

# Prishtina Insight

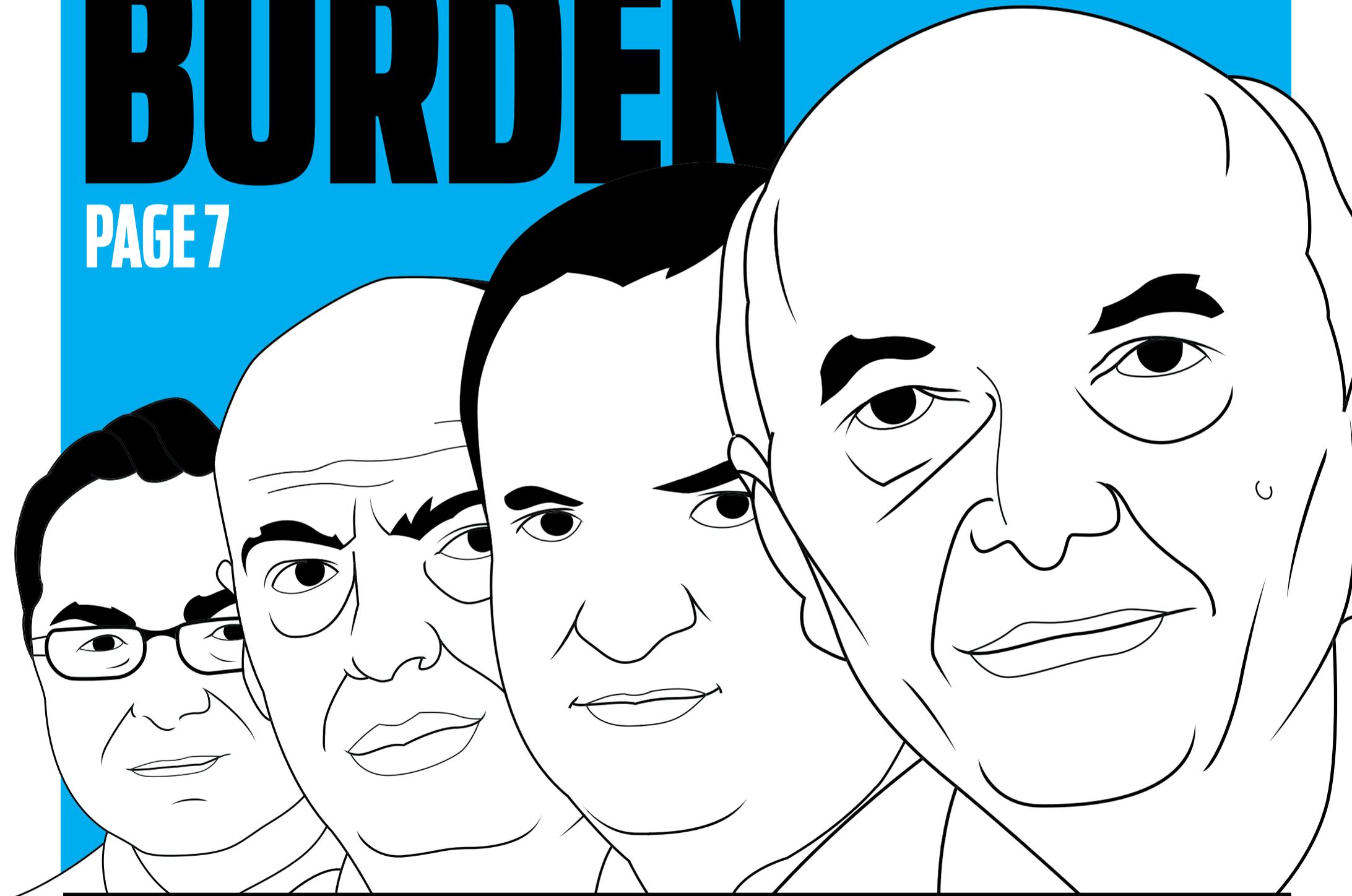
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# ISA'S BURDEN

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## A president immortalized

Unveiled in late September, the statue of former President Ibrahim Rugova, who died in 2006, makes up a sculptural quartet with the likenesses of former Kosovo Liberation Army commander Zahir Pajaziti, Albanian hero Gjergj Kastriot Skenderbeu and nun Mother Teresa. Isa Mustafa, the current Mayor of Prishtina, describes the statue as "an icon of Kosovo's independence" and the former president as "a visionary leader; a politician who won political battles by unfolding his ideas." Mustafa is also the leader of the Democratic League of Kosovo (also known as the LDK), a party established by Rugova in 1989. But whether the statue gets it right, is another question. Prishtina Insight spoke to people who knew Rugova, as well as artists and thinkers to get their take on the depiction of the former president.

— Eldita Tarani



**Head and face:** Rugova was known for walking with his head down, constantly thinking and pondering. The statue doesn't quite get that right.

**The scarf:** Looks like a glorified collar, rather than Rugova's trademark flat-folded neckpiece. The loosely folded neckpieces are characteristic of glorified statues across the region (see: certain statues of benevolent Yugoslav dictator Josip Broz Tito, or KLA freedom fighters Agim Ramadani and Zahir Pajaziti).

**The coat:** The coat makes Rugova's chest look bigger, and his figure fuller, than it actually was.

**Hands:** The position of Rugova's hand, as he is predicating something from above, seems very out of character. In fact, he was known for more subdued gestures.

**The walk:** Artists with knowledge of Rugova's life and work suggest that the statue would have been more appropriate if Rugova was portrayed walking.

**Statue Stats**  
 Height - 4.20 meters  
 Weight - approximately 1 ton  
 Material - approximately 1200 kg of bronze  
 Technology - Mud and wax  
 Craftwork - 15 days

## from the editor

Why the Strong Party could matter

If Facebook 'likes' equalled votes, Visar Afiraj would stand a good chance of being the next mayor of Prishtina. Arifaj is the candidate of Partia e Forte - the Strong Party. The Strong Party is a parody. But if the 32,000 people who have clicked 'like' on their Facebook page voted, the party could have very real power. In 2009, only about 70,000 people voted in Prishtina. Isa Mustafa's crushing victory in Kosovo's capital required fewer than 39,000 votes.

The chances of Afiraj actually winning the race, though, seem slim. But what does seem very likely is that the Strong Party will win seats on the municipal assembly. The assembly has 51 seats, making the threshold for winning one quite low. If this does happen, the question is, what will voters be getting?

The Strong Party takes the worst qualities of Kosovo's politicians and satirically celebrates them. Recently, the party made a big show of proposing to construct a mayor's mansion modelled on the White House. A party member registered a company for the sole purpose of bidding on the tender for

it. Given the constant drone about corruption, nepotism and outlandish uses of public money, the Strong Party has brought a refreshingly different approach to engaging the public about very serious problems.

The idea isn't original. In the Icelandic capital, Reykjavik, the mayor and six city council members belong to the satirical Best Party - elected in 2010 in the wake of the country's devastating financial crisis. Its most

important promise was to break all its promises.

The Strong Party is trying to walk a fine line, acting silly while still insisting that it can do the business of government - including balancing the budget. The question for the party will be what to do with its power should it win any seats in the election. It won't be an easy one to answer.

*Prishtina Insight is designed by Trembelat, a company owned by Strong Party leaders Visar Afiraj and Yll Rugova. Trembelat has suspended working on the newspaper for the duration of the local election campaign as part of an agreement with Prishtina Insight.*



Nate Tabak  
@birn.eu.com

Editor-in-Chief

**Prishtina Insight** Balkan Investigative Reporting Network · Mensa e Studenteve, first floor, 10000, Prishtina, Kosovo · **PHONE:** +381 (0) 38 24 33 58 · **EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:** Nate Tabak · **EDITORIAL STAFF:** Jeta Xharra, Marcus Tanner, Petrit Collaku, Parim Olluri and Flutura Kusari · **DESIGN:** Trembelat · Prishtina Insight is supported by the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society, Norwegian Embassy, Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network.



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# Nation

## FAMILY TIES



**ELECTION MEDICINE** 3:20

The duration of campaign song in honor of the Mayor of Gjakova, Pal Lekaj. Performed by Bushi Sisters, the tune celebrates Lekaj's choice of profession, medicine. "Already as a youngster you chose the strongest weapon against Serbia-you chose the school of Medicine... Let's move our country forward-with the Alliance we're going to win. We have our mayor in Gjakova-we're going to continue with Dr. Pal."

## On Your Side

### Uncovered manhole on Agim Ramadani

Whether it's a pothole that has not been filled in years or a street light that never seems to turn on, we want to know about it. Send your tips to [nate.tabak@birm.eu.com](mailto:nate.tabak@birm.eu.com), and we'll get on the case.



**WHAT'S THE PROBLEM:** A rectangular manhole covering on a well-heeled part of Agim Ramadani street, across from the Orthodox Church is missing, exposing 1.5 meter hole. It may not sound very deep, but we reckon that falling in could cause very serious injuries, especially to older people. Unfortunately this is a very big problem in Prishtina, and one that gets very little attention.

**HOW LONG HAS IT BEEN LIKE THIS:** More than two months

**WHAT'S BEING DONE:** Nothing.

**WHO'S RESPONSIBLE:** That's unclear. Agim Gashi, director of public services for Prishtina municipality, said it was responsibility of the Kosovo Electricity Distribution and Supply Company,

KEDS. He reasoned that the rectangular shape of the manhole indicated that power cables were below. KED spokesperson Guri Shkodra told Prishtina Insight, "The hole in the photo is not KEDS property and replacement or regulation of such facilities are not under KEDS responsibility." We contacted Gashi once again. He insisted that it was KEDS responsibility, but added, "I will check tomorrow. ... Don't you worry about the rectangular hole. We will find the responsible ones for that."

—PETRIT COLLAKU

# 'Sympathy' for Limaj factored into son's scholarship

A foundation bent its rules to pay US university fees for the influential politician's son, an indictment says

By Njornza Salih

Things were going well for Fatmir Limaj in 2009. The public held him in high esteem. He had been acquitted of war crimes charges at the Hague two years earlier while making good as a public servant, paving his share of roads at the Minister of Transport and Communications.

The good fortune extended to his son, Durim, who was accepted into American University, a private institution in Washington. Footing the bill of \$51,243 for that first year: Kosovo's IPKO Foundation.

According to a sealed indictment that accuses Limaj of engaging in corruption during his time as minister, the foundation bypassed its own selection procedures and criteria to grant the scholarship to the son of the powerful member of the Democratic Party of Kosovo, PDK.

The indictment, filed by a prosecutor from the EU rule-of-law mission, EULEX, does not accuse the foundation of doing anything illegal. Instead, prosecutor Johannes Pickert cites the scholarship as an example of the "influence which Fatmir Limaj and the Limaj family have enjoyed and still enjoy in Kosovo society".

The IPKO Foundation is independent of the telecommunications company IPKO. But it began as an NGO within IPKO Net, the forerunner of the current IPKO. The NGO was spun off into a foundation, with a three million euro endowment, after Telecom Slovenia bought a majority stake in IPKO in 2006.

The foundation's stated goal is "to seed and sup-

port the development of the next generation of leaders with a digital vision for Kosovo". Central to that is the foundation's scholarship programme, which has helped more than 100 students pay for their university education since 2009.

Officially, at least, the IPKO Foundation evaluates university scholarship applications blindly. In order to be eligible, students must be entering their final year of studies at an accredited Kosovo university.

Durim Limaj, however, did not meet these basic requirements. He had not yet begun his university studies, and the school he was going to attend was not accredited in Kosovo. The size of the scholarship was also exceptional. The most expensive university in the country, the American University of Kosovo, currently costs 6,300 euro per year.

The IPKO Foundation declined to discuss Durim Limaj's scholarship with Prishtina Insight. A EULEX prosecutor quizzed Akan Ismaili, Kosovo's current ambassador to the US, about the scholarship in 2011. In 2009, Ismaili served on the foundation's board and was also the CEO of IPKO.

Ismaili, who did not respond to Prishtina Insight's questions, told the prosecutor that Limaj's application was hand-delivered, according to the indictment. He said it was one of two applications the board evaluated that year.

"We looked at it and even personally I felt that I had a lot of sympathy for Fatmir Limaj, I think he had it tough in The Hague and in the war, for me it was a good sign that his son is an excellent student and...



Fatmir Limaj: A reputation with a long reach. PHOTO/PETRIT BRAHMANI

### Who is Fatmir Limaj?

Former Kosovo Liberation Army commander Fatmir Limaj went into politics when the 1990s conflict ended, but his career has been hit by allegations of war crimes and corruption.

Limaj, now 42, was born the village of Banja, near Malisheve in central Kosovo, but his career in politics began as a member of a football fan club in the capital, where his family moved in 1979.

Since then, life has taken him from the football stadium to guerrilla warfare and from parliament to the courtroom, where the former guerrilla leader was acquitted in his latest trial in September.

In 2003, the the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, ICTY, charged Limaj, alongside ex-KLA fighters Isak Musliu and Haradin Bala, with committing war crimes against

Serbs and Albanians suspected of collaborating with Belgrade's forces during the war.

But in November 2005, he was acquitted, and returned home to a hero's welcome with street celebrations in the capital.

There was a retrial at The Hague in 2007, held after another Kosovo Albanian, Beqa Beqaj, was convicted of intimidating witnesses, but again Limaj was cleared.

The former guerrilla was defeated twice in his attempt to become mayor of Pristina, but in general elections in 2007, he received the second-largest number of votes after Hashim Thaci, the KLA's former political chief.

Thaci then appointed Limaj transport minister - but his political ascent would soon be hit by more indictments.

In April 2010, the EU rule-of-law mission in Kosovo, EULEX, raided his apartment in Pristina and his house in the town of

Malisevo; two years later he was charged with alleged involvement in organised crime and corruption at the transport ministry.

Meanwhile in the summer of 2011, Limaj and nine former KLA comrades were also charged with war crimes against civilians and prisoners of war, accused of abusing Serb and Albanian civilians and Serbian military prisoners and police officers who were held in an improvised KLA detention centre in the village of Klecka.

Limaj and the other defendants were initially acquitted of the charges last year after the judges in the case ruled that the statements and diaries of the key witness, Klecka guard Agim Zogaj, known as 'Witness X', were inadmissible.

But after a prosecution appeal, Zogaj's evidence was readmitted and the case was sent for a retrial. He was acquitted again in September.

[had] gotten himself into a US university and for us, that was important," Ismaili said.

He added that Durim Limaj had performed well in the Test of English as a Foreign Language, TOEFL, exam and the Scholastic Aptitude Test, SAT.

At one point, the prosecutor asked: "So the idea was to give something back to Fatmir Limaj?" Ismaili responded: "Absolutely."

Nevertheless, Ismaili insists that the foundation would also have made an exception for an "average kid" who had been accepted into a university but could not afford to go. "So punishing [Durim Limaj] just because he is Fatmir Limaj's son is something we didn't think was right and legally we had no connection that would create a conflict of interest directly."

The prosecutor suggested, however, that there was a conflict because Limaj's ministry dealt with telecommunications issues. Ismaili, who said he had met Limaj as IPKO's CEO, countered that the company, had no "dependency" on the ministry since the establishment of the Telecom Regulatory Authority.

Contacted by Prishtina Insight, Durim Limaj confirmed that he had applied for the IPKO Foundation's scholarship in 2009 both through the online application system as well as by sending a hard copy. Limaj said that he graduated in May, though he would not elaborate on what he studied. A profile on the American University website referred to Limaj as a student of Business and International Studies.

## Briefly

**Kosovo local polls "vital for EU integration."** European integration minister Viora Citaku said that next month's local elections will be "crucial" for Kosovo's ambitions to move closer to EU membership. "We will be analysed with a magnifying glass. They [the EU] won't want to have a mediocre electoral process, they will want to see an exemplary process," Citaku told lawmakers from the parliamentary commission on EU integration on Monday. For the first time, the EU is going to deploy over 100 observers for the local elections which will be held in the northern Serb-run area as well as the rest of Kosovo. The polls come ahead of the start of talks about a Stabilisation and Association Agreement, SAA between the EU and Kosovo. In August, Kosovo established a top-level team which will negotiate the SAA, a document which sees the would-be EU member reforming its legislation in an attempt to meet Brussels' standards.



A

**Serbian politicians permitted to travel to Kosovo.** Kosovo and Serbia's prime ministers resolved a row over Belgrade politicians' demand to visit their former province ahead of local polls which threatened a deal to normalise relations. Premiers Hashim Thaci and Ivica Dacic agreed in Brussels on Monday that all Serbian politicians will be allowed to go to Kosovo during the election campaign ahead of the municipal polls next month. "We agreed to set up a mechanism that will allow unhindered visits of Serbian officials to Kosovo," Dacic said after their meeting late Monday.



B

**Sharp fall in jobless rate doubted.** Kosovo's official unemployment rate has fallen to 31 per cent, according to the country's statistic agency. Some experts in Kosovo have dismissed data from the statistics agency last week, which said the unemployment rate had fallen by 4.2 per cent to 30.9 per cent since May, when the last official analysis was conducted. Lumir Abdixhiku, director of the Riinvest Institute called the findings of the Kosovo Agency for Statistics as "scandalous and a miserable manipulation." "Such ratings ... devalue the credibility of the Kosovo Agency of Statistics. They show that the government, unable to improve the economic situation, is trying to create a false image", he said.



C

# Nation

## Deputy PM blasts Qatar labour-migrant plan

By Visar Duriqi

A top government official has criticised Kosovo's plans to begin sending guest-workers to Qatar next year amid troubling new revelations about labour abuses in the Gulf state.

"I do not believe that the public will accept the project as presented," said Deputy Prime Minister Behgjet Pacolli.

"The people of Kosovo are not interested in working in those conditions for wages lower than the standard minimum wage in Kosovo," he said.

The comments by Pacolli, who made millions of euro as a construction magnate, followed reporting by British newspaper The Guardian on the widespread abuse and exploitation of foreign workers

as Qatar prepares to host the 2022 World Cup.

Comparing the conditions to modern-day slavery, the newspaper found that at least 44 Nepalese workers died over two months this past summer. The International Trade Union Confederation warned some 4,000 migrant workers would die by the time the World Cup starts.

"I do not believe that the public will accept the project as presented. The people of Kosovo are not interested in working in those conditions for wages lower than the standard minimum wage in Kosovo."

— Deputy Prime Minister Behgjet Pacolli

Few details are known of the planned guest-worker agreement between Kosovo and Qatar, which Prishtina Insight first reported on in August.

After The Guardian's investigation, the Kosovo's Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare released a statement that insisted: "Abuse and the violation of employees will not be accepted under any circumstances."

The ministry declined to



Scores of migrant workers have died in Qatar ahead of the 2022 World Cup. ASSOCIATED PRESS VIA BETA

elaborate on this or respond to Pacolli's criticisms. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is jointly pursuing the deal with Qatar, did not respond to Prishtina Insight's questions.

A Nepalese worker, Bhupendra Malla Thakuri, told The Guardian that his employers withheld his salary after a truck ran over his leg: "They didn't give me anything. It was a very critical situation. I was injured and my leg had become septic," he said.

Qatar's migrant worker population, currently 1.2 million, is expected to grow as the country continues a massive build-up ahead of the World Cup. Qatari officials have promised to crack down on abuses by private contractors.

The International Trade Union Confederation has dismissed those promises, saying that government inspectors have shown themselves to be ineffective.

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Mayor Isa Mustafa addresses supporters in Prishtina. PHOTO:ATDHE MULLA

# No sure thing

Isa Mustafa is seen as the front-runner in the mayoral race, but dynamic challengers are making his re-election less certain.

Story begins on Page 8

## The Montenegrin vote?

Most political parties in Kosovo serve a single ethnic group. New Force (Nova Snaga) serves four: Albanians, Montenegrins, Serbs and Bosniaks.

Uniting its tiny membership are origins in Montenegro and hopes of better political, economic and cultural relations between Kosovo and Montenegro. The party is fielding six candidates for Prishtina's Municipal Assembly and one for Peja.

"Our house in Plave is approximately 150 years old. Our Montenegrin neighbour's house is also that old. We have coexisted with one another and will continue to coexist," explained former basketball player Petrit Hakaj, who is running for the Prishtina assembly.

The party, a successor to the Crnogorska Demokratska Stranka (Democratic Party of Montenegro), was relaunched in September and aims to strengthen ties between Kosovo and Montenegro.

The two countries already have good relations, with a few unresolved issues. Montenegro wants Kosovo to recognise the Montenegrin minority in the country. Kosovo's government has shown political will to include the Montenegrin community in its constitution, but so far this has not happened.

This issue, officials say, has kept the countries from exchanging ambassadors.

Montenegro and Kosovo also have yet to agree on their borders. Specifically, residents in Rugova complain that Montenegro has established its border five kilometres outside the Yugoslav-era boundary. In July, the two foreign ministers, Enver Hoxhaj and Ignor Luksic, met in Slovenia and promised to complete the demarcation within a year, but it has yet to happen.

It is imperative that Kosovo takes the initiative to resolve these issues with the Montenegrin community, said Diellza Gjonbalaj, Nova Snaga candidate and assistant to Montenegro's charge d'affaires in Kosovo. "I am a lawyer and I know that it takes time to change the constitution. But it is important that Kosovo has the political will to do this [accept the Montenegrin minority]," Gjonbalaj explained.

Hakaj said Albanians in Kosovo and Montenegro should also have closer ties. "If a survey is done in Prishtina asking people where Plava or Gucia is, the results will be weak," he said.

- Petrit Colloku

## From the cover



The LDK faithful attend a rally for Mayor Isa Mustafa. PHOTOS/ATDHE MULLA

### The last election

In 2009, Isa Mustafa won a second term as Prishtina's mayor by a wide margin.

Isa Mustafa, LDK,  
**57.22**  
per cent

Vekim Gashi, AKR,  
**22.29**  
per cent

Astrit Salihu, PDK,  
**12.27**  
per cent

Besnik Tahiri, AAK,  
**5.47**  
per cent

By Zana Cimili

Incumbent Isa Mustafa did not show up to the first Prishtina mayoral debate, which was held on the first day of the campaign, but he is still assumed to be the front-runner in the November 3 election.

Perhaps his absence from the debate was a sign of confidence that he will coast to yet another victory. Following his first election in 2007, he won re-election easily in 2009, taking 57 per cent of the vote. His closest rival, Vekim Gashi, got just 22 per cent.

Mustafa's Democratic League of Kosovo, LDK, has controlled Prishtina since 2000. But analysts say this time it could be different.

Leon Malazogu, the executive director of the think tank Democracy for Development, said many people used to support LDK as a vote against the Democratic Party of Kosovo, PDK, currently headed by PM Hashim Thaci.

"This time around, Isa Mustafa will not be able to count merely on an 'anti-government' vote, which delivered him the crushing victories of the past," Malazogu said.

So far no opinion polls have been released, thus making any prediction about the race an educated conjecture, at best. While it remains to be seen if the new dynamics will unseat Mustafa, Malazogu says a competitive race will be good for Prishtina.

"The entry of new figures into the political scene, even if they don't end up winning, will show that there's a new way of promising things for the city and will shake up the campaign," Malazogu says.

Vetevendosje (Self-Determination) is expected to be the biggest outlet for the anti-government vote. In 2009, Vetevendosje was still a protest movement. But in 2010, it ran in the national elections on its anti-government credentials, and now is the number three party in parliament after the PDK and LDK.

An August opinion poll from Index Kosova suggested that Vetevendosje was cutting into the LDK's support in Prishtina. The poll found 17.2 per cent support for Vetevendosje, behind the LDK's 29.8 per cent. But how things stand today remains a bit of a mystery.

While nine candidates are vying for the mayor's office, analysts believe this is essentially a three-way race between Mustafa, Vetevendosje's Shpend Ahmeti, a Harvard-educated academic, and PDK's Agim Ceku, the war hero and former prime minister who serves as minister of the Kosovo Security Force.

One Prishtina resident, Habib Krasniqi, 45, said he believed the competition could spell trouble for the LDK.

"The LDK will have a harder time winning this time, mainly because some of the other candidates have superior qualities," Krasniqi said. "Many citizens have grown tired of Mustafa."

Lumir Abdixhiku, the executive director of the RIINVEST Institute, said the competition is a good thing, but it remains to be seen if this will be

a race based on personalities or policies. "What the candidates should avoid doing is requesting that voters merely grant them their trust, rather than offer them concrete projects and ideas," Abdixhiku said.

So far, those ideas are a bit vague.

Mustafa, Ahmeti and Ceku all are promising to address Prishtina's daily water shortages. Those promises are somewhat suspect because Prishtina is on track to get 24-hour running water during the administration of the next mayor, regardless of who it is.

Prishtina's water supply is under the authority of the Regional Water Company Prishtina, not the municipality. The water company, with a 20 million euro loan from the German Development Bank, is building a 35 million euro water treatment plant that it says will give Prishtina 24-hour water by 2017.

Ramadan Ilazi of the Kosovo Institute for Peace said this election is unlikely to produce significant changes for Prishtina because voters are not demanding concrete platforms. "Our political

culture does not feed on a spirit of debate, and we rarely focus on the beliefs and the programs of the candidates," Ilazi said.

Agron Demi, director of the GAP Institute for Advanced Studies, said Mustafa is vulnerable because of his record.

"In fact, there are fundamental changes that haven't been made in the past six years of his mandate. Illegal construction persists in Prishtina, and public space is dwindling," said Demi.

Over the past several months, there has been a visible acceleration in key municipal projects, most notably the renovations on Prishtina's main pedestrian thoroughfare, Mother Teresa Boulevard.

Some residents said they found the timing suspect.

"Many of the roads in the city remained chaotic for years, and now that the campaign is starting, they have suddenly been fixed," said Linda Haziraj, 30, a local entrepreneur. Una Hajdari contributed to this story.



## LDK - A FADING STALWART

During the 1990s and after the war, the Democratic League of Kosovo, LDK, enjoyed immense popularity both in Prishtina and nationally. But after the death of founder Ibrahim Rugova, Kosovo's first president, its fortunes began to fade. A number of leaders split in 2007, leaving the party seriously weakened.

At the same time the Democratic Party of Kosovo, PDK, was on the rise and took power nationally following the 2007 elections. The PDK formed a governing coalition with the LDK, but that fell apart in 2010. The rise of Vetevendosje (Self-Determination) has to some extent overshadowed the LDK as an opposition party. Despite the LDK's national woes, it has continued to dominate Prishtina politics.

# Region

For the latest news and analysis from around the Balkans, visit [www.balkaninsight.com](http://www.balkaninsight.com).

## Serbia announces cutbacks to avoid bankruptcy

**SRB** The Serbian government will implement a series of austerity measures including public sector wage cuts, VAT increases and subsidy reductions in a bid to stave off economic disaster. The Serbian government on Tuesday morning presented a package of economic measures which it said were aimed at bolstering the country's ailing economy without hitting the poorest parts of the population. "Without these measures, we

[Serbia] would go bankrupt in the next two years," said finance minister Lazar Krstic. The first measure will be to reduce by 20 per cent wages in the public sector that are higher than 60,000 dinars (around 525 euro); wages exceeding 100,000 dinars (around 875 euro) will be cut by 25 per cent. Krstic announced a significant reduction in state subsidies, which, as he said, would bring the biggest savings in the budget.

## Podgorica to host Gay Pride march

**MNE** Montenegro's second-ever Pride parade is due to be held in Podgorica later this month despite attacks on the first march in the seaside town of Budva in July. Danijel Kalezic, head of the campaign group Queer Montenegro, said that the Pride parade would go ahead on October 20 in the capital after lengthy discussions with police. "We have been working together with the police since July, when we announced the organisation of the parade, and our cooperation is good,"

Kalezic said. Montenegro's first-ever gay rights parade, named Seaside Pride, was organised in Budva on July 23 by LGBT Forum Progress, another gay rights group. It was attended by an estimated 120 people and went ahead despite being attacked by anti-gay protesters. In August, Montenegrin police charged 32 people with indecent and reckless behaviour during the march. Podgorica's first Pride parade was supposed to have taken in May 2011, but was cancelled following two attacks.

## Italy backs Albania's EU candidate status

**AL** Italian Foreign minister Emma Bonino said during a visit to Tirana that Italy was working to ensure that Albania receives its EU candidate status this autumn. "We're great supporters of your joining the European family," Bonino said. The Italian foreign minister stressed however that "the EU is not just an opportunity but also discipline." After meeting with Bushati, she also held talks with Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama and speak-

er of parliament Ilir Meta. Italy is Albania's leading commercial partner. Trade reached nearly two billion euro in 2012, and in the first quarter of 2013 amounted to 972 million euro, a year-on-year increase of 5.94 per cent. Economic ties between the two countries will be strengthened further by the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline, TAP, which will carry gas from energy-rich Azerbaijan to Europe, and crosses Albanian territory.

By Boris Pavelic in Zagreb

**CRO** The story of Anka Zjacic is just one of many thousands like it: a story of an ordinary life made extraordinary by conflict.

She was born in 1950 in the small village of Srijane in the Dalmatian hinterland, lived in the coastal city of Split with her husband, a Yugoslav Army officer, and their two children - and then war came, and life became hell.

Her husband was killed and then, in 1992, she was expelled from her apartment with her daughter and son. She eventually won it back in a court case, a decade later, but then in 2011, after all the trauma that the family had endured, her son committed suicide.

Her daughter now lives in Mostar, and Anka is left in the apartment that the whole family once shared in Split, alone with her memories.

This is just one of some 450 personal stories that were collected by the Zagreb-based rights group Documenta for its recently-launched project entitled 'Croatian Memories: Unveiling Personal Memories on War and Detention'.

The personal testimonies of ordinary people who suffered have been recorded on video to create an oral history archive which can be used by researchers, historians and teachers. Some have also been posted online.

"We want to affirm the personal memories of the witnesses of historical events in Croatia and keep them for the future. We think that by recording personal experiences, it is possible to understand better hidden aspects of politics and wars in these areas," Documenta explained on the 'Croatian Memories' project website.

The archive, it said, can form a basis for "deeper understanding of people's fate and suffering, but also of the living struggle which non-political people had to go through".

"Our aim is to initiate processes of facing the past, which we consider necessary for building stable and



**ANKA ZJACIC, 1950**

"Some went, others came. Some were breaking things, others threatening us. They were pointing a gun at my son. Then a knife, going towards him. There was no protection from anyone, no police. None of the neighbours dared come."



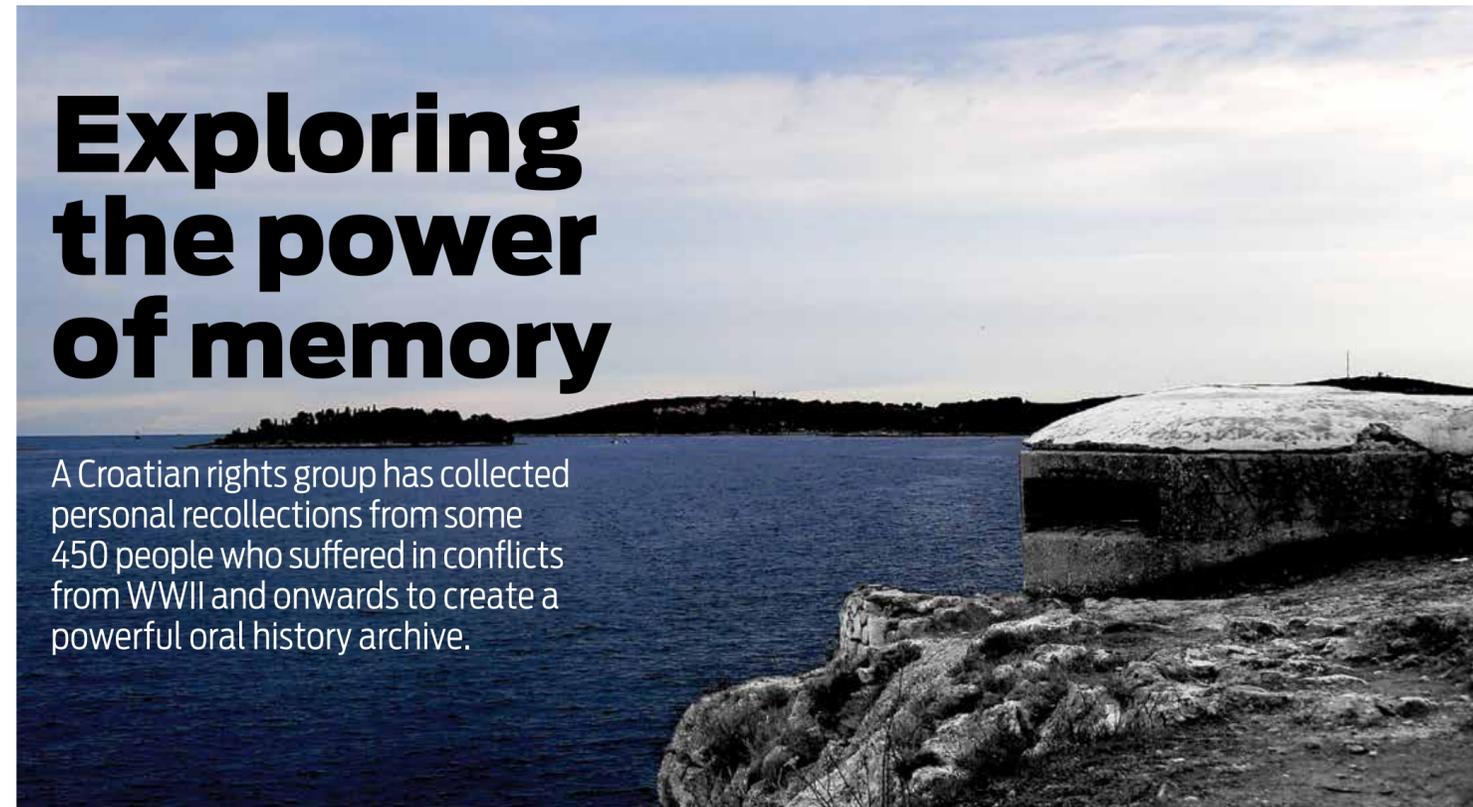
**MIRSAD TOKIC, 1969**

"The grenades started falling above our heads. I was scared, really. I was never scared in my life, as I did that day. For hours, 100 men... you could hear a mosquito ... among 100 of us. One mosquito. That was incredible silence. The fear froze us."



**MIHOVIL PAVLIC, 1928**

"Well, at first, it was pretty bad, because we had to earn everything, to build a house, buy cattle. And the land was bare in those years. Later we could manage. When we started something, it was easier and we could live better. When this war came, everything was gone again."



# Exploring the power of memory

A Croatian rights group has collected personal recollections from some 450 people who suffered in conflicts from WWII and onwards to create a powerful oral history archive.

sustainable peace in society," Documenta said.

Presenting the project last week in Zagreb, Documenta's president, Vesna Terselic, said that history still burdens everyday life in Croatia and the former Yugoslav region, where "historical traumas have been transferred from generation to generation".

She said that just one example of this was that the 'Croatian Memories' project had been funded by the Netherlands, while the Croatian government had refused to support it.

Terselic suggested that it was necessary to create "a memorialisation culture which will open up space for victims from all sides", rather than fo-

cus on one dominant and therefore divisive narrative.

That is why, she explained, the project brings together the "different, often totally opposite experiences" of people from Croatia and the wider region.

**'Compassion and solidarity for all'** One of those unique experiences recorded by Documenta was that of Mihovil Pavlic, who was born in 1928 in the village of Jelov Klanac in central Croatia. Mihovil's brother died while fighting in World War II as a 'domobran' soldier - part of a force battling for an independent Croatia.

When war returned again in 1991, the area around Jelov Klanac came under Serb control. Mihovil remained in his home, but was tortured by Serb soldiers,

and fled in 1993. When he returned in 2001, he found his house destroyed, but eventually rebuilt it with state help.

Documenta said that it wanted to encourage "compassion and solidarity with all victims", whatever the political circumstances of their suffering.

"The awareness about the suffering of our neighbours or people from other parts of the country, especially of those of other nationalities, should initiate debates in local communities and start communication between different social groups," it said.

Another Croatian who recounted his memories for the project was Mirsad Tokic, who was born in Zagreb in 1969 and recalled growing up in a multi-ethnic environment and believing in the unifying values of the former Yugoslavia.

But despite that fact he was born and raised in Croatia, Mirsad had problems getting citizenship documents after the country became independent. Then in 1995, he was called up by the Croatian army, and went to fight in the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After the conflict ended, he became a de-mining expert, but lost his leg in 2007 while clearing a minefield near Gospić in central Croatia. He is now retired and lives with his wife and their child in Zagreb - just another story of another life that was shaped by conflict.

More stories are available on the Croatian Memories website, [www.croatianmemories.org](http://www.croatianmemories.org).

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### English language sports programme for children >>



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Park School Pristina is pleased to offer the following after school activities, open to all children:

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#### Swimming for Juniors

Two courses will be offered, one for beginners and one for the intermediate swimmer. Both will take place at the Swiss Wellness Centre in Miloshevo and be taught by PSP's PE teacher, who is a qualified sports teacher with experience as a swim instructor. The programme will run over 13 weeks, with the Little Ducklings swim taking place once a week and the Junior Strokes taking place twice a week.

#### After School Sports Activities

PSP is also offering sporting activities every afternoon of the school week. Lessons are available in football, basketball, table tennis and martial arts, all taught by PSP's qualified sports teacher. Lessons for each activity will take place twice a week.

For more details, and to sign up, please see our website: <http://www.park-school.com>



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# pi guide

# FYI

## Tingell's back

A favorite watering hole for Prishtina's young creative types has re-opened. Tingell Tangell was closed for around two months for renovations. Despite a bit of a face-lift, we're told Tingell has lost none of its charm and still has that great rakia. For more information, visit [facebook.com/tingelltangell](http://facebook.com/tingelltangell).

## Women's opportunity is Prishtina's reward

By Elizabeth Gowing

You want to take home some souvenirs from Kosovo? How about a ballpoint pen made in China with the Albanian eagle on it?

We all know that there are beautiful handcrafts produced in Kosovo, and that there are small-scale enterprises that need our support. The challenge in buying local, natural, handmade products here has always been to find the producers - who are disproportionately from rural areas, and often don't have information about their goods available online or in English.

Now things are easier. Last week was the opening of the Women's Market Center in central Prishtina, in Pejton. It offers 25 women's businesses under one roof in an initiative led by Women in Business, with support from the Dutch and Finnish embassies, the European Commission, the EBRD, the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Municipality of Prishtina.

The opening was attended by the deputy prime minister, Mimoza Kusari-Lila,

and Minister for European Integration, Vlora Citaku - and by a group of entrepreneurial businesswomen from across Kosovo. Some are experienced business owners such as Valbona Raifi of City Bakery, whose fresh bread and pastries you can smell as soon as you enter the centre. Others have never had a business premises before. Herta Manxhuka produces candles in her small enterprise called 'Deshira' and she says "this is a great opportunity

for me. Until now people have only been able to buy candles from me online. Now there's a place that's open all the time and it's a great step forward. When people are able to see the candles directly they understand how beautiful they are."

The centre looks great, with stalls bulging with pickles, bright with jewelry, fragrant with handmade soaps. With a cafe space to enjoy the cheese or burek you've bought, it's a great place to



go in your lunch hour. Everyone there on Monday spoke with excited anticipation about the opportunity the centre offered, for women to take their rightful place in Kosovo's business sector. They could equally have mentioned the research known worldwide that when women earn money a higher proportion of it goes to feed, clothe and educate their children, than if the money is earned by their husbands. Buying your bread, your herbal tea, gifts and souvenirs at the Women's Market Center is more likely to support Kosovo's long-term development than spending your money at the supermarket or out of town mall.

The Women's Market Center is a wonderful opportunity not only for the individual women and families represented but for Kosovo's business sector. Whether those opportunities are realized now depends on the customers. It depends on you.

**THE WOMEN'S MARKET CENTER LOCATION:** It's housed in a building with a distinctive orange facade on Bob Doll Street, which runs at the edge of Pejton at right angles from Bill Clinton Boulevard, past the defunct Swiss Casino, past numerous car washes, and round to the Hotel Prishtina.

**HOURS:** 9am to 6pm, Monday through Saturday.



## EDS

EAT  
DRINK  
SHOP



### SABAJA BEER HOUSE

Prishtina's new microbrewery, Sabaja, has opened a pub near the stadium to showcase their beer - India Pale Ale and Amber Ale - with classic American fare. Fred, the manager of this warm and welcoming pub, describes the motto of Sabaja Beer House as "Good Beer, Good Food, and Good Service." With the beer flowing freely, waiters attentive to your every need, and down home American food favorites such as Buffalo wings, chili, BBQ ribs, grilled chicken, bacon cheeseburgers and French fries, as well as non-traditional dishes including curry, Sabaja definitely lives up to their motto. (Douglas E. Morris)

**Location:** Behind Prishtina Stadium, right next door to the Red Cross (see map). **Hours:** Open daily, 8am to midnight. **For more information:** Visit [www.sabajadsbeerhouse.com](http://www.sabajadsbeerhouse.com) or [www.birrasabaja.com](http://www.birrasabaja.com) or call 049-582-000.



### PRONTO

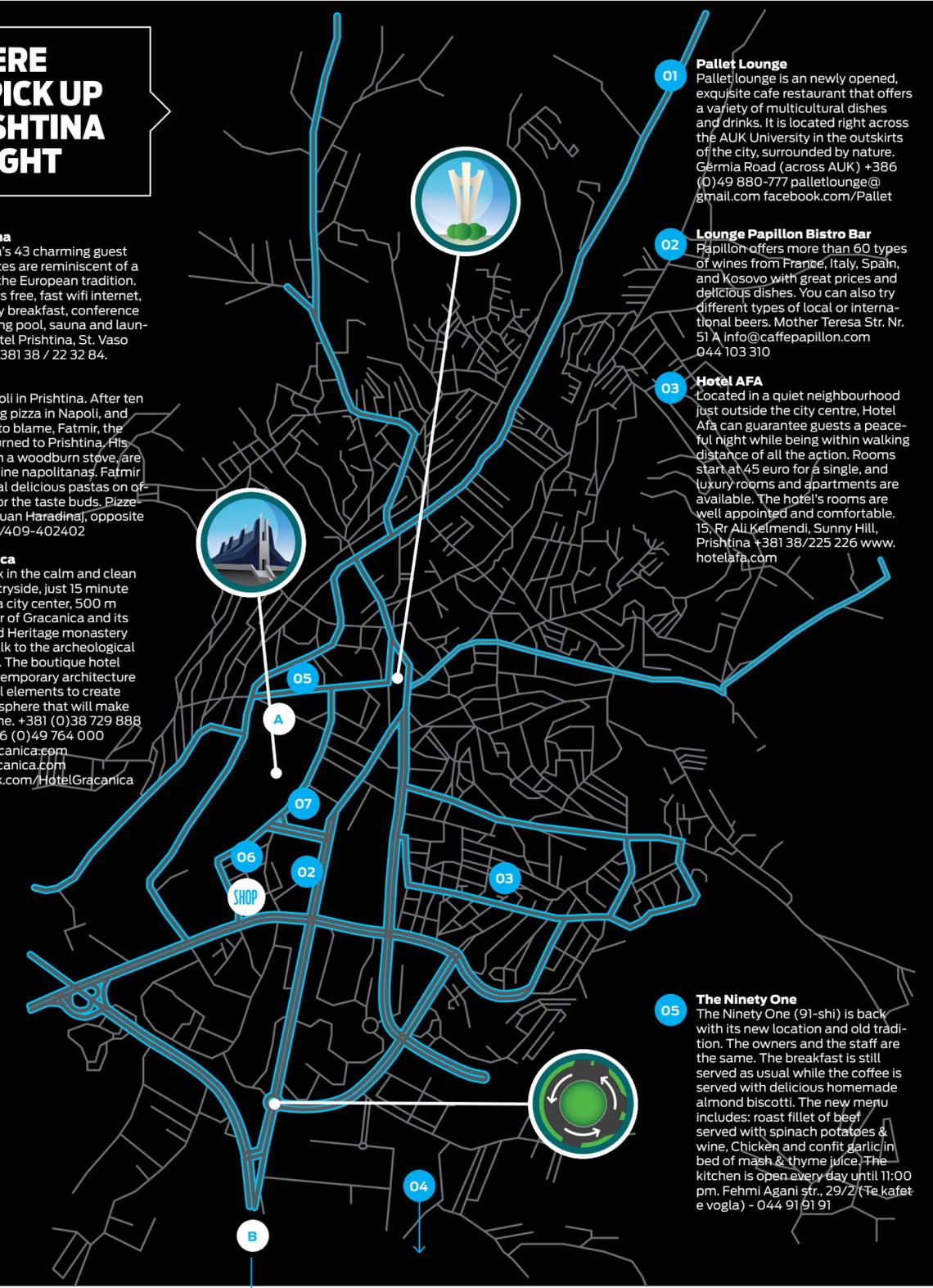
If you have been looking for jalapenos, pine nuts, a superb selection of Italian wines, limoncello, curry, peppercorns, bay leaves, oregano, many other spices, tortellini and other pastas, prosciutto, mozzarella, pesto, Worcester sauce, balsamic vinegar, and all sorts of other food products, then Pronto, a bulk food store that supplies local restaurants, is the place for you. Located behind Albi Mall, on a non-descript street (see accompanying map) even though the store will win few design awards, it is loaded with plenty of imported Italian and German products. The main drawback is that these food products are only sold in bulk, so either you better be ready to eat, or you should arrange to buy as a group and divide your purchases. (Douglas E. Morris)

**Location:** Behind the Albi Mall in Veternik. **For more information:** Call 044/137-768 or 038/137-768, or write to [pronto\\_ks@hotmail.de](mailto:pronto_ks@hotmail.de).



## WHERE TO PICK UP PRISHTINA INSIGHT

- 06 Hotel Prishtina**  
Hotel Prishtina's 43 charming guest rooms and suites are reminiscent of a small hotel in the European tradition. The hotel offers free, fast wifi internet, complimentary breakfast, conference room, swimming pool, sauna and laundry service. Hotel Prishtina, St. Vaso Pasha nr. 20, +381 38 / 22 32 84.
- 07 Pizza Napoli**  
A taste of Napoli in Prishtina. After ten years of making pizza in Napoli, and with only love to blame, Fatmir, the head chef, returned to Prishtina. His pizzas, made in a woodburn stove, are definitely genuine napolitanas. Fatmir also has several delicious pastas on offer, a true joy for the taste buds. Pizzeria Napoli off Luan Haradinaj, opposite Newborn. 044/409-402402
- 04 Hotel Gracanica**  
A place to relax in the calm and clean air of the countryside, just 15 minute sfrom Prishtina city center, 500 m from the center of Gracanica and its UNESCO World Heritage monastery and a short walk to the archeological site of Ulpiana. The boutique hotel combines contemporary architecture with traditional elements to create a unique atmosphere that will make you feel at home. +381 (0)38 729 888 (landline) +386 (0)49 764 000 [info@hotelgracanica.com](mailto:info@hotelgracanica.com) [www.hotelgracanica.com](http://www.hotelgracanica.com) [www.facebook.com/HotelGracanica](http://www.facebook.com/HotelGracanica)



- 01 Pallet Lounge**  
Pallet lounge is a newly opened, exquisite cafe restaurant that offers a variety of multicultural dishes and drinks. It is located right across the AUK University in the outskirts of the city, surrounded by nature. Gërmia Road (across AUK) +386 (0)49 880-777 [palletlounge@gmail.com](mailto:palletlounge@gmail.com) [facebook.com/Pallet](http://facebook.com/Pallet)
- 02 Lounge Papillon Bistro Bar**  
Papillon offers more than 60 types of wines from France, Italy, Spain, and Kosovo with great prices and delicious dishes. You can also try different types of local or international beers. Mother Teresa Str. Nr. 51 A [info@caffepapillon.com](mailto:info@caffepapillon.com) 044 103 310
- 03 Hotel AFA**  
Located in a quiet neighbourhood just outside the city centre, Hotel Afa can guarantee guests a peaceful night while being within walking distance of all the action. Rooms start at 45 euro for a single, and luxury rooms and apartments are available. The hotel's rooms are well appointed and comfortable. 15, Rr. Ali Kelmendi, Sunny Hill, Prishtina +381 38/225 226 [www.hotelafa.com](http://www.hotelafa.com)

- 05 The Ninety One**  
The Ninety One (91-shi) is back with its new location and old tradition. The owners and the staff are the same. The breakfast is still served as usual while the coffee is served with delicious homemade almond biscotti. The new menu includes: roast fillet of beef served with spinach potatoes & wine, Chicken and confit garlic in bed of mash & thyme juice. The kitchen is open every day until 11:00 pm. Fehmi Agani str., 29/2 (Te kafete vogla) - 044 91 91 91

# Opinion

Send us your thoughts to [info@prishtinainsight.com](mailto:info@prishtinainsight.com).

## Is Serbia concealing its agenda on Kosovo?

**A**fter unknown assailants in Serb-controlled northern Kosovo gunned down Lithuanian EULEX officer Audrius Genavičius on September 19, leading Serbian politicians condemned the murder, calling the perpetrators "enemies of Serbia" and "people who do not want to see Serbia move forward."

Serbian officials worried that even before it was established who was behind the murder, it would be blamed on Belgrade, and undermine Serbia's chances of finally getting a date for EU accession talks at the EU Council meeting in December.

Watching these reactions on Serbian TV in a hotel room in Belgrade, where I had gone as a panelist of the Belgrade Security Forum, BSF, I was anticipating a timely event that would offer these same politicians a platform to address the incident in the presence of EU and Kosovo participants.

Most did not even show up. Ivica Dacic, the Prime Minister, was scheduled to speak on the first plenary session about EU integration as a state-building tool. But he cancelled and sent Branko Ruzic, the Minister for EU Integration, just in time for the latter's name to be put on the final printed agenda.

Ruzic came, spoke and then had to leave right away due to other obligations. Aleksandar Vucic, Serbia's Deputy Prime Minister and the strongman in the current government, was scheduled to speak at the second plenary session about security issues. He also cancelled moments before, citing health reasons. He did not send a replacement.

Later that day, Marko Djuric, advisor to President Tomislav Nikolic, scheduled to speak during an off-the-record session with his Kosovar counterparts and with politicians and analysts from Kosovo and Serbia, also cancelled. Once again there was no replacement.

As a result of this wave of cancellations, the participants did not get to hear what Serbia's leading politicians actually think about this tragic escalation of violence in northern Kosovo, how it might impact on implementation of the agreement reached in Brussels between Kosovo and Serbia, or what Serbia's leaders might be able to do now.

One of the most controversial parts of the Brussels agreement involves Serbia dismantling the parallel local institutions it has supported in the four mainly Serbian municipalities of northern Kosovo.

This paves the way towards the possibility of electing new representatives through Kosovo-wide local elections scheduled for November 3.

Worryingly, most voters in northern Kosovo have little information about what these changes mean. They do not communicate with Prishtina while Belgrade sends them mixed messages.

I saw an example of this a week before the BSF, when the Council for Inclusive Governance, CIG, hosted a meeting in Skopje on the future of Serbia and Kosovo.

The event was attended by high-ranking Belgrade officials, Serbian representatives from northern Kosovo and politicians and civil society from the rest of Kosovo.

There, one northern Kosovo Serb representative turned to the representatives from Belgrade and made it clear that he barely grasped the implications of the EU-led deal between Kosovo and Serbia.

"I am educated and keep myself well informed. I watch the news all the time. But this is the first time here, at this meeting, that I am hearing that we will be voting in Kosovo local elections, creating Kosovo local institutions and implementing Kosovo laws," he said.

This was not the only concern expressed. "What about our public sector jobs?" another Serb representative from northern Kosovo asked.

"There are some 20,000 people that Serbia supports in Kosovo. Only some 6,000 will remain and be transferred to Kosovo's payroll system. Will the rest become redundant? How will these people support their families?"

The answers that came from high-ranking Serbian officials at the CIG meeting were hardly reassuring. One explained that, as Serbia was going through tough economic times, it was no longer possible to keep people who do not actually work on the payroll.

In truth, fictitious jobs in public companies, such as the management of "Aerodrom Prishtina", or the Serbian mayor of a "parallel" Prishtina municipality, had to be cut anyway, whether there was an agreement with Kosovo or not.

But this is not the kind of message one hears in public from Belgrade officials.

On the contrary, while the CIG meeting was taking place, Aleksandar Vulin, Serbian Minister for Kosovo and Metohija, told the press in Belgrade that Serbia was not changing its policies in Kosovo, and that the November election would only strengthen Serbia's presence in Kosovo.

"If we have ten mayors [elected] from the list supported by the Government of Serbia, we can continue financing everything that we have so far and will not lose a single job," he said.

"That is why we are going out to vote [in Kosovo in November], because it is important that ten mayors be close to Belgrade and not Prishtina," he added.

"This way we will have the tools to keep financing life in Kosovo and Metohija, in a legitimate way, despite all the pressure from the entire world to do otherwise," he continued.

The government in Belgrade, in other words, wants to keep controlling the newly elected Kosovo Serb mayors and through them keep control of parts of Kosovo. It wants to make sure that politicians loyal to this gov-



BY BESA SHAHINI

In the current context of northern Kosovo, mixed messages are dangerous. There are concerns of more violent incidents as the election date nears.

ernment win the election.

At the same time, the government has committed itself to implementing the Kosovo-Serbia Agreement, which among many other things also means letting Kosovo Serb voters choose their representatives freely, and then letting those representatives cooperate with Prishtina.

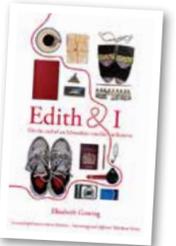
These are contradictory goals that are producing contradictory messages. In the current context of northern Kosovo, mixed messages are dangerous. There are concerns of more violent incidents as the election date nears.

Belgrade must implement its part of the Kosovo-Serbia agreement, clarify its messages to the Kosovo Serbs and so allow for a peaceful transition in northern Kosovo.

# culture

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**"Edith and I"**  
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## Book review Retracing Edith Durham's steps

By Hana Marku

It's hard to find an Albanian who doesn't know about Edith Durham, the British writer and traveller who spent the greater part of her adult life studying and advocating for Albanians in the early 1900's. She wrote seven books about Balkan politics within the Ottoman Empire, the Albanian struggle for independence, and anthropological observations of the various peoples of the Balkans she encountered. Her most highly regarded book is "High Albania" (1908), a chronicle of her journey through northern Albania that is part travelogue, part political commentary, part observation of life and customs.

In "Edith and I," British author and Prishtina Insight columnist Elizabeth

Gowing traces the steps of Durham's life and travels across the Balkans and the United Kingdom. The book chronicles the different phases of Durham's life and career, and also relates anecdotes and memories of the author where those locations overlap. Through her thorough research, Gowing uncovers facts about Durham that have been lost over the years, such as the charms, textiles and other artefacts she brought with herself to London between her Balkan travels, her possible love affair with an English aid worker, and Durham's very own microfinance initiative for Albanian cotton and wool weavers.

The historical research embedded into the book provides a sensitive, thought provoking woman who was ahead of her time, who found a sense of

purpose and meaning in fighting for the cause of a people not her own. Things get murky however, where the author tries to point to her own experiences in Kosovo as a parallel to Durham's travels - and as a fellow authority on Albanians and their customs.

While Gowing decries the infantilization of Albanians in Durham's writing, the first opening pages of the book poke fun at the funny mispronunciation of Durham's last name Gowing's Albanian acquaintances: "What are you, AyDIT DourHAM?" In the same breath that Gowing attempts to prove that Durham did not simply see herself as an all-knowing, merciful Westerner, a fawning Kosovo Post official is quoted stating: "Now at last we have a stamp with the picture of the British woman we call Queen" - when

in fact, while most Albanians are aware of Durham's existence and contributions to the Albanian cause, few are taught to refer to her as "queen." A ride on a tractor from Fushe Kosova to Prishtina is treated as a fun adventure, rather than a reality for those who cannot afford the luxury of a car - a strange counterpoint to the tough and uncomfortable horse and ox-driven journeys that Gowing attributes to Durham.

The book as a whole provides insight into the life, contemporaries, and work of Edith Durham in a thoughtful and comprehensive way. As a book about the life and times of Edith Durham, Gowing's research is what lends the story weight. The trouble lies in Gowing's decision to use her own story as a parallel to Durham's.

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Besa Shahini is a Senior Analyst with the European Stability Initiative, currently based in Prishtina.

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