armend Salihu and Luciana Gaitto, and Daut Pacolli 15, 200 euro. The auditor has not found violations of such nature in the other two big political parties, LDK and AAK, which during this period of time have been outside of governing power. This in a manner confirms the suspicions that donations are closely related to the power of the parties, which based on numerous researches, return the favor to the donors by using their power over the public procurement. Another scandal is the practice of interference of foreign capital in financing of political parties, which is prohibited in democratic countries since it can account for a serious infringement of democracy. Smaller parties, mainly coming from the communities, have received funds from overseas, which is in violation of the Law on Financing of Political Parties, Article 11, act 1.1, which specifies that "Foreign financial support and materials is prohibited from: 1.1 government or non-government foreign institutions, as well as foreign physical and legal persons" The political party Crnogorska Liberalna Stranka has received donations in the amount of 3000 euro from Montenegro. Money from overseas has also received the political party "Levizja per Bashkim", which has received from Albania an amount of 9,963 euro.

No sanctions for the violators of the law

The violations we observe in this reporting are not a new phenomenon in the functioning of political parties. They have been present even in previous mandates, when other parties were in power. These violations are sanctioned very poorly, or not at all, and this is repeated year after year. The Central Election Commission up till now has not issued any fines to political subjects, which according to the audit Report have violated the law. The only measure undertaken by CEC is the request made to political parties that they return these illegal donations back to the donors, thus without being sanctioned for violating the law. Fehmi Pireva, high legal officer in CEC has said that after the publication of the audit report, they requested from political parties to return these donations, when there were cases of exceeding the amounts, and this within a 14-day deadline, which according to him, the parties accomplished to do. "We have done this based on Regulation No.01/2008 for registration and operation of political parties, where article 17.7 says that "If the registered political party accepts the contribution which is not allowed according to this Regulation, the head of the party returns the contribution to the contributor within fourteen days (14) from the time of receiving the information for the prohibited contribution", he says.

In cases when the political subject has not been able to return the funds to the donor, this Regulation determines that the money should be allocated to the Budget of Kosovo.

The Democratic Party of Kosovo has so far carried out this obligation towards CEC, and regarding four cases when the donors could not be identified, the money allocated to this party by the National Assembly has been allocated to the Budget of Kosovo.

Although the administrator of this political subject, Halil Selimi says that the part of raising donations for the campaign is not their responsibility, since during election campaign it is the Leadership of the Party which announces people responsible for raising money, they have cooperated with CEC in returning those funds. "I cannot say that these cases represent violations of the law, but I can say that that money has been received in an irregular manner. Now all this has been settled in cooperation with CEC", Selimi has said.

He has said that the party did not identify 4 donors and the money that should have been returned to them in the amount of 2,500 euro has been allocated to the budget of Kosovo. Officials in PDK have not consented to show which the amount was due to be returned to the donors. Unofficially, it has been pointed out that this amount is a little over 50 thousand. This money has been returned from the Fund for development and democracy, which the Assembly has allocated to this party.

The other party, which according to the audit report has violated the law by receiving more donations than is allowed from the same donor within one day, has not received any request by CEC to return the money. Hafize Pacolli, responsible for finances in AKR, has said that since she did not receive a request, it implied that this political subject did not violate the law. "This can be due to the fact that all sources of money are known to the party. All the donations to the party are carried through bank transactions and we have submitted all bank invoices to CEC and the auditor", she has said, but without being able to explain the fact how it did come that the auditor has evidenced the donations received in the amounts exceeding 1,000 euro from the same person within one day as violations by this political subject.

The lack of certified financial officers

The violations of the law, which political subjects prefer to call irregularities, occur more due to lack of experience and knowledge of the law of those receiving the donations.

The auditor has observed that the political subjects do not have certified financial officers, whereas one such officer is lacking even in CEC. The lacking of a financial officer is also mentioned by the Director for the registration of political parties, Miradije Mavriqi. She has implied that a lot of things go wrong because the Office has a very small number of employees. Even the political subjects have mentioned the fact that people in the field are

"The only way to deal with this is not through persecuting individuals, because those cases will continue to happen, but it is through changing the economy."

AMBASSADOR CHRISTOPHER DELL, MAY 2010

"Kosovar officials and political parties are so much involved in this phenomenon that it is impossible to change anything without their good will...what is worse is that there are cases when journalists are paid to write articles....

AMBASSADOR CHRISTOPHER DELL, MARCH 2012

The American Ambassador Christopher Dell at the end of his mandate has launched a general attack against different social actors in Kosovo, through generalizing them as corrupt and manipulated. Be as it may, when commenting on questions addressed by Organization ÇOHU! regarding the manner of signing the contract for building the Highway and for the giving with concession the Airport of Prishtina, and the fact that the bids were not opened publicly, Ambassador Dell had defended the signing of these contracts, considering that those who had raised questions about these issues are "nostalgics of the cold war".





not properly prepared. During a roundtable recently organized by the Kosovo Democratic Institute (KDI), focusing on the financing of political parties, the majority of participants have emphasized the lack of specialized staff in CEC, but also in political parties. Në PDK nuk kanë pranuar të tregojnë se cila është vlera e mjeteve që u është dashur t'i kthejnë. Jo zyrtarisht është thënë se janë diku më shumë se 50 mijë euro. Këto mjete janë kthyer nga Fondi për zhvillim dhe demokraci, që Kuvendi ia ka ndarë kësaj partie. Partia tjetër që sipas raportit të auditorit del ta ketë shkelur ligjin duke pranuar donacione nga një donator brenda ditës më shumë se sa lejohet, nuk ka marrë asnjë ftesë nga KQZ për kthimin e mjeteve. Hafize Pacolli përgjegjëse për financa në AKR, ka thënë se pasi kërkesa nuk u ka shkuar kjo lë të nënkuptohet se ky subjekt politik nuk e ka shkelur ligjin. "Kjo mund të jetë edhe për faktin se të gjitha mjeteve në partinë tonë u dihet burimi. Të gjitha mjetet në këtë subjekt shkojnë përmes bankës dhe të gjitha faturat e bankës ne ua kemi dërguar KQZ-së dhe auditorit", thotë ajo pa mundur të shpjegojë faktin se si ka ndod-

hur që auditori e ka evidentuar si shkelje ligji pranimin e donacioneve në vlera më të larta se 1,000 euro nga një donator brenda ditës nga ky subjekt politik.

Mungojnë zyrtarët e certifikuar financiar

Shkeljet e ligjit që subjektet politike më shumë i quajnë parregullësi, vijnë më shumë për mungesë të eksperiencës dhe njohjes së ligjit të atyre që i pranojnë donacionet. Auditori ka vërejtur që subjektet nuk kanë zyrtarë financiar të certifikuar kurse një zyrtar i tillë i mungon edhe KQZ-së. Mungesën e një zyrtari financiar e ka përmendur edhe drejtoresha e Zyrës për registrimin e partive politike, Miradije Mavriqi. Ajo ka lënë të nënkuptohet se shumë gjëra shkojnë keq pasi Zyra e ka një numër shumë të vogël të punëtorëve. Edhe subjektet politike e kanë përmendur faktin që njerëzit në terren nuk i kanë fort të përgatitur. Gjatë një tryeze që para pak ditësh e ka organizuar Instituti Demokratik i Kosovës (KDI), që në fokus e ka pasur financimin e partive politike nga të gjithë pjesëmarrësit është përmendur mungesa e stafit të specializuar në KQZ, por edhe në parti politike.







