



# Addressing the Kosovo-Serbian conflict

Committee: SC

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## Introduction

The Kosovo War, also known as 'the conflict that will not go away,' which began in 1998, was one of Europe's most turbulent wars and profoundly impacted everyone who lived there. This happened because internationally-mediated peace talks failed when NATO launched air strikes to force Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević to back down, who later died in The Hague Penitentiary Institution in the Netherlands. In the first months of 1998, the conflict in Kosovo erupted; by the autumn of that year, over a thousand civilians had died. Up to 1.45 million Kosovar Albanians have been displaced due to the conflict, while 200,000 Serbs, Romanis, and non-Albanians left Kosovo after the conflict. The Kosovo-Serbian conflict has been around for many years, and there are increasing tensions today. This was the conflict in Kosovo between ethnic Albanians and the Yugoslavian government (the remnant of the former federal state made up of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's intervention helped to end the conflict. Although Kosovo won independence from Serbia in 2008, Serbia still considers it as part of its territory, and therefore, tensions are flaring again. In 1999, the western allies intervened and bombed Serbia for 78 days which forced Serbia to surrender.

Nonetheless, all parties can still agree that the issue of Kosovo is, quite simply, the most intractable of all the political conflicts in the Balkans. It is arguably the area with the worst human rights abuses in the whole of Europe, and indeed, if war breaks out, the killing and destruction will be more intense than anything hitherto witnessed in the region. Another issue is that primary politicians ignored that the wars were launched by ordinary civilians and armed forces directed from above. However, the main problem is that Kosovo is not recognized throughout Europe and only partially.



Figure 1: A map of Kosovo's geographical location

## Definition of Key Terms

### Balkanization

Balkanization is the dissolution of a more significant state or republic into smaller regions. The smaller regions often are hostile to one another. The term was introduced after the First World War after those mentioned above started to happen in the Balkan region. Nowadays, the term is not only used in the context of the Balkans.

### Irredentism

An assertion of territory by a nation is referred to as irredentism. In the case of irredentism, the claim would be based on historical or racial considerations (for example, a country claiming a region of another country because its citizens reside there).

### Separatism



Irredentism and separatism are very similar. The public endorsement of a country's or jurisdiction's separation from smaller ones based on factors like ethnicity, religion, and history is known as separatism. Separatists demand a different government.

### **Yugoslavia**

A nation in the Balkan Peninsula was called Yugoslavia. It changed to socialism in 1946. Eventually, the federation disintegrated into Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, North Macedonia, Serbia, and Slovenia.

### **Colonist**

The terms colonist and colonizer have meanings closely related to colonialism, which refers to the hegemony of a foreign people or region.

### **KLA**

The ethnic Albanian Kosovar militant organization known as the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was active in the 1990s and fought for Kosovo's independence from Serbia, a republic within the former Yugoslavia.

### **ICTY**

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. It was established in order to prosecute the war crimes of military and political leaders involved.

## **General Overview**

### **Background**

Kosovo was a province of Serbia, a part of Yugoslavia, and it borders Albania (1929–2003). For several hundred years, Kosovo's population changed, moving toward being dominated by people of Albanian ethnicity, the majority of whom were Muslims. Kosovo was once the epicentre of Serbian culture and society. Despite the population shift, Serbs continued to view Kosovo as an essential component of their nation.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, and Serbia were the six nominally equal republics that comprised Yugoslavia. Despite being a Serbian province, Kosovo had an independent government. Slobodan Milosevic won the presidency of Serbia in 1989 on a nationalist platform. One of his first moves was to take Kosovo's autonomy away, replacing Albanian officials with Serbian ones and closing schools taught in Albanian. Kosovar Albanians' response was to establish their shadow government and boycott all Serbian institutions as a form of nonviolent protest. However, these strategies did not attract the international community's desired support and attention. As a result of some of the republics' declarations of secession in the early 1990s, Yugoslavia entered a civil war. Since the status of Kosovo was not addressed in the 1995 Dayton Accords, which ended this conflict, many Kosovar Albanians started looking for other solutions.

### Origins: Serbians, Albanians, and Vlachs

Everything started with The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (one country), which later disintegrated into five successor states: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia, and Montenegro, which was torn by the rise of ethnonationalism.

From the Albanian point of view, the experience of that imposition of Serbian- Montenegrin rule (and its reimposition as Yugoslav rule in 1918) was similar to that of many other peoples conquered and colonized by European Christian powers – the Algerians under the French, for example, or the Central Asians (or Chechens) under the Russians. Many aspects of this period of Kosovo's history match such a 'colonialist' model. There was even, for example, an explicit program of introducing Serb 'colonists' to Kosovo throughout the inter-war period.

From the Serbian point of view, however, what happened in 1912 was to be understood according to a very different pattern of ideas: it was the ultimate example of a war of liberation to release a captive population (the Serbs of Kosovo) from an alien imperial power (the Turks). The trouble with Kosovo was that both of these conflicting conceptual models- the colonialist one, which made sense to the Albanians, and the liberationist one, which made sense to the Serbs – were simultaneously true.

For several hundred years, Kosovo was not part of Serbia because there was no Serbia to be part of; during most of the long Ottoman period, Serbia did not exist as an entity. Kosovo was annexed de facto by Serbia within living memory.

## The last years of Medieval Kosovo

It is essential to know that Kosovo is a small, landlocked country with a population of about two million, making it slightly bigger than Cyprus. The majority of people in Kosovo are Muslim and of Albanian ethnicity.

Nineteenth-century Serbian ideology created a cult of the medieval battle of Kosovo as a nationally defining historical and spiritual event. It was the political role played by protector powers such as Russia, with their consuls in Prishtina or Mitrovica, that helped to create a new atmosphere of suspicion and hostility on the part of the local Albanians; Ottoman policy in the Crimean War and the later transplanting of fiercely anti-Russian (and generally anti-Orthodox) Circassians into Kosovo also played an essential part in souring Albanian-Serb relations.

## War, rebellion, and religious life

The fundamental division is, in the first place, an ethnic one in the complete sense: unlike the different types of Bosnian, who are all Slavs and all speak the same language, the Serbs and the Albanians are linguistically entirely separate. Together with the differentiation in language goes a range of other cultural differences, many of them linked to religion: the division between Serb and Albanian roughly coincides with the division between Eastern Orthodox and Muslim. With both language and religion setting people apart, all the conditions seem to be present for a primary conflict between peoples. Nevertheless, once we examine both the present political situation and Kosovo's past, the idea of ethnic or religious hatred welling up from the depths of popular psychology starts to seem less convincing. There have been many battles and wars in Kosovo over the centuries, but until the last 100 years, none had the character of an 'ethnic' conflict between Albanians and Serbs. Members of those two populations fought together as allies at the battle of Kosovo in 1389.

Ibrahim Rugova, the ethnic Albanian leader in the Serbian province of Kosovo, started a policy of nonviolent protest in 1989 against Slobodan Milosevic, the country's president at the time, who had revoked the province's constitutional autonomy. Milosevic and the Serbian minority in Kosovo had long objected to the demographic dominance of Muslim Albanians in a region that the Serbs considered sacred. (Kosovo serves as the headquarters of the Serbian Orthodox Church and is the location of the Serbian victory over the Turks in 1912 and the Turkish defeat of the Serbs in 1389. The

international community's refusal to address the situation contributed to rising tensions between the two ethnic groups, and Rugova's more radical opponents claimed that their demands could not be met peacefully. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) first appeared in 1996, and over the following two years, it steadily increased its sporadic attacks on Serbian police and politicians.

### The 'Great Migration' of the Serbs

The KLA's actions by 1998 could be considered a significant armed uprising. Both the Yugoslav armed forces and the Serbian special police made attempts to retake control of the area. A wave of refugees fled the area due to atrocities committed by the army, paramilitary organizations, and the police; the international media widely covered the situation. A cease-fire, the withdrawal of Yugoslav and Serbian forces from Kosovo, the repatriation of refugees, and unrestricted access to international monitors were among the demands made by the Contact Group, an informal alliance of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia. Yugoslavia's president since 1997, Miloevi, agreed to most of the demands but did not carry them out. During the cease-fire, the KLA reorganized, rearmed, and resumed its attacks. In retaliation, the Yugoslav and Serbian forces launched a brutal counteroffensive and began an ethnic cleansing campaign. The violence persisted despite the UN Security Council's (UNSC) condemnation of this excessive use of force and the imposition of an arms embargo.



Figure 2: The Ethnic breakdown of Kosovo

### NATO and Kosovo

In Rambouillet, France, in February 1999, diplomatic talks commenced but failed the following month. NATO started conducting airstrikes against Serbian military targets on March 24. As a result, all of the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo were expelled by Yugoslav and Serbian forces, which led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people into Albania, Macedonia (now North Macedonia), and Montenegro.



*Figure 3: Albanian refugees fleeing Kosovo*

NATO's bombing campaign, which lasted 11 weeks and eventually reached Belgrade, seriously damaged Serbia's infrastructure. A peace agreement outlining troop withdrawal, the return of nearly one million ethnic Albanians, and another 500,000 displaced within the province was signed by NATO and Yugoslavia in June. Most Serbs fled the area, and those who stayed occasionally faced retaliation. Kosovo was then placed under the UN administration, and UN peacekeeping forces were stationed there.

### The Emergence of the KLA

The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) emerged in this environment. The early 1990s-era organization started actively engaging in coordinated attacks in 1996, targeting several Serbian police stations and injuring numerous officers that year. Late in 1997, during the funeral of an Albanian teacher killed by Serbian police, the KLA made its first official statement. The speech served as a rallying cry for the KLA, outlining its stance and goals, which included the separation of Kosovo from Serbia and the eventual establishment of "Greater Albania," which would include Kosovo, Albania, and the ethnic Albanian minority in neighbouring Macedonia (now North Macedonia).



*Figure 4: Children forced to live in poor conditions because of the conflict*

The Albanian diaspora provided the KLA with significant financial and moral support. The KLA then used this support to buy weapons, which it then smuggled across the porous Albania-Kosovo border. The KLA's attacks became more potent as its arsenal improved.

By 1998, the KLA's activities had intensified into a sizable armed uprising. (See also conflict in Kosovo.) In retaliation, the Serbian government launched a campaign of repression against the Kosovar Albanian populace, raiding villages and evicting residents. The Serbian police were accused of carrying out massacres, and they frequently beat and tortured detainees to force confessions. The KLA gained thousands of new members due to the crackdown on the Kosovar Albanian community and was later taken off the US list of terrorist organizations in 1998. The KLA intensified its attacks that year, and Serbia retaliated.

An international coalition supported by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) brought delegations from the Serbian government and Kosovo into truce negotiations in Rambouillet, France, in February 1999 as the conflict between the KLA and forces from Serbia (and later Yugoslavia as well) continued. The Serbian delegation refused to sign the treaty, but the Kosovar delegation, led by a KLA leader, ultimately agreed. In response, NATO started conducting airstrikes on Serbian targets in March 1999. There were 11 weeks in the air campaign. The KLA forces on the ground were crucial to the campaign because they engaged Serbian and Yugoslavian forces and informed NATO of their locations, making NATO airstrikes more successful. The bombing campaign came to an end in June when Yugoslavia, which at that time only consisted of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, accepted the terms of peace.

However, according to the Serbian government, the KLA was a terrorist organization, and its ex-leaders would be held accountable for crimes committed before, during, and after the War against Serbia. The Kosovo courts and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague tried and found individual KLA members guilty of war crimes. Prosecutors could not show that the KLA had a policy of targeting civilians or committing war crimes, despite the ICTY, which started charging former KLA members and indicting them in 2003, consistently finding that some KLA members did commit atrocities. Higher-ranking KLA leaders tried by the ICTY, as a result, were exonerated mainly.

## Fall of Communism

Tito, the first president of Yugoslavia before it fell apart, united the country after World War 2. However, he died in 1980, which led to chaos as conflicts began to arise with no appropriate leader to support the country or step into Tito's shoes. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia continued to uphold Tito's extremely potent cult of personality even after his passing. Twelve years after his death, the country disintegrated and fell into a string of interethnic wars as communism in Eastern Europe crumbled.



*Figure 5: Tito's Funeral*

### Post-war issues

Kosovo's Albanian and Serb populations remained at odds well into the twenty-first century. Numerous cities and towns in the Kosovo region experienced anti-Serb riots in March 2004 as an example of sporadic violence. Around 30 people lost their lives in the riots, which also forced over 4,000 Serbs and members of other minorities to flee. The declaration of Kosovo's independence from Serbia came in February 2008. (Yugoslavia had ceased to exist in 2003, giving way to the federation of Serbia and Montenegro, which itself dissolved in 2006). Serbia chose not to recognize Kosovo's independence, in contrast to the United States and some significant European Union members. Tensions between Kosovo and Serbia are on the rise today, and a future eruption of more conflict could follow if no further actions are taken.

### On the brink of significant conflict once again.

When Yugoslavia was eventually divided into six independent republics, tensions remained. The opportunity to end the disputes once and for all was passed up, and the new borders drove many ethnic groups apart. As previously stated, this sparked nationalism among all ethnic groups. Serbia established two autonomous provinces: Vojvodina and Kosovo. Unsurprisingly, this sparked even more debate and complexity in the area. This marks the start of the conflict between Serbs and Albanians.

Furthermore, the Kosovans demanded to become the region's seventh independent republic. Despite the former Yugoslav president's efforts to unite the country, the Serbs continued to blame the conflict on the actions of the Kosovans. This created a vast schism: the Serbs were now pitted

against the Albanians, Kosovans, Croats, Slovenians, and Bosnians. The republicans attempted to resolve the issue politically, but this resulted in the communists losing power in most areas, concurrent with the decline of the USSR and the rise of nationalism.

After WWII, under Tito, many Albanians migrated to Kosovo to work in the mines, which were desperately needed to solve Yugoslavia's financial problems. It was previously stated that Tito was solely responsible for uniting the ethnically diverse nation, but after his death, there was no longer a supreme leader. All ethnic groups may have wished to seize control of the country. As a result, a civil war erupted, significantly weakening Serbia. Albanians had become an ethnic majority in Kosovo over time, and they saw the opportunity to gain independence. Kosovo gained US support by promising them a military base (close to Russia), and it also helped that Serbia is a socialist republic, which is clearly against US international policy.

The pro-independence parties argue that the region's independence is critical; ethnic harmony, economic stability, and a democratic future will be impossible without it. Parties opposing Kosovan independence argue that the grounds for Kosovo's belonging to Serbia are more viable; Kosovo has historically and culturally been Serbian, and Kosovo is a progeny of Serbia.

So why is this conflict coming up again? This is due to the European Union (EU) taking responsibility for the complex political situation in Balkan states, which has dramatically changed the context of the tensions. The ethnic Serbs of northern Kosovo reject Pristina's authority to impose rules and regulations. Recently, demonstrators in the border region protested Kosovo's imposition of new border rules, forcing Pristina to postpone their implementation.



*Figure 6: The declaration of Kosovo's independence*

## Timeline of Key Events

This is where you detail all critical, key events concerning this issue, as displayed below. You may write a small paragraph elaborating on these events; however, this is not required as they should already have been mentioned in the General Overview.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> Century AD	The Romans gain control of the area, populated by a people known as Dardani, who are thought to be either Illyrian or Thracian in origin.
6 <sup>th</sup> Century	Slavs begin to settle in the area, which falls out of Roman/Byzantine control and becomes a disputed border area.
12 <sup>th</sup> Century	Serbia seizes control of Kosovo, which becomes the centre of the Serbian empire. During this time, many Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries are built.
28 <sup>th</sup> of June 1389	The Battle of Kosovo marks the beginning of 500 years of Turkish Ottoman rule. Many Christian Serbs left the region over the next few decades. Over time, the religious and ethnic balance has shifted in favour of Muslims and Albanians.
8 <sup>th</sup> of October 1912	Start of the Balkan War, Nationalism rises in Kosovo, First signs of tension between Serbia and Kosovo. Serbia retakes control of Kosovo from the Turks, which is recognised by the Treaty of London in 1913.
1918	Kosovo becomes part of the kingdom of Serbia.

1941	World War II: A large portion of Kosovo is incorporated into an Italian-controlled Greater Albania.
1946	Kosovo is absorbed into the Yugoslav federation.
1960s	Belgrade's tolerance for Kosovan autonomy grows.
1974	The Yugoslav constitution recognises Kosovo's autonomous status, granting the province de facto self-government.
8 <sup>th</sup> of May 1980	Tito's death and fall of communism, Political and economic instabilities, Serbs begin to grip control over Albanians in Kosovo.
1981	Troops put down separatist riots in the province.
1987	At a critical juncture in his political career, future President Slobodan Milosevic rallies a crowd of Kosovo Serbs protesting alleged harassment by the majority Albanian community.
1989	Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic begins to revoke autonomy rights enshrined in the 1974 constitution.
28 <sup>th</sup> of February 1998	Kosovo war between KLA and Serbs/ Yugoslavia.
24 <sup>th</sup> of March 1999	NATO intervenes with bombing campaigns.
11 <sup>th</sup> of June 1999	War ends with Serbs retreating from Kosovo and Albanian refugees returning home.
17 <sup>th</sup> of February 2008	Kosovo gains independence from Serbia
November 2020	President Thaci resigns after learning that the Kosovo war crimes tribunal in The Hague has confirmed his indictment for war crimes.

2022

Ethnic tensions rise as the Kosovo government attempts to force residents of majority ethnic Serb areas to exchange their Serbian-issued car licence plates for Kosovan-issued ones.

## Major Parties Involved

### The Republic of Serbia

Serbia borders Kosovo and is one of the major parties involved in the conflict.

### Kosovo

Kosovo is crucial in the story of how the Serbian nation was founded. It was a part of Serbia until Belgrade brutally put down an armed uprising by its ethnic Albanian majority in 1998 and 1999.

### United States of America

The United States supports a democratic, multiethnic Kosovo fully assimilated into the global society. As a component of a united, liberated, and peaceful Europe, this continues to be a crucial tenet of American efforts to strengthen stability in the Balkan region. The US has also assisted Kosovo majorly.

### Russian Federation

Connections with Kosovo and the US helped them have military bases close to Russia, resulting in a significant advantage. They have sided with Serbia but are a part of the KFOR.

### Yugoslavia

Kosovo was a part of Yugoslavia as well as Serbia. When Yugoslavia broke up into different countries, conflicts began to emerge.

### KFOR

A NATO-led international peacekeeping force in Kosovo. It helped maintain a safe environment and promoted freedom of movement for all citizens in Kosovo.

## The Republic of Albania

Formerly part of Serbia, Kosovo is primarily composed of ethnic Albanian territory. So to say, there are still many Albanians living in Kosovo.

## NATO

Tries to maintain peace between the two parties and prevent any further conflict. NATO has also attempted to allay Serbian fears about the increased military presence.

## Ottoman Empire

The Serbs lost, fell under Ottoman rule, and were forced to flee to the north to avoid Islamic conversion.

## Possible Solutions

There are several possible solutions that can be put in place and some of them have already been established. They are not only vital for European Security but for the whole world. Some of the solutions could include:

- Establishing clear borders which would prevent any future conflicts on where the borders are exactly between the countries. North Kosovo would join Serbia after partition. In exchange, Serbia would recognize Kosovo as an independent state and possibly give Preševo Valley to the Albanian majority.
- A centred mutual recognition, the strengthening of governance and a rule of law, and promotion of economic growth and energy security in both areas. This would also raise awareness about the issue among the citizens to decrease the number of disagreements and protests against the higher parties' decision.
- European Union facilitated dialogue talks in order to establish a process for fostering reconciliation and normalization between Kosovo and Serbia which would help reach a comprehensive normalization agreement which would benefit citizens in both countries.

This would also help normalize Kosovo-Serbia relations and enable both countries to realize their full potential and further integrate into the West.

- Assisting the international community in its efforts to find common ground between the two former foes, Serbia, and Kosovo. The European Union (EU) has been able to implement free movement and multi-ethnic police forces.
- Transnational citizenship for Serbs in Kosovo is a critical component of resolving the issue of their future in Kosovo. It recognises their ethnic identity without viewing it as the primary foundation for statehood. It recognises Serbs throughout Kosovo, not just in North Kosovo. Most importantly, it resolves one conflict without causing new ones.

It is crucial for a solution to be proposed otherwise Kosovo can not become a United Nations member or a functional state without resolving the dispute with Serbia which could lead to many disadvantages and issues for both civilians and other countries.

## Further reading

Here are some documents and websites to help you research on the issue:

- i. <https://www.dw.com/en/start-of-the-kosovo-war-1999/a-16765955>
- ii. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Kosovo-conflict>
- iii. <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-global/why-kosovo-and-serbia-tensions-flaring-up-2022-explained-8349755/>
- iv. <https://www.bing.com/search?q=what+did+yugoslavia+get+split+into&cvid=bdf0004654f142268e8a6ae5fd97f1&aqs=edge..69i57j69i11004.8370j0j1&pqlt=41&FORM=ANNAB1&DAFO=1&PC=U531>
- v. <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-global/why-kosovo-and-serbia-tensions-flaring-up-2022-explained-8349755/>
- vi. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-12-27/how-to-understand-rising-serbia-kosovo-tensions-quicktake>

- vii. <https://www.bing.com/search?q=when+did+kosovo+gain+independence&qs=n&form=QBRE&sp=-1&pq=when+did+kosovo+gain+independenc&sc=10-32&sk=&cvid=A3FEE249711545279FA4318DDFF8F16E&ghsh=0&ghacc=0&ghpl=>
- viii. <https://www.bing.com/search?q=possible+solutions+to+the+serbian+kosovo+problem&qs=n&form=QBRE&sp=-1&pq=possible+solutions+to+the+serbian+kosovo+problem&sc=0-48&sk=&cvid=D87FA5E7B45140698EAB31F508B6D799&ghsh=0&ghacc=0&ghpl=>
- ix. <https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=the+kosovo-serbian+conflict&&view=detail&mid=042EDDC25FE4F09DD442042EDDC25FE4F09DD442&&FORM=VRDGAR&ru=%2Fvideos%2Fsearch%3Fq%3Dthe%2Bkosovo-serbian%2Bconflict%26FORM%3DHDRSC3>
- x. <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-kosovo/>
- xi. <https://www.bing.com/search?q=how+was+the+soviet+union+involved+wiith+the+seribian+kosovo+conflict&cvid=d2212d0c001f4b2bb149ed5a7e89d782&aqs=edge..69i57j69i11004.35990j0j1&pglt=41&FORM=ANNAB1&DAF0=1&PC=U531>
- xii. <https://www.bing.com/search?q=what+did+the+KFOR+do+Kosovo&qs=n&form=QBRE&sp=-1&pq=what+did+the+kfor+do+kos&sc=9-24&sk=&cvid=082220526C5C4997887AB54C13FBF5EB&ghsh=0&ghacc=0&ghpl=>
- xiii. <https://www.republicworld.com/world-news/europe/explained-why-is-serbia-and-kosovo-on-brink-of-major-conflict-again-and-whos-to-blame-articleshow.html>
- xiv. <https://shape.nato.int/ongoingoperations/nato-mission-in-kosovo-kfor-#:~:text=Kosovo%20Force%20%28KFOR%29%20is%20currently%20deployed,Euro-Atlantic%20integration%20of%20the%20Western%20Balkans.&text=Kosovo%20Force%20%28KFOR%29%20is,of%20the%20Western%20Balkans.&text=%28KFOR%29%20is%20currently%20deployed,Euro-Atlantic%20integration%20of%20the>
- xv. <https://www.bing.com/images/search?view=detailV2&ccid=m1DyoRHB&id=5F1F4D23090CB56D81E94DD90783462BC1F1E8DB&thid=OIP.m1DyoRHB0NVMr8tObelfuAHaFT&mediaur=h>

[https://www.historycollection.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Hashim\\_Thaci\\_Joe\\_Biden\\_Fatmir\\_Sejdiu\\_with\\_Declaration\\_of\\_Independence\\_of\\_Kosovo.jpg](https://www.historycollection.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Hashim_Thaci_Joe_Biden_Fatmir_Sejdiu_with_Declaration_of_Independence_of_Kosovo.jpg)&cdnurl=https://www.bing.com/th?id=R9b50f2a111c1d0d54cafc4e6de21fb8%3fr%3d%252bjxwStGgwfZTQ%26pid%3d%26r%3d0&exph=458&expw=640&q=kosovo+declaration+of+independence+politicians+&simid=608043610171529052&FORM=IRPRST&ck=14479FD1C44D79ED9DB35D3A8D29971E&selectedIndex=0&ajaxhist=0&ajaxserp=0

- xvi. <https://europeansecurity.org/kosovo-serbian-dialogue-a-possible-way-towards-an-effective-solution/>
- xvii. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18331273>
- xviii. <https://natoassociation.ca/serbian-citizenship-a-solution-to-the-kosovo-dispute/>