

THE INFLUENCE OF RUSSIA (PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL) ON THE THREAT TO WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY-WITH SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE WESTERN BALKANS¹

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Abstract

The United Nations Organization is a global organization emerging from the aftermath of the Second World War, which, according to the Organization's Charter, its main purpose is the preservation of peace and security in the world; the development of friendly relations between nations; achieving international cooperation for solving economic, social, cultural humanitarian problems, etc. and the intention that the UN itself becomes a center for harmonizing actions to achieve common goals.

The Security Council is the body that within the Organization has the main and direct responsibility for maintaining global peace and security. In the framework of the Security Council, the permanent members are the countries with the most political and diplomatic influence in the world, but at the same time they have the greatest responsibility for the implementation of the provisions of the UN Charter. The behavior of these states is of essential importance for world peace. Often the member states of the Security Council, due to their interests, not only do not adhere to the main principles when it comes to preventing any member state from jeopardizing stability and peace by protecting the interests of certain aggressor states, but it also happens that with provocation and direct participation in wars and armed conflicts endanger world peace. From the founding of the UN to today, the most blatant case of starting a very dangerous war conflict is Russia.

Precisely because of this fact, in this paper the object of research will be Russia, which uses the position of a permanent member of the Security Council, not only for the protection of its political interests, but also by participating in armed conflicts and by declaring war on sovereign states.

Since the end of the Second World War, and especially during the Cold War, but also after 2008, Russia has either participated in many armed conflicts or caused them. Objectively, within the framework of this research, it is impossible to include all cases, therefore we will focus only on the Russian influence and endangering peace in the Western Balkans.

The paper deals with the indirect and direct Russian influence in some of the countries of the Western Balkans, emphasizing the concrete circumstances and characteristics of each country in particular.

For this research, the professional literature, the most relevant international juridical act, the media that inform about actual events in Russia is a direct destabilizing factor, etc.

The research relies mainly on the method of analysis of juridical acts, defense doctrines highlighted above, facts of real political events, diplomatic disputes and military conflicts.

Based on the analyzed information, we come to the conclusion of research results, conclusions and suggestions for the future political, military, economic, development measures that should be taken by the international community, including NATO, EU, OSCE and other international organizations in which democratic and peacekeeping states adhere, with the aim of maintaining peace, stability and preventing Russia from extending its influence to a dominant size, since as an authoritarian state that it is, as a result, there would be various long-term wars and conflicts in the Western Balkans.

Keywords: United Nations Organization, Russia, Security Council, Western Balkans, peace, stability.

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1. Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War, during the Cold War, but also after its end, especially from 2008 onwards, Russia has either directly or indirectly actively participated in many armed conflicts and wars or caused them. those. In this framework, as a three-century Russian strategy for access to the Adriatic Sea, the focus of the interests of the Russian Federation includes the Western Balkans. Therefore, it is important to see the Russian interest and influence in this region, instrumentalizing the United Nations Organization and especially the right of veto as a permanent member of the Security Council.

The paper mainly examines the direct and indirect Russian influence in some of the countries of the Western Balkans, emphasizing the concrete circumstances and characteristics of each country in particular.

The influence of the Russian Federation in the Western Balkans, as a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization (the only global organization in the world), in this paper is addressed and treated from several aspects:

The first; Political aspect;

The second; The diplomatic aspect;

The third; Economic aspect;

Fourth; The mediatic-propagandistic aspect;

The fifth; Security services (Expulsion of diplomats from diplomatic missions); and

Sixth; The geopolitical aspect as a whole and fundamental influence of the Russian Federation in the Western Balkans.

The focus of this research is mainly the influence of the Russian Federation through the Security Council, due to its position in this Council.

In order to better clarify the role and influence of Russia, it is necessary to first clarify the role of the Security Council in the overall activity of the United Nations Organization, due to its position in this Council of the Organization.

2. United Nations Organization (UN)

After the end of the First World War, the world organization League of Nations was founded. The League of Nations was designed as an international organization for ensuring peace and strengthening international cooperation, founded on the initiative of American President Woodrow Wilson, after the First World War, with headquarters in Geneva. The basic regulation of the League was the Pact approved at the Versailles Peace Conference on 28 IV.1919, which was then included in the peace treaties of 1919/20.

While the United Nations Organization was historically a continuation of the League of Nations.

The United Nations (UN) was founded on the ruins of the Second World War, with the aim of being the guarantor of peace in the world, after the Second World War. The goals of the United Nations (UN) are included in the founding legal act, the Charter of the Organization.

The first and initial step towards the creation of the future United Nations Organization (UN) is the Declaration of St. James' Palace from June 12, 1941. Namely, for the first time the idea of creating a global world organization is mentioned in the Declaration of St. James' Palace (June 12, 1941), to the San Francisco Conference held from April 25 to June 26, 1945.

The purpose of the establishment of the United Nations Organization (UN) was to influence international relations to create and maintain peace, cooperation and solidarity between the states of the world and the regulation of international relations, based on the principles of equality and respect for sovereignty and the integrity of each state, as an international legal entity.

The essence of the activity is to, with practical and concrete measures and actions, influence the preservation of peace in the world on a global scale, especially by learning from the failure of the League of Nations, which failed to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War.

The UN Charter was signed at the Conference, while it entered into force on October 24, 1945, after the legal instruments of ratification of all the permanent members of the UN and most of the other (original) member countries had been deposited. .

The headquarters of the United Nations (UN) are in New York City (USA) and Geneva (Switzerland).

2.1. Goals of the United Nations Organization: The United Nations Organization, as the only global Organization in the world. The UN Charter, as the highest legal act, in Article 1 (paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4) also defines its goals. According to:

Article 1

The goals of the United Nations are:

1. maintaining international peace and security and for this purpose: taking effective collective measures with the aim of preventing and removing threats to peace and suppressing acts of aggression or other violations of the peace, as well as achieving by peaceful means and in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, the settlement or resolution of international disputes or situations that may lead to a breach of the peace;
2. developing friendly relations between nations based on respect for the principle of equality and self-determination of peoples and taking other appropriate measures for the consolidation of general peace;
3. achieving international cooperation by solving international, economic, social, cultural or humanitarian problems, as well as promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for everyone, regardless of race, gender, language or religion;
4. to become a center for the coordination of actions taken to achieve these common goals.²

2.2. Main bodies of the United Nations Organization: According to the UN Charter (Article 7, point 1) the main bodies of the Organization are: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Guardianship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.³

This research focuses on the influence of state powers through the General Assembly and the Security Council.

2.2.1. The General Assembly of the United Nations Organization - Role, powers and influence: It is important that the General Assembly is one of the organs of the United Nations Organization, in which all members are represented and which has an agenda with wide involvement.

The composition, duties and authorizations and voting procedures of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization are provided by the basic legal document of the Organization (Charter) (Chapter IV, Articles 9-22).⁴

² CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 26 June 1945; Article 1 (paragraphs 1,2,3 and 4); Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

³ -CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 26 June 1945; article 7 (paragraph 1). Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

⁴ CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 26 June 1945, (Article 9-22); Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

Each member state in the General Assembly is represented by one vote. The General Assembly can discuss any issue within the framework of the UN Charter, which in practice means anything related to problems between states, or international relations.

It is also important to note that "The General Assembly, which according to its composition represents the most representative body of the United Nations, has been entrusted with the widest competence".⁵

So, the General Assembly is the only plenary body of the UN in which all member states are equally represented.

According to Article 9 of the Charter:

Article 9

1. The General Assembly consists of all the members of the United Nations.

2. No member has more than five representatives in the General Assembly.⁶

That is, each country has only one vote in the General Assembly, five delegation members and experts.

The subsidiary bodies of the UN are commissions that have the task of studying the issues sent to them by the General Assembly and preparing eventual recommendations and resolutions.

The work in the General Assembly takes place in plenums and committees.

It should be said that "Although the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests with the Security Council, the General Assembly may discuss any matter or problem within the scope of the Charter, including the maintenance of international peace and security, and may make recommendations to members of the UN or the Security Council, in conditions where the Council itself is not dealing with the same problem".⁷

Under similar conditions, according to Article 14 of the Charter, the Assembly can "recommend measures for the peaceful settlement of any situation, regardless of origin, which it considers likely to disrupt the common good or friendly relations between nations".⁸

2.2.2. The competencies of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization: The main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security rests with the Security Council, while the General Assembly can discuss any issue or problem within the scope of the Charter, including the maintenance of international peace and security, and can make recommendations to UN members. of or the Security Council, in circumstances where the Council itself does not deal with the same problem. According to Article 14, the Assembly may "recommend measures for the peaceful settlement of any situation, regardless of origin, which it considers likely to disturb the general good or friendly relations between nations".⁹

The General Assembly also decides on the admission of new members, their suspension and expulsion with the recommendation of the Security Council (Article 4 points and 2).¹⁰

The main CHARACTERISTIC of the competences of the UN General Assembly is that it gives recommendations to the members of the UN or the Security Council (UN Charter, Chapter IV, Article 10).

⁵ Dr.Olga Šuković "Donošenje odluka u Ujedinjenim Nacijama i specijalizovanim ustanovama",Izdavač: INSTITUT ZA MEĐUNARODNU POLITIKU I PRIVREDU, Beograd, 1980;str.54;

⁶ CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,26 june 1945, Article 9 (paragraph 1 and 2); Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

⁷ Shaw N.M (2009) "МЕЃУНАРОДНО ПРАВО" (Translation in Macedonian language). ПРОСВЕТНО ДЕЛО АД, 2009, Скопје; pg.1051;

⁸ Ibid,

⁹ Ibid,

¹⁰ CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 26 june 1945; article 4 (paragraph 1 and 2); Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

In Article 10 (Chapter IV) of the Charter, the duties and powers of the General Assembly are generally defined. According to this Article 10, the General Assembly makes recommendations to the members of the UN or the Security Council, on all matters and issues provided for in this Charter (with the exception of Article 12), including in relation to the acceptance of any state for membership in the UN.

Charter of the united nations¹¹

Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss all issues or all subjects within the framework of this Charter in relation to the powers and duties of any body provided for in this Charter and may, with the exception provided in Article 12, make recommendations to the members of the United Nations or the Security Council, or both the former and the latter, for all such matters or subjects.

In the competences of the UN General Assembly, we therefore have a double limitation, which is reflected in the fact that:

- a) While the Security Council discusses disputes within its jurisdiction, the General Assembly cannot make recommendations, unless expressly requested by the Security Council.
- b) When discussing issues related to peace and security, the General Assembly can only make recommendations.

More precisely, the duties and powers of the General Assembly are regulated in Chapter IV from articles 9 to 19 of the Charter.

According to Article 18 of the Charter, point 2, Decisions of the General Assembly are taken by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.¹²

2.3. The role, duties and powers of the United Nations Security Council and its permanent members: The Security Council is one of the main decision-making bodies of the UN. Matters of composition, duties, authorizations, voting, procedures and functioning of the Security Council are also regulated by the UN Charter (Chapter V, Articles 23-32).

In Article 23 (paragraph 1, 2 and 3) of the Charter emphasized :

1. The Security Council consists of 15 members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States are permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly also elects ten more members of the United Nations as non-permanent members of the Security Council, paying special attention, in the first place, to the contribution of the members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and other goals of the Organization, as well as for equal geographical distribution.
2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council are elected for a period of two years. In the first election for non-permanent members, following the increase in the number of members of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four new members will be elected for one year. A member whose mandate has expired cannot be re-elected immediately.
3. Each member of the Security Council has a representative.¹³

¹¹ CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 26 June 1945; article 10;
Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

¹² CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 26 June 1945; article 18 (paragraph 2);
Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

¹³ CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 26 June 1945; article 23 (Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3).
Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

2.3.1. The composition of the United Nations Security Council: The initial composition of the Security Council has undergone changes since its establishment, so with the changes, from the initial 11 members, the number of members of the Security Council has increased to 15 members (five permanent and ten temporary).

Specifically, the Security Council, initially according to the resolution of June 26, 1945, namely Article 23, had 11 members, including 5 permanent members and 6 non-permanent members.

Permanent members are: USA, Great Britain, China, France, Russia.

The non-permanent members of the Council are elected by the General Assembly.

2.3.1. The composition of the United Nations Security Council: The main responsibility of the Security Council is to maintain peace and security in the world (Charter, Article 24, paragraph 1).

The Security Council also has the so-called secondary responsibility, which, in addition to many responsibilities, also has the main responsibility in accepting, suspending and expelling members from the United Nations Organization (Article 4, Paragraph 1 and 2; Article 5 and Article 6 of the Charter) .

According to:

Article 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members entrust the Security Council with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and agree that the Security Council shall act on their behalf in carrying out their duties based on these responsibilities.

2. In carrying out these tasks, the Security Council acts in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The specific powers entrusted to the Security Council to carry out these tasks are defined in chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII.¹⁴

So, according to the Charter, the Security Council has a wide range of powers and responsibilities.

2.3.3. The manner and procedure of decision-making in the Security Council of the United Nations Organization: The work of the Security Council is based on taking decisions based on the UN Charter and all other activities in practice related to it.

In the Security Council, decisions are made by voting, a solution that is regulated in the UN Charter, Chapter V (Articles 23 to 32).

The procedure for the work of the Security Council is defined by the UN Charter (in Chapter V, with articles 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32).

Voting and decision-making by the Permanent members of the Security Council is regulated by Article 27 (paragraph 1 and 2). Meanwhile, the right of veto of the Permanent member states of the Security Council (Article 27, paragraph 3).¹⁵

¹⁴ CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 26 June 1945, 24 Article (paragraph 1 and 2);

Available: www.treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf (last access: May 25, 2024);

¹⁵The creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) 18 December 1991; Available: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/chapter-5> (last access: May 18, 2024);

3. Establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

With the complete radical social, economic and political changes that took place in communist Europe at the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s, which were the result of "Perestroika", in addition to the political changes, three federal states were also dissolved as the Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia and the former Czechoslovakia broke up into new states. While Mikhail Gorbachev tried to reform the former Soviet Union (USSR), the leaders of the constituent states decided to make their states that had previously been part of the federation fully independent. of the USSR. There were a total of 15 states that declared state independence, they were: Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Moldova and Uzbekistan.

But while the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was being created, there were simultaneously efforts to preserve the unity of the Soviet Union. Specifically: "Gorbachev, still President of the USSR - elected on March 1, 1990 by the Soviet deputies after obtaining the necessary amendment to the Constitution - tried, in vain, to approve a treaty of economic union. On December 3 he issued a dramatic appeal to prevent the dissolution of the Union".¹⁶ But the process of the disintegration of the USSR had taken its course and on December 8, 1990 in Minsk the presidents of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, gathered in Minsk, concluded that "The Soviet Union as a geopolitical reality and a subject of international law has ceased to exist".¹⁷

At the same time, "They signed an agreement that creates a Commonwealth of Sovereign States open to all states of the former USSR. Gorbachev had no choice but to accept this solution. On December 21, at a meeting in Alma-Ata, eight other republics joined the first three".¹⁸ This is how the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was created, i.e. "It consisted of 11 republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan (official membership in 1993), Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova (official membership in 1994), Uzbekistan (official membership in 1992), Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Ukraine. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Georgia refused to sign the Declaration of Alma-Ata. On the same day, the 11 signatories informed Gorbachev that the USSR and his role as President had ceased to exist. Gorbachev resigned on December 25."¹⁹

3.1. The Succession of the membership of the Russian Federation in the Organization of the United Nations and the Security Council

Succession or the right of inheritance of membership in the United Nations Organization from the Soviet Union belonged to the Russian Federation. Otherwise "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was an original Member of the United Nations from 24 October 1945".²⁰ Thus, "In a letter dated December 24, 1991, the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, informed the Secretary General that the membership of the Soviet Union in the

¹⁶ The creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); Available: https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_creation_of_the_commonwealth_of_independent_states_cis-en-7f16a3ab-ad03-4f04-b24f-99dff97a1d8d.html (last access: May 20,2024);

¹⁷ The creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); Available: https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_creation_of_the_commonwealth_of_independent_states_cis-en-7f16a3ab-ad03-4f04-b24f-99dff97a1d8d.html (last access: May 20,2024);

¹⁸ The creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); Available: https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_creation_of_the_commonwealth_of_independent_states_cis-en-7f16a3ab-ad03-4f04-b24f-99dff97a1d8d.html (last access: May 20,2024);

¹⁹ The creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); Available: https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_creation_of_the_commonwealth_of_independent_states_cis-en-7f16a3ab-ad03-4f04-b24f-99dff97a1d8d.html (last access: May 20,2024);

²⁰ The Russian Federation is a member of the UN-Russian Federation; Available: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/member-states/russian-federation> (last access: May 20,2024);

Security Council and in all other bodies of the United Nations was continued by the Russian Federation with the support . from the 11 member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States".²¹

However, Ukraine was also an original member of the United Nations (date of admission 24.10.1945)²² and Belarus (since 24-10-1945)²³.

4. The influence of the Russian Federation in the Western Balkans - Ways of influence

The Russian Federation affects the Western Balkans in several ways:

First; The influence of the Russian Federation through the UN, namely the Security Council in the Western Balkans;

The second; Direct multi-dimensional Russian influence in the Western Balkans; and

The third; Multidimensional Russian indirect influence in the Western Balkans.

4.1. The influence of the Russian Federation through the UN-Security Council in the Western Balkans: The influence of the Russian Federation in the Western Balkans, the most important, the most open and the most strategic from the perspective of the Russian Federation, is the influence through membership in the Security Council, as a permanent member of the Council, with the right of veto. With the veto, any decision that must be approved by the Security Council is stopped, in order to solve some problems and political conflicts that would overcome many conflicting and potentially dangerous situations for the future and security of the Western Balkans.

5. Western Balkan countries where Russia exerts it's influence

Russian political influence to some extent extends to all the states of the Western Balkans, but it is more direct in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Montenegro.

The impacts are direct on the policies of the respective states, without the need to use international institutions, primarily Serbia and Montenegro through Serbia and some political structures in Montenegro.

Meanwhile, the influence through the Security Council in the Republic of Kosovo (invoking Resolution 1244 of 1999) and in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the disapproval of the international High Representative (from the UN) and the approval of his plans, actions and work in the sense institutional.

6. The influence on the Republic of Serbia

The multiple, intensive and high-level influence of the Russian Federation in Serbia is extremely large, but it is understood that this goes through political, economic, military, security, cultural, energy, IT-propaganda cooperation and in every other sector of life. . There are also some political parties with a pro-Eastern, pro-Russian, pro-Chinese and anti-Western and anti-NATO concept.

A short analysis is enough to identify and diagnose the state and the high degree of traditional Russian influence in Serbia. Let's analyze in turn only some aspects of Serbia's policies:

²¹ The Russian Federation is a member of the UN-Russian Federation; Available: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/member-states/russian-federation> (last access: May 20,2024);

²² Ukraine; Date of Admission: 24-10-1945; Available: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/member-states#gotoU> (last access: May 30,2024);

²³ Belarus; Date of Admission: 24-10-1945; Available: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/member-states#gotoB> (last access: May 30,2024);

- ***Not imposing sanctions on Russia due to the aggression in Ukraine:*** Serbia does not impose sanctions and does not distance itself from Russia, on the contrary, it is getting closer to it, but also to China;

- ***Russian humanitarian center in Nish:*** The so-called Russian humanitarian center in Nis according to all the information of the European, regional security institutions, etc. It serves as a spin center for the destabilization of the Balkans, Europe and beyond;

-***Serbia's natural gas supply from Russia:*** Serbia still continues to cooperate very closely with Russia in the economic aspect, the supply of natural gas, other energy fuels;

-***Military cooperation:*** joint exercises with the Russian army, purchase of armaments from Russia, etc.

-***NIS (Oil Industry of Serbia):*** The Oil Industry of Serbia (NIS) has been "sold" to Russia for an almost symbolic price for all that wealth, which can be said to be the result of a political decision of the time;

- ***Media-propagandistic cooperation:*** News agencies and electronic media (TV), Russian propaganda portals that promote conflicts in the Balkans and everywhere, such as "Sputnik", RT (Russia Today), despite the ban in the EU and other countries against of the Russian aggression in Ukraine, in Serbia they are broadcast without any hindrance even though the Western countries demand such a stop from Serbia.

All these and other indicators show that Serbia as a whole is in very close relations and in a powerful alliance with Russia. The same political course is supported by a part of the opposition, while the part of the opposition that opposes such a policy is marginal and has no real influence on the opinion and the politics of the state of Serbia.

*6.1. Serbia-Russia Agreement on Diplomatic Consultations - September 26, 2022:*At the moment when the entire spectrum of European Union states, the USA and the entire anti-Russian coalition against Russia's invasion of Ukraine expected Serbia to impose sanctions on Russia and harmonize its foreign policy with that of its Western allies. against the Russian aggressor in Ukraine, as irony of the situation and expectations of western democratic states, Serbia signed a very important agreement with the Russian Federation.

Namely, the ministers of foreign affairs of Russia and Serbia on September 23, 2022, have signed a diplomatic agreement, specifically the consultation plan of the ministries of foreign affairs for the next two years. There is no doubt that this represented a serious provocation for the Western allies and the European Union (where Serbia declaratively claims to join).

7. The influence on Bosnia and Herzegovina through the Serbian Republic (Republika Srpska)

It is very clear that Russia and Serbia in the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina deeply influence the affairs of the state, making the state non-functional and destabilizing it. They do this in two ways:

-First; Directly meddling in the state affairs of BiH through the Republic of Srpska; AND

-The second; Through the veto in the Security Council, as its permanent member.

Russia and the Republic of Serbia jointly act and aim at the secession of the Serbian entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republika Srpska, which was created as a result of the fierce war that lasted more than three years. So in a very bloody military conflict with many victims, war crimes and genocide also proven by the Hague Tribunal's judicial decision for the conflict in the former Yugoslavia (the case of Srebrenica;). The war began on April 6, 1992 and ended on December 14, 1995, with the signing of the Dayton Agreement (Ohio, USA).

The Dayton Agreement brought peace to Bosnia and Herzegovina, but BiH, however, did not become a functional state as projected by the negotiators of the Peace Agreement. It often

happened that a problem arose and this was debated in the UN Security Council. It has been and still is very difficult to bring decisions to the Security Council that would make the functioning of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina easier, precisely because of the veto that the Russian Federation permanently places on certain resolutions and other decisions .

The influence from the position of the permanent member of the Security Council for not voting in the Council of the high representative of OHR Krsitian Shmit (Christian Schmidt) in the Security Council in 2021;

The Office of the High Representative and Special Representative of the European Union for Bosnia and Herzegovina (English. Office of the High Representative - OHR) is the main organization for the civilian aspect of the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With the Dayton agreement, signed on December 14, 1995, the high representative is committed, on behalf of the international community, to oversee the implementation of the civilian aspects of the Peace Agreement and B&H. The high representative, in the framework of his activity, has duty to coordinate with the activity of civil organizations and agencies operating in the state.

The high representative is proposed by the Peace Implementation Council (PIC), while the designation is confirmed by the Security Council, which also approved the Dayton Peace Agreement.

The high representative based on the Agreement (Annex 10) is the final authority in the state for the interpretation of the agreement for the implementation of the civil part of the peace agreement.

Russia directly:

- Gives the permanent support and the permanent attempt of the Republic of Srpska to secede from Bosnia and Herzegovina;

- Support for disrespecting the institutions of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina; AND

Russia, ultimately in regular prior coordination with Serbia, in the Security Council always hinders the work, reforms and necessary changes undertaken by the High Representative (OHR) for progressive changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is the key element of evidence of Russian influence in the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina (within the Western Balkans), through the UN Security Council.

8. Russia's influence in the case of Kosovo - Stopping for membership in the United Nations

As in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in the Republic of Kosovo, Russia and Serbia mix and try to deeply influence the affairs of the state, destabilizing it. But as it seems in Kosovo, Serbia is in the first place in the destabilization of Kosovo at all costs, while Russia is in the "rear" and its focus for war against the Republic of Kosovo is the "arena" of the UN Security Council. They do this in two ways:

- First; Directly with the interference of Serbia in the affairs of the state through political-military structures and the politicization of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo; AND

- The second; Russia, through the veto in the Security Council, as its permanent member, acts when periodic reports (quarterly or six-monthly) are discussed about UNIMK's work in Kosovo.

Serbia's influence on the Republic of Kosovo is comprehensive, intense, permanent and very aggressive. It's a centuries-old strategy that only gets more radicalized as time goes on. The forces that have a more tolerant orientation towards the neighboring peoples of Serbia, including the Albanians of Kosovo, do not have a visible influence on the political decision-making of the governments of Serbia. The political-institutional war against the Republic of

Kosovo takes place in the following directions: Political, constitutional aspect (Kosovo appears in the constitution of Serbia as part of Serbia), military aspect (frequent military threats along the border with Kosovo), diplomatic aspect (diplomatic struggle for the withdrawal of recognition from the states that have recognized Kosovo), the economic aspect, etc.

Although Kosovo has declared its independence recognized by more than 100 countries of the world and a full member, associate member or observer in several international organizations, Serbia continues not to accept the reality and through Russia in the Security Council of the Organization of Nations The United States insists that the international administration established by UN Resolution 1244, approved on June 10, 1999, remains in force even today. This resolution defines the political status of Kosovo as a protectorate of the UN, and gives the administration of Kosovo to this international organization. Also, according to this resolution, the UN is responsible for the civil administration, while NATO takes care of security in Kosovo.

Although this Resolution 1244 of June 10, 1999, has practically lost any practical and functional role, again with the suspension of Russia in the Security Council, its repeal is not allowed. In this respect, the involvement of Russia through the Security Council in Kosovo is direct.

9. The influence on Montenegro

After the secession and independence of Montenegro from the federation with Serbia, based on the independence referendum held on May 21, 2006. However, even though it seceded from Serbia, it also joined NATO, the influence of Serbia and Russia through Serbia remained quite powerful in Montenegro. Serbia in Montenegro relies on the key role of:

a) Pro-Serbian parties organized in different coalitions (with the concept of counter-independence of the state from Serbia); AND

b) The Serbian Orthodox Church and its entirely political role in favor of the "Serbian world"²⁴, etc.

So, in the case of Montenegro, we do not have direct influence of Russia through the UN Security Council, as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, but we have indirect influence on the ground through certain political, economic, religious, security, etc. pro-Russian.

10. Other external factors of the destabilization of the Western Balkans by Russia and its allies

The Russian Federation is using a large number of factors to maintain its influence and to incite insecurity and unrest in the Western Balkans. They are being exploited: Russian finances, various investments, economic enterprises, election processes through the so-called "penetration into electoral processes", cyber attacks on various state institutions, espionage through diplomatic missions, through the Serbian Church and indirectly through the Russian Church, energy resources (oil and natural gas), media propaganda through "Sputnik", Russia Today, etc. The Russian channel Russia Today (RT) with access to Serbia, even though the Russian propaganda media in the space of the European Union, USA, Great Britain and beyond are under sanctions, destabilizes the region a lot.

²⁴ "Srpski svet" ("Serbian world") is a synonym for the union of the lands where Serbs live in the territory of former Yugoslavia, which could not be united in the wars of the 90s.

11. The internal destabilizing factors of the Western Balkan states

Apart from Russia's influence, the Western Balkans also has its own systemic and institutional weaknesses. It should be mentioned the non-functioning of judicial systems, lack of transparency of public bodies, public and private enterprises, etc.

The deficit of democracy and corruption, along with other negative phenomena, are the most pronounced weaknesses of these states.

Deficit of democracy: In the Western Balkans, democracy is at an inappropriate level, party-carriages dominate, in some of the states we have authoritarian systems, so this is a factor that affects the overall stability of the Western Balkans.

Corruption: Corruption is quite present in all sectors and in all the countries of the Western Balkans (there are differences between the countries, but they are not very significant), and it exists as a result of the malfunctioning of the justice system in these countries.

12. The conclusions and recommendations:

Based on the research results we can conclude and recommend that:

- The UN Security Council in these circumstances is often not efficient. Therefore, essential reform is needed in the composition of the membership and in the procedure and decision-making in the Security Council;
- The permanent member states in the Security Council, with the right of veto, block the work of the Council. The concrete case when Russia, with its aggression in Ukraine, monopolizes and blocks the Security Council;
- Any other permanent member of the Security Council may behave in the same way, therefore there must be a punishment mechanism for the permanent members of the Security Council themselves;
- The exclusion of Russia from the Security Council as a way of sanction must happen anyway and as a procedure the analogy with Resolution number 2758 (XXVI) can be used. Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations (25 October 1971);
- For the countries of the Western Balkans, the integration into the EU and the membership of Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina into NATO must be accelerated;
- The economic crisis dominates in the Western Balkan countries. This situation is unthinkable. Therefore, greater investment in economic development is needed from western democratic states;
- Democracy is in "deficit" and in some countries there are authoritarian systems. The development of democracy must be stimulated;
- One should not insist only on stabilocracy (Woodrow Wilson's Doctrine) but also on democracy;
- The judicial systems of the countries of the Western Balkans must be raised to a much more professional and legal level;
- From the USA, Great Britain, NATO and the EU, there should always be a high level of permanent vigilance against Russian intentions in the Balkans (to take over the Balkans and exit to the Adriatic Sea).

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