
PLATFORM
THREE FREEDOMS



ELECTIONS UNDER THE MAGNIFYING GLASS

A REPORT ON THE
CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE
2022 ELECTIONS ARE BEING
HELD

MARCH 2022

Elections Under the Magnifying Glass

The Three Freedoms Platform

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INTRODUCTION

Electoral conditions in Serbia have been steadily deteriorating since the 2012 elections and the coming to power of the Serbian Progressive Party. Civil society organizations regularly warned of numerous abuses of public resources that increased during each election cycle. Violence against political opponents, intimidation and threats on election day, blackmail and pressure on free media have also increased. The recommendations of the OSCE and domestic observer organizations are almost the same for the last few election cycles, and the government is doing nothing to implement them. Moreover, the implementation of laws and other legal acts is deteriorating, which is in line with the general trend of weakening the rule of law and democracy in Serbia. Civil society organizations, gathered around the *Three Freedoms Platform*, coordinated their work during the election campaign and identified a number of irregularities and abuses that seriously jeopardize the regularity of elections in Serbia. Irregularities can be noticed in every segment of the election process, from the way of changing the election legislation, through candidacy, voter list, work of bodies for conducting and monitoring elections, presenting political options in the media, verbal and physical violence against opposition representatives, to numerous models of pressure, blackmail and vote buying by the ruling parties, including gross misuse of public resources and institutions. In front of you is a summary report on irregularities observed during the election process, and more detailed reports can be found at the links provided at the end of this report. The report used data collected and materials produced by the following civil society organizations: CRTA, Civic Initiatives, Transparency Serbia, BIRODI, the Independent Journalists' Association of Serbia, the Youth Initiative for Human Rights and the Women Leadership Academy.

ELECTIONS PREPARATIONS

Electoral laws were amended just two months before the 2022 elections, which is not good practice and adds further confusion to the electoral process. The already poorly organized election administration has now been given another one level - the middle level - which will undoubtedly provide additional confusion and affect the already weak trust of the citizens in the whole process. Civil society has warned that changes to the law do not solve any essential problem, moreover, some of the changes are a step backwards. The most controversial is the provision which prohibits the filing of complaints to citizens who have seen an irregularity, but the complaint must come from a person who has been denied a right. In this way, the current level of protection of the right to vote has been reduced. CSOs also warned that the main problem was never in the laws, but in their implementation, as well as in the unprofessional work of institutions that should deal with elections - from the Republic Election Commission (REC), the Regulatory Body for Electronic Media (REM), the Anti-Corruption Agency (ACA) to prosecutors' offices.

CRTA also monitored the period before the elections were announced and concluded that it was marked by a pronounced abuse of institutions and public resources in favor of the ruling party and President Vučić. Almost all institutions took part in it, starting with the parliament whose deputies regularly conducted smearing campaigns against opposition politicians, free media, civil society and critics of the regime. In its conclusion, CRTA states that "the institutions of the legislative and executive power and the President of the Republic, as well as the most influential media in the country have been a continuous channel for creating the advantage of the ruling majority and building the personal cult of Aleksandar Vučić." Budget funds were also used for abuse, so that more than 3,000,000 people in the period before the campaign received some kind of financial assistance from the state, which was regularly announced by Aleksandar Vučić and presented as a gift of the government to the citizens of Serbia, which strengthened the clientelistic relationship between the government and the citizens and corrupted the electorate.

CANDIDACY AND VOTER LIST

As stated, each segment of the election process was marked by irregularities and abuses. During the collection of signatures, numerous strange situations were noticed, which lead to suspicion of abuses. The most problematic was collecting signatures for the ruling Serbian Progressive Party, which was done during the national holiday and at night. For no other party have notaries or municipal notaries worked in such extremely extraordinary conditions. On the other hand, it was noticed that the municipal certifiers allegedly certified a large number of signatures to those parties in power in that municipality, so the SPS-JS coalition collected many signatures in Jagodina where they are in power, and the Dveri-POKS coalition in Novi Sad, where POKS is in power in a coalition with the SNS. The list of extreme right-wingers from the Leviathan movement, registered as a minority list of the Russian national minority, was initially rejected by the REC, but it had to accept them later after the decision of the Administrative Court. They handed over a large number of signatures allegedly certified by the municipality of New Belgrade. However, this municipality announced that it did not certify the signatures for this list at all, that the person who signed as a certifier does not work in the municipality of New Belgrade and that the old seal was used, which should have been destroyed a long time ago. Civil society organizations have called on the prosecution to react and open an investigation, especially since no one was responsible for more than 7,000 signatures forged in a similar way in the 2016 elections. The electoral list is still very out of date and every time it raises doubts about possible manipulations. This time, especially in Belgrade, a large number of invitations to vote appeared for people whom apartment owners claim have never lived there and do not know them. CRTA called on the Ministry of State Administration and Local Self-Government to urgently clarify all reported cases so as not to further undermine confidence in the election process. Instead of clarifying, the ministry publicly announced that everything was fine and that all citizens were legally registered, which only further raised doubts about the regularity of the voter list.

VIOLENCE DURING THE CAMPAIGN

The trend of increasing violence against opposition representatives has continued. An activist of the opposition group of citizens in Kula, Rade Obradović, was physically attacked on February 26 by the husband of an official of the Ministry of State Administration and a member of the SNS. The attack followed after Obradović shared on his profile the results of the research of journalists from VOICE about the malversations of the official in question. The case was reported to the police. The candidate for the member of the local opposition coalition in Smederevska Palanka reported mobbing to which she was exposed in the public company Vodovod in which she is employed, from the moment she agreed to be a candidate. A doctor at the Gornji Milanovac health center, an opposition politician, was also exposed to harassment and reports after she revealed that the management of the institution was forcing employees to participate in SNS activities. Activists of the United for Serbia coalition were physically attacked by SNS supporters on March 27 in Bolec near Grocka, and one of them suffered minor bodily injuries. On the same day, physical and opposition activists were attacked in Grdelica near Leskovac and in Smederevska Palanka.

OBSTRUCTION OF OPPOSITION LIST CAMPAIGNS

Opposition parties announced that the City Administration in Subotica on March 9 banned the setting up of a stand for the United for Serbia coalition, calling for anti-epidemic measures adopted due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In Smederevska Palanka, the municipal election commission suspended its work at the moment when the previously announced representatives of the opposition coalition came to hand over the lists. In this way, the commission tried to influence the distribution of seats on the ballot, which opposition representatives prevented from staying in the commission building all night, until the list was received. On March 8, the opposition coalition in Vršac was prevented from using the already scheduled hall of the local community, because the president of the local community locked the hall. A similar thing happened on March 7 in Kikinda, where the same coalition also canceled a previously scheduled hall. The theater in Vranje refused to rent a hall to the opposition, explaining that all dates were occupied due to rehearsals. The candidate of the opposition coalition for the mayor of Belgrade, Vladeta Janković, had their previously leased space in the private hotel Zira canceled only 12 hours before the beginning of the rally, with the explanation that the previous rally will last longer than planned. Jankovic said that this was the sixth time during the campaign that their space in Belgrade was canceled. A group of activists from the Bor villages of Krivelj and Slatina, who set out to protest the Moramo coalition in Belgrade on March 19, were stopped by police at the entrance to the highway and sent a vehicle for an extraordinary technical inspection, preventing them from attending the rally.

VOTE BUYING, BLACKMAIL AND PRESSURE ON VOTERS

CRTA continuously investigates pressure on employees, blackmail, influence peddling and other uses of public institutions and public resources to collect votes in elections. Through research on a sample of employees and through direct interviews with more than 60 people who were exposed to some kind of pressure or witnessed it, the conclusion is that this behavior is very common in Serbia. The ruling parties are using the clientelistic network they have established through party recruitment to secure votes in the elections. Employees in state and local administrations, public enterprises and other state-controlled firms are blackmailed into the workplace, offered benefits, or threatened with fines to vote for ruling parties. Of the more than 1,800 pre-election activities of political actors recorded by the CRTA, almost 10 percent were either direct vote buying, or some activity related to this abuse. The actors were the parties of the ruling coalition, and the most common behavior was to give voters various goods and services, from groceries and hygiene products to refrigerators and televisions. Members of vulnerable groups, especially social assistance beneficiaries and residents of Roma informal settlements, are most exposed to pressure. According to the testimony of people from these settlements, the Serbian Progressive Party has coordinators for settlements that distribute groceries, buy votes (mostly for 2,000 dinars), take Roma ID cards in advance and return them after the elections, and the like. CRTA also noticed the participation of the Centers for Social Work in the activities of the ruling party. For example, in Pozarevac, the Center for Social Work and the SNS jointly organize tribunals for the socially endangered, where they are promised various services if they vote for the ruling party. In some Centers for Social Work, Roma are informed that they must vote for the ruling party if they want to continue receiving social assistance after the elections. In Vlasotince, the director of the Center visited users in the field together with SNS activists, offering them services if they vote for this party. Portal Nova revealed that the director of the Belgrade public company “Public markets” hired a large number of workers in the campaign for the ruling party, and that their absence from work was therefore justified. Workers of the preschool institution in Vršac were forced to collectively attend the meeting of the presidential candidate Aleksandar Vučić on March 22. The workers of the hospital in Kraljevo were invited in writing to come to Vučić's rally in that city on March 24, and the letter said that the rally did

not have a party character, although Vučić is the presidential candidate of the ruling coalition. At the same time, workers who refuse to go to party rallies face various types of sanctions. The legal advisor at the Gerontology Center in Subotica testified about the mobbing she was exposed to after she refused to participate in the activities of the SNS.

POLITICAL OPTIONS IN MEDIA

In the period before the formal announcement of the parliamentary elections on February 15, 2022, the ruling parties had a huge advantage in presenting themselves on television with a national frequency, through all news programs. About 85% of the time on these televisions was dedicated to government representatives, while the opposition had 15%. When one looks at the tonality of reporting, the difference is even more drastic. While the opposition is represented negatively in a third of all articles about it, the government has almost no negative articles about itself. This difference narrowed during the election campaign due to the introduction of special election programs, where opposition representatives were given the opportunity to visit. However, there was no change in the regular news program, so the representation of the opposition was still around 15 percent. Further analysis, civil society representatives noted that this small part of the time is dedicated to the opposition, mostly reserved for extreme right-wing parties that clearly avoid criticism of the government and whose opposition status is very unclear (moreover, in many local governments are in coalition with SNS). The tone of reporting for these parties is mostly neutral or positive, while the representatives of undoubtedly opposition options – “United for Serbia” and “Moramo” - were reported negatively. Very similar percentages were observed when presenting presidential candidates on televisions with a national frequency. Aleksandar Vučić takes up 85% of the time and there are no negative reports about him. On the other hand, the main opponent, Zdravko Ponos, had 4% of the time, of which 72% were negative contributions. A special form of misuse of public resources and functions is the functionary campaign. Government officials had 76 percent more activity in the first month of the campaign than in the same period a year ago. The most common events in the election campaign were the opening of various facilities, the start of work, the signing of contracts or memoranda, visits to schools, hospitals, courts and the like. And almost all dailies in Serbia (except Danas and Nova) run an open campaign for Aleksandar Vučić and the ruling party, while most of them also run fierce defamation campaigns against opposition representatives.

FINANCING THE CAMPAIGN

The organization Transparency Serbia (TS) observed the transparency of campaign expenses, using the “TraFiKa” methodology, which includes both legally required and voluntary transparency of election participants. All electoral lists and candidates had scores between 1 and 2.3 on a scale of 1 to 5, which practically means that citizens have almost no data on campaign financing. At the same time, this small number of positive evaluations is mainly related to the non-financial parts of transparent business, such as publishing data on profiles on social networks that are used for the campaign. According to TS, the legislation in Serbia still does not allow for transparency in spending money in election campaigns, and almost all proposals of this organization and other CSOs were rejected in the phase of the latest amendments to the law. The campaign itself shows a huge difference in the invested funds between the ruling SNS and opposition parties. The SNS is convincingly ahead in the invested money in all types of media, while the opposition is mostly on social networks. In the first three weeks of the campaign, according to the results of the TS survey, only the SNS had pre-election videos on television. There is a general trend of greater investment in advertising on social networks, which is less legally regulated, and which opens space for various types of financial abuse in the campaign.

WORK OF INSTITUTIONS IN THE CAMPAIGN

Representatives of more than 30 civil society organizations, together with more than 40 university professors, sent an open letter to the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, warning her of manipulations and possible election theft in Serbia. Among other things, they cite examples of pressure on workers of public companies, then paying for votes, falsely registering people from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the like. The signatories called on the European Commission to expand its election observation mission in Serbia. The president of the REC responded sharply to this letter, stating that it was an attempt to "justify the bad results of the opposition in advance" and that the government was unfoundedly accused of rigging the elections. Thus, the president of the body for organizing the elections undoubtedly took the side and once again showed that the REC is not independent or impartial. Other institutions that have a role in organizing or observing elections are also under the absolute control of the SNS. In the period before the campaign and during the campaign, civil society organizations submitted numerous petitions and complaints to the REM Council, the REC and the Anti-Corruption Agency. Most applications were not answered at all, and even when the answer arrived, as a rule, CSO applications were rejected. For example, the ACA, acting on the CRTA report, decided that Aleksandar Vučić did not violate the law when he promised financial assistance to young people from the budget if the SNS wins the elections. A similar decision was made on other applications for participation in the functionary campaign, for example against Minister Zorana Mihailović or the holder of the SNS list in the Belgrade elections, Aleksandar Šapić. The REM Council continued with biased and unprofessional behavior, which has been a constant part of the work of this institution for several years. The official monitoring of the media presence of this institution is completely useless because it is unclear and gives results that do not coincide with the independent monitoring of civil society. Given the fact that the members of the REM Council are very close to the ruling party, which elected them, and that the results of their monitoring significantly reduce the presence of the ruling party in the media, it remains to be concluded that this is another abuse of formally independent institutions by the Serbian government. This is confirmed by the public appearances of the members of the REM Council, as well as the official announcements of this body whose only topic is the defense of Aleksandar Vučić from what they

consider unequal representation on cable channels N1 and Nova S. The Minister of the Interior, Aleksandar Vulin, stated that the opposition groups, with the support of foreign secret services, are preparing riots for the election day, raids on polling stations, and other form of violence. The minister did not substantiate such claims with any evidence, nor did the prosecution open any investigation, but the same accusations were found on the front pages of almost all daily newspapers in Serbia and in the prime time shows on TV stations with national coverage. Hence, the state institutions, with the help of the media, conducted an organized campaign against the opposition, based on complete fabrications.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND HUMAN RIGHTS - FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, ASSOCIATION AND ASSEMBLY

Civil society organizations gathered around the Three Freedoms platform have been monitoring and informing the public about all cases of violations of basic human rights, beginning with the day of the formal announcement of the elections and ending with March 31, in order to establish a realistic assessment of the adherence to electoral procedure and the state of rule of law in the pre-election period. In addition to irregularities in the election process and pressures on voters, all violations of the three basic freedoms necessary for the functioning of civil society - freedom of expression, freedom of association, and freedom of assembly - were recorded and reported. As of March 31, 2022, there have been 84 individual cases of violations of these three freedoms since the beginning of the election campaign on February 15, 2022. There was a drastic increase in the number of violations compared to the observed period from the beginning of 2022 (from January 1 to February 14, 12 cases were recorded) and compared to the year 2021, when a total of 162 cases of violations were recorded.

In addition to the attacks and pressures on opposition activists mentioned earlier, attacks and pressures on journalists were particularly numerous. The monitoring of the Independent Journalists' Association of Serbia (NUNS/IJAS) in February and March recorded eight individual cases of attacks and pressures related to the election campaign. Just before the formal announcement of the elections, a coordinated campaign was present in several pro-regime tabloids in which the daily newspaper Danas was accused of conducting a covert operation ("Operation Noose 2") to "take Vučić's head off" because they "want to overthrow the state", and "break Serbia" by way of "spins and lies in the media. " Following the announcement of the elections, high-ranking officials continued to target independent media, and publicize unsupported assertions about their links with political opponents of the ruling party. On her Twitter profile, the Prime Minister of Serbia Ana Brnabić qualified the daily Danas with the comment "As consistent as Djilas, as credible as Marinika", while the President of Serbia Aleksandar Vučić refused the invitation of N1 television to attend a TV duel with an opposition presidential candidate, stating "If I could forgive myself and betray my children for everything

you did to them in the previous period, then maybe I would come." A similar allegation was repeated by him while appearing on cable television channel Euronews, in a show that was simultaneously broadcast on another nationally syndicated television, B92. While talking about the attitude of the Serbian media towards the war in Ukraine on TV Happy, the president again targeted this media outlet, as well as Nova S TV, stating that he would not comment on "those who think everyone is evil, because they hate the whole world - Nova S, N1...".

In addition to state and ruling party officials, attacks on the media have been perpetrated by other factors on the political scene. Presenting his candidacy, presidential candidate Miša Vacić, stated that, if he were elected as the president of the country, he would advocate for banning the work of all foreign media that have an information program. He stated, "In the age of hybrid wars, the media are a very effective weapon against sovereign countries. When I become president of Serbia, I will ban the work of foreign news media in our country. Serbia has no news media in America and Germany, there is no need for them to have news media in our homeland."

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND HUMAN RIGHTS - THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SERBIA AND POLITICAL ACTORS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS HUMAN RIGHTS

The Women Leadership Academy monitored gender-based violence in the pre-election, election and post-election processes for parliamentary, presidential and local elections within their "Elections without Violence" initiative. According to them, during the first three weeks of monitoring the election campaign (from March 7 to March 27), a high prevalence of violence against women was noted. There has been an increase in violence in the family and partnership context, as well as an increase in tensions and violence in the campaign itself, especially as it was coming to a close. There was also a higher frequency and brutality of violence on social networks. Regarding violations of election procedures, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that women in Serbia make up the majority of employees in the public sector (education, health, social protection, public administration, etc.) but also among recipients of social benefits, and that they are therefore more exposed to unlawful pressure and blackmail to secure or provide support to the ruling parties, when compared to men. Furthermore, their analysis showed that, although the number of women on the electoral lists and the number of those who are running in the presidential elections is higher than ever before, there is no adequate reciprocity in their media representation or, in most cases, adequate visibility in the campaigns of political parties and coalitions. Also, within the pre-election programs of the most watched televisions, it was noted that show authors and presenters show verbal aggression and a lack of professional neutrality in communication with the candidates, placing themselves in the role of political opponents of their interlocutors.

The Youth Initiative for Human Rights published the report "Attitudes Toward War Crimes in the 2022 Election Campaign" which thematizes and documents the mutual support of war criminals and electoral lists, i.e. presidential candidates, as well as statements made by electoral representatives on war crimes and wars of the 1990s, in the period from January to March 23, 2022. Special segments of the report are dedicated to an analysis of the legislative framework for the participation of war criminals in elections. According to their findings, six convicted war

criminals (Vojislav Šešelj, Vladimir Lazarević, Veselin Šljivančanin, Nikola Šainović, Dragan Vasiljković, Vinko Pandurević) supported the lists and candidates of the ruling SNS-SPS coalition. Also, four candidates in the parliamentary elections (Ljiljana Mihailović, Božidar Delić, Vjerica Radeta, Petar Jojić) are people who are connected with war events and war crimes. In addition to the presence of war criminals on electoral lists and their support for the ruling party's candidates, the report further indicates that the election campaign is a "trigger for the continued promotion of war criminals in Serbia", and that this attitude towards the wars of the 1990s is not limited to ruling coalition candidates. Presidential candidate Zdravko Ponoš said in media appearances that Ratko Mladić was a "tragic person" who "did some brilliant things despite the crimes." For other presidential candidates such as Boško Obradović and Miša Vacić, Ratko Mladić is a hero of the Serbian people. On the other hand, the representative of the electoral list "MORAMO", Biljana Đorđević, stated that this list is against those "patriots" who defend the mural to Ratko Mladić. Representatives of the Civic Democratic Forum (GDF) started their election campaign for the Belgrade local elections in front of the mural of Ratko Mladić, and on that occasion called on the future government of Belgrade to remove this mural. The analysis of the Youth Initiative for Human Rights also showed that the denial of the genocide in Srebrenica, i.e. the denial of the interpretation and implications of this genocide, is the majority position of the electoral lists and candidates in the upcoming elections. The exception is the representative of the "MORAMO" list, Radomir Lazović, who in one statement simultaneously referred to the parliamentary declaration and verdicts of international courts, stating that the state of Serbia recognized the genocide in Srebrenica, while "SDA Sandžak" was the only political entity to call for the adoption of a new resolution condemning the Srebrenica genocide.

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