

SPECIAL THANKS

The recommendations presented here are the result of a series of interviews with representatives from local and international governing institutions, the economic sector, civil society and foreign offices. We thank the British Office, Delina Fico (Country Coordinator, Star Network of World Learning), ECO-99, Edita Tahiri Fron Nazi, Gordana Igric, Hashim Thaci, Kosova Women's Network, Kosova Women's Business Network, Kosovo Development Center, Kosovo Documentation and Research Institute, Kosovo Police Service School, Kreshnik Berisha, Lufti Haziri-Mayor of Gjilan, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Prime Minister's Office, UNMIK and USAID for providing their recommendations for this publication.

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UPCOMING EVENTS

"The Advocate" extra edition presentation and discussion.....April 28, 2pm

"New Money Laundering Regulation" Public Discussion.....April 29, 2pm



The ideas and recommendations herein are not necessarily the ideas of ATRC, USAID, CARE or IDEA.

THE ADVOCATE

Volume 2 • Special Edition • April 2004

A Note on the Contents of this Issue

Simply attributing the violent March 17-19 events in Kosovo to "ethnic conflict" ignores a number of important political, social and economic factors. Most of these factors involve Kosovo's current situation and the role of its governing institutions. What is really at question is good governance, and good governance begins with each institution taking responsibility for their actions or non-actions. This includes their responsibility to be accountable and to listen to the people of Kosovo.

At the same time, civil society must address its weaknesses. A few NGOs reacted immediately: the Center for the Protection of Women and Children (CPWC) and the Kosova Women's Network (KWN) set up funds for the victims and the Foundation for Democratic Initiatives held a grant competition. Yet,

Igballe Rogova (KWN) and Sevdie Ahmeti (CPWC) deliver funds their organizations raised for a Serbian family whose house was burnt. CPWC also raised funds for two Serb NGOs.



these were only reactions. In general, NGOs were slow to react, if at all. Now we must ask ourselves how civil society should move forward. "The Advocate: Special Edition" is a small attempt to draw a road map that will prevent us from falling into the same trap again. Hopefully, in the future we will play a preventative role, and if something occurs, we will act immediately to stop it - not just condemn it from behind the closed doors of our offices.

Also, we should note the need to encourage change.

Civil society, the PISG, UNMIK and the foreign offices should be advocates for change and play their respective roles in helping Kosovo move forward. We all must realize that change to a given structure does not mean awarding the aggressor but rather, awarding the moderates. Not changing will only allow frustrations to flare again.

ATRC hopes that the respective bodies will seriously consider these recommendations and take a proactive approach with their future activities.

A Message from ATRC

By Kreshnik Berisha, Director
The March riots left dozens of our fellow citizens killed; homes, cultural and religious monuments in ruins; and pictures reminiscent of the '98-'99 war in our minds. The pretentious international governing institutions, unaccountable to Kosovars, and the inexperienced local institutions, supported by more than 18,000 NATO troops, were caught totally off guard.

Despite disagreements regarding the real causes and ways to prevent it from happening again, everyone seems to agree that these events represent a setback in Kosovo's path towards becoming a true democra-

cy. How costly a setback? Perhaps too costly for Kosovo's fragile society to pay.

All of us are responsible for failing to foresee, prevent or stop these damaging events. We allowed extremist groups an open door to use people's frustration with Kosovo's current political and economic situation to seriously damage Kosovo's democratization processes.

We at ATRC have worked with local and international partners for two years to bring the decision-making process closer to the peo-

ple. Yet, the latest developments put to question the "progress" we so proudly claimed had happened in Kosovo since the war.

Now, we consider even more significant our mission of creating a government of the people, by the people and for the people.



"Have we slept enough?" An art student asks Kosovo society and its institutions a hypothetical question regarding their apathy to react.

Albanians Lose the Plot

Last week's violence in Kosovo has played into Belgrade's hands by increasing the likelihood of partition.

By Gordana Igric in London

There will be time enough for Kosovo Albanian political players to mull over how they let their own extremists last week score a disastrous own goal. They have seriously alienated international allies, played into Belgrade's hands and maybe undermined the chances of independence - the only goal Albanian politicians could agree on until now without pulling a gun on each other. [...]

Radical Albanian extremists - war veterans from the Kosovo Liberation Army, KLA, unemployed youths, student activists and probably a few cells of the Albanian National Army, [...] had lost patience with the international community, which has been dragging its feet for almost five years on Kosovo's final status. [...] The extremists tried a recipe that has already been tested in other parts of the former Yugoslavia - read Croatia and Republika Srpska. First, expel ethnic minorities and then wait to be rewarded by the international community with a state, or at least (like the Republika Srpska) with an entity. [...] The political framework is different now. The West is engaged in its "war on terrorism" and has little sympathy for another wave of burning and looting in the Balkans. [...]

The UN mission cannot let all the Serbs leave Kosovo. It does not want to admit that the "multi-ethnic" Kosovo, which it was supposed to be building, was a failure. Some wonder whether the international soldiers guarding the Serbs in

Continued on pg. 3. Full article on IWPR.

Recommendations for Civil Society

Show the "Real" Kosovo

Most of the international community -- inside and outside of Kosovo -- has attributed the March violence to Kosovar Albanian society. According to official numbers, only 1% of the population participated. Yet some internationals believe that non-participation does not mean Albanians were against the violence. Unless Kosovar Albanians want the international community to believe that they condoned the violence, they should condemn it by writing a statement of their beliefs (including protection of property, peaceful dispute, the right of all parties to live in Kosovo and non-violence). NGOs should collect signatures and widely circulate this statement both locally and internationally. This will improve Kosovo's current image.

Civil society should actively help displaced people return and involve local communities in providing aid, donating materials and welcoming them back.

NGOs should write a letter to the Security Council demanding that an independent group thoroughly investigate UNMIK's performance. Findings should be publicized in a report that details what happened and recommends how to prevent it from reoccurring. This report should include citizens' input, especially regarding potential failures



Letter-writing and e-mail campaigns can be an effective tool for making Kosovo voices heard and lobbying for certain issues.

Joint Declaration of Kosovar Civil Society

A Statement written by NGOs following the March violence.

We are gathered today as representatives of civil society for an immediate reaction to the events of the last few days in Kosovo. The result of today's meeting, attended by 57 non-governmental organizations and networks, is the following statement:

- 1. As representatives of Kosovar civil society, we are united in condemning all acts of violence of the last few days. We ask all citizens to immediately halt all protests and violent acts. Your grievances should not and can not be addressed through the destruction of Kosovo.*
- 2. We ask from the responsible institutions to work actively and effectively on raising the level of the security for all citizens of Kosovo, especially for the Serb population in Central Kosovo and Albanian population on the north of Ibër/Ibar River.*
- 3. We ask Kosovar institutions and UNMIK to end mutual accusations. Your immediate responsibility is for the security and the life of citizens of Kosovo. As members of civil society we pledge to do our utmost to support the KPS, CIVPOL, and KFOR.*
- 4. We express our deepest and most sincere condolences to all the families of the victims of disturbances of the last few days. We are aware that our words cannot substitute the loss of your loved ones. However, we hope that you know that your pain is felt by the entire civil society of Kosovo.*
- 5. In this meeting, a special "ad-hoc" group has been created by the representatives of 15 organizations and non-governmental networks, in order to coordinate and plan the emergency activities of the civil society. The information about the next planned activities will be available after the first meeting of this coordinating body.*

of the international governing institutions. NGOs should solicit support from the quint offices for this.

Civil society should speak publicly against violence and promote integration. They should raise awareness as to why violence is the wrong approach. Civil society could also organize a candlelight vigil at all of the places destroyed in the recent violence.

Be The People's Voice

Civil society should become actively involved in making Kosovo voices heard, especially by internationals in Kosovo and abroad. Civil society should build a relationship with internationals to share Kosovars' thoughts and ideas. First, civil society should constantly request meetings with internationals, demanding that citizens be heard besides through the PISG, which may not always represent citizens accurately.

Second, civil society needs to improve Kosovo's visibility in the media locally and internationally. Civil society representatives should constantly publish articles on issues such as: Kosovars' positive activi-

ties, peaceful citizen movements, steps towards status, PISG performance, UNMIK accountability, etc. They should involve competent journalists in writing these articles. The media can be used to share information and to mobilize people for positive actions. The international press can also be used as a tool for internationals to hear local people's needs, especially to demand UN accountability.

Third, civil society should utilize its connections with outside governments and NGOs to gain support.

Fourth, through letter-writing and e-mail campaigns Kosovars can express their opinion and lobby for certain issues. Letters can be sent to individuals or organizations of influence such as SRSG Holkeri, the quint offices, OSCE, UN Security Council, Kofi Annan, US congress and individual governments abroad.

Fifth, NGOs should invite all sectors to talks, both closed and televised, to discuss all parties' wants and peaceful solutions. Such talks should include war veterans, religious sects and parallel structures.

Albanians Lose cont'd

northern Mitrovica are there to combat Albanian extremists or to block the Serbs from leaving - which would confirm the final failure of the international community. [...] Belgrade dreams of a Bosnian solution here, with a Kosovo Serb entity created on the same lines as Republika Srpska. This strategy is already being discussed, with a cantonisation plan floated a couple of weeks ago by the Serbian prime minister Vojislav Kostunica [...]. Belgrade will do everything to keep the remaining Serbs in the north. The strategy of building parallel institutions that was already in place in northern Mitrovica, and which has infuriated the Albanians over the last few years, will continue. The Serbian state will continue to issue documents to the people of the northern Serbian enclave, building up a Serbian health and educational system there, paying pensions and so on. [...]

UN officials in Kosovo have refused to give the press any logical explanation for these latest events, which tells a lot about the confusion and disarray in their ranks. In the short term, UN officials in Kosovo will try to downplay recent violence, to calm the situation and boost their own morale. [...] But in the long term, the UN is in a bind. [...]

What about the Kosovo Albanians who suffered so much under Milosevic, a suffering that Serbia systematically refuses to acknowledge? They might perhaps be best described in the same terms that Serbia's nationalistic writer Dobrica Cosic once employed for the Serbs: a nation that wins the war but loses the peace.

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Civil Society Recommendations II

Be Accountable

NGOs should form coalitions, design long-term strategies and undertake joint campaigns. They must hold themselves accountable to higher standards of transparency, accountability and self-evaluation. If civil society claims to represent the people, then they should really represent the people. Their activities should not be for media show or to attract donors.

Improve Communication

Civil society needs to delve into the population, organizing town hall meetings, roundtables to raise "moral" awareness and public debates. NGOs should help citizens find solutions to community problems and empower moderates by being their "mouthpiece". This includes transforming the ideology in all sectors from a "victim" and complaining approach to a proactive approach and finding positive ways to channel people's energies towards initiating real changes, peacefully. Civil society should work directly with and involve viable communities like youth, the unemployed and families on social assistance. For example, NGOs could establish community public commissions outside the government; these commissions would be responsible for delivering the community's voice and holding governing institutions accountable.

Civil society should build relations and develop a homogenous approach with UNMIK and the PISG. They should request more meetings with the SRSG and decision-making bodies.

Civil society should do more joint projects with majority and minority members organizing and participating together. More spe-

cifically, N G O s should work to improve communication with the Serb community, both locally and regionally.

Apply Pressure for Progress

Civil society should be actively involved in helping the PISG design a long-term strategy to present to the international community. This strategy should address status, achieving standards, improving public relations, etc.

Since it has the relevant expertise, civil society should engage itself more in building new institutions and influencing economic, social and political issues through advocacy. Civil society should be more proactive in writing strategies, policy papers and regulations. It should offer more consultation to the PISG in drafting legislation. More specifically, civil society should support standards (before or after final status) as human rights for Kosovo to work towards achieving.

Civil society should educate the public to elect better governmental representatives and to hold current and future representatives accountable. For example, in the upcoming elections, civil society should make politicians publicly present their platforms. If politicians do not follow these platforms, civil society should publish articles in the media showing specific representatives' and parties' failures.

Civil society needs to actively promote progressive causes and values. At the



Birra e Pejes is one factory waiting to be privatized. Doing so would entice investors, allow for product expansion, provide new job opportunities and lead to thousands more Euros for the Kosovo consolidated budget through taxes.

same time, NGOs need to channel their efforts and energies to areas where concrete changes can be made. For example, civil society can lobby for UNMIK to increase taxes on imports that compete with local products; lower costs on importing raw materials; for a transparent and speedy privatization process with citizen involvement and monitoring; and for passports and travel documents to be accepted.

Civil society should be more persistent and follow through with its advocacy campaigns; advocacy involves long-term dedication to finish what one starts.

“Advocacy is not a project. It's a long-term process that requires persistence.”

Educate Society

Civil society should speak with parents, teachers and the Ministry of Education to better educate society about the positive aspects of a multi-ethnic society, UNMIK's role in Kosovo and how to hold elected officials accountable. One point to clarify in these meetings is that returning Serbs does not mean returning the Serbian regime.

Independence Brings Stability

By Edita Tahiri in Pristina

In five years, international governing structures have moved things forward in many respects, but the overall stagnation is becoming increasingly visible. On the one hand, Kosova has established its elected institutions while on the other hand these institutions are late in meeting people's requests. Kosova's emergency phase has ended, but the development phase has just begun. People are waiting for independence and a normal economic life, but a stable political and economic future are nowhere in the immediate horizon.

Leading international analysts have observed that as long as Kosova's status is unresolved, tensions and insecurity will continue. The International Crisis Group and the International Independent Commission for Kosovo suggested "conditioned independence". Other models are "independent status plus protectorate, according to East Timor" or "independence and standards in one package". These models offer solutions for Kosova as a protectorate, as well as an exit strategy for the international community.

Some recommendations that I believe will contribute to a way out of the current situation as well as the realization of a sustainable solution for Kosova are as follows:

- The international community should recognize the independence of Kosova as a stability factor for Kosova and the region.
- The international community should change its current strategy "standards before status" and imple-

Build Capacity for the Future

Members of the PISG need to build their capacity and improve their performance so that international governing bodies consider them viable partners. If the PISG can prove that they are capable of managing their current responsibilities, then the international community will be more convinced to hand over additional competencies. By working as a team, the PISG will be more able to proactively make serious demands for Kosovo's future.

The PISG should openly request and undergo training on management; finances; developing and implementing a strategic plan; and hiring and firing personnel. Transparency in the hiring process and job descriptions and must be established.

The PISG should use civil society as a resource. For example, civil society can provide expertise and objectivity in policy papers.

"Independence is not a gift. The PISG needs to build strong, effective institutions to first show that they can be valuable partners."

Develop a Strategy

The PISG should bring in a strategic planning specialist to develop a strategy and implementation plan. OSCE, civil society and public monitors should participate in this transparent process. The strategy should specifically address issues related to the role of the international commu-

nity, privatization, minorities, parallel structures, relations with the Serbian government, Mitrovica, crises management, missing persons, standards, travel documents, license plates, unemployment, electricity and water. As progress is made towards achieving the goals set out in the plan, this information should be made available to the public so that they can see progress being made.

Work Directly with Serbia

For final status, the PISG needs to negotiate directly with Serbia because the international community will not simply hand over independence. Doing so would set a precedent to which the UN will not commit. The PISG must initiate an open dialog with Serbia, especially to negotiate on delicate issues such as missing persons, parallel structures and Kosovo's final status. The PISG must cooperate to devise a serious proposal for Kosovo's final status to present to Serbia and the international community.

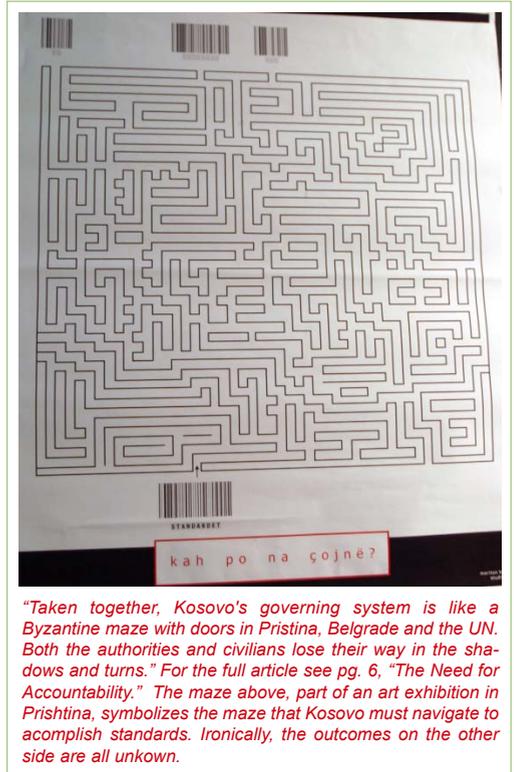
Improve Information-Sharing

The PISG should build relationships with the people, KFOR and UNMIK. All elected and appointed officials need to create mechanisms

for gathering information from the public, especially dependable objective information outside the media. The PISG should work directly with and involve viable communities like youth, the unemployed, and families on social assistance. The PISG should also:

- Establish information-sharing offices so that people can easily access information without spending hours in government buildings waiting for documents.
- Establish a central intelligence agency that provides accurate information and that takes preemptive steps against potential outbreaks of violence in the future.
- Open liaison offices abroad to promote the PISG's and Kosovo's interests, especially in international centers of power like Vienna, Brussels and New York.
- Create mechanisms to better publicly communicate the PISG's stance on

Recommendations for the PISG



"Taken together, Kosovo's governing system is like a Byzantine maze with doors in Pristina, Belgrade and the UN. Both the authorities and civilians lose their way in the shadows and turns." For the full article see pg. 6, "The Need for Accountability." The maze above, part of an art exhibition in Pristina, symbolizes the maze that Kosovo must navigate to accomplish standards. Ironically, the outcomes on the other side are all unknown.

Stability Cont'd

ment a strategy "independence and standards in one package". Kosovo's independence will open the way for development and standards implementation;

- UNMIK and local institutions should redefine their relationship, specifically regarding transferring competencies to locals.

- Local institutions and political forces should be unified as a coalition. They should come up with a joint strategy to face challenges.

- Local institutions and political forces should redefine their relationship with citizens since there is a missing link between leadership and citizens.

- The international community and local political forces should accept election system reform according to the proportional model with open ballots and more voting districts. This would decrease citizen's dissatisfaction because they would be able to elect their desirable candidates and political parties would be obliged to nominate more qualified candidates. Election reform would improve governmental accountability and motivate citizens to participate in the elections.

- UNMIK, local institutions and civil society should work towards healing wounds from war, resolving the missing persons issue, returning refugees and delivering punishment to Slobodan Miloshevic and his collaborators.

- Locals and internationals should form a consensus regarding Kosovo's economic plan; this should include more effective privatization and appropriate competencies for locals.

- The local government should have more competencies for managing internal security issues.

Recommendations for the PISG II

issues and apply more pressure to achieve the PISG's demands.

Be Held Accountable

First, the PISG needs to request that an independent analysis of the PISG's functioning during the March events. The PISG should watch videos of their reaction and ask questions: what is our society aiming towards and is this it? The areas where they failed in their responsibility should be shown publicly, both locally and internationally. Then the PISG should reshuffle the cabinet based upon failures to act responsibly. More specifically, any person who publicly supported the violence or was responsible for failures should resign or be dismissed. Also, the Ministry of Education should investigate which teachers allowed students to leave their classrooms to participate in

the protests and take the appropriate measures.

Second, the PISG should guarantee implementation of the rule of law by

investigating and prosecuting former criminals, underground groups, religious extremists, fundamentalists, and parallel structures-Albanian and Serbian alike.

Take Responsibility for Protecting Minority Citizens

Everyone in the government must immediately reach out to the Serb and other minority communities and work to restore damaged property and churches. The President and other political leaders must take the lead in accepting all communities because others reflect their example.

A Positive Example

All municipalities should follow Ferizaj's example, calming the community and publishing requests for Serbs to come back.. Municipality leaders need to have more public courage and responsibility to protect all members of their community. This would show the international community that Kosovars want a multi-ethnic society.

In the future, the government must build a relationship, both publicly and internally with minorities in Kosovo. The government should work with Kosovo's minority communities to draft an "integration plan". This could include community-based and local police mechanisms for Kosovars to protect minorities. The PISG should take the initiative to end parallel structures, and the Ministry of Education should immediately initiate an intensive multi-ethnic curriculum.

Recommendations for the International Diplomatic Offices and Quint Group

The international diplomatic offices should be more active and decisive. Each office and/or a coalition of offices should devise a strategy on at least two or three issues on which they are capable of making a difference. The offices should make this strategy public.

International offices should provide support for local civil initiatives by pressuring independent governments, UNMIK and the Security Council to listen to civil society's and citizen's requests. For example, in the election system reform campaign, international offices voiced support for changing the electoral system, but they did not take any further initiative. They

should use their own means to apply pressure towards UNMIK and the UN Security Council on issues that they support.

The international offices should provide more leadership and advice to local people. They should increase direct communication with locals through seminars and discussions. More of the local people's

and experts' ideas should be incorporated in their strategies.

More specifically, the international offices should take a stance on supporting issues towards democratization in Kosovo. This should include devising a common strategy regarding UNMIK's future role in Kosovo.

A Recommendation for a New Reconciliation Strategy

Kosovo's reconciliation process needs an honest, pragmatic human rights approach. The strategy for reconciliation cannot involve blaming the majority or socially blaming the minority. The PISG and internationals should issue a statement that they are working to make human rights available to all. A human rights approach would be more beneficial to the community than the current ethnic based approach.

The Need for Accountability

Which governing authority in Kosovo should bear responsibility for failing to prevent the recent violence?

By Fron Nazi in Pristina

The recent clashes between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo [...] should not raise the old question of whether Kosovo's two main communities can co-exist. The more relevant question is which governing authority should the victims hold accountable? [...]

On one hand, there is UNMIK, the ultimate authority that is responsible for the police and courts. On the other, the Provisional Institutions for Self Government, PISG, comprised of elected citizens, but which is no stronger than a high school student council. The structure is further complicated by the Serbian government's ongoing influence over Kosovo Serbs.

So, which governing authorities can the people of Kosovo - both Albanian and Serbian - hold accountable for failing to prevent the recent violence? The locally elected PISG is accountable to the electorate but lacks power, while UNMIK has power but is accountable only to the UN Security Council. Under its current structure, the governors of Kosovo - both the local and the international officials - are the most "independent" in the world - in the sense that none of their authority is accountable to the people.

UNMIK has developed a road map comprised of a series of standards that the Kosovars must fulfil before final status will be discussed. [...] For the PISG to meet the set standards, UNMIK has to relinquish more power to them. [...]

While the status issue remains in limbo, two paral-

Continued on pg. 7. Full article on IWPR.

Recommendations for UNMIK

Hold People Accountable

The overall functioning of UNMIK needs a thorough review. Those responsible for failures, either immediate or indirect, should resign or be dismissed. KFOR and UNMIK police need to deeply evaluate their performance, and those who failed to perform their jobs should resign. UNMIK should use the rule of law, publicly investigating and arresting members from AKSH, underground networks and religious fanatics that were involved in the March violence.

In the future, UNMIK must be more transparent and accountable. The current approach, where society feels that UNMIK is more of a dictatorship than an exemplar of democracy, leads to public frustration and sets a bad example for Kosovar institutions by not responding to locals' requests. More specifically, UNMIK should improve its accountability and transparency in relation to reserved powers, especially KEK, PTK and privatization.

Reevaluate Strategy

UNMIK has different agendas within itself; it needs a homogenous approach for Kosovo. The current lack of clarity and vision leads to discontent and rumors. UNMIK needs to communicate a clear strategy and deliver it. This strategy should clearly address parallel structures. UNMIK should also consider redesigning benchmarks or at least pushing harder for fulfilling the current ones.

"The role of UNMIK is to make itself unnecessary."

Transfer Powers

UNMIK's strategy should include a specific implementation strategy for the urgent transfer of powers. UNMIK needs to work more closely with the PISG. Giving more power to the PISG in decision-making would speed the transfer of power process,

provide the PISG with more ownership and make them more able to successfully implement standards. UNMIK should remain available to provide assistance and mentoring to the PISG as powers are transferred. UNMIK should steadily provide concrete progress reports to the public so that they can see changes occurring.

"[The PISG] can't learn to swim by just being taught the theory."

Stimulate the Economy

UNMIK needs to focus especially on stimulating the economy. First and foremost, Kosovo needs a speedy, transparent privatization process. UNMIK should conduct an analysis of the privatization process thus far and make this information public. In the future, the public should be more involved in the process, especially in monitoring for transparency. Changing the fiscal policy would also encourage investors to enter Kosovo. Encouraging European countries to recognize UNMIK travel documents and Kosovar license plates, allowing more taxes on imports that compete



By advocating for election reform, NGOs demand that the first standard, democracy, be achieved

with the local economy and lowering costs on raw material imports would further stimulate the economy.

Improve Information-Sharing

UNMIK needs to improve intelligence communication between itself, OSCE and the local police. UNMIK should devise a better information strategy for making progress known and addressing bad news. Specifically, UNMIK needs to improve leadership so that an authoritative message with credible information can be rapidly distributed publicly and so that institutions can have a united, immediate approach to issues.

Through town meetings and other communication strategies, UNMIK should increase contact with local people. UNMIK needs to train itself to listen to Kosovars as thinking individuals with their own real concerns, ideas, and worries. This can include working with civil society to hear people's concerns. Even if UNMIK does not always agree with locals' ideas, UNMIK representatives should at least discuss these issues with citizens to provide the reasons why UNMIK disagrees. This will enhance communication and understanding between Kosovo citizens and UNMIK. UNMIK should also

Accountability (Cont'd)

lel governing systems have emerged. Powers are divided between the UN, which is legally responsible but not accountable, and the PISG, which is, at best, morally responsible and accountable. The end result is a "stateless state" where emphasis is placed on an on-going exercise in democracy rather than the establishment of responsible elected officials and rule of law.

Although Kosovo's future status remains unclear, UNMIK needs to clearly transform its "nation building" role and establish principles of good governance applicable to both UNMIK and the PISG that allow Kosovo's citizens to hold them accountable. For example, UNMIK has led the drive for an anti-corruption policy, but at the same time has made it clear that the policy does not apply to UN authorities who continue to control the purse strings.

UNMIK needs also to address issues that are not negotiable, like the fate of missing persons and the return of Serbs. This should not be done piecemeal, as now, but collectively, so each group's concerns are addressed. The inhabitants of Kosovo should not be addressed as ethnic Albanians or ethnic Serbs - which only adds to the divisions - but as citizens.

The police and the judiciary need to be strengthened by allowing the rule of law to take precedent over respective western political concerns. This would lead to the arrest of such groups as the so-called "Serb Bridge Watchers" who patrol the bridge in Mitrovica, and the Albanian militants who use the guise of "nationalism" to justify their criminal acts. [...]

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Recommendations for UNMIK II

involve the Prime Minister, PISG representatives and local analyses in the Kosovo progress assessment reports that it sends to the UN Security Council.

Cooperate with and Assist Local Authorities

UNMIK needs to cooperate better with the PISG. On political terms, UNMIK must have a genuine partnership with the government. This does not mean seeing partners only when those partners deliver what is within their interests. UNMIK representatives need to ask what they can give their local partners as well. For

example, the Prime Minister and SRSG could have lunch together once per week without advisors in a location unknown to the press. They should have a gentlemen's agreement not to leak information shared

“Internationals have grossly underestimated the strength of local government.”

between them. A better personal relationship will lead to a better working rela-

tionship. By involving the PISG in communicating with the public at press conferences, UNMIK would give the PISG more experience and would also publicly show its commitment to working with local people.

UNMIK should give more responsibility to the Kosovo Police Service, especially in security. By providing more training for riot situations, more equipment and establishing a special trained unit, the local police will be better prepared to address similar situations to that which occurred in March.

Recommendations for the UN

Assess UNMIK

As the only body responsible for holding UNMIK accountable, the United Nations Security Council has a duty to investigate precisely what led to the March events and to reevaluate UNMIK's strategy based on those findings. The Security Council must establish an independent body to investigate the recent events in Kosovo and to make public its findings, replacing the fast-multiplying rumors with facts. Those individuals within UNMIK who failed to perform their jobs should resign or be dismissed.

Assure UNMIK Functions

The Security Council needs to pressure UNMIK to resolve conflicts related to approach, mistrust, lack of clarity and power-sharing both within UNMIK as well as with the PISG. Teamwork is necessary to move forward and to increase the efficiency of UNMIK and the governing of Kosovo. This should include citizen involvement in decision-making proces-

ses, at least as monitors or consultants. The Security Council should encourage UNMIK to listen more to citizens' requests that are currently often ignored, which leads to frustration among the people. If necessary, as related to this or other issues,

UNMIK should put together an evaluation committee to consider making changes to UN resolution 1244.

For the remainder of the mission, the Security Council should establish a permanent local monitoring body that assesses the progress and job performance of UNMIK and OSCE. This information should be made public so citizens see progress being made.

Make Real Decisions

As people inside and outside UNMIK have commented, the institution is too soft. The UN itself has been described by its own employees as well as citizens as a "weak, ineffective



Citizen dissatisfaction could be seen in the weeks preceding the March violence, as demonstrated by this poster at an art exhibition at the Boro Ramiz shopping mall in Prishtina. "Tung" means "goodbye."

dysfunctional bureaucracy." The UN Security Council needs to overcome its differences to make some real decisions. It needs to uphold democracy within its own institution and among its members before preaching the idea of democracy to the rest of the world. The UN must start making real decisions in a timely manner. These decisions should be made after acquiring a better understanding of what is happening on the ground. Overall, the UN must change its role from an arbitrary to a proactive and facilitative institution, so that its missions may do the same.

What Is Already Being Done?

Body Reviews UNMIK's Response

United Nations envoy for Kosovo set up a review body to study UNMIK's response to the March events and to make recommendations on how it can react better in future crises. An international judge or jurist will chair the Crisis Management Review Body, which will include qualified crisis management experts. The Body will report back to Holkeri on its findings within 30 days of beginning work. The body will assess the performance of UNMIK. Measures to be examined by the body include better mobilizing the police to control the situation, greater coordination between security agencies and more action to protect minority communities and cultural or religious sites.

This should not be an internal review: Findings should be shared with the public!

OSCE Reviews Strategy

OSCE is conducting a thorough review of their strategy, which will be finalized by Vienna. They are re-analyzing five areas in which they believe they can make a difference.

Civil Society Discusses Code of Conduct

Representatives of civil society are working to draft a code of conduct that will help NGOs hold each other accountable and transparent. *Contact ATRC for more information.*

The ideas and recommendations herein are not necessarily the ideas of ATRC, CARE, IDEA or USAID.

Comment: Let's Move Forward

We have seen how hatred can destroy us - now Serbs and Albanians must work together to rebuild Kosova.

By Hashim Thaci in Pristina

[...When] I discovered [what] had been going on in Kosova that day: people demonstrating, shooting and killing; burning houses, churches and mosques; mobs on the rampage, [...] I came home immediately to help end the violence. I spent the next few days going out in Kosova, asking Albanians to get off the streets [...] and reassuring Serbs that it was safe to return. I was not alone; many people from the Democratic Party of Kosova went calming people down. Both Prime Minister Bajram Rexhepi and Minister Jakup Krasniqi took on angry mobs and calmed them.

I absolutely condemn the violence. It was wrong and has brought us down in the eyes of the world and allowed them to accuse us of being oppressors. Any Kosovar who believes this is the route to independence is wrong. [...]

It is important to move forward. However, first we must understand why the violence happened. [...] The flammable situation has been steadily growing. For five years, the people of Kosova have waited for the international community to proclaim our final status; for five years nobody in the country has known their future. This uncertainty has led to instability for all of us, whatever our ethnicity. And it has led to fear. It is difficult to underestimate how frightened the Kosova Albanians are of being ruled by Belgrade.

A few months ago, Belgrade called for the cantonisation or partition of Kosova. To those who say this is now the solution, I say this: it has failed in Bosnia and will fail in

Kosova. Cantonisation is about keeping people apart. We want to bring people together. Quite simply, a cantonised Kosova where the different ethnic groups live different lives in their own protected area is not sustainable. And once it is introduced it cannot be ended. [...]

There has been little ethnic integration. Everyone should own up to their responsibility for this. Albanians must take some of the blame. Enclaves breed myths and distrust. Anger has accumulated and illegal parallel structures have stopped local Serbs from integrating. Parallel Serb security and judicial institutions supported by Belgrade operate unhindered in north Mitrovica, under the rule of thugs - which is bad for Serbs living there.

A genuine debate between Kosovars and UNMIK has been missing and a huge gap has grown up between Kosovar and international institutions. UNMIK needs to trust locals more; we understand the terms of resolution 1244 but cannot remain in limbo forever.

So far, UNMIK's plans extend only to disciplining society and not democratising it. Almost all requests by Kosovars for more responsibility for their people and country have been blocked by UNMIK.

Now we have to build for the future - a future for all Kosovars. We have seen how hatred and division destroy us and we must work together - literally. Albanians will help to rebuild the Serb homes and churches that were destroyed and so begin to rebuild a divided country. [...] All of us must condemn the violence on both sides



photo taken from www.besimi.com

Prizren one of the oldest and most beautiful cities in Kosovo was badly burnt in the latest outbreak of violence.

unequivocally. In doing so honestly, we must not let this be used for political gain. Those who carried out the violence should be charged. It is important not to punish Kosova's collective will to have an independent and sovereign state.

We must prevent this from ever being repeated. This does not only mean KFOR being better prepared, but involving Kosovars in the fields of security and judiciary, especially in intelligence-gathering, so that extremist trouble-makers on all sides can be stopped. We need to engage in a true dialogue with the international community on how to keep the trust of the people in the political process. Kosova politicians also need to engage properly with the people and be seen to be working for the country, not just scoring political points.

We have to confront Belgrade with a clear choice: you either support the integration of local Serbs and be part of the solution or be prepared to be part of the problem and face consequences from the international community.

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