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**THE CASE OF KOSOVO STATUS IN THE BALKAN POLICY OF EUROPEAN UNION****S. Asaturov, A. Martynov**

*Політика Європейського Союзу диференціюється в залежності від організаційної природи об'єднання та інтересів держав-членів. Спільні інститути ЄС є міксом міжурядового і наддержавного аспектів Євросоюзу. Суверенізація Косово є викликом і випробуванням для міжнародного позиціонування Євросоюзу та європейської інтеграції загалом. У статті досліджені об'єктивні і суб'єктивні історичні передумови проголошення незалежності Косово від колишньої Югославії. У статті також висвітлено історичний контекст балканської політики Євросоюзу*

**Ключові слова:** Балкани, Європейський Союз, конфліктний менеджмент, Косово, Сербія, Югославія

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**1. Introduction**

The research studied objective and subjective historical reasons for the state formation of Kosovo Albanians starting from the latent stage of this process within former Yugoslavia and then up to the declaration of Kosovo independence. Influence of Yugoslavia's collapse, as well as of external factors on Kosovo's separation from Serbia is also explored in this article. Comparative analyses of specificities of UN and OSCE peacemaking activities were done in different stages of Kosovo conflict. A particular feature of Kosovo's internal policy development as an independent state and problematic reasons with a full international recognition of this fact is also highlighted. Problem of Kosovo's status to the diplomacy of "power poles" in modern system of international relations within the context of NATO war against Yugoslavia in 1999 is underlined. A main tendency of Serbian policy towards Kosovo after the democratic transformation of political system of this state and in conditions of Serbia's European integration aspirations was examined.

**2. Literature review**

Kosovo's history is seen as an unfinished process of European modernization. For example, is monographic of Holm Sundnausen [1]. Erich Rahtfelder analyzes Kosovo's problem as a modern international conflict [2]. Fareed Zakaria focuses on US policy towards Kosovo

[3]. Elizabeth Pound conducts a policy comparison in Kosovo between the US and the EU [4]. Lampe John believes that the conflict in Kosovo is the result of the unexplored history lessons [5]. Richard Elbow describes the ethnic history of the Albanian-Serbian conflict [6]. Mike Vickers shows Kosovo's history as an uncompromising version of the Serb-Albanian confrontation in the Balkans [7]. The historiography analysis demonstrates that modernizations are a permanent, relative, non-linear and antinomic process. Antinomies of modernity are linked to the emancipation process and the corresponding change in value orientations in society. Emancipation, which is unfolding against a backdrop of improving the quality of life, is accompanied by the rise of personal responsibility for choices being made, as well as by threats to individual freedom. This brings into sharp focus the inclusiveness of modernization. On the other hand, unfavorable socio-economic environment along with declining sense of existential security may lead to demodernization, which is coupled with shrinking tolerance and dwindling willingness to accept others, receding trust in democratic institutions, disruptions to rational communication in society, weaker support for emancipative values and adherence to materialistic ones.

**3. The aim and objectives of the study**

The aim of the study is provides a background of the EU politic to international status Kosovo.

To achieve the aim, the following objectives were set:

1. Analyze the Kosovo problem in European research
2. Show the background Balkan context European politic in the Kosovo.

#### **4. The EU Balkan politic from former Yugoslavia to Kosovo problem**

The subject matter of research interest here is the problems of status of Kosovo in the politic of the European Union.

The process of stabilization and assoziation with the countries of Southeast Europe (hereinafter referred to as the SAP) represents an elaborated and updated version of what was known as the regional approach defined by the European Union vis-à-vis the countries of former Yugoslavia and Albania following the conclusion of the Dayton/Paris Accords (end of 1995 and beginning of 1996). These were the countries that until then had not managed to conclude association agreements with the EU – the European agreements – and thus could not be involved in negotiations for EU membership. However, at that time EU's regional approach did not bring about any progress of some significance in the situation prevailing in the Western Balkan region. In 1999 the conflict over Kosovo and the bombing campaign against Serbia made the European Union update its policy in the region. Thus, the regional approach was replaced by the stabilization and association process and what was until then known as the Royaumond Process (support to multi-lateral cooperation in the region of the former Yugoslavia) with the much more ambitious Stability Pact for Southeast Pact for Southeast Europe (SP). Although initially both the Stability Pact and the SAP represented but titles whose contents needed to be elaborated, indeed ideals that emerged in an emergency situation in response to urgent political needs, it is worth noting that the EU Council and the Commission later on showed a great deal of innovative spirit in further elaborating the SAP concept. The European Union went further than the earlier regional approach on a number of key points. The EU key strategic innovation is the officially adopted stand that the Western Balkan countries are potential candidates for EU membership and, consequently, that EU membership may serve as a strategic goal and the SAP – as a method of getting closer to that goal. The SAP has been conceived as an institutionally shorter way of joining the Union which can now be accomplished in one step (by concluding the stabilization and association agreement) rather than in two steps as was the case before (first the trade and cooperation agreement and then the association agreement) is applied somewhat more flexibly and with more subtlety than in the previous period, but systematically by means of monitoring by periodic six-month reports prepared by the EU Commission and adopted by the EU Council.

The SAP has, undoubtedly, had more positive effects than the EU's earlier regional approach. This is illustrated primarily by the substantive changes on the ground, namely by the substantive changes on the ground, namely by the political changes in the Yugoslavia, as well as in Croatia and, to a lesser extent, also in

Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since the end of 2000 practically all five Western Balkan countries have had pro-European governments whose proclaimed goal has been their faster integration in the EU. The EU's key role is manifest in its endeavors to take part quite directly in the stabilization of these states. These states are still under pressure as a result of fragmentation processes and the declining influence of state institution that are difficult to reverse and that proved irrepressible in the Balkan region in the 1990s. Thus, in the course of 2001 the EU was the key player in different efforts to introduce political, security and institutional stability in Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in Albania [8].

In other in the past decade the EU has refined its political sensibility, fine-tuned its expert knowledge and expanded it's political and other instrument for exerting influence on developments in the region. These include conflict prevention measures as well as measures for crafting a common foreign and security policy and a common defense policy [9].

From the institutional point of view, the SAP has made the greatest progress so far with respect to Macedonia and Croatia. These two countries concluded stabilization and association agreements (SAA) in 2001. The Agreements provide for the establishment, following a transitional period lasting from six to ten years a free trade zone between the EU and the partner country. Political dialogue is established and cooperation envisaged in some thirty different fields in which the EU is active. Liberalization measures are undertaken in the field of the four freedoms of movement, the mechanism is set up for harmonization of the legal system with the *acquis communautaire*. As a result the relationship between the EU and these two countries has entered a new and higher stage that enables much wider cooperation as well as more intensive involvement of these partner countries in EU program and integration. SAA negotiations have not yet commenced with the other three countries. As for Albania, the EU Commission recently released, together with that country, a feasibility study in which it expressed a favorable view on the issue of opening formal SAA negotiations. As for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbia, Consultative Working Groups have been set up. These are bodies that should lay the groundwork for formal negotiations.

The process of getting closer to the EU is, undoubtedly, an important anchor. It facilitates the strategic thrust for the reform-oriented governments in the region and encourages the process of overall transition and modernization of a country and society, the essential component of which is the process of integration into the European mainstream. In this context, the SAP has indeed had a certain stabilizing effect on the situations in individual countries as well as on their mutual relations readiness to engage in regional cooperation is among the conditions set by the SAP. In addition the EU's economic measures that form part of the SAP trade preferential, financial support program constitute an important element of gradual improvement of the economic situation in these countries.

The progress of the SAP notwithstanding, certain unresolved problems in Balkan attest to the fact that the region has not yet achieved the level of desirable and ex-

pected stability and economic that would guarantee durable peace, prosperity and European integration.

Essentially, the ultimate success of the SAP will be achieved the moment the process becomes unnecessary, namely when the position and attitude of the countries of Balkan vis-à-vis the European Union become completely equal to those of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the future EU members. If the main task of the EU policy in Balkan in the past decade was to contain and prevent conflict and exert influence conducive to toppling nationalist and xenophobic regimes, the principal aims in this decade should be to make possible a high level of sustainable development in Balkan enhanced by the European integration process [10]. It is difficult, however, to expect that full integration of Balkan with the European Union will take place before the end of XX century given the situation in the region as well as the anticipated consequences of the first wave of EU enlargement for the Union itself. Time required for digesting the newly admitted members against the backdrop of institutional of reforms of the Union and its budgetary reform.

The immediate tasks of the SAP include overcoming the contradiction between bilateralism and multilateralism. They also include attaining multilateral cooperation goals envisaged by the Zagreb Summit and ensuring harmonization with the regional cooperation initiatives in region, such as the Stability Pact and the Balkan Cooperation Process.

The European Union can, therefore, be expected to develop additional instruments whereby the SAP will gradually become a kind of a preaccession strategy. In this context, a priority short-term issue will be the prevention of possible adverse effects of enlargement cooperation between the new EU member states and Balkan countries, border cooperation, visas, coherent assistance programs. Another one will be the development of instruments that will reduce, rather than widen, differences, between new members and prospective applicants. In that sense, fuller utilization of the European Union association instruments can be expected.

## 5. Research results

The region of South Eastern Europe is not a policy maker on a European or a world level, but rather a policy taker. The ethnic differences are latent and require a favourable constellation for their manifestation. It is therefore always easier to rectify the consequences of wars and disintegration in a broader, multilateral scope, in which the wartime opponents can become allies in the promotion of development. Regional integration is a universal process that encompasses not only the formation of security alliances and trade arrangements, but also numerous domains of economic and social life, political structure, internal security, the protection of natural resources, culture etc. Although most regional initiatives in South Eastern Europe represent replicas of European historical tradition, the differences are not to be lightly dismissed. There predominates the sense of a laboratory, experiment, and methodological variation – the Balkan as a test for a broader European option – mainly as objects, but more and more also as the subject for broader European politics.

It can be concluded that the long-term, effective model for the integration of European countries – the European Union – is the main anchor for all the countries of the region and, at the same time, the main direction towards which they should steer. The regional initiatives within which multilateral cooperation in the region has been developed are successfully preparing South Eastern European countries for their greatest challenge integration into the EU. The countries standing today at the door of this monumental institutions show those standing further away how to become organized and to prepare for the forthcoming sequences of rapprochement and integration. This represents an increasingly segment of political dynamics in the region.

## 6. Conclusions

1. Kosovo and Metohija are in turbulent region. The current situation is as the economic projects proposed by international players and rehabilitate the economic of Kosovo. We must special attention to the transformation of ownership in the companies in the Republic of Serbia, as well as ownership of companies and economic and natural resources in the region of Kosovo and Metohija. The analysis covers all the three economies: «white», «grey», and «black» – existing in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija by pointing the finger to the segments of the activity and transactions of the Albanian mafia. For exemplar, Kosovska Mitrovica has between Serbian Hopelessness and Albanian despair. Here has particular attention to the Trepča mining complex and gave a chronological account of the capacity and profitability of this company and placement of this giant complex under the patronage of UNMIK civil administration in Kosovo. My opinion immediate pretexts for the takeover of Trepča were concern for the environment and economic safety of the company. UNMIK has restored production facilities and adopted a long-term plan to revitalize the mining of ore and to attract new investment. The conflict management for Kosovo is seriously Problem. Referring to Serbian national projects for Kosovo that were advanced by the well-known opposition political elites pointed out that they were most often drawing-room, cabinet offices and Utopian efforts as they ignored the interest of the international community.

2. We is of the view that the first level of the perception of the international community's interest was general security in Kosovo, in the unstable region of South Eastern Europe; the second level is the interest in normalizing civilian relations and relations between the opposed ethnic communities, and the third level, in our opinion, is based on the new division of geo-economic spheres of influence and on the financial calculations of multinational corporations the purpose being to exploit the available natural resources and raw materials in order to have the financial costs of NATO military intervention paid, to employ cheap labor and transfer twilight labor-intensive technologies there. Actually moment of Kosovo conflict management it was necessary for all political leaders and the NGOs to adopt a joint political position on the future of Kosovo to take initiatives for a dialogue and the negotiating process to work towards achieving concrete results in the local communities and build a multi-ethnic and open society. He also placed emphasis

on the importance of political projects aimed at integration and the importance of political projects aimed at integration and the need for a democratic civil society and a market economy.

In their concluding considerations the authors recalled humanism and its principles against the marginalization of political ideas inspired by extremist national concepts inciting intolerance. To create a society in which these and similar ideas will be outlawed is an ar-

duous task, but to start with, the authors proposed constitutional patriotism and social development. This is important conditions for European Union membership. Thus, even though European integration has proved to be quite an effective strategy for modernization in most post-socialist West-Balkan countries, it is not an irreversible process. Such a perspective helps to better understand the contradictory nature of transformations taking place in West-Balkan.

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