

## **KOSOVO IN INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTIONS**

**Isak SHERIFI**

*Faculty of Philosophy, University of Tetova*

*isak.sherifi@unite.edu.mk*

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### **Abstract**

The political circumstances created in the areas of former Yugoslavia, with special emphasis on the Albanian issue, took a special place on the European agenda during the years 1991 to 1993. The activities of political subjects were expressed through letters sent to international missions and especially to the Council of Europe, the CSBE, Copenhagen and the Belgian Senate, managed to internationalize the unresolved issue of the Albanians, especially the Albanians of Kosovo. With the development of these events, the international factor drafted resolutions on the violation of human rights in Kosovo. The Council for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo also played a special role in the internationalization of the Kosovo problem in the future many reactions of the most internationally relevant institutions will follow.

*Keywords:* international missions, Kosovo, international factors, resolutions, reactions, etc.

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### **Introduction**

The violent conflict in Kosovo that began at the end of 1997 and the beginning of 1998 was not the first organized resistance by Albanian people, the riots that began in 1968 and persisted until 1981 were efforts of the Albanian people to win their rights but which will be suppressed in different ways by the Yugoslav authorities of that time. After the events of 1968, Kosovo gained autonomy in 1974, but did not enjoy the same rights as other peoples of the Yugoslav Federation. Despite the political goals expressed by prominent Albanian figures, achieving them proved challenging due to the suppression of Kosovo's autonomy. During a visit to Kosovo, Slobodan Milosevic assured the Serbs that they would be protected, leaving a lasting impact on the Serbian population. Subsequently, Milosevic increased his presence in Kosovo, instilling fear among the Albanian population. The violence used by the Yugoslav Federation at that time will increase the commitment and efforts of Albanians through protests and demonstrations.

As a counter-response to the Milosevic regime, the Albanians in the 90s will elect their very partisan parliament because the Albanians constituted the majority in Kosovo and the minority was the Serbian population. The Parliament will declare the independent "Republic of Kosovo" that will be recognized only by Albania. The Serbian government, together with its leadership, will maintain power throughout the territory of Kosovo, favoring the preservation of the status quo regarding the status of Kosovo. Having no other choice, Albanian political leaders will create their own parallel institutions.

The revocation of Kosovo's autonomy by Serbia in 1990 by foreign diplomats was interpreted as an instigation of the Kosovo problem, while the Serbian government will describe it as terrorism by the disobedient Albanians.

During the conflicts between the former Yugoslav Republics, Germany's stance gained prominence within the European Community (EC), supporting the right of Yugoslav republics to self-determination. Simultaneously, Austria and several other countries within

the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) echoed a similar position. This marked a shift in Central Europe's approach to Yugoslavia, causing a decline in Russian dominance.

This shift prompted international attention, leading to the arrival of numerous delegations in Kosovo. Notably, the United States State Department, having recently confirmed the actual situation regarding human rights violations in Kosovo, played a significant role in addressing the unfolding events.

The reactions of the world press will also follow, successive resolutions will be drawn up even though Kosovo at this stage would still be treated as a minority part of Yugoslavia.

### **Deterioration of the situation in the former Yugoslavia**

With the dissolution of the Assembly of Kosovo in June 1990, the deputies of the Assembly will declare the independence of Kosovo from Serbia on July 2 as a full Republic within the borders of the SFRY. Many other attempts will follow, because this Assembly will be declared illegal by the RSFJ. Secretly, the deputies will meet in Kaçanik announcing the constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. In September 1991, the members of the Kosovo Assembly will organize a referendum on sovereignty, in which 87% of Albanian national voters will turn out, and all will vote for independence. On October 22, 1991, the government of Kosovo in exile will be formed and the same will be recognized by Albania.

The first parallel elections in Kosovo took place in May 1992. Concurrently, Yugoslavia experienced secessions and conflicts among its republics, primarily revolving around the issue of inheritance in the former Yugoslavia. Four of the six republics declared independence, while Serbia and Montenegro joined forces to establish the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in April 1992, lasting until 2006.

During this period, particularly in the early 1990s, Kosovo transformed into a police state under Belgrade's governance. Serbian forces consistently employed force and violence against the Albanian population. The education of Kosovar students became a significant challenge. The University of Pristina underwent rapid 'servicization' starting in September 1991, denying entry to Kosovo students and placing all university buildings under police guard. Approximately 7,000 Serbian, Montenegrin, and some Greek students were permitted to continue higher education exclusively in the Serbian language.

In response to these actions, Albanians began organizing a "parallel university" in the Albanian language, receiving modest financial support from the Albanian Diaspora in Europe. Similarly, a "parallel school system" emerged, comprising Kosovar teachers removed from state schools. Western diplomacy, notably the United States, reacted to these developments.

The US Senate passed the resolution on the violations of the human rights of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, which "expresses concern" and requires the Yugoslav government and the Serbian government to stop the use of force in the province of Kosovo and to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms democratic.

It was also requested that the Yugoslav Government investigate the cases of murders of citizens by police forces<sup>1</sup>.

During these years, the party that gained the most support in Kosovo was the DLM (Democratic League of Kosovo), its leader, Ibrahim RUGOVA, will be known as a peaceful leader who, through dialogue, tried to protect the rights of the oppressed Albanians in all spheres. This way of functioning of the party will suit Milosevic a little more because he

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<sup>1</sup> Mikel Ndrecaj, 87 vjet terror dhe gjenocid shtetërorë (1912-1999): (Prishtinë: Rentabil-Kosova, 2001)

considered that it was to his advantage to have peaceful Albanian leaders and to free most of the police and army to operate in Croatia and Bosnia. Milosevic may have also been influenced by the warning of the President of the USA, George Bush, who states that in the event of a conflict caused by the Serbs, the USA will use military force.

### **The internationalization of the Albanian issue in the former Yugoslavia**

The developments and events within Yugoslavia gave impetus to the process of internationalization of internal affairs, because the divide deepened daily among the peoples seeking secession from the Yugoslav Federation, especially after the 14th Congress of the Yugoslav Federation where divergences among Serbians, Croatians, Slovenians, Bosnians, and later, those in Kosovo, became evident. Consequently, the international community made continuous efforts to raise awareness among European countries, some of which had initially supported the now non-existent Yugoslav Federation. The marathon talks held since the 90s between the republics, which were held for reasons of the future of these states, will not be successful. These talks mainly served to inform the wider public. In these talks, the representatives of Kosovo will be constantly excluded and their voice remained absent.

The expansion of conflicts and the killing of innocent people will continue even further. The international community will start organizing various conferences to take a stand on the Yugoslav crisis. In this case, the US state department casts doubt on the future

All the representatives of the Yugoslav republics will participate in the Peace Conference in The Hague, but not the representatives of Kosovo. The main reason for not inviting the representatives of Kosovo was that Kosovo did not have the status of the Republic the same thing would happen to Kosovo a few years later at the Dayton Conference<sup>2</sup>. The Peace Conference on Yugoslavia, organized in August 1991, established the European Community Monitoring Mission and the Arbitration Commission also known as the Badinter Commission, with the authority to negotiate possible solutions in the framework of the breakup of Yugoslavia. The conference was served as a platform for discussing a compromise between republics seeking independence from the Yugoslav Federation During this conference, the issue of self-determination was examined to protect human rights as described in international conventions, all without questioning the territorial sovereignty of the state.

In the declaration of the European Community of September 3, 1991, at the extraordinary meeting of ministers in The Hague, international diplomacy will be careful to ensure a balance between territorial sovereignty and the independence of states while respecting human rights.

By the end of 1991, the Conference failed to prevent war, as it primarily focused on peacekeeping mechanisms to replace military interventions. Thus, international diplomacy made limited efforts to stop "Serbs from engaging in ethnic cleansing to create Serb-governed territories which they hoped would be annexed to Serbia itself"<sup>3</sup>.

The efforts of the European Union regarding the Kosovo issue will be on the table of debates at the fourth meeting of the committee of senior officials of the CSBE held in November 1991 dedicated to the developments in Yugoslavia. The European Union's report expressed the great concern of the international European and UN community about the escalation of conflict in Yugoslavia and the danger that is being presented to the peace process and security in Europe. The report called on all countries participating in the CSCE to support the

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<sup>2</sup> Fehmi Pushkolli, Kosova shtet i pavarur dhe sovran: (Prishtinë: Studime shkencore, 2006)

<sup>3</sup> Po aty

initiative of the UN, namely the Security Council to send peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia and to continue the efforts of the European Community to find a possible solution through the dialogue of the parties involved in the conflict and those interested<sup>4</sup>.

International diplomacy continued its activities in Oslo, where the Norwegian Institute for Human Rights and the Michelson Institute from Bergen organized an international conference titled "Protection of Minorities and Human Rights in the New Europe" from January 30 to February 1, 1991. In contrast to other reports, the Yugoslav reporter presented a more generalized and relatively obscure overview of the key issues, somehow incorporating the Kosovo matter into minority frameworks. In response, the Kosovar representative provided specific remarks highlighting key features and main characteristics of the Albanian issue in Yugoslavia. Additionally, the representative addressed the accompanying context and drew an analogy between the Yugoslav situation and the Soviet one, emphasizing the role of the armed forces.

The conference will discuss the Kosovar issue divided into two, subjugated by a larger neighboring people, forcibly imposing minority status on them. The conference will also discuss the protection of minorities and human rights in relevant institutions at the national and international levels, as well as international approaches to supervision and conflict resolution.

**ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA ARE NOT A MINORITY BUT A PEOPLE DIVIDED BY INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION** The statement is part of a letter from the inter-party council of Albanian political parties addressed to the Conference of the KSB on human rights in Moscow.

Even today, despite state repression and terror, after the unconstitutional occupation of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia failed to impose their power and political options on the Albanians. This is why the Albanians strongly demand the right to self-determination, since they survived five centuries of Turkish occupation and the old Serbian regimes, and despite the constant terror, repression and massacres that were carried out against the Albanians by these regimes, they never managed to assimilate them nor to change the ethnic structure of Kosovo, nor of the ethnic Albanian territories in Macedonia, Montenegro and Southern Serbia when Albanians are today the overwhelming majority of the population, it is said in the statement by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova on behalf of the Inter-Party Council of the Albanian Parties of Yugoslavia sent to the CSCE Conference on Human Rights that is being held in Moscow<sup>5</sup>. Kosovo imprisoned, Albanians without any rights. In Brussels, Adem Demaçi, chairman of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights, together with Nevzat Halili, chairman of the Party for Prosperity, stayed in the Belgian Senate on the occasion there have presented their views about the situation in Kosovo and generally about the situation of Albanians in Yugoslavia. The Chairman of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, Mr. Adem Demaçi, submitted this letter to the Senate: The Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, headquartered in Pristina-Kosovo, has the honor to present the situation to the Senate of Belgium in which the Albanians in Yugoslavia are currently found. Their situation is like this. Seeing all these injustices done to the Albanian people, the possibility of the outbreak of a bloody conflict in Kosovo is ever greater. Our council asks the Belgian senators to use all the means at their disposal to take concrete initiatives to make Europe aware and to ask it to take urgent measures to prevent the bloodshed that the parasitic Serbian bureaucratic regime is preparing. Our council believes that lifting the state of emergency imposed by the Serbian militarist regime in Kosovo is the

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<sup>4</sup> Isak Sherifi, *Tranzicioni politik dhe konfliktet në ish-Jugosllavi*: (Tetovë: Luma graphic, 2018)

<sup>5</sup> K.H. (1991), *Shqiptarët në Jugosllavi sjanë pakicë por popull i ndarë me arbitrazhë ndërkombëtarë*, Bujku 13-34

only way to get out of the current blockade, with which Albanians would be able to democratically express their political will. Our council appreciates that the Serbian people also have the right to be freed from the bureaucrats and from their parasites, it is said at the end of the letter which was sent by the chairman of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, Mr. Adem Demaçi. <sup>6</sup>

## Conclusion

- According to international practices in the case of conflicts such as the case of Kosovo, i.e. intra-state conflict as it was presented by internationals will be harmful due to the granting of a privileged and dominant position that excluded others such as international actors, communities and individuals from the same privileges.
- International efforts to maintain order by not changing the borders can promote war between different ethnic groups, repression and deterioration of human rights. These wars threaten to become a serious problem for order, affecting not only the country in question, but also the countries of the region.
- The international political factor found before an unexpected fact of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, will have a tremendous impact on the re-dimensioning of the destinies of the republics and peoples that made up the former Yugoslavia. The political and economic situation of Kosovo Albanians will be greatly aggravated.
- This will lead to their organization for secession from the Serbian occupation. The international factor, at least in this period of time, was a facilitator in the political and later military process that took over the Yugoslav federation.

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## Abbreviations

DLK-Democratic League of Kosovo  
EC-European Council  
FRY- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
SCEU- Security Council of the European Union  
SFRY- Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
UN-United Nations  
USA-United States of America

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<sup>6</sup> K.H. (1991), Shqiptarët në Jugosllavi sjanë pakicë por popull I ndarë me arbitrazhë ndërkombëtarë, Bujku 13-34