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The status of Kosovo from the Kosovar Albanians point of view**Koszovó helyzete koszovói albán szempontból****Abstract**

The worldwide known problem, and unfortunately still an actuality is the Kosovo-conflict. In this essay I have tried to review the roots and the events of the conflict (from the Kosovar Albanians point of view).

Absztrakt

Az egyetlen európai nyelvcsaláddhoz és kultúrához sem tartozó, albánok lakta európai területek egész 500 éves története (benne a mai Albánia és a mai Koszovó) kitűnik az európai történelemből. A legtovább – 500 évig – itt uralkodott az Oszmán Birodalom, az albán nemzeti állam – csonkán (többek között Koszovó nélkül) – itt alakult ki a legkésőbb. A történelmi fejlődésből a kapitalizmust gyakorlatilag kihagyták, a II. világháború után a legkeményebb kommunizmusba lépett mind Albánia, mind a jugoszláv kvázi tagköztársaság Koszovó is. A hitleri Németország elleni győztes partizánharcban és ezt követően a marxista, leninista, sztálinista úton együtt indult a két terület illetve ország. 1948-ig olyannyira egyezett a két állam (Jugoszlávia és Albánia) politikai akarata, hogy komolyan felmerült: legyen Albánia a hetedik jugoszláv szövetségi tagköztársaság. Ezzel az egyesüléssel megvalósult volna a történelem során sokszor felmerülő Nagy Albánia gondolat – gyakorlatilag Jugoszlávián belül.

Az albán-jugoszláv szakítás után Koszovó része maradt a titói Jugoszláviának. Titó szakított a Szovjetunióval, a kemény marxista politikával. A legpuhább szocialista köztársaságként jelentős teret engedett a magánszektornak; az ország valutája konvertibilis volt, a polgárok utazása szabad. Halálával az ország összeomlott, jelentős háborús események mellett szétesett, melyek során Koszovóban is nemzetközi beavatkozás vált szükségessé. A konfliktus itt a mai napig élő aktualitás. Koszovó többszöri függetlenségi próbálkozása 2008-ra kétséges sikert hozott. A világ 110 országa ismerte el önálló államként.

A két állam polgárai két gyökeresen más politikai, gazdasági korszakot éltek meg, mint két, egymástól teljesen független nemzet. Mindkét állam törekszik az Európai Unió tagság elérésére, megteremtik a demokratikus állam és a piaccgaz-

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daság jogi, gazdasági, politikai alapjait. Koszovó számára külön kihívást jelent(ett) egyes állami szervezetek (pl. rendvédelmi erők) létrehozása, működtetése.

SHORT HISTORY

First of all the Albanians and the Serbs do not agree in the question: who (which ethnicity) was first on this land, who "owned" Kosovo's territory first.

Among the numerous opinion and historical pieces of data and fact the truth must be somewhere in the middle. Most likely the Illirians have settled first in the region (and the Albanians regard themselves as their descendants), but later, the Slavs came to this territory and became majority in the 6th and 7th centuries pushing the Albanian tribes to the mountains.

"In the Middle Ages, the core of the Serbian state was the territory that we call Kosovo today¹. The Serbs converted to Orthodox Christianity and they built a strong feudal state."² In the 13th century here was the centre of the state (Prizren) and also of the religion (Peć/Pejë³).

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the conquest of the region by the Ottoman Empire changed the ratio of people of various descent a lot. The ethnical dominance of the Serbs lasted actually until the lost battle of Kosovo Polje (1389). The Serbs had wandered northwards and their areas were settled by the Albanians descending from the mountains.

During the Turkish occupation, which lasted till the 19th century, Albanians were introduced to the empire's organizations, and were converted to Islam. Thus a new religion appeared along the demarkation line of Eastern and Western Christianity.

"In the 19th century, there were many uprisings against the Turkish Empire. The major powers of the era fought for these territories, too. The Berlin Conference and the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) changed the Balkan at a large scale by creating new states and new spheres of influence. In the First Balkan War (1912-13), the Turks were defeated and forced to leave the Balkan. In the Second Balkan War (1913), the newly independent states fought each other to dominate the region. The Conference of London (1913), which ended the war, underlined the effects of the Treaty of San Stefano and created a new state, Albania, for the first time in history."⁴

At the beginning of the 20th century more Albanians (approx. 65%) than Serbs (20%) lived in the region, and the new Albanian state covered only the 2/3 of the territory of the Albanian ethnicity. The rest belonged to Serbia, Montenegro and Greece.

¹ When we say Kosovo we think not only of Kosovo, but also the Dukagjini region, which is called Metohija in Serbian.

² CIMIC Handbook of the Balkans p.22

³ It is difference in the name of the city in Serbian and in Albanian. Peć is the Serbian name, Pejë is the Albanian one.

⁴ CIMIC Handbook of the Balkans p.23

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Therefore efforts have occurred in Kosovo to unify the whole Albanian ethnicity. This concept has emerged more often and powerful afterwards.

According to a Serb declaration on 7 December 1914 all oppressed Slavic brother has to be released. This has meant, that the unification of the South Slavs has become the aim of Serbia.

In December 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established and Kosovo belonged to it. The majority of the province's population was already Albanian. Belgrade had a strict and oppressive policy on Albanians. All the Albanian schools were closed, they were ousted from public administration and Albanian could not get local majority due to the organization of the administration. Meanwhile, approximately 70.000 Serbs moved to Kosovo and Albanians started to leave the region. This caused that the ratio of the Serb population reached the 30% for the '30s.

After World War I and II the peace agreements did not take national and ethnic issues into consideration; conflicts lurking below a surface of calmness came to light several centuries after their birth. Thus, today's situation in Kosovo characterized already by that time.

In 1929 the (unified) state assumed the name Yugoslavia. In the '20s and '30s the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) condemned the pogrom of the Albanians and supported the autonomy of the Albanian territories or even their union with Albania.

In World War II most of Kosovo was annexed to Albania. So, the Albanian dream became true: the great Albanian state existed. By the time 100,000 Serbs were expelled or killed in Kosovo and 75,000 Albanians were (re)settled.

"As the province was given back to the Yugoslavian republic of Serbia after the war, the Yugoslavian government started an ethnic cleansing and resettled Serbs to Kosovo."⁵ Accordingly, the Kosovar Albanians did not want to integrate with Yugoslavia (they have felt not to be Slavs) and also the Serbs did not want to affiliate them (because earlier Albanians integrated well to the Ottoman Empire).

In Serbia appreciable powers were fighting against the German occupation. The most significant were the Partisans led by the communist Tito⁶.

Tito has already realized the significancy of the ethnicities during the fights, and aspired to maintain the multiethnicity in the state administration, too.

"In 1943 the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) accepted some resolutions. They say: according to the self-determination (containing the right of independence and of union with another nations) of the nationalities it has been accepted that in Yugoslavia (which will be built on a federative base) the total equality will be provided for the nationalities (of its republics) and all the ethnical rights will be ensured for the ethnic minorities."⁷

⁵ CIMIC Handbook of the Balkans p. 24

⁶ Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980): revolutionist, later president of Yugoslavia

⁷ GULYÁS, László: Politika, gazdaság és nemzeti kérdés a titói Jugoszláviában, 1945-1980

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According to the resolution it has to be realized that this right never was given or even just planned to give to Kosovo.

In 1945 the parliament proclaimed the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and accepted a new constitution (on 31th January 1946). By the federation of the six republics (Socialist People's Republic of [Bosnia and Hercegovina](#), Socialist People's Republic of Croatia, Socialist People's Republic of [Macedonia](#), Socialist People's Republic of [Montenegro](#), Socialist People's Republic of [Serbia](#) and Socialist People's Republic of [Slovenia](#) all the South Slav territories were unified. Besides them two autonomous regions were created (the concept was temporary by this time): the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

By this time another concept occurred on the occasion of the tight Albanian-Yugoslav relationship. If Albania joined the federal Yugoslavia as its 7th republic all the Albanians would be unified⁸. Stalin excommunicated Yugoslavia from the socialist block, and this fact interceded the opportunity for a Balkan federation. This relationship went worse soon after this.

Among these circumstances Albanians had a contradictory situation: their cultural possibilities became wider and the Albanian ethnicity got support from the central budget, but the political and administrative control was tight. Albanians flow in a high number from the province⁹.

By the new constitution (1963) small changes came true in the life of the republics, but in the field of law significant changes has happened: 1. The national ethnicities have been started to call nationalities and 2. Kosovo was raised to the same level as Vojvodina and 3. from the name Kosovo and Metohija the Serbian name Metohija was left.

The first serious conflict among the republics (developed on different level in economy and in culture) was in 1971. Croatia mentioned that it did not get all its ratio from the exchange, although it was produced mainly from the turizm by Croatia. Only later coated language and ethnical demands beside the previous one.

Solving such problems new constitution was accepted in 1974. This widened the rights and self-rulement of the republics. They got autonomous constitutions, could elect their own presidency, and establish their own national banks oppose to the central one. The two provinces also got almost all the rights like the republics.

The Titoist government gave also the Albanians autonomy via the Constitution. According to it almost a full public administration could be built, the province got direct representation in the federal party- and state institutions and it could manage its internal affairs practically like the republics."¹⁰

Kosovo's "de facto" status was different from the "de jure" republic status only in one question: it has not the right to secede, which right was entitled to the republics.

⁸ RÉTI, György: Albánia sorsfordulói p. 320

⁹ RÉTI, György: Albánia sorsfordulói p. 321

¹⁰ RÉTI, György: Albánia sorsfordulói p. 322

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By the time possibilities of the Albanians became wider in the cultural life, and they reached higher ration in the administration than before (although still not on the same level, as their ration in the population). Their status has changed: from minority in Serbia, they became majority in Kosovo. They became equal citizens in Yugoslavia without forced to be Serbs. Also their life conditions became better: they could own fields, travel abroad and practise their religion free. The modernization of the Kosovar Albanian society has started, although they could not assimilate to Yugoslavia. The reasons among others were: the society's structure (which relayed on the extended family) and the tradition of vendetta was alive. The assimilation stucked with the integration on the field of employment.¹¹

"The ratio of Serbs fell from 25 to 10%. The main reason for that was the high birth ratio among Albanians and the assimilation of Turks to Albanians; reason two was the emigration of Serbs. The ethnic ratio has changed completely during the centuries. [...]"

Kosovo was the most underdeveloped province of the former Yugoslavia, although it received the largest share of the federal development aids since the beginning of the 1970s; nevertheless, it lagged behind due to the growth of the Albanian population and to using these aids irrationally.¹²

In May 1980, after being president for 35 years Tito died. Afterwards the nacionalism came to light in all the republics. The former communist and internationalist ideology changed to nacionalism and sovinism. At the same time social interested student-demonstrations has started in Prishtina to protect the autonomy of the constitution (1974). These demonstrations turned (due to the Albanian's political confidence strengthen by their population explosion) to protests for republical autonomy! The demonstrations were repressed by the Yugoslavian authorities and significant personal changes were implemented in the public administration.

Until 1989, the region enjoyed a high degree of autonomy within Yugoslavia, when Serbian leader Milosevic (with the adoption of a new constitution) altered the status of the province by removing its autonomy and placing it (especially, the control of police, territorial defence, economy, foreign affairs and justice) under the direct control of Belgrade. Also the name of the province was (re)changed for "Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija" and Serbia's unity was declared. The Kosovars strenuously opposed these measures. In March 1989 the crisis in Yugoslavia deepened after the adoption of amendments to the Serbian constitution that allowed the government of Serbia to impose dominance over the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. So far, Kosovo's and Vojvodina's decision-making was independent and both autonomous provinces also had a vote at the federal level.

¹¹ RÉTI, György: Albánia sorsfordulói p. 323

¹² CIMIC Handbook of the Balkans p. 25

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BREAKUP OF YUGOSLAVIA

By 1990 Milosevic wanted to strengthen the Serbian influence in Yugoslavia, but the republics (almost all) wanted to be independent. So, the oppositions among the nationalities came up to surface. All the states were justifying their demands by their history.

The protests have restarted in Kosovo and the Serb administration was not able to consolidate the province. The autonomy was suspended. As an answer to it the Albanian members of the assembly declared the Republic of Kosovo (still as the 7th republic of the federation).¹³

In June 1991 Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence from Yugoslavia on the same day. In January 1992 Macedonia, in April Bosnia-Herzegovina declared their independence. Due to the resistance and the intervention of the Yugoslav military (Yugoslav People's Army) the process of the separation became known as the Southern Slav War. The situation was arranged by the UN's interference by 1995.

Between 1992 and 2003 Montenegro and Serbia composed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (so called Small Yugoslavia). According to an agreement reached in 2003 this formation became "only" an alliance of these two states and in 2006 Montenegro declared its independence, too. Since then the bigger "part" is Republic of Serbia and "inherited" the province of Kosovo after the collapse of the Yugoslavia.

THE SECOND "CHAPTER" OF THE SOUTH SLAV CONFLICT – KOSOVO¹⁴

In the Serbian Constitution of 1990 Serbia was declared unified and indivisible. Still in this year has occurred the party of Ibrahim Rugova¹⁵ on the Serbian elections. Their political tactic was the passive resistance. The Albanians boycotted the state administration (they did not take part on the election or on the census) and started to build up a parallel (unofficial) public administration (for example the education on Albanian grammar and literature happened at private homes). They realized the legal base of the independence by the ratification of the constitution (07 September 1990), the referendum on Kosovo's independence and sovereignty (26-30 September 1991), the parliamentary elections, and the presidential election (24 May 1992). Out of Albania no state recognized Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state (19 October 1991).

Serbia was engaged with the breakup of Yugoslavia, thus it did not come into play against the Kosovar Albanian politicians's activity. Kosovo tried to come up on the international stage, but without a success. The European Community refused the request for recognition, saying Kosovo was not either republic in the Yugoslavian state.

¹³ RÉTI, György: Albánia sorsfordulói p. 330

¹⁴ KOVÁCS, Zoltán: A szerb nemzet és Koszovó, and Koszovó CIMIC kézikönyve–2007 were used during writing the chapter.

¹⁵ Democratic League of Kosovo, a newly (in the '90s) established party in Kosovo with the aim to reach the autonomy (independence). In 2000 LDK won the parliamentary elections.

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The Serbian government (with huge territorial loss) was aware of keeping the territory, which is lost ethnically, is impossible. Despite of this Serbia did not want to give up Kosovo. As a result Serbia restricted the autonomy of Albanians for cultural and language rights and for local self-government.

Milosevic refilled the public administration and the education with Serbs in Kosovo. Also plans were worked out for Serbian refugees from Bosnia and Croatia to settle in Kosovo. This situation was unacceptable for the Albanians, lot of them chose the emigration, and who stayed behind has supported Rugova's parallel state. The financial sources of this regime arrived from the Kosovar Albanians working in Western Europe and from the "grey economy" of Kosovo.

This method (passive resistance) was not fully successful, and a significant number of the Kosovar Albanian society represented the position that military is necessary to reach the independence (as the other former republics of Yugoslavia did). This resulted the establishment of Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA, Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës – UÇK in Albanian) in 1993, with a rapidly increasing number. As an answer the Serb administration sent a high amount of Serbian military and police forces to the province from year 1998. The armed conflict extended also the civilian population and on the two sides there were more than 2,000 casualty and minimum 300,000 Kosovar Albanians had to leave their homes. They fled to refugee camps in Montenegro, Macedonia and Albania.

During 1998, open conflicts between Serbian military and police forces and the Kosovars caused the death of more than 1,500 Kosovar Albanians and forced 400,000 people to flee. The International Community became gravely concerned about escalating conflict, its humanitarian consequences, and the risk of its spread to other countries. President Milosevic's disregard of diplomatic efforts aimed to resolve the crisis peacefully and the destabilizing role of militant Kosovar Albanians were also concern.

RAMBOUILLET AGREEMENT – 1999

By 1998 the situation became worse, the peacefully solution was fallen, and after the war in Bosnien it could not be considered only as an internal affair. A transatlantic body, the "Contact Group" was established to arrange the Kosovo-conflict. The group tried to develop a common action plan, but its efforts did not reach the aim.

According to the international law the framework of the agreement could have been the Resolution of the UN Security Council. The Resolution probably would have fallen on opinion of Russia and China, and this would have only fasten Milosevic and the Serbs.

In May 1998 a meeting was organized between Milosevic and Rugova, but this negotiation did not reach its goals. The KLA has kept Rugova week, and they were successful countryside, so they made clear that the only acceptable aim for them is the independence. Answering this the Serbs ousted the rebels from the occupied territory systematically.

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The UN SC Resolution 1199 (23 September 1998) declared that the Kosovo situation threaten the peace and security and called for ending the fights. On the next day an official warning was released as in case of ongoing offensive NATO will execute limited air strikes.

An agreement was born between Holbrooke and Milosevic in these circumstances on 12 October 1998. This ceasefire agreement did not reach its goal. By this reason the Contact Group started negotiations in Rambouillet about the settlement of the situation in Kosovo on 6 February 1999.

According to the proposal of Rambouillet Kosovo would get a wide range of independence within Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav forces would be withdrawn from the province, the KLA could continue as a party after collecting their weaponry, and a NATO-mission, with cca. 28,000 pax, would have been established to keep the terms of the agreement. The negotiations did not come to result. Milosevic refused to co-operate with the International Community and concentrated a 40,000 pax military force in the region. On 23 March 1999 the order was issued to commence air strikes (Operation Allied Force) against Serbia.

On 3 June 1999, according to success of the air strikes, Milosevic accepted the terms of an international peace plan to end the fighting. On June 10, after the seventy-seventh day of the air campaign, the strikes were halted because the full withdrawal of Yugoslavian forces from Kosovo had begun and the [North Atlantic Council](#) ratified the agreement. Martti Ahtisaari, former Finnish president was chosen to make the parties sign the ceasefire agreement (Kumanovo agreement). The former Russian prime minister, Victor Chernomyrdin had a significant role to reach the acceptance, too.

[NATO](#) realized that the conflict could only be settled by introducing a military peacekeeping force under the auspices of NATO, to forcibly restrain the two sides. KFOR (Kosovo Force) was created to safeguard peace and to protect international organizations and the people in Kosovo. On 12 June, after Milosevic accepted the conditions, KFOR began entering Kosovo. KFOR had been preparing to conduct combat operations, but in the end, its mission was only peacekeeping.¹⁶

UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1244¹⁷

„On 10 June 1999, the UN SC passed its [Resolution 1244](#), which placed Kosovo under transitional UN administration (United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo – UNMIK) and authorised [Kosovo Force](#) (KFOR), a NATO-led peacekeeping force. Resolution 1244 provided that Kosovo would have autonomy within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and affirmed the [territorial integrity](#) of Yugoslavia, which has been legally succeeded by the Republic of Serbia.”¹⁸

¹⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo_War

¹⁷ ENSZ BT 1244. sz. határozata and Koszovó CIMIC kézikönyve – 2007 were used during writing the chapter.

¹⁸ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo>

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Pursuant to Resolution 1244 Kosovo came under UN control (this means: police, justice and public administration), and UNMIK was established. OSCE was responsible for training on building democratic institutions, EU for the economical reconstruction and the NATO-led KFOR for the safe and secure environment. The head of UNMIK had been the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who had the veto for those decisions, which were opposite to the Resolution 1244 and in necessity he could fulfill direct control activity.

With this international support free elections were held in Kosovo, multiethnic police was established and from the cooperative members of former KLA Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC – as an emergency response force) and later the Kosovo Security Force was established.

A main wish of the Albanians have become true: Serbia's influence on Kosovo became titulary. Also the money was changed (first for German Marka, than for Euro). The UN SC Resolution 1244 was more acceptable for the Serbians too, than the former Rambouillet Accord.

Meanwhile the number of the peacekeeping forces was few to keep the security of the province. The presence of the international forces did not stop the migration of the Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Croats and Gypsies. From the 45,000 Serbs lived in Prishtina stayed only a few family afterwards. Despite of this, and according the pseudo-calmness the number of the international forces was decreased. From the 50,000 soldiers serving in KFOR at the beginning there were only 17,500 pax in 2003 and 4,800 by 2014.¹⁹

THE PLAN OF AHTISAARI

With the consolidation of the situation the self-managed economic and political life have to be initiated, and also the question of the province's status has to be solved. To arrange the problem UN appointed Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari to work out the conditions of the settlement, and talks had begun in February 2006. „Whilst progress was made on technical matters, both parties remained diametrically opposed on the question of status itself.

In February 2007 Ahtisaari delivered a draft status settlement with the concept of "supervised independence" for the province. By July 2007, the draft resolution was rewritten four times to try to accommodate Russian concerns. Russia stated that it would not support any resolution which is not acceptable to both Belgrade and Pristina.”²⁰

The Serbian parliament also released a resolution in which it stood up for the sanctity of Serbia's borders, sovereignty and territorial integrity. To show the seriousness of its willings a new constitution was declared on 11th Nov 2006. Already the preamble contains: "... The province of Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of Serbia's territory and it has significant autonomy inside the sovereign Serb state and for this reason all the state administra-

¹⁹ www.honvedelem.hu

²⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahtisaari_Plan

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tion's institutes has the obligation to represent and defend Serbia's interests in Kosovo and Metohija both in the political relations internal and in the foreign affairs. ..."²¹

By the beginning of February 2007 Ahtisaari delivered the plan for the status settlement, but he appointed also that the only capable solution could be the independence. "Belgrade could accept Kosovo's autonomy only in the frame of Serbia, Prishtina can accept only the independence. The Kosovar Albanian majority would not accept any Serbian administration."²²

The parties involved did not accept the proposal (although the Albanians would have signed it) so no SC Resolution was declared.

Still in 2007 Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon assigned EU, USA and Russia representatives to deliver a report about the results achieved regarding the case. After this report was completed there still was not mutual acceptable result.

In Kosovo there were high expectations towards the efforts of the Troika and it was proclaimed that in case of unsuccessfully negotiations (or them unacceptable results) they will declare Kosovo's independence.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE²³

On 17 February 2008 Kosovo's Parliament declared independence. The declaration also contained that Kosovo is committed to multiethnicity, as main guideline of the proper governance and is ready to operate under international control.

Kosovo has gained diplomatic recognition by 110 states²⁴. The EU Council following the declaration could not adopt a common policy on Kosovo's independence, therefore the member states themselves can decide about recognition. As it was predictable, those states, which have minority in a higher amount, avoiding a possible precedent for the future will not recognize it.

In this situation Serbia (with a new leadership) called for legal measures to questioning Kosovo's independence. For the initiation of Serbia UN General Assembly turned to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2008.

OPINION OF THE ICJ

On 22th July 2010 the ICJ gave its advisory opinion on the question of the "accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Kosovo". It is

²¹ KÁLÓCZY, Izabella: Szerbia alkotmánytörténete a kezdetektől napjainkig, különös tekintettel a bírósági szervezetre, és bírói függetlenségre p. 8

²² Koszovó CIMIC kézikönyve (2007.) p. 15

²³ KOVÁCS, Zoltán: A Hágai Nemzetközi Bíróság Koszovóra vonatkozó döntésének háttere, valamint regionális és nemzetközi következményei was used during writing the chapter.

²⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_recognition_of_Kosovo (Among the EU members 23, among the NATO members 24 stata have recognized Kosovo as az independent state. (Not Serbia, certainly.) Downloaded: 14.08.2014.

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extraordinary that the Court gave such a clear opinion, like in this case. Finally, it concludes that “consequently the adoption of that declaration did not violate any applicable rule of international law.”²⁵

It has to be remarked that this opinion is not obligatory for the states, so it does not solve the Kosovo conflict.

Remarkable also, that Serbia requested the procedure, because it found that the opinion of ICJ will be neutral at least, or will not take position in the question; but hoped that the Court will look for a compromise in the case, which will not provide a precedent for (other) separatist movements in the future.

This decision limits Serbia's possibilities in the international theatre. In its foreign affairs Belgrade proposed joining EU. Although there is not a common policy regarding the question, or it is not a declared condition for Belgrade to recognize Kosovo, it is expected to solve the territorial problems with the neighbouring countries to reach the membership.”²⁶

WHAT WILL BRING THE FUTURE?

„UNMIK still exists today, but its day-to-day functions are relatively minor since Kosovo declared independence and adopted a new constitution, and following the creation of the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo ([EULEX](#)). [...] EULEX assists and supports the Kosovo authorities in the rule of law area, specifically in the police, judiciary and customs areas. In September 2012, international supervision ended, and Kosovo became responsible for its own governance.”²⁷

Kosovo's aim is to outspread its recognition and to join international organizations, especially to EU²⁸ and NATO. In this spirit the government is going on with the establishment of the democratic institutions, and with the legislative work. Kosovo accepts the rules of the market in the economy, but it has problems to implement them. It is tend to pull down the traditional incapacitations (like taxation system, ownership problems, receiving investors, economy development, unemployment) and get control all over its territory.

Kulcsszavak: Koszovó, konfliktus, (koszovói) helyzet, albán;

Keywords: Kosovo, conflict, status, (Kosovar) Albanian

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²⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Interim_Administration_Mission_in_Kosovo

²⁸ [Kosovo](#) is officially recognised as potential candidate.

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