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Kosovo Political Party Attitudes towards European Integration

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Abstract

Presentation of different party / program standpoints by political parties in the political scene during the mankind history has influenced the fact that the political parties have played an irreplaceable role in the establishment of democracy. In this article we will discuss the empirical validity of the views of Kosovar political parties in relation to the process of European integration, because party attitudes can often be transformed into state attitudes. In order to give an answer to this complex phenomenon, qualitative methods such as content and document analysis and interviews will be used in order to gather and analyze the data found. The findings of this article are very significant because, based on the analysis of party documents and the responses received from the interviews, we can conclude that the views of Kosovar political parties have not only prioritized European integration but also linked them with the idea of functioning of a modern state. In this regard, the importance of this research is related to the facts and a realistic situation to understand the complexity and the importance of the integration and transformation processes. In this context, the views of Kosovar political parties go beyond the themes of European integrations, they actually link this concept to a much wider dimension of social transformation, because it includes fundamental democratic values. In this form, by such standpoints, political parties transmit to Kosovo society an interethnic and religious awareness and tolerance.

Keywords: Kosovo, Political Parties, program policy, European integration, society transformation

Introduction

Political parties, basically, everywhere in the world are the artisans or promoters of changes in today's societies. However, Kosovar political parties are also playing a key role in the process of EU integration and democratization of Kosovo society. If we refer to Giovani Sartori then with the relevant party we mean that a party is likely to form a coalition government or at the most important point when a party has an influence on competition or actually changes the direction of party competitors. (Muller,2006). Regarding this research, the determining factor that has influenced the selection of Kosovar political parties has been the form of direct impact of policy implications in the respective countries, regardless of tradition and party experience. This means that the research objective has to do with analyzing and comparing the program points of the relevant Kosovo parties, which in some other form have influenced policy making since the 1990s to the present times. In the last twenty years, the Albanian political scene is characterized by the formation of many political parties, which during this period had their political "fall and shine". Perhaps, this has to do with the fact that Albanians, most likely, later established political parties. In a way, it can be said, they tried to compensate for lost time in communism, state-building, and state-building. In the case of this research, it is necessary to elaborate the party's attitude towards the European integration of the three main Kosovar parties such as the Democratic League of Kosovo - DLK, the Democratic Party of Kosovo - DPK and the Self-Determination Movement - SDM. One more reason for this selection has been and has largely

influenced Arben Llalla's writing (Llalla, 2011), which points out that around 7 million Albanians live in the Balkans, which in total have founded about 150 political parties. Referring to the author in question in Albania (approximately 4 million inhabitants) there are around 60 parties on average, in Kosovo (1.8 million inhabitants) around 50 parties, in Macedonia about 10 parties. In Montenegro where Albanians are around 50,000 people with about 30,000 thousand voters have 6 parties, and in the Presevo Valley about 7 parties. The theme of European integration is also linked to many other dimensions, because when we talk about European integrations, we are talking about a broad concept of values that should be included from human rights to the separation of powers. Here, we are simply not talking about the foreign policy aspect as a special program point, but in the sense that European integration involves a host of reforms that need to be undertaken by a country to join the EU. Political parties represent state interests, based on party and government programming attitudes. And in a way, even the worldview of a society. So if the Kosovar parties are about the values of the European Union and the integration in this organization, then it should of course be more open and comprehensible in the social themes, and how much they will pay attention to, or are the ethnic themes that have more impact? Because the nature of the EU integration process is similar to the empowerment of the democratic system, the structure of gender mainstreaming and inter-religious and inter-ethnic tolerance, so the purpose of this research will be to focus mainly on the positions or program positions of the Kosovar parties in relation to the European integrations. In this context it will be very clear: whether Kosovo's democratic values represented by the European Union (EU) are defined? This aspect will determine in what position do the Kosovar political parties stand? It is also related to neighboring and regional policies. Integrations as such can produce more positivity from a multidimensional point of view, such as: Regional Partnership, and improve neighborly policies, especially in the Balkans. For this reason, it should be analyzed: What is the Kosovar parties' program approach towards European integrations? As for the methodology, the primary purpose of content analysis is the interpretation of the texts explored. The interviews will help to understand the attitudes and the way of understanding the political party positions. Also, all the above-mentioned respondent positions were current when interviews were conducted.

Historical Background of the Kosovar political parties

Towards the end of the twentieth century we can say that we have "powerful political earthquakes" in the sense of the collapse of communist regimes in SEE-Southeastern Europe (Carothers, 2002). In this regard, to understand the complexities, problems and importance of integration and transformation processes, it is necessary to understand the differences that existed between two worlds West vs. East since various authors called it the Cold War conflict. There has been a division of the world into two spheres of interest: military, political, cultural, and economic dimensions (Filmaier, Gewessler, Holl, & Mangott, 2006). Therefore, this division has had a very negative impact especially on post-communist societies, as there have been backward steps in all aspects of social development, as opposed to Western European societies. However, after the end of the communist regime in Southeastern Europe, these countries faced doubly challenges: the political and economic transition that was much needed to reform, and the communist past that had left harsh marks on people's lives, as well the political-social and historical problem had to be elaborated for the consolidation of society (Rose, 2009). For this reason, "Communist societies were not modern in the European sense" (Rose, 2009: 21). Therefore, despite political developments and democratic processes, the liberalization of the economy had to take place. Also, the integration of the security factor was very much needed just as NATO accession for the stability of post-communist societies (Bebler, 2015).

After the great change in 1990 it was very important that post-communist societies could be identified with European values, which were as such: the rule of law, transparency, efficiency, pluralism, political parties' participation, human rights, minority rights, etc. (Rose, 2009). In this sense, the first step was the distribution and restoration of democracy in the SEE countries (Seiler, s.d.). The second step would mean: the awareness of society and civil society forces have played a major role in creating conditions for transition from communist societies to the competitive-liberal society (Parry, 2010) and the third step had to consolidate the entire system (Eckert, 2008). What did all this mean? That the society would to be ready to evaluate and protect essential issues such as human rights, freedom of speech, expression, minorities, etc. (Siavelis, 2006). In this multi-party development process, the majority of political parties and a large part of society (Kopecky & Mudde, 2002) are talking in the context of time when SEE and Central countries were extremely enthusiastic about EU integration (Hughes, Sasse, & Gordon, 2002). [1] In developing the process of democratic values, political parties have undoubtedly played a crucial role in consolidating political transition (Enyedi, 2006). From this process it is understood that: Europeanism has been shown as a phenomenon or as a goal of most political parties in SEE. This European orientation or approach has forced political parties to radically modify and modify party programs (Ladrech, 2002). From this point of view, we can

conclude that: political parties' competition represents an element of political change, and an empowerment of democratic institutions in post-communist societies (Enyedi, 2006).

Compared to Southeastern Europe, the Balkans, or rather the Former Yugoslavia, failed to catch up with the development of democracy, as in other post-communist countries. Former Yugoslavia actually became a "democracy" only in terms of elections, but were these elections free? This leaves much to be suspected, for example in Serbia- Slobodan Milosevic regime after the 90s led to the then Yugoslav Republic State, and has always been the "winner of the election" until 2000, only after the discovery that the votes were manipulated, Slobodan Milosevic is withdrawn (Bugajski, 2002).[2] Thus, political parties in the former Yugoslavia were the center for recruiting volunteers to be sent to Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo, and most notably the Serbian Radical Party led by Vojislav Seselj (Konitzer, 2008). In the early 1990s, and throughout the decade, the destruction of former Yugoslavia continued. Understandably, with these wars the development of political parties in this region has been greatly influenced by nationalism (Enyedi, 2006). The very circumstances surrounding the creation of political parties in the territory of the former Yugoslavia were unusual. Therefore, they cannot even be compared for the same period as the development of Political Parties in Central and Southeastern Europe. Political parties in the former Yugoslavia, respectively in Serbia, a country that also led all wars in this territory, but also in Bosnia and Herzegovina and partly in Croatia, were not interested in developing a competitive economy, respecting the rule of law or human rights, not to talk about minorities.

As for Albanians in Former Yugoslavia, Kosovo [3], Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, here we should make ethnic division from other parts of the former Yugoslavia because Albanians were the third nation in this federation of states, although they have not been accepted as such. Systematic discrimination of non-democratic regimes, not only in Serbia but also in other republics, has had a very negative impact on the inconsistent development of Albanians as a nation. Therefore, the parties formed after the 1990s are the first political parties since the 1945s. But even if we go back in history, we can see that there has not been any positive development regarding the development of the party spectrum. The birth of pluralism and Kosovar political parties was something very new, as was also for the former Socialist bloc. Since the beginning of the plural-party life, the Kosovar parties lacked significantly the true experience of party-plural life. In this form, Kosovar parties did not know much about the process of representative democracy, except what they had learned in literature about democracy and pluralism. According to this fact, this shows that Kosovar parties lacked the tradition and experience of representative democracy. Under these circumstances, this was a huge handicap for a successful party development, given: a plagued economy of the Balkan region and the wars in the former Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the Kosovo case has been even more difficult, because Kosovars have faced a classic occupation, and in the late 1990s, even with an armed struggle.[4] This proves that the creation of Kosovar political parties occurred in the circumstances of post-communist transition, and at the same time in the circumstances of armed conflicts, especially in the former Yugoslavia, until the process of state-building.

The establishment and establishment of Albanian political parties in Kosovo has been very difficult and complex. We can say that it has gone through several different stages of development such as:

Communist period in the former Yugoslavia 1945-1989. In this period, the plural party system was not allowed.

The post-communist period 1990 - which does not mean that it has greatly influenced the development or the establishment of Albanian political parties in Kosovo. But it marks only the beginning of creating a party / party competition.

The circumstances of classical occupation by Serbia 1989-1999 have left many consequences on the political, economic, social scene etc. Because in the circumstances of occupation we cannot talk of a development of the Kosovo party system.

The war between the KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army) and Serbian military forces 1997-1999

NATO bombing against the Serbian Army in March-June 1999

Kosovo Liberation and International Administration of Kosovo - by UNMIK (United Nations Security Council) -1244 (1999-2008). Due to the international administration of Kosovo according to the resulting United Nations Security Council, Albanian political parties in Kosovo also had a handicap, especially in the period 1999-2008. In this sense, unable to govern itself, political parties have failed to create clear positions on the most important social issues. It can be concluded that the whole political focus has been focused on how to achieve Kosovo independence as soon as possible.

The post-independence period of Kosovo 2008 - begins a rush of political parties. Where the main focus is no longer Kosovo's independence, but starting with issues such as human rights, minorities, religion and European integration.

Democratic League of Kosovo - DLK

In 1989, the former Yugoslav regime allowed the formation of political parties. In Kosovo, we have for the first time such an organization formed by Albanians, the establishment of the Democratic League of Kosovo, which was then the first Albanian party in the entire Albanian space in both former Yugoslavia and Albania (Bugajski, 2002). Therefore, it can be considered as the first Albanian party formed after the collapse of communism. Here the circumstances in which DLK was created, where Kosovo experienced a classical invasion by then-Slobodan Milosevic's regiment, was more a union of a popular movement against the occupier, or an Albanian political organization revolted against the Slobodan regime Milosevic. So the DLK can call it to a party mass, but not in the sense of the tradition, experience or political pluralism at the time, but a "kind of political party" more based on Slobodan Milosevic's regime than just based on program, party statute and political competition. So, because of the occupation of Kosovo by the then Serbian regime, it has been impossible to develop a normal life, not to talk about the race and party alternatives. Ibrahim Rugova or the historic president, as the proponents of this party were slaughtered, was one of the main founders of the party, and was a party chairman until 2006, and is now led by Isa Mustafa. So, if we refer to post-war and independence, then DLK the ideological identifies himself as the political subject of the right center and with strong features of conservatism. They also joined the EPP, the European People's Party,(EPP, 2018). In the first post-war elections of 2001 and 2004, it emerged as the first party in Kosovo. From 2007 to 2017 almost all the time has been part of the government. The main platform embedded in the political program is: for the European perspective (LDK, 2012). This implies that what this political entity represents today is economic liberalism, advocating human rights, emphasizing equality for all regardless of gender, age, ethnicity and religion (LDK, 2012).

Democratic Party of Kosovo - DPK

DPK was established after the Kosovo War (1999) initially as the Party of Democratic Progress (PDPK) until the First Election Assembly in 2000, changing its name to the Democratic Party of Kosovo (DPK), where the chairman was elected Mr. Hashim Thaci. Since the establishment, the chairman of DPK has been Hashim Thaci [5] by March 2016, and is now led by Kadri Veseli. DPK is considered to be the heir to the political and military structures of the KLA or as it calls differently with a military identity, although in its leadership there are many members of the academic world and civil society (Kuqi, 2017). It is considered that there has been a significant impact on building pluralism and democracy respectively. According to the deputy chairman of DPK, Kuqi: the evolution of the DPC has been great and there have been three reasons: the first reason was the market economy in the sense of the political market, the second the leadership was young, and the new leadership differs, in the sense it has not been conservative and time has come to maturity of PDK (Kuqi, 2017). So, in this regard an important element is that the DPK was the winning party in 2007 and in coalition with LDK prepared the declaration of independence of Kosovo (2008). From 2007 until the 2014 elections, it has emerged as the winning party of the elections. When it comes to the DPK, officials of this party say that they belong to the right center, but have conservative features in terms of preserving traditional values. Likewise, it is very vocal in terms of religion or, precisely, the non-inclusion of religion in public policy, the DPK emphasizes that the state of Kosovo must maintain its neutrality to religions, that is, a secular state that is always respecting the Constitution of Kosovo. In the political platform DPK supports the view that: Euro-Atlantic integration should be the goal of Albanian-wide integration. To achieve this goal, the DPK is to get Kosovo as soon as possible to join the EU and NATO, however, consider the reports with the United States as special - unique because of the US assistance they have given during the 1999 war to the independence of Kosovo.

Self-Determination Movement - SDM

The Genesis of Self-Determination Movement was born of shares of the Action Network for Kosovo, which was established since the time of Kosovo occupation by Serbia in 1997. And it continued until 2005 when it was founded as Self-Determination Movement, a non-governmental organization. Continuing with the transformation into political movement in 2010 and to become the first part of the legislation of the Republic of Kosovo (2010-2014) with 12.69% of the vote, and with the early elections for the legislature 2014-2018 with 13.59 % (KQZ, 2018). This movement has produced a lot of debate in Kosovo society, especially in relation to Serbia and the international presence in Kosovo.

Chairman of SDM is currently Visar Ymeri. Referring to the SDM Program this political subject belongs to the center of the Left, and is the only political entity of the center in the Kosovo parliament. The SDM is positioned against the direct involvement of the international community in Kosovo's political life. Because of the program attitude of the unification of Kosovo with Albania, these attitudes are seen not only as a patriotic movement, but rather as a nationalist ideology.

However, they are for Kosovo's membership in NATO and the EU, but from their perspective they see European integration as an Albanian in general, as a nation and not separately (Selimi, 2017).

The concept and function of the party program

When talking about party programs, it should be taken into account that according to the analysis of party programs, these are divided into several levels, which means each program type has its meaning and function. Therefore, according to the analysis of party programs, we find that there are some types of party programs that are distinct from each other, both in terms of orientation, ideology, content and time (Hartmann, 1979). Therefore, every party program represents a certain ideology. Or, more precisely, in some ways they offer concrete measures and objectives that in some way define the actions of the parties (Merz & Regel, 2013). Consequently, the party program is based on four elements: fundamental values, the concept of the state system, the world's conception and political positioning. Therefore, party programs have meaning and value only in democratic systems, because these programs present competing ideas or values and different alternatives (Katzer, 1948). Party programs also have two very interesting functions, both external and internal. With the external function we mean: advertising, publicity and party profile, which means that the main function has to do with the greatest increase of voters (Kriechbaumer, Khol, & Ofner, 1990). Whereas, with the internal function it means the shaping of the party, the identity and the integration of different social groups (Ickes, 2008). Thus, the most important feature of a party is: program, identity, and ideology. In principle there are three main types of party programs: the political program, the electoral program and the government program, respectively the government coalition. Regardless of the orientation, ideological, content and time, these programs have interlinkages.

The political program represents the identity and ideological ideology in broad lines. While the election program focuses mainly on providing promises to various political projects, and the government program, respectively, of the government coalition, offers political projects for the next four years. But when we talk about the implementation of party programs, it mostly depends on the good will of the government, or better to say from the starting point of coalition formation, which party subject has a greater percentage in parliament. This is probably one of the main problems that the political parties face today, because during the election campaign the parties, especially the opposition, elaborate detailed programs, but when they come to power they are often forced to continue implementing the programs of the previous government. On the one hand, the government program represents a coordinated program between the parties forming the government and budget opportunities, on the other hand, in this "Program" are projected future projects in the four-year period (or more). In this regard, there may be many reductions or limitations of the policy promises that were promised during the election campaign. Because here there are two elements that need to be counted, and they are, under a compromise with the coalition partners, and under the two financial calculations of each project.

Party Attitudes of Kosovar Political Parties toward Euro-Integration

DLK has given this topic a lot of importance in its program. DLK, EU integration does not see it merely as a technical fulfillment of the tasks to become a member, but as a project of "Europeanization of Kosovar society, institutions and parties" (LDK, 2012: 20). Referring to the DLK program, integration into the EU means building a functional democratic state that will bring security, peace and prosperity not only for Kosovo but for the entire region as well. In this regard, according to DLK, neighborly cooperation would contribute tremendously to the promotion of regional peace, stability and prosperity (LDK, 2012: 19).

For DPK the topic of European integration we can say that there is considerable scope in the DPK program. Program and party positioning is extremely well elaborated in the context of Euro-Atlantic integration and the aspiration to join these organizations. According to DPK, EU membership is not only a goal but shows all the modern attributes of citizenship, and is an indicator of a democratic state that respects and protects human and minority rights (Kuqi, 2017), and is a constructive contributor for peace and stability, a state that cultivates friendly relations with the countries of the region and beyond (PDK, 2014). Therefore, the programming theme related to EU membership is extremely important to DPK from many points of view mentioned. Given these program stances, the DPK presents itself as a pro-Western party, devoted to universal values such as human rights, and so on. However, these positions on European integration in the Balkan context mean that membership in this organization would, among other things, provide some assurance that in the near future there will be no military conflicts, because in fact these program stances are also directly related to attitudes towards neighbors, so by introducing the program platform and respecting the principles and rules of EU membership. DPK is interested in promoting constructive neighborhood in the region, based on the principles of non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual recognition

and protection of minority rights, all-inclusiveness and equality in regional representation, as well as creation of spaces common for political, economic, security, and socio-cultural cooperation (PDK, 2014).

As for the European integration SDM has very little material in the program, which only emphasizes how much they are pro integration in the EU, through a normal path. On the other hand, Selimi unveiled the party's intentions, which emphasizes that we as Albanians should have parallel integration with the Euro-Atlantic integrations to have integration within Albanians (Selimi, 2017). From this point of view, it emerges that SDM also conceives European integrations from the Albanian-nationalist prism. In the context of neighborly policy SDM thinks that Kosovo should focus on relations with Albanians living in neighboring countries surrounding Kosovo (LVV, 2010). Referring also to the interview with Mr. Selimi, SDM has no territorial claims against neighbors, but only demands the right of Albanians to join, according to Selimi: correcting injustices that have occurred against Albanians. This should not be a territorial claim to anyone, but it should be understood as realizing our rights and correcting injustices that have occurred against us in the last 100 years (Selimi, 2017). Within this subject, the SDM seeks good neighborly relations with the republics around Kosovo (Albania, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro), however based on reports of reciprocity, equality, and normal relations between states, not inferiority reports to any neighbors.

From what we see, we understand that Kosovar political parties have paid particular attention to European integrations, especially DKL and DPK, while SDM is quite different from DLK and DPK, because SDM actually points out that they are a movement in the context of this characterized as post-materialist, are opposed to dominance of economic markets, and as such are driven by leftist or social democracies. But, at the same time, there are also nationalistic elements, referring to their program; SDM says they are in favor of a two-sided referendum on joining Kosovo with Albania, within the framework of the peace agreement. The European integration for this party is in the secondary sense, but from what we have understood during the interviews, it turns out that: Kosovar parties perceive European integrations in three aspects: the first, that EU integration - will bring peace, stability, political, economic and military stability, the second aspect concerns the integration of entire Kosovo society as a whole in European structures, because this integration would be in the function of the transformation and democratization of Kosovo society with the values and principles of the EU, would mean a "Europeanization of Kosovo society". **Then the second** aspect is seen from two perspectives, first: security and prosperity for the Kosovars / Albanians in the Balkans, and second, a borderless and unobstructed interaction in every aspect within the Albanian factor. **And the third aspect**: relaxing and empowering inter-neighborly relations, which would be a prerequisite for peace, stability, political and economic sustainability. In general, this theme, according to the programs of the Kosovar parties, emphasizes that the goal in the EU, empowers all the modern attributes of citizenship, and is an indicator of a democratic state that respects human rights, minorities, the rule of law etc. It turns out that really the party / program influence has had a tremendous impact on the development of Kosovo society's awareness, especially after the war years in the development of the democratization of society, because the orientation of Kosovar parties and program policies have been and are oriented towards European integration. All this focus oriented by European values and principles implies that Kosovar parties have transmitted programs and policies, advancing human rights, gender equality, cultivating ethnic and inter-religious tolerance, improving neighborly relations, especially after the war in Kosovo, which is a prerequisite for sustainable economic development and preservation of peace. All this proves that European values dominate most Kosovar parties, which means that these parties follow comprehensive policies because they address all citizens regardless of ethnicity. Starting from this fact, party programs as their main goal is to improve the protection, freedom and dignity and representation of the individual before the ethnicity. It is clear that Kosovo parties represent the Albanian majority but do not exclude other ethnicities. This fact tells us that Kosovar parties are very open about society, the individual and the ethnicity. This is also one of the indicators that the degree of democratization of a country or society is also measured by the degree of democratization of political parties. Because, on the contrary, if political parties are not democratized, then that culture will be transferred to institutions, societies and everywhere else, the thing that has been confirmed and happened during the 1990s in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Conclusion

Political parties have a central role to play in the development of new democracy, especially in Western Balkan countries, respectively in Kosovo society, identifying the politicization of social divisions, the area of human rights, and so on. Political parties can also be seen as promoters that influence the rise of political awareness of the importance, social, state, constitutional and national weight. Therefore, based on these facts and circumstances, it means that with the appearance

and representation of social interests in the party system, demands and program positions within a society, then we can say that political parties are like a connecting bridge between society, independent institutions and the state**.**

Especially during the interviews we have noticed that in most cases party officials are interested in following tolerant policies, both internally and externally with the neighbors, for the fact that most party officials argued that any design of any policy other than what they represent in the programs would have fatal effects for the Balkan region, especially for Kosovars and Albanians as a whole. While, on the other hand, we are convinced that as far as European Integration is concerned, this process is seen as a process that will benefit the entire Kosovar society, rather than separate groups within it. In this way, the Kosovar parties want to create at the same time "European standards", starting from the standard models of legislative, executive, judicial institutions, market organization, banks etc. On this logic, EU integration becomes an undisputable program priority for almost every Kosovar party, which at the same time means that the program policies of Kosovo parties are oriented to the values and principles of the EU, which means that Kosovo parties have reached political maturity and are aware of playing a crucial role in society, and will be the determining future for the creation of a tolerant and democratic climate, both within Kosovo society and abroad. From this aspect, it turns out that: most of Kosovo's political parties can be classified as "Light European Political Party" in the sense that they are in the early stages of development as a political party in the European context, and in relation to party programs. So there are differences, what is being said, how it is promoted, and how it is realized. Therefore, Kosovar political parties should pay close attention to party programs, and not just be a party letter or document, for example, according to Freedom House 2015: Kosovo from the aspect of the functioning of democracy is evidenced as a "semi-consolidated authoritarian regime", whereas in 2016 it is evidenced as partially free. Then we can understand and find out why we have called it "Light European Political Party". As in any multiparty democratic system, even in "Kosovo parties" we have to do or encounter the imperfections of each party or party program. But regardless of the various deficiencies that have political parties, party attitudes and programs, have a particular weight, because when any of them (the political parties), form the government of the state of Kosovo, in indirectly way these party attitudes are also determining the political agenda of the state.

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Notes

[1] In the meantime, this goal has been accomplished, because all the contending countries of Central and Eastern Europe are members of the European Union, except for the Western Balkans.

[2] Slobodan Milosevic ends up in The Hague Prison, which at that time was tried by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, respectively in Kosovo, but who does not await final judgment because he dies in prison

[3] According to the population census in 2011 and the 2016 assessment, Kosovo has a population of 1,783,531, with over 90% ethnic Albanian, while the other is composed of the Serb, Turk, Boshnjak, Roma, Ashkali community. (source: http://ask.rks-gov.net/media/3385/vleresimi-i-popullsise-se-kosoves-2016.pdf (27.January 2018)

[4] Since 1990 Serbia suppresses the autonomy of Kosovo guaranteed by the 1974 Constitution. With this action, the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic leaves Albanians, albeit a majority totally isolated from the public system. So Kosovo Albanians were forced to create a parallel system of services from schools to hospitals. After the Dayton Agreement - where Kosovo is left behind, then the first moves for armed resistance, the formation of the KLA, begin in Kosovo. After bloody fighting and massacres committed by Serbian forces, the international community decides to negotiate between the parties in the conflict. After the failure of negotiations for a peaceful process between Albanians and Serbs, NATO takes the decision to bomb Serbia, namely military targets, throughout the Serbian territory. As a response, the Serbian regime expels nearly 1,000,000 Albanians in Macedonia and Albania. This was also the largest influx of refugees at the end of the century. XX. After the capitulation of Serbia or the former Yugoslavia, with the agreement of Kumanovo (Macedonia 1999), the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo began. Also, the Security Council agreement is reached as the 1244 resolution, where the territory of Kosovo would be administered by UNMIK (UNSCR-1244), thus ending the armed struggle in Kosovo. In 2006, negotiations for agreement between Kosovo and Serbia are under way under the leadership of President Martti Ahtisaari's UN Security Council, where after the conclusion of the negotiations, Martti Atisari proposes conditional independence of Kosovo. Kosovo declares independence on 17 February 2008 (according to the census in 2011 there are 1,820,631 over 90% ethnic Albanian population number). Until now, Kosovo is recognized by 109 member states of the UN, two SC members, such as Russia and China declare not recognition of Kosovo as well as 5 EU member states (Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Slovakia, Romania) that have not yet recognized Kosovo's independence.

[5] Hashim Thaci was the KLA representative in the peace talks in Rambouillet in March 1999, Kosovo Prime Minister 2007-2014, President of the Republic of Kosovo from 2016