U4 Expert Answer

Corruption in land administration / land management in Kosovo



Query:

"What are the largest risks of corruption in the land administration/land management sector in a post conflict situation such as Kosovo?

Have any studies been carried out on the question of corruption in land administration/land management in Kosovo?

Can possible weak spots/problems be addressed through institutional reform involving cadastre, property tax authorities and property courts?

What institutions should be included in a holistic approach to fight corruption in land administration/land management?"

Purpose:

"The purpose of the query is to get basic information about corruption in land administration in Kosovo in order to decided whether it would be justified and feasible to fight corruption in Kosovo through an institutional reform programme in land administration."

Content:

- Part 1: Largest risks of corruption in the land administration / land management sector in Kosovo
- Part 2: Problem areas requiring institutional reform in a holistic approach to fighting corruption in land administration / management
- Part 3: Further reading

Summary

Ensuring the inviolability of property rights in Kosovo remains a great challenge. The competent public authorities are often accused of corruption, nepotism and failing to react to blatant violations of the existing laws. This expert answer looks at some of the important avenues of corruption in land administration / management in post-conflict Kosovo. It also examines possible institutional reforms involving land management agencies and tools such as property courts, tax authorities and cadastre. Finally, it looks at the institutions that need to be considered in a holistic approach to fighting corruption and abuses in land administration in Kosovo.

Part 1: Largest risks of corruption in the land administration / land management sector in Kosovo

Corruption is a major issue in the land management / administration sector in Kosovo. According to a study by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in Kosovo, illegal occupation of property remains rampant, property rights records have become unreliable, illegal construction and informal settlements have exploded, and informal and illegal transactions continue unabated. This information is corroborated by the

¹ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre report on Kosovo, "Overview of obstacles faced by IDPs to access their land or property (2007)": http://www.internal-displacement.org/idmc/website/countries.nsf/(httpEnvelopes)/5F66CE98DE9B8FF7C12573AC00443A52? OpenDocument#sources

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Council of Europe (COE), who in a May 2007 report stated that the issue of tenancy and property rights is still fragile in Kosovo, with Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) being the group most affected by corruption and mismanagement.2

Some significant dimensions of corruption in the land sector in Kosovo are as follows:

Manipulation of documents

According to the COE and the U.S. Department of State (U.S. DOS), manipulation of property documents, such as authorizations for forced evictions, contracts of sales, etc. remain a big problem.3 Moreover, the cadastre system and property rights register is incomplete and inaccurate. This is due to a number of factors, including the removal of records to Serbia proper, the destruction of records during the conflict, the systematic circumvention of the property registration system due to discriminatory practices. 4 Deficiencies in the cadastre system are discussed in detail in the following section.

The integrity of officials administering the property registration system also brings into question the veracity of the records themselves. An example is provided in an OSCE report which found that, despite not being provided with the required court verified contracts of sale or registration in the registry itself, the municipal cadastre office in Fushe Kosovo Polje municipality issued documents confirming property rights of three members of the Ashkalia minority in order to establish their eligibility for a reconstruction programme. The Municipal Cadastre Office (MCO) issued the documents on the basis of the unverified contracts of sale and the testimonies of two witnesses. The OSCE has also reported cases in which officials in MCOs have arbitrarily denied entities of their property rights by refusing to record the property in the cadastre.⁵

Illegal constructions / Expropriations

Illegal construction still runs rampant throughout Kosovo. The Ombudsperson's report found that while some municipal inspectorates were quite active, occasionally demolishing illegally constructed buildings or preventing construction from being completed, such cases were rare and do not demonstrate a general trend of enforcing the rule of law. The obligation to request a building permit before beginning construction of a building is often disregarded. Property owners have often complained that municipal inspectorates rarely address their complaints properly. On the other hand, the municipal officials alleged that it was difficult to ensure that their orders were followed in the absence of a functioning inspection. Another continuing problem is that there is no proper legal remedy for persons complaining about the negative effects of illegal construction on their property.6

The OSCE has also reported a series of expropriations carried out illegally by the municipalities themselves. In spite of the fact that property issues are supposedly a reserved competence, municipalities in Kosovo expropriated land following very questionable procedures. In a recently published report, the OSCE highlighted that expropriations can only be exercised under the competence of the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG). However, municipalities in Kosovo applied the former Yugoslav Law on Expropriations to expropriate land contravening the competence of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). UNMIK Municipal Administrators in these cases can suspend expropriation decisions and refer the case to the SRSG in accordance with UNMIK Regulation 2000/45. However, the OSCE reports that UNMIK "has not consistently reacted in accordance with these powers".7

Other issues of concern with respect to expropriations include, the failure of the authorities to identify and notify the property rights holders when they are displaced persons, the non-application of expropriation procedures concerning rightful compensation for the owners and for the lack of effective remedies, etc.8 (For more

³ Ibid

² Ibid

⁴ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Property Rights in Kosovo: 2002 – 2003": http://www.osce.org/documents/mik/2003/06/974_en.pdf blid

⁶ Ombudsperson Institution in Kosovo, "Seventh Annual Report: 2006 – 2007": http://www.ombudspersonkosovo.org/repository/docs/Annual%20Report%20english%20-FINAL%202006-

OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Expropriations in Kosovo":

information on irregularities in expropriation procedures in Kosovo, please see the OSCE report, 'Expropriations in Kosovo', December 2006).

Continuing racial tensions lead to lack of enforcement or improper enforcement of existing laws and regulations, which in turn enable corrupt behaviour to undermine property rights

Corrupt measures are often used to deprive minority populations of their property rights. Many cases have been reported of Kosovo Albanians destroying private property belonging to Kosovo Serbs. The U.S. State Department posits that some cases of violence against Serbs may have been attempts to force them to sell their property. An UNMIK regulation prevents the wholesale buy-out of many Kosovo Serb communities in an effort to prevent the intimidation of minority property owners in certain areas; however, it is rarely enforced. There are reports that Kosovo Serbs have had difficulty accessing their property, which were sometimes occupied or used by Kosovo Albanians. In some cases, Kosovo Serb property was reportedly sold by persons falsely claiming to be their attorneys and presenting forged documents in court. In situations where the rightful owners did not live in Kosovo, such fraud went undiscovered for months. 10

The OSCE has also observed that despite a generally solid legal framework through which to work, the ability of the regular courts in Kosovo to implement the legal framework and apply property laws adequately to protect property rights is questionable, especially with respect to claims of minority communities. There have been incidents in which the courts have circumvented the procedures outlined in the legal framework governing the functioning of the courts and not protected property rights equally or fully as a result of interference with rights to due process and effective remedy. For example, in a case before the Municipal Court in Ferizaj / Urosevac, a Kosovo Serb who had filed a claim requesting the eviction of the illegal occupants of her flat, was not provided with an interpreter. The hearings were conducted in Albanian, but the claimant was not allowed to bring an interpreter, nor informed that she could be offered one by the court. (For other examples of corruption in court proceedings against minorities, please see the OSCE report, (Property Rights in Kosovo – 2002 - 2003').

In an environment of weak rule of law, spatial plans and construction regulations, both powerful tools of social engineering, were also used as tools to marginalize minorities and thus undermine conflict resolution efforts, including return. For example, municipalities and ministries not only discouraged but, at times, actively prevented minority returnees from reconstructing their homes or other vulnerable persons from accessing their property through selective or inappropriate regulation of construction and land use.¹²

Finally, the police are often found to be particularly complicit in illegal acts involving minorities. The OSCE stresses this as a specific problem in post-eviction incidents. Threats against the Housing and Property Directorate (HPD) staff, the re-occupation of apartments and damaging of vacated properties often go unpunished. Approximately every second vacated apartment is illegally re-occupied, and every third apartment is subject to criminal damage. The OSCE expressed concern that these incidents continue to occur without the appropriate response from the police authorities.¹³

Transition in property regimes from communal to private property create avenues for corruption

No coordinated legislative reform strategy has been developed in Kosovo to transition the socialist property rights system to one suited to a market-based economy. This has resulted in an uncoordinated and confusing process and increasing legislative incoherence. It has also given rise to administrative corruption in the release of socially owned lands to private interests. ¹⁴

Close links between public authorities and private investors and businessmen have acted to the detriment of persons who are currently displaced and are unable to defend their rights. For example, according to an UNMIK report, in the region of Suva Reka, a large plot of socially-owned land was leased to a private company in contravention of UNMIK rules and regulations on municipal financial procedures – no tender was advertised in

⁹ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre report on Kosovo, Supra

 ¹⁰ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre report on Kosovo, Supra
 ¹¹ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Property Rights in Kosovo: 2002 – 2003"

¹² Dara Katz & Charles Philpott, "Property Rights in South-East Europe": http://www.swisshumanrightsbook.com/SHRB/shrb_01.html

¹³ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Expropriations in Kosovo", Supra

¹⁴ Katz & Philpott, Supra

newspapers; after the municipality claimed to find only one bidder, the matter was not re-tendered and municipal officials claimed to not know the area description or boundaries of the land to be leased. Also, there was an outstanding claim with the court from a previous owner on part of the land. It was later discovered that the municipal president was a shareholder in the sole bidding company, which was owned by another municipal assembly member.¹⁵

Part 2: Problem areas requiring institutional reform in a holistic approach to fighting corruption in land administration / management

Property registration systems – current problem areas

It has been argued that the most important problem in property registration is the existence of two cadastres. The original one was removed by Serbian authorities in 1999 when Serbia withdrew and relinquished control to the UN and NATO. At that time, the Serb government officials took with them and brought to Krusevac the cadastre for Kosovo municipalities. Since that time, the cadastre has not been updated, but nevertheless it presents a snapshot of the property situation in Kosovo at the time (although this situation was rather flawed by the existence of discriminatory property laws between Serbs and Albanians).

The records removed from Kosovo in 1999 remained displaced, after negotiations with the Republic of Serbia and the Coordination Center of Kosovo and Metohija to access and retrieve them stalled in 2002. Since 1999, these records have been actively used within Republic of Serbia administrative and judicial structures portending to be Kosovan authorities, or, what has been termed parallel structures, by Kosovo Serbs and others who were either marginalized or disaffected with the Kosovan authorities. Thus, it was not merely that records were missing from Kosovo, but were actively being changed outside Kosovo's jurisdiction. The registry's integrity, already questionable in 1999, therefore continues to deteriorate until the records can be harmonized.¹⁶

The parallel systems also made illegal sales of property easier to execute.¹⁷ This proliferation of illegal sales further undermined the property rights registry's accuracy. Individuals as well as municipalities and other governmental authorities, merely by producing an out-dated record from one of the registries, also could develop property that had already been transferred to third parties and arbitrarily evict or expropriate property belonging to minorities. As such, property rights records became a tool in Kosovo's continuing ethnically-motivated battles.¹⁸

The Kosovo Cadastre Agency (KCA) was established by UN-Habitat in 2000 – it is a governmental agency under the Ministry of Public Services of the Provisional Institutions of Self Government and UNMIK. The KCA reconstructed the cadastre in Kosovo, with international support, but it couldn't take into account the existing cadastre in Serbia. Therefore the two cadastres contain different information and it is not clear which one prevails.

The existing legal framework for property registration also does not adequately provide for the registration of the transfer of all property rights. For instance, the applicable law does not require that the transfer of rights of use for socially-owned apartments be recorded in a public registry. This gap impedes any transformation of rights connected to social ownership.¹⁹

Apart from the concerns regarding the legal framework, the property rights registration system, specifically the cadastre, does not function properly due to unclear administrative structures, inadequate access to and maintenance of records, as well as indications of manipulation of records.²⁰ Confusion exists over which body is

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¹⁵ UNMIKONLINE report, "Cutting back the property jungle" : http://www.unmikonline.org/pub/focuskos/oct02/focusklaw1.htm

Katz & Philpott, Supra

¹⁷ UNMiK Department of Justice, Report and Update on Fraudulent Transaction of the Real Property of IDPs and Abuse of the Office of Temporary Representative to the Property Rights Standard Implementation Working Group, 30 May and 20 June 2005 respectively.

¹⁸ Katz & Philpott, Supra

¹⁹ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Property Rights in Kosovo: 2002 – 2003", Supra

²⁰ Ibid

responsible for the administrative oversight of the cadastre and the property rights registry. In approximately half of Kosovo's municipalities, the services are still provided through a MCO, while in the other half, the MCO has no unique status. For example, in Lipjan / Lipljan, the cadastre is located within the Directorate of Urbanism. At the central level, MCOs also interact with the KCA. Prior to the conflict, MCOs were under the supervision of a central authority. Under the current legal framework, however, the relationship between the KCA and the MCOs is not clear.²¹ (For more information on the KCA, please see: http://www.kca-ks.org/english/kca/fs_kca.html)

Cadastre reform to fight corruption

A possible reform effort would be the comparison and consolidation of the cadastre. However, such an effort requires cooperation between Serbia and Kosovo authorities, which has become contentious following the unilateral declaration of independence in Kosovo.

According to the OSCE, the relationship between the KCA and MCOs should be better developed to build a uniform land registration system. The Ministry for Planning, Ministry for Local Government and Administration as well as the Ministry for Public Services can be included in this process.²²

The efficiency and integrity of the property rights registry system and cadastre also depends upon the level of physical access that property right holders have to it. According to the OSCE, incidents continue to occur in which minorities have problems accessing either the MCO or the information stored in it.²³ UNMIK, together with the KCA has undertaken a project to develop an electronic cadastre system for Kosovo. It is hoped that the ecadastre will greatly benefit property owners by providing better access to cadastral data. (For more information on the Kosovo e-cadastre, please see: Murat Mehta, 'Effects of e-Cadastre in Land Administration in Kosovo and in Other Post Conflict Countries' http://www.fig.net/pub/fig2006/papers/ts50/ts50 01 murat 0392.pdf)

Property adjudication mechanisms - current problem areas

The Housing and Property Claims Commission and Directorate (HPCC and HPD), the property right adjudication bodies, were formed in 1999. Its tasks were to remedy illegal occupation that persisted after March 1999 and discriminatory losses of residential property and informal transactions that occurred during the 1989-1999 conflict period. In addition, legislation was promulgated that was designed to prevent property sales from being used strategically to shift the ethnic balance in geographical areas and discourage return.²⁴

Despite remarkable improvements, HPD / CC faced a number of residual obstacles to fulfil their mandates, primarily due to structural problems and institutional impediments. Lack of funding has been cited as the biggest obstacle in their operations. Despite tremendous efforts by the HPCC and HPD to adjudicate and implement its caseload, as of July 2005, only one-third of its decisions had been implemented. Moreover, rather than repossess, which only 10% of successful claimants did, more than 33% of successful claimants requested the HPD to administer their property until they felt comfortable to return, while others withdrew their claims having sold their property not wishing to return. Similar patterns were reflected in reconstruction efforts.²⁵ Other structural impediments to the work of the HPD / CC include limited access to the claims procedure and lack of awareness of the HPD / CC mechanisms (difficulty in informing the public through information campaigns).²⁶

Finally, the HPD / CC continued to be circumvented by the claimants themselves and with the encouragement of middlemen using the HPD procedures for personal profit. Under the operating legal framework, as long as a property is under the administration of HPD, the right of the owner or occupancy right holder to repossess the property is suspended in the public interest, but the right to dispose of the property is not suspended. Using this loophole, HPD in Mitrovice / Mitrovica reported the phenomenon of individuals who take advantage of the process and act as middlemen in sales of residential property under HPD's administration.²⁷

²¹ Ibid

²² Katz & Philpott, Supra

²³ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Property Rights in Kosovo: 2002 – 2003", Supra

²⁴ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Expropriations in Kosovo", Supra

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Property Rights in Kosovo: 2002 – 2003", Supra

²⁷ Ibid

(For more information on administration of abandoned property and other issues of property adjudication, please see Part II of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo report, 'Property Rights in Kosovo: 2002 - 2003': http://www.osce.org/documents/mik/2003/06/974_en.pdf).

Adjudication system reform to fight corruption

The Kosovo Property Agency (KPA) and the Kosovo Property Claims Commission (KPCC) were established in March 2006 by the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) under UNMIK Regulation 2006/10, as independent agencies pursuant to Chapter 11.2 of the Constitutional Framework of Kosovo. These agencies formally replaced the HPD and the HPCC to reflect the new independent status of Kosovo. Experts have stressed the need for transparency and accountability mechanisms to be built into the KPA and KPCC structures. (For more information on the KPA and KPCC, please visit: http://www.kpaonline.org/about.asp).

It has been argued that the KPA suffers from a lack of cooperation with both local and international institutions, like for example the KCA, which conditions the registration of KPA decisions to the payment of fees or lack of support to KPA enforcement activities by UNMIK itself.²⁸ Better coordination should be established between these agencies in order to ensure the protection of IDPs rights and reduce opportunities for corruption.

A serious deficiency with the KPCC is that if any of the decisions that have been issued so far is appealed, there is no body to consider such an appeal, preventing the solution of the property dispute, which will remain pending until a special panel is created. This situation produces a prima facie violation of Articles 6.1, 13 and Article 1 Protocol 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights.²⁹ This structural problem also needs to be addressed as soon as possible to mitigate avenues of corruption in the property rights adjudication system.

Attempts can be made to coordinate reform efforts with the EU mission, EULEX which aims at restoring the rule of law in Kosovo as well as the International Civilian Office (ICO), which acts as supervisor of Kosovo's independence. These bodies will also help to mitigate ethnic and racial discrimination.

Finally, a comprehensive reform effort should include police, prosecutors and local courts which are vital to ensure that the rule of law is upheld, without which all institutional and structural changes are bound to fail.

Property Tax Authorities

Government, particularly local government, derives and exerts much of its authority from competencies linked to property rights, and generates a significant portion of its income from its ability to levy and collect property taxes. Without functioning property rights related administrative institutions, the Kosovo government has been unable to supply necessary services or meet the needs of its constituents and therefore continues to be circumvented, sometimes in favour of parallel structures. This further fuels impunity and subverts the rule of law.30

The UNMIK mission has started a system of property taxation to create local government revenue; however, the current system is largely ineffectual. While municipalities are generally funded by the central government of Kosovo, municipalities may keep any property tax revenues they collect. Furthermore, the central government in 2005 adopted measures for property tax that provides for additional monies from the central government to be distributed to those municipalities that reach their 2006 revenue targets. Despite the incentive grant provided by the central government, only one municipality, Lipjan, met its revenue target for the first six months of 2006 and total property tax collections for all 30 municipalities increased only 5%, or 186,599, from the period January to July 2005 to the same period in 2006. Thirteen municipalities collected less than one-half of their collection revenue targets, with the Novoberde municipality achieving only 2% of its collection target.31

The poor collection of property taxes has been attributed to a lack of a consistent and general method of collecting tax revenues and high levels of corruption. There is no consistent and general method for collecting tax revenues as each municipality has its own set of tax goals and employs a different method of collecting tax revenues.

³⁰ Melinda Bair, 'Tax Policy as a Mechanism to Secure Kosovo's Independence:

A Proposal to Reform the UNMIK Tax Regulations'

Corruption is also caused from the exploitation of the close relationships between public officials and the members of their communities. Tax evasion is rampant since public officials are lax in collecting tax revenues from their friends and family members. Public officials also practice nepotism, which results in hiring unqualified tax officials.³²

Some suggestions for institutional reform in property tax systems include modifying the current decentralized system of tax administration with a top-to-bottom approach. Under this approach, the central government would establish the property tax collection procedures and impose these procedures on the municipalities. This approach would permit the central government to test new technologies and collection methods in the municipalities who have the appropriate resources for implementation. The central government could also authorize the municipalities to implement collection procedures on the condition that they meet their revenue targets by a certain percentage.³³

Role of civil society in protecting property rights IDPs and thereby curbing opportunities for corruption

NGOs have done a lot of good work on the ground already in terms of locating missing documents, providing the IDPs with information on filing claims etc. A number of NGOs, both in Serbia and Kosovo, are currently striving to provide assistance to IDPs. However, a number of institutional factors and practical concerns, such as safety, seriously undermine the effectiveness of the work of those NGOs. Institutional reform can facilitate their expertise to be integrated into a holistic approach to fighting corruption by strengthening access to and oversight of the land administration / management system.

NGOs working on property rights issues include:

- The Civil Rights Program Kosovo (CRP/K) is a local Kosovo-based non-governmental organization, and has been operating in Kosovo since 2004. Through a multi-ethnic team of lawyers and legal advisors, CRP/K provides free legal assistance and counselling to Internally Displaced Persons IDPs, Refugees, Returnees and minorities at risk of displacement. The CRP/K aims to contribute to the protection of human rights, in particular the right of non-discrimination, and the improvement of the rule of law in Kosovo. (For more information on the CRP/K, please visit: http://www.crpkosovo.org/)
- PRAXIS is a national non-governmental organization established in 2004 as a continuation of the Norwegian Refugee Council's Civil Rights Project in Serbia (1997-2004) and dedicated to protection and promotion of human rights of refugees and IDPs. Their mandate has been strongly supported by the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHURT) and the European Union (EURO) through the European Reconstruction Agency (EAR), as PRAXIS' main donors. PRAXIS' staff has been providing legal protection through free legal assistance (including in-court representation), information and counselling in solving a number of conflict-related legal issues in Kosovo, protection of property rights being the most compelling one. (For more information on PRAXIS, please visit: http://www.praxis.org.uk/)
- The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), established in 1998 by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), is the leading international body monitoring conflict-induced internal displacement worldwide. Through its work, the Centre contributes to improving national and international capacities to protect and assist the millions of people around the globe who have been displaced within their own country as a result of conflict or human rights violations. (For more information on the IDMC, please visit: http://www.internal-displacement.org/)

Part 3: Further reading

UN Habitat, 'Handbook on Post-conflict Land Administration and Peacebuilding' This handbook is intended as a functional tool to facilitate rights-based approaches to questions of land administration in post-conflict environments, in countries with land records. The contents draw on hands-on work in the field as well as on UN Habitat's reflections on its own effectiveness, mistakes and successes. http://www.unhabitat.org/pmss/getPage.asp?page=bookView&book=2443

OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Property Rights in Kosovo: 2002 – 2003"

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³² Ibid

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This report takes a rights-based approach to assess substantive issues in the field of property rights in the context of Kosovo.

http://www.osce.org/documents/mik/2003/06/974_en.pdf

OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Privatization in Kosovo: Judicial Review of Kosovo Trust Agency Matters'

This paper analyzes privatization and judicial review of privatization decisions in Kosovo in light of human rights issues.

http://www.osce.org/documents/mik/2008/05/31255 en.pdf

OSCE Mission in Kosovo, "Eight years after Minority returns and housing and property restitution in Kosovo"

This report analyzes in depth the development of new returns structures, the housing and property restitution process, the resolution of claims related to conflict damages and other relevant challenges to the protection of IDPs' rights.

http://www.osce.org/documents/mik/2007/07/25813_en.pdf

Murat Meha, 'Analysis of Cadastral Data in the Perspective of Land Administration in Kosovo'

This article analyzes the prospect of homogenizing cadastral data for all of Kosovo. It examines cases of discrepancies between cadastral data and field realities and discusses potential solutions to these problems.

http://www.fig.net/pub/fig2008/papers/ts05h/ts05h 04 meha 2714.pdf

Hhyzri Llabjani and Sabri Zylfiu, 'Analysis of Cadastre impact on Privatization Process of Socially Owned Properties in Kosovo'

This paper deals with the privatization process of socially owned properties in Kosovo. http://www.oicrf.org/document.asp?ID=6642

UNDP, 'Decentralization and Local Governance in Kosovo: Challenges and Opportunities Report'

This report presents the key findings, analysis and recommendations from intensive research on issues related to four major components of decentralization and local governance in Kosovo: Public administration reform, legal, institutional and policy frameworks, competencies and institutional capacities and fiscal decentralization. http://www.gdnet.org/middle.php?oid=348&zone=docs&action=doc&doc=14417

Report by Operation Kosovo, "Combating Corruption in Kosovo"

A comprehensive study of corruption in Kosovo.

http://pbosnia.kentlaw.edu/Combating%20Corruption%20in%20Kosovo-rev2.doc