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Edmond Hajrizi

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International Conference is the 9th international interdisciplinarity peer reviewed conference which publishes works of the scientists as well as practitioners in the area where UBT is active in Education, Research and Development. The UBT aims to implement an integrated strategy to establish itself as an internationally competitive, research-intensive institution, committed to the transfer of knowledge and the provision of a world-class education to the most talented students from all backgrounds. It is delivering different courses in science, management and technology. This year we celebrate the 19th Years Anniversary. The main perspective of the conference is to connect scientists and practitioners from different disciplines in the same place and make them be aware of the recent advancements in different research fields, and provide them with a unique forum to share their experiences. It is also the place to support the new academic staff for doing research and publish their work in international standard level. This conference consists of sub conferences in different fields: - Management, Business and Economics - Humanities and Social Sciences (Law, Political Sciences, Media and Communications) - Computer Science and Information Systems - Mechatronics, Robotics, Energy and Systems Engineering - Architecture, Integrated Design, Spatial Planning, Civil Engineering and Infrastructure - Life Sciences and Technologies (Medicine, Nursing, Pharmaceutical Sciences, Physiology, Dentistry, and Food Science),- Art Disciplines (Integrated Design, Music, Fashion, and Art).

This conference is the major scientific event of the UBT. It is organizing annually and always in cooperation with the partner universities from the region and Europe. In this case as partner universities are: University of Tirana – Faculty of Economics, University of Korca. As professional partners in this conference are: Kosova Association for Control, Automation and Systems Engineering (KA – CASE), Kosova Association for Modeling and Simulation (KA – SIM), Quality Kosova, Kosova Association for Management. This conference is sponsored by EUROSIM - The European Association of Simulation. We have to thank all Authors, partners, sponsors and also the conference organizing team making this event a real international scientific event. This year we have more application, participants and publication than last year.

Congratulations!

Edmond Hajrizi,
Rector of UBT and Chair of IC - BTI 2020
CONTENTS

International Organizations and World Order 5
Shpendim Oxha, Fatos Rushiti 5

The Political Process of State Formation of Kosovo From the Establishment of the International Protectorate to Independence 10
Ruzhdi Jashari, Donika Hoti 10

Public Diplomacy And The Case of Kosovo 21
Ngadhnjim Brovina, Dritero Arifi, Fjolle Nuhiu 21

The Importance of Public Participation in Building Up Democracies in Former Yugoslav States. Case Study: Kosovo and Croatia 28
PhD Candidate Hajra Hajdari Florentina, Arifi Dritero PhD 28

COVID-19 Recession Through Policymakers Hibernate Economy. Case Study: Kosovo 33
DR. Ardian Uka 33
Abstract: International organization is a relatively new practice of the functioning of societies around the globe. Both as a practice and as a defined idea, it appears relatively late in history. Although various forms of wider organization of some societies (states) in temporary unions are also noticed in ancient civilizations, yet this is not the essence of this phenomenon in the contemporary meaning of the word. Ancient communities were of a military nature. Unions of some against others were formed for military needs and as soon as wars ended, such unions disbanded. However, the development of capitalism even in modern times strongly imposed mutual dependence on the world. Such state of affairs gave the interaction process regional and international proportions, despite old autarkic tendencies. States were necessarily oriented towards mutual cooperation and common solutions to the problems of the region and the wider international community.

This need and practice actualized the question about the ways, means and forms through which they can respond to the new challenges of mutual life in the vast expanses of the world stage and human creation. The answers to this were the first manifestations of international organization in all spheres of social practice. These first efforts will later rise to the level of regular and well-known phenomena in the realization of processes and international relations, known as international organizations. Nowadays, international organizations are necessary mechanisms for the realization of international life in all its aspects, both regionally and globally. Their functioning showed that, with them, the world has instruments for solving the most subtle and complex regional and world problems. Globalization only emphasizes their position and power in contemporary life.

1.1 The idea of the need for international organizations

The idea of the need for the international organizations is early, yet it remains relevant especially with the change that was made in historical practice in the period of the first genesis of the capitalist mode of the production and the new social order. Although this view and practice has become very evident over the last two centuries, views on the possibilities of organized international cooperation, primarily on the field of securing world peace, are encountered by several authors of the scientific renaissance period. This idea later from the issue of peace will be further expanded in the social space to be imposed today for the most important problems of the world development.¹ Since 1964 William Penn publishes his work Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe. At the beginning of the next century Abbe de Saint-Pierre, submits his plan of Perpetual Peace to the rulers and philosophers of Europe. Both acts propose the establishment of a parliament or general assembly that would resolve disputes by a 2/3 majority of the total number of votes, with the existence of collective sanctions for the disobedient, including military force. Saint-Pierre thought that peace would create conditions for faster prosperity for all and proposed the establishment of several mechanisms which would enable cooperation in the field of commercial law, the adaption of units of measurements and monetary systems. In critiques of Saint-Pierre proposal, Jean-Jacques Rosseau stresses that the level of violence in military sanctions is likely to be higher than in limited wars, which he considered necessary in the maintaining the balance of power between sovereign states.²

¹ Karen A. Mingst: Basics of International Relations (Grundlage der internationale Beziehungen). Albanian Institut for International Studies (AIIS); Tirane 2010. S.205
When thinking about peace plans, Emanuel Kant gives a category which derives from complex human habits and which includes selfishness and desire to win, but also wisdom (reason).³ Reason imposes the discipline which the selfish side of human nature keeps in balance. One is willing to give up political anarchy in favor of accepting law and order, precisely because of the existence of discipline which imposes reason. Kant in 1795 writes of world society in the form of republic-states as ideal models of peace. It is less likely that despotic rulers would affirm peace. Kant in 1795 writes of world society in the form of republic-states as ideal models of peace. The basic elements of Kant’s plan include the existence open federations for voluntary membership of each state; dispute resolution congress; non-existence of permanent military power; the impossibility of territorial changes to which it would have come by occupation, inheritance or acquisition; inability to borrow for external needs; non-interference of the state in the internal affairs of another state; the right to self-determination; the right to world citizenship for all persons and freedom of movement through states which would be established I the universal law of hospitality.⁴

The American William Ladd in his work Essay on a Congress of Nations of 1840, talks about the establishment of a Congress of Nations and Court of Nations with legislative and judicial powers, through the development and implementation of international law. The Congress, would be composed of ambassadors, would have unanimously passed laws in the form of an agreement. The Court would have considered cases brought by both parties to the dispute and applied the principle of international law, if any, or the principles of fairness and justice. According to Ladd, this content has no executive powers because it was believed that public opinion is enough guarantee for the execution of acceptable decisions. Ladd was striving for the release of permanent military machinery. According to the rule he claimed that people respect the law mostly because of public opinion, not because of coercion.⁵

However, the result of these ideas in the practice of governance has been neglected. The increase in the number of international institutions came during the XIX and XX century. The development of international organizations was slow for several reasons. The strengthening of state power, rivalry through wars and colonial conquests as well as intensity were the characteristics of the XVII-XVIII centuries. These tendencies were complemented by philosophies which emphasized individualism. Implemented in states, emphasizing individualism as a rule is more appropriate for reinforcing rivalry than cooperation.

Early attempts for international organization

2.1 Empirical thoughts
The reaction to the danger posed by Napoleon for the European system in that time, represents an important moment for the development of international organizations. The great and medium sized European powers, acting alone or together with the ad hoc alliances formed, failed to destroy or defeat Napoleon. Because of this, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary were forced to form a coalition. Within the coalition these states had joined forces and coordinated their strategic responses to Napoleon’s advance. This coalition has introduced the concept of collective security which will later be incorporated into the League of Nations Covenant and the Charter of United Nations. Immediately after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the coalition included France in the organized European leadership and world structures by the great powers. Thus, the Concept given for Europe has resulted in several conferences in which the governments of the countries involved, have attempted to manage potential crises and conflict situations, as well as to legitimize the use of military force to maintain conservative order in the post- Napoleonic Europe. In addition, agreements were concluded on trade and economic cooperation in Central Europe, such as the establishment of a body which had the task of regulating the issues of navigation on the rivers Elbe and Rhine ( in 1821 respectively 1831).⁶

In some areas the transition time from the XIX century to the XX century is a period of creation, but also achieving practical affirmation of international organizations and codification of international law. The

³ Karen A. Mingst S. 205
⁴ Armstrong/ Lloyd/ Redmond  2009, S.10-12
economical-technical development from the middle of XIX century imposed on states the need and interest in regulating bilateral relations with the application of international law. It is precisely a phenomenon of a large number of issues which states could no longer resolve independently but were obliged to cooperate within the international community. Bilateral international agreements could no longer satisfy the ever-increasing needs of nations. Because of this, states, as subjects of international law, reinforced the practice of concluding multilateral international agreements. In this way the use of international law in the regulation of interstate relations was expanded. The implementations of provisions of these agreements have strongly caused the formation of international organizations with the help of which this implementation has been facilitated.

The first international organizations and world security

3.1 Organization of World Order

The first international organizations were born as a reflection new practice and quality in international relations. This is the period of XIX century when the states open to each other and the greatest cooperation between them begins. We have such first attempts in the must current activities of that time in the international community. Then the International Telecommunication Union was formed in 1865, The Universal Postal Union in 1874, The International Bureau of Weights and Measures in 1875, the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property in 1883, the International Union for The Protection of Literary and Artistic Works in 1886, International Union for the Proclamation of Custom Tariffs 1890 and Central Office for International Rail Traffic 1890. These organization were the first permanent international organizations. First of all, in their activity, the non-political sphere of their mutual communication in the international community is present.

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7 Karen A. Mingst S. 205-210
8 System der internationalen Regierungsorganisationen, in: 
The first international organization with the universal dimension and general world competencies in all spheres of social life (economic, social, political) was the League of Nations, formed in 1919 after the end of the First World War. In fact, the League Charter has been an integral part of the Versailles peace agreement. The League of Nations has aimed to strengthen international peace and security in the world. Formed in the light of the catastrophic consequence of the First World War, the League should have been in a position to prevent wars and aggressions, but it did not have the appropriate mechanism available for this purpose. The outbreak of World War II practically marked the end of this international organization. The period after World War II is characterized by an intensive strengthening of the process of globalization, with which international organizations gain even greater specific weight in the functioning of the world order. The integrative powers of the world are strengthened, while telecommunication and transport technologies are intertwined and become a tool and network for economic, financial and commercial activities at the planetary level. The Internet, CNN and MTV contributed to unequal equal contact among the society but still stronger global contact between people. Ideas and knowledge are becoming more and more global, and people are more drawn into politics and the reality of the social and cultural world. At the same time, the “problems” are becoming global: environmental pollution and degradation, global migration and emigration, more and more weapons of mass destruction, migrants and asylum seekers as a result of political and social events in many countries with conflict, violence and injustice. All these forces and tendencies go beyond individual borders of states and lead to the conclusion that they can be managed only by using global ways and mechanisms. This is the field of action and responsibility of international organizations. Their growth is evident – today over 200 countries are members of UN, 25 of which or 14% of the total number were born after 1990.

Conclusio

The international organization is not presented as supranational or supranational creation which can make decisions against the will of the member states of the organization. But it would be wrong to conclude that joint action and decisions agreed and taken jointly are exclusively a summary and expression of the will of the member states and that in them there are no great opportunities for different actions of the subjects. International organizations are a complex and multidimensional phenomenon of contemporary society. From this fact derive two consequences during the attempt for closer research as well as the discovery of their essence: first, their complex and multidimensional character and nature presupposes the commitment of more scientific disciplines. The multidisciplinary approach to the “international organization” phenomenon makes the scientific endeavour long and difficult; second, this nature of international organizations complicates the very effort to learn their essence and to set the boundaries of their importance and social impact.

However, scientific perseverance tends to overcome both difficulties and provide data based on which international organizations with their depths and dimensions will become known in the social reality. In this regard, the opinions of the most authors who deal with the problems of international organizations and forms of their manifestation and functioning are also interesting.

World practice is also evidence of contrary behaviour of certain entities from those contained in the agreement. However, the same practice shows that additional efforts are needed and measures that would further strengthen the mechanisms of cooperation and specific creation for decision-making would increase the degree of compliance of the will of all entities and at the same time, the joint activity of the members of international organizations would achieve mutual benefit which would be obvious. In this way, international organizations are imposed as unsurpassed creators of an efficient and quality system of international relations.

Literatur

The political process of state formation of Kosovo from the establishment of the international protectorate to Independence.

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Abstract: After the signing of the Rambouillet Agreement, NATO bombing began, where the citizens of Kosovo are forced to leave their territory. The March 2004 riots, which began in the northern part of Mitrovica, after the killing of two Albanian children, led to the burning of some Orthodox churches in some parts of Kosovo by some protesters. Following this situation, the UN Secretary General, Mr. Kofi Annan, charged the Norwegian Mr. Kai Eide for a report, which would reflect the situation in Kosovo. This act sent Kosovo to oversee the administration of the United Nations. UN issues Security Council “Resolution 1244”, placing Kosovo under UN protectorate. In terms of "de jure", Kosovo remained part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to this Resolution, the UN was responsible for civil administration, while NATO was responsible for the security of the territory.

It is alleged that the friendly countries that helped Kosovo in 1999 wanted to avoid including the term "Yugoslavia" in the resolution, but Russia, through its veto power in the Security Council, included this term in the Resolution. In December 2003, the International Community, through the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Harry Holkeri, sent to Kosovo a document known as the "Standards for Kosovo". The document contained the main tasks that Kosovo had to accomplish by 2005 and then initiate the determination of Kosovo's final status. Following this Report, the Kosovo-Serbia negotiation process and the finalization of Kosovo status were opened. Meanwhile, Ahhtisar's plan, the special envoy for the status of Kosovo, according to analysts, sent Kosovo towards independence, on February 17, 2018.

Keywords: Rambouillet Agreement, Resolution 1244, International administration and the role of the SRSG, Kosovo-Serbia negotiations, Mr. Kai Eide's Report on Kosovo, Declaration of Independence, Kosovo's Independence.

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Entry

In the time of Dardania, before Christ, when the Dardanian Kingdom was thriving, the Illyrian people in these areas had a state administrative organization, which also took care of the security, welfare and stability of the neighbors. For this purpose, King Batto fed a military reserve of about 20,000 people to help the neighbors, in case their security was threatened.

While the fall of the Dardanian Empire and the later periods of the Slavic invasion towards the Illyrian lands, the history of the Albanians, until the formation of the state, is heavy and bloody.

Since the breaking of the Russo-Turkish war front 1877-78, in the Battle of Marica, in favor of Russia, the Albanian people in the Balkans have continued to decline. The invasion of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, by the Albanians was followed by many battles and unequal wars, where the Albanians strongly resisted. The most famous and most glorious period, was that of Skanderbeg, where for 20 years the Albanians became the “scapegoat”, they did not allow this empire to violate the gates of European countries.

These sacrifices of the Albanians were not considered at all by the Peace Conferences in Berlin and London (19th century). The formation of the states in the Balkans took place under the auspices of Russia after its victory over the Ottoman Empire. The Russian protectorate over the Orthodox in the Balkans, according to the Turkish-Russian agreement, became politically influential, influencing the independence of the Slavic states with an Orthodox religious element in order to control them. These states were Serbia, Montenegro,
Greece (although not a Slavic state, the determinant of its independence was the influence of the Orthodox element), Bulgaria.

It is worth mentioning that according to the Serbian press and historiography of this time, this period marks the genocidal expulsion of more than 300 thousand Albanians from the Nis Valley. Albanians of the Islamic faith were oriented to Turkey, where according to Slavic Orthodox, those with Islamic religious education were to be expelled from their homes to Turkey. While the Orthodox Albanians, according to the religious principle, had to accept the Serbian language and their education was allowed and controlled by the Orthodox Church. The church was run by the state, where the agitation center was located in Russia. It was the same with the Albanians of the Orthodox faith in Greece. The Greek language and the Greek Orthodox religious teaching were decisive for the assimilation of the Orthodox Albanians in Greece.

While the Catholic preaching and teaching through Latin was also permitted. Found ghettoized, in these three religious’ ramifications, millions of Albanians, violently, under fire and bayonets, persecuted by their newly arrived neighbors, were displaced from their homes. Albanians were only Albanians, they were not Greeks, they were not Turkish-Arabs or Serbo-Slavs. The Albanian language was not allowed neither in churches and mosques, nor in schools. By secret and open agreements, the new states cleared the territory, washing it with Albanian blood and where there had never been Serbia and Greece, Bulgaria and Montenegro under the influence of Russia and in reconciliation with the Bosphorus smur, Illyrian – Albanian lands were partitioned and divided. This tragedy was repeated at the end of the twentieth century ('98'99), in the Kosovo War, but now in completely new circumstances. The tactic of scorched earth, cleansing of the territory and genocide, again weighed on the heads of this people, from Slavic orthodoxy again with the “amen” of Russia. During this war also, the Joint Declaration of the Serbia-Russia-Belarusia, Russia union was signed again. So with the same mentality and action of the last century XVIII and XIX, but with a different packaging tactic. Every fighter who left in war in Kosovo was preferred to be blessed in the Church, to kill, massacre, rape and humiliate as many innocent citizens as possible. Deep in history are the bloody roots of the beginning of the state formation of Kosovo, historical turning point occurred in the Kosovo War, during the years 98 and 99. From this time, in the continuation of the article we will address some spicy aspects of the state formation of Kosovo until our days.

Rambouillet Agreement

The Rambouillet conference marks one of the most important events in the recent history Kosovo. For the first time the issue of Kosovo was internationalized, and as a result did not lose its importance. The development of events in Kosovo helped the international community of understand the true nature of the conflict in Kosovo: “The fact that Albanians are not terrorists, but victims of Serbian aggression and wage a self-defense and liberation war”. From 6 to 24 February 1999 in Rambouillet, France and from 15 to 18 March 1999 in Paris, at the initiative of the international community, a conference was organized, aimed at reaching a peaceful agreement between Serbs and Albanians for Kosovo.

The Conference approved the Agreement, which sanctioned the ending of violence in Kosovo, free and democratic elections under the UN supervision, the resolution of problems through dialogue, the preservation of the sovereignty and integrity of the remaining Yugoslavia, the substantial self-government of Kosovo, the protection of rights of all national communities in Kosovo, a three – year period for resolving the final status of the Kosovo issue and international participation of the United Nations in the implementation of the Agreement. The Yugoslav delegation, led by Serbian Prime Minister M. Milutinovic, refused to sign the agreement.

The agreement left the way open for a transition from substantial self-government to Kosovo’s independence. The Serbian side realized that Kosovo was slipping out of its hands and moving towards independence.

To counter such a circumstance, Serbian President S. Milosevic agrees to face NATO bombing. Through this action, he incited the feelings of nationalization of the Serbian people, considering the confrontation with NATO as a nationalist resistance. Meanwhile, more than that for S. Milosevic, this case was more suitable for the complete ethnic cleansing of Albanians. To stop the military and state violence against the Albanians, on March 24, 1999, the NATO bombing of Kosovo began, which continued for 78 days. On
June 12, 1999, Serbian troops withdrew from Kosovo and NATO forces were welcomed as liberators of Kosovo.

The purpose of the conference was to provide a political solution to the conflict or, as the document itself suggest, an interim agreement on peace and self-government in Kosovo. The mechanism for a final settlement of the Kosovo issue included in this document predicted that 3 years after entering into force of the agreement, an international meeting will be held, to determine a mechanism for final solution for the Kosovo issue based on the will of the people of the relevant authorities, the efforts of each party regarding implementation of the agreement, and the Helsinki Final Act.

Instead, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, in a letter sent to the Kosovo delegation “inter alia”, says that we consider this proposal as a confirmation of the right of the people of Kosovo to have a referendum for the final status of Kosovo after three years.

On March 18, 1999, the Agreement was signed by Albanian representatives, but not by their Serbian counterparts. It was highlighted that this agreement was concluded und the auspices of the members of the Contact Group and the European Union, taking into account the connection of these to respect this agreement.

Also, as well as the fact sheet document, issued March 18, 1999 by the Bureau of European Affairs, US Departments of State, Washington D.C suggests that the Rambouillet Agreement Accords provide a three (3) year interim agreement that would ensure democratic self-government, peace and security for all those living in Kosovo.

The agreement stipulates that the final settlement of Kosovo’s status will be determined based on the will of the people of Kosovo. Despite the fact that this agreement was not signed by Serbia, Security Council, Resolution 1244 referred to it. The relevant part of Annex I of the resolution, listing a number of general principles for the political solution of the Kosovo crisis, adopted at the G8 Foreign Ministers’ meeting, held at the Peterberg Center on May 6, 1999, states that: A political process towards the establishment a framework of the Interim Political Agreement, which ensures considerable self-government for Kosovo, taking into account the Rambouillet Agreement, and the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and other Countries in the region, including the demilitarization of the “KLA”. This point, the point 6 of Annex I of the Resolution 1244, respectively the point 7 of Annex 2 of this resolution is still in the text, which on June 3 have accepted the Rambouillet Agreement. NATO military intervention is made to accept the Rambouillet Agreement, in its Chapter – 7 – Annexes – Annex B: Status of multinational implementing forces, point 8 guarantees that: “NATO personnel, will have together with its vehicles, aircraft carriers and vehicles, free unrestricted movement and unhindered entry throughout the FRY, including its airspace and territorial waters”.

Resolution 1244

Resolution 1244, adopted on 10 June 99 by the Security Council, in its 4011th meeting. In support of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. Recalling Resolutions 1160 (1998) of 31 March, 1199 (1998) of 23 September 1998, 1230 (1998) of 24 October 1998 and 1239 (1999) of 14 May 1999. In regret that the resolution demands have not been fully implemented, determined to resolve the grater humanitarian situation in Kosovo, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to ensure the free and safe return of all refugees and displaced persons from their homes. Condemning acts of violence against the people of Kosovo, as well as all acts of terrorism by any party. Recalling the Secretary – General’s Declaration of 9 April 1999, in which he expresses concern about the humanitarian tragedy taking place in Kosovo.

Reaffirming the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in safety. Recalling the jurisdiction and mandate of the International Court of Justice for the former Yugoslavia. Welcoming the general principles for a political solution to the Kosovo crisis, adopted on 6 may 1999 (S/1999/156, annex 1 of this resolution) and also welcoming the acceptance by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of the principles set out in point 1 to 9, of the document submitted to Belgrade on 2 June 1999 (S/1999/156, annex 1 to this resolution), as well as the FRY’s consent to that document.
Reaffirming the commitment of all member states for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the FRY and other states in the region, as set out in the Helsinki Final Act and Annex II. Reaffirming the referral in previous resolutions for substantive autonomy and meaningful self-government for Kosovo. Determining that the situation in the region continues to pose a threat to international peace and security, determined to ensure the safety of international personnel and the implementation by all parties involved – of their responsibilities under this resolution and acting for these purposes according to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations:

“Decides that the political solution to the Kosovo crisis to be based on the general principles set out in Annex I and as further elaborated on the other principles and elements required in Annex II”.

The acceptance by the FRY of the principles and other elements required in the above Annex requires the full cooperation of the FRY for their prompt implementation.

It requires in particular for the FRY to end immediately and verifiably, in stages, the military, police and paramilitary forces, on the basis of a set schedule, with which will synchronize the establishment of the international security presence in Kosovo.

The resolution requires the Secretary-General to appoint, in consultation with the Security Council, a Special Representative to oversee the implementation of the civilian presence, and further requests that the Secretary-General will instruct his Special Representative to co-operate closely with the international security presence in order to ensure that both parties will act for the same goals and support each other mutually.

The resolution authorizes the Secretary-General with the assistance of other relevant international organizations, to establish an international civilian presence in Kosovo, in order to establish an interim administration for Kosovo, under which the people of Kosovo may enjoy substantial autonomy, within the FRY, and which will ensure the transitional administration as it establishes and oversees the development of interim democratic self-governing institutions to ensure conditions for a normal and peaceful life for all the inhabitants of Kosovo.

International Administration and the role of the SRSG

The international administration in Kosovo, defined by Resolution 1244, was of a temporary nature and aims to create appropriate democratic conditions for the resolution of Kosovo’s final status. This model is specific to the fact that, because equivalent to eliminating the causes of the crisis and interethnic hostilities, to solve the source of the crisis and enable a long-term political and status solution to the crisis. The resolution promotes the concept of self-government for Kosovo, substantial state powers are reserved and exercised by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), which is the final authority in the functioning of Kosovo’s government, in its three forms: legislative, executive and judicial.

The international presence would be “controlled” by a special representative of the UN Secretary-General. Whereas the military presence established by member states and international organizations, would coordinate closely with civilian presence, but would not be under the control of the UN Secretary-General.

During the first phase of international rule, by the UN Special Representative (SRSG), Bernard Kouchner Kosovar actors mainly had the power of consultation. However, relatively quickly, the second phase began, which in 2000 created the joint temporary administrative structure. It consisted of twenty departments with responsibilities for civil administration. These departments were headed jointly by a foreign and a local official. Added to this was the holding of municipal elections and the establishment of local self-governments by the end of 2000 (or 2001 to be exact). The third phase provided conditioned self-government, which was to be fulfilled under the terms of the Constitutional Framework, which was adopted in 2001.

The SRSG reserved the general right to supervise the Interim Institutions and its officials, and to take the necessary measures whenever their actions were in conflict with Resolution 1244 or the Constitutional Framework.
The unique character of the SRSG’s role was also significant for the fact that he could “make” changes to the Constitutional Framework, either by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, or at his own discretion. This provision raised doubts about the character of the instrument as a “constitution” and instead confirmed its “sui generis” character.

The Assembly of Kosovo, the main legislative body of the Interim Self-Government, consists of 120 members elected by secret ballot, with a single Kosovo constituency. One hundred seats were divided proportionally, based on votes for parties and independent initiatives.

In should be added that twenty seats were reserved “for the additional representation of Kosovo non-Albanian communities”. Ten of them belonged to those who claim to be representative of the Serb-Kosovo community, the other seats were divided between the communities of: Romans, Ashkali, Egyptians, Bosnians, Turkish and Gorans.

The constitutional framework functioned relatively efficiently. However, it could not go beyond two structural aspects. The first was the inefficiency of the international administration, even though a lot of resources had been poured into it, it failed to control the major infrastructure issues that continued to plague Kosovo over the years. It was a little more successful in its attempt to build real governance institutions. This was not the merit of its capacity building programs that had to focus on new and different issues each year, but rather the will of the parties and local actors taking over the administrative functions, which resulted in the establishment of a relatively well-developed administrative system, at the time of independence, in the early 2008.

The other problematic issue had to do with ethnic relations. The Serb community in the territory maintained its ties with Belgrade and the Serbs were ghettoized by Belgrade’s influence. They often failed to become part of Kosovar institutions, and to participate in elections. This was mostly observed in territorially compact areas, mostly inhabited by ethnic Serbs, especially in North Mitrovica.

**The March riots**

On March 17, 2004, the riots that later became known as the “March Riots” began. The riots lasted for two days, killing 19 civilians, 11 of them were Albanians and 8 Serbs, while injuring over 900 people, mostly Albanians.

During these riots, which erupted throughout Kosovo after reports that two children had been killed in Ibar as a result of Serbian violence, but the cause of this tragedy was never fully clarified. As a result, many Serb houses and places of worship were burned, which were rebuilt with Kosovo budget funds.

Some children who survived later that night in front of the cameras confessed how they were chased by Serbs and that they were fleeing when their compatriots drowned in the river. The next day, March 17, protests began in many cities in Kosovo, where they quickly escalated into violence.

Several Serb houses and churches were burned during the riots. Something similar happened to Albanian home in Serb-majority areas. Serbs, as they did during the war with the state guidance, retaliate by burning some non-Albanian mosques in Serbia. Of the 19 people killed in the riots, 12 were Albanians.

The special diplomatic mission in Kosovo, UNMIK, in order not to ignite the situation did not tell the truth about what had happened. Serbs used the opportunity to block the aspirations of Kosovar politicians for a Kosovo with a multiethnic society.

These riots woke up many decision-makers, where everyone realized that in Kosovo, the situation cannot be improved without resolving the final status. The Secretary – General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan instructed the Norwegian, Mr. Kai Eide, to draft a report that would reflect the situation in Kosovo and the Balkans, where he met with the representatives of all political entities, communities and religions. In October 2005, the report requested by the Security Council was submitted.

Although this report highlighted many things that could be improved, it is recommended that the time has come to start negotiations on Kosovo’s final status. A few days later, Mr. Kofi Annan made the same recommendation to the United Nations Security Council.
On February 17, 2008, based on this proposal, Kosovo was declared an independent and sovereign state. The Constitution of Kosovo, which gives all competencies of the state, enters into force on June 15, 2008.

Mr. Kai Eide's Report on Kosovo

Based on the report of the Interim Mission of the Administration of Kosovo UNMIK, dated May 23, 2005, it requested a comprehensive review of the situation in Kosovo. The review dealt with the particular consideration as to whether the conditions for initiating and carrying out the future status process were met.

The UN Secretary General consulted with the governments of the Quint, the OSCE and NATO on this initiative, before coming out with his recommendations, with the Eides report.

However, these initial recommendations focused on strengthening UNMIK’s capacity and the responsibility of Kosovo’s local institutions, not just the potential status process. He added, however, that “progress in all these aspects is essential to the success and sustainability of any future status process, and only if progress is sufficient it will be possible to move gradually towards negotiations on the future status of Kosovo”.

On October 7, 2005, Eide’s ambassador reported to the Security Council that the fulfillment of different standards were not the same (one of a kind) but, nevertheless, the time had come to move towards status. Ambassador Eide added: “The process for the future status must be started carefully. All parties must gather and stay together throughout the status process. The end result should be stable and consistent”. No artificial deadlines should be set. “Once the process starts, it cannot be blocked, but it must be completed”.

This remark was ultimately key to building the status quo process. It seemed inevitable that the final status would lead to some form of independence or some camouflaged independence of Kosovo. This result, however, would be hardly acceptable to Belgrade. Therefore, the conviction was very clear from the beginning that the final solution could not be “blocked” if it was to be reached.

Therefore, a process should be built that would offer everyone a chance for an agreement, but in the end, would lead to a solution in the absence of Serbia’s consent.

On October 24, the Security Council authorized the start of the status process. The council strongly urged the Kosovo leadership to step up its efforts to implement the standards. However, the policy of “standards before status” had now lost credibility, and therefore gave another argument that Kosovo would like to adhere to certain standards, in it possible and future efforts to seek Euro-Atlantic integration.

The Council endorsed the Secretary-General’s opinion to launch a political process to determine Kosovo’s future status, as provided for in Resolution 1244 (1999). Affirming the framework of the Resolution, the Council welcomed and encouraged the Contact Group, consisting of France, Germany, Italy, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States, to be closely involved in the political process, “to lead from the UN and to support the Secretary-General’s Special Envoy for the future”.

In line with the Security Council, the Secretary – General appointed Martti Ahtisaari, the former President of Finland, who assisted in the final negotiation of NATO’s campaign against Yugoslavia as Special Envoy for the Kosovo final status process.

Negotiations of Kosovo and Serbia

The Secretary-General appointed Mr. Ahtisaari as special envoy in November 2005 to the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) on the future status process. His mandate had to be carried out in accordance with the ten guiding principles adopted by the Contact Group. In a statement issued by the Ministers of the Contact Group on 31 January 2006, it was stated that they expected Belgrade to take into account that the solution, among other things, should be acceptable to the people of Kosovo, and that the catastrophic policies of the past extend to the essence of current problems.

After fifteen months of UN-sponsored negotiations, Mr. Ahtisaari prepared a Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement, where he recommended that Kosovo’s status be “supervised independence”. The Special Envoy reported to the Secretary-General in 2007 (in the Ahtisaari Report) although he and his team “held intensive negotiations with the leaders of Serbia and Kosovo over the past years” to reach an
agreement. Political solution that determines the future status of Kosovo”, it became clear…. that the parties are not able to reach an agreement on the future status of Kosovo.

The Special Envoy reported that: “Both sides have reaffirmed their categorical, diametrically opposed positions”, stating that: “It is my strong view that the potential of the negotiations to produce a mutually acceptable outcome on the status of Kosovo”, is exhausted “No number of additional talks, regardless of format, will be able to overcome this deadlock”.

Noting that “the state of limbo of Kosovo cannot continue” as “the uncertainty over its future status is a major obstacle to Kosovo’s democratic development, accountability, economic recovery and interethnic reconciliation”, the special envoy concluded that: “The time has come to resolve the final status of Kosovo”.

Accordingly, he concluded as follows: “After careful consideration of Kosovo’s recent history, the reality of Kosovo today and given the negotiations with the parties, I have come to the conclusion that the only possible option for Kosovo it is independence for an initial period under the supervision of the international community”.

Comprehensive Proposal for Kosovo Status Resolution

(Ahtisaari Package)

The Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement, also known as the “Ahtisaari Package”, on March 2, 2007, was submitted to both parties (Kosovo-Serbia) in talks by the UN Secretary-General’s Special Envoy for the Kosovo status process, Martti Ahtisaari (diplomat and negotiator with international experience). On March 26, 2007, the UN Secretary – General sent to the UN Security Council the final version of the Comprehensive Proposal and the recommendation on the status of Kosovo, which considered that the only possible option was the independence of Kosovo, which for an initial period it would be overseen by the international community.

To reach this proposal during 2006, in Vienna, 15 rounds (sessions) of talks were held between the delegations of Kosovo and Serbia, which were led by Mr.Ahtisaari and Mr.Rohan, including the meetings between senior state officials of Kosovo and Serbia, held on July 24, 2006. Additional talks continued during 2007 in Vienna. The mediators were supported by the UN Office created specifically for these talks, named UNOSEK.

The talks covered a range of issues, mainly on decentralization (more than half of the meetings) and cultural heritage, while other issues were discussed less (eg on community rights was discussed two (2) times, while on economics only one time).

While the Kosovo delegation was quite cooperative and ready to seriously consider the issues raised in the talks, accepting a series of compromises, on the other hand the Serbian delegation showed no sign of cooperation and tried to win in time and sabotage the talks.

So, Kosovo made a series of concessions, especially in the area of decentralization – the creation of five (5) new Serb – majority municipalities: Gracanca, Klokot, Partesh, Ranillug and North Mitrovica, as well as
the significant expansion of the territory of the municipality of Novo Brdo, giving them increased competencies in terms of education (the use of Serbian curricula and textbooks in schools with teaching in Serbian and the University of Mitrovica with teaching in Serbian) cooperation with municipalities and institutions of the Republic of Serbia, health care, cultural heritage (protected areas for Orthodox churches and monasteries and the security sector, respectively police), this significantly exceeding their provisions of the European Chatter of Local Self–Government, the rights of communities (provision of special rights, in certain areas, based on the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities).

The Assembly of Kosovo, on April 5, 2007, adopted the Declaration on the Status of Kosovo, which supports the Comprehensive Proposal. Whereas, the Assembly of Serbia, through the resolution, rejects it. Meanwhile, due to open objections, in the first place of Russia, which warned that it will veto, where the draft resolution in support of the Comprehensive Proposal was not presented at all for a vote in the Security Council. To unlock this whole situation at the G-8th meeting in Heiligendamm (Germany), held on 6-8 June 2007, the President of France, Mr. Nicolas Sarkozy proposed additional talks, with a fixed deadline (120 days), and if even after this period there was no agreement between the parties, then the Security Council would support the Comprehensive Proposal. This proposal was rejected, as was the other softer draft resolution, which consisted of the possibility of additional talks within a 120–day period and which, regardless of their outcome after that period, would be replaced by an appointed UNMIK International civilian Representative from the EU, which would lead the European mission for security and protection and rule of law in Kosovo.

However, the initiative for additional talks was supported and in this context the Contact Group appointed the Troika of Negotiators in this composition: Wolfgang Ischinger from Germany as representative of the European Union, Frank Wiesner from the United States of America and from Russia Alexander Botsan–Harchenko.

The UN Secretary-General welcomed the initiative and requested a report from the troika by 10 December 2007 (after additional talks). As expected, this additional period of negotiations did not bring any news, as in fact both sides remained in their positions.

**Kosovo Declaration of Independence**

Kosovo’s Declaration of Independence, 17 February 2008, states that Kosovo is “a special case of the non-consensual dissolution of Yugoslavia and that it is not a precedent for any other situation”. In essence, “We, the leaders of our people, in full compliance with the recommendations of the United Nations Special Envoy, Martti Ahtisaari, and his Comprehensive Proposals for resolving the status of Kosovo”.

We declare Kosovo a democratic, secular and multi-ethnic republic guided by the principles of non-discrimination and equal protection under the law. We will protect and promote the right of all communities in Kosovo and create the necessary conditions for their effective participation in political and decision-marking processes.

“We hereby affirm in a clear, specific and irrevocable manner that Kosovo will be legally obliged to comply with the provisions contained in this declaration, including in particular its obligations under the Ahtisaari Plan. In all these matters, we will act in accordance with the principles of international law and the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, including Resolution 1244 (1999). “We publicly declare that all states have the right to rely on this statement and we appeal to them to offer their support and encouragement”

The declaration was adopted unanimously by 109 votes, including those of all non-Serb minorities. Ten representatives of the Serb community and one member of the Goran community boycotted the 120–member Assembly.

The declaration was drafted in collaboration with key governments that controlled its content. It was formed in a way that it had important legal implications for Kosovo. Using the important international notion of “unilateral declaration”, it created “egra omnes” legal obligations. These are legal obligations that can be requested to be acted upon. In this sense, an attempt was made to replace the binding character
of the Security Council Resolution deriving from Chapter VII, by imposing on itself the limitations of Kosovo’s sovereignty, according to the Ahtissari Plan. Given that Kosovo had not yet adopted its Constitution, according to the plan at the time of the declaration of Independence, this fact was of the particular importance.

The Serbian Parliament quickly adopted a decision seeking to annul the statement. Serbia and the Russian Federation also immediately protested at the international level, demanding an urgent Security Council meeting to discuss the Kosovo issue publicly. This meeting was opened by the UN Secretary General, who informed the meeting that the Assembly of Kosovo in fact, had UN Secretary General stressed that: “The Declaration confirmed that Kosovo fully accepted the obligations arising from the Comprehensive Proposal for the settlement and the continued observance of Resolution 1244”.

Kosovo independence

In the 9th year, under the UN-led transitional administration and after a series of unsuccessfully internationally mediated talks, convened in an extraoridinary meeting of February 17, 2008, the democratically elected representatives of the people of Kosovo declared “Kosovo an independent and sovereign state”, noting that this act reflects the will of our people and is in full compliance with the recommendations of the UN special envoy, Martti Ahtisaari, and his Comprehensive Proposal for a Settlement of the status of Kosovo”. Serbia raised the issue with the ICJ to attack “Kosovo’s independence as illegal in terms of international law”. In this regard, an advisory opinion was sought from the International Court of Justice, from the UN General Assembly, on the issue of the legality of the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo. The Court issued its advisory opinion on 22 July 2010, stating that, The International Court of Justice has concluded that: “The approval of the declaration of independence on 17 February 2008 did not violate any applicable rule of international law”.

CONCLUSIONS

During this topic, was highlighted a journey of many efforts, sacrifice, patience and cooperation of the people of Kosovo led by its leadership and the UNMIK administration, until the declaration of Kosovo’s Independence in coordination with the international factor.

Immediately after the deployment of the security forces - KFOR in Kosovo, the international protectorate of UNMIK's civil mission was established, where the priority goal was the reconstruction, security and preparation of the country for democracy and free elections.

Knowing that the country could not return to the past – to the administration of Belgrade, the international factor under the auspices of the US, until the declaration of independence organized a protracted negotiation process.

The negotiation process was led by the UN and EU Commissioner, Martti Ahtissari, who, in addition to organizing the negotiation process, also “formalized” the Constitutional Framework of the state of Kosovo, establishing additional rights for the Serb minority in the Constitution of Kosovo, otherwise known as the “Ahtiasar Package”.

Throughout the negotiation process, the Serbian side was always rejecting the process, for which as finalized, to not result with the right of the self-determination of the People of Kosovo. But, the beginning of the negotiations, had a basic principle, where it was stated that “no solution can be imposed on the people of Kosovo, and the final solution (negotiations) must be completed in accordance with the will of the people of Kosovo. In this way Ahtisaari prepared the Report for the Secretary General with the final proposal that Kosovo could declare its Independence which for a short time would be overseen by the international factor. The Serbian side rejected this proposal.

At the initiative of France, an additional deadline (120 days) of negotiations was requested, which, after a failure, was nevertheless accepted by the Contact Group and these negotiations would be led by the US-Germany-Russia trio. Germany represented the EU.

This additional deadline, which took place during 2007, did not bring anything new, because Serbia was always reluctant and the parties remain in their previous positions. Following the UN troika report, the
green light was given that Kosovo, in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter on Human Rights and Freedoms, could lead Kosovo to internationally supervised state-building.

2008 (February 17) brought the Declaration of Independence, which was rejected by Serbia and Russia, where Serbia filed a complaint with the International Tribunal for Justice, and an Opinion from this Tribunal was requested by the UN Secretary General, to ensure compliance this Declaration with International Law. The Court’s opinion of 2010, clarified that “Kosovo’s independence is not in contrary to the international law”.

We consider that the technical talks, held with Serbia, after the conclusion of the state formation of Kosovo and the positive confirmation of the ICJ, were unprepared, and from a technical process slipped into a political process, which brought Kosovo great damage and stifled the strengthening of our international subjectivity. Where Serbia was favored in this direction, even successfully used this process in undermining previous state-building processes, causing damage to the diplomatic, security and economic plans of Kosovo. All future talks must not prevail the sovereignty, integrity and acts already confirmed internationally, because they bring irreparable damage to the future of Kosovo and the Region.

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UN Commission on Human Rights. UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Special Rapporteur on the former Yugoslavia.
Public diplomacy and the case of Kosovo

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Abstract. Diplomacy is the main tool of foreign policy, but not the only. It also depends on the economic and military power of the state. However, diplomacy today in the 21st century has advanced a lot and is divided into several types. In addition to the classical or traditional form, today is known as very effective modern diplomacy, public and digital diplomacy.

In this scientific paper as a case study related with public diplomacy, is chosen Kosovo. The main purpose of this paper is related to public diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy and the adaptation of Kosovo's foreign policy to these types of diplomacy.

The materials elaborated in this paper mainly include local and international literature about the field of public diplomacy, but also from empirical research. The methodology applied in this scientific paper is mainly based on the analysis of these literatures and empirical research, i.e. it is used the analytical method.

The results expected from this paper are intended to show the types of diplomacy, mainly public diplomacy, and how Kosovo's foreign policy should use this type of diplomacy to advance the interests of the state and to improve its image.

With the conclusion of this paper, some concrete examples will be presented of how Kosovo has the opportunity to use public diplomacy, given that it is a small country, without military, economic and political influence and how it has often succeeded through public diplomacy.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Public diplomacy, Foreign policy, Kosovo, Image

Diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy and its types

Diplomacy is the main tool of foreign policy, but we should know that we have several types of diplomacy. It is important to show what diplomacy is as a concept including its role and function, then to show how it is divided.

Ever referring to Sir Harold Nicholson, “Diplomacy is the management of international relations through negotiation; the method by which these relations are repaired and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the work or craft of a diplomat”.[1] Also, diplomacy is a political activity, when it has at its disposal sufficient resources and tools with skilled and courageous personnel, which is a very important component and indicator of the power of the state.[2] The main goal of states is to achieve their goals through diplomacy, without using the force as a tool.[2] The essence of diplomacy has been and is the communication as the main and most powerful tool.[3] Modern diplomacy has its origin in the Italian peninsula, towards the end of the XV century. However, if its early origin is sought, then it can be found in the relations between the “great kings” in the Middle East, in the second millennium, or perhaps even earlier in the late fourth millennium BC.[2]

Developments that have taken place earlier in the world and developments that take place today in the time of globalization, have normally affected the aspect of diplomacy by dividing it into classical / traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy.
The fundamental difference between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy is clear: the first is directly related to relations between representatives of states, or other international actors, while the second is aimed at the general public in foreign societies and more specifically, non-groups -officials, organizations and individuals.[4] Diplomacy is traditionally described as a game where the roles and responsibilities of actors in international relations are clearly defined.[4] The role of diplomacy to improve the image of the country in the international arena is a matter of public diplomacy, which realizes this through its instruments, such as public relations and media.[5] Public diplomacy, works, promotes and is a tool of foreign policy, in order to influence but also to inform the foreign public on certain issues or on the general image of the state.[6]

Mediation and public diplomacy are used as a tool in various crises. Especially the latter, is seen as an opportunity for small states to be internationally factored.[7] Kosovo must use and maximize this great opportunity in order to achieve its objectives in the international arena, and especially to improve its image.

1.1 Theoretical aspect and principles of public diplomacy

In terms of theory, one of the theories of international relations which corresponds to studies on public diplomacy is the constructivist theory. According to this theory, elements such as: identities, social norms and culture, have a special importance in international relations.[6]

This means that public diplomacy is communication with the foreign public, with whom it is intended to build dialogue designed for information and influence.[8] Public diplomacy is about the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies where the dimensions of international relations extend beyond traditional diplomacy, communication between foreign diplomats and correspondents, as well as intercultural communication processes.[9]

Public diplomacy includes several principles, but among the most important are:[10]

- Public diplomacy is about listening (it is about listening and not speaking. It is the art of listening).
- Public diplomacy is related to politics, so listening is mainly related to political issues.
- Public diplomacy must be credible in order to be effective.
- Public diplomacy is not always related to you, so you need to use the media to place the message.
- Public diplomacy must respond to the challenges of the time of globalization.
- Public diplomacy has a high cost because it must have planning, training and resources (economic and human).

The case of Kosovo - the sports and cultural aspect

What has been said so far also applies to the case that we have taken as a case study, which is the "Case of Kosovo". Here we would like to single out some cases, especially the case of the judoka Majlinda Kelmendi who managed to take the first place and be declared European champions, but that this first place was more valuable because it was won in Russia. Russia, a country that supports the non-recognition of the state of Kosovo, was forced to raise the flag of Kosovo and sing the anthem of the state of Kosovo.[11]

After that, the success of judoka Kelmendi reached the culmination of winning the gold medal at the Rio 2016 Olympic Games.[12] These cases but also other cases like footballers of Albanian origin who play in the Swiss national team help promote the state of Kosovo and its image around the world, through sports as part of public diplomacy.

Over the years we have the admission of Kosovo in two international organizations with a sports character, which are UEFA[13] and FIFA[14], where Kosovo is being successfully represented with its football teams, with the flag and coat of arms of the state. The successful appearances of the Kosovo National Team in the football arena, have pushed the most popular international media such as Forbes, The Telegraph, BBC, ESPN, etc., to write about this success.[15] This success is evidenced by the emergence of first place in Group D-3 in the League of Nations.[16]
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo is also committed to conducting public diplomacy in the framework of foreign policy. He has done this by organizing studies, summer programs, conferences, etc.[17] Normally, these organizations are not enough because they are temporary, and what Kosovo needs is for public diplomacy to be a permanent part of our foreign policy.

The "diplomatic wealth" that Kosovo has with its people around the world, but also inside Kosovo, enables this new state to develop to a large degree public diplomacy, culture, sports, with figures like Majlinda Kelmendi, Dua Lipa, Rita Ora, etc. Normally, all this can be achieved by drafting state strategies through relevant institutions, where the cultural / artistic and sports values of this country would be promoted.

Survey results

In the framework of this paper, we have planned and conducted empirical research with questionnaires. This empirical work was intended to be carried out in a larger number of citizens of the country, as required by a serious research involving 1% of the country's population. However, due to epidemiological developments, precisely with the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, we have been forced to turn this empirical research into a mini-empirical research project involving only a few students in the field. A total of 334 respondents were included.

The questionnaire was conducted through the Google Docs program. Respondents were guaranteed complete anonymity and were told that the data would only be used for this scientific paper.

At the beginning of the questionnaire, profession, gender, age and place of residence were requested as basic standard data. Then a total of 6 questions / conclusions related to our research were asked. At the very end there is room for any additional comments, if any of the respondents wanted to add something about the topic or the questionnaire in general.

In the continuation of this part we will present and analyze in the form of graphs and comments each question / conclusion with the answers given.

As for the profession, everyone was a student and in this part we have the same answers.

Regarding gender, out of 334 only 245 respondents answered in this part, where we have 130 women or 53.1% and 115 men or 46.9%. In terms of age, out of 334 only 243 respondents answered in this part, where we have 184 of them belonging to the age of 18-25 years or 75.7% and 59 of them aged 26-40 years or 24.3%. The part where the place of residence was requested we have the following data: out of 334 only 237 respondents answered in this part, where we have 82 or 34.6% are from Prishtina, 34 or 14.3% from Mitrovica, 30 or 12.7% from Peja, 26 or 11% from Prizren, 24 or 10.1% from Ferizaj, 21 or 8.9% from Gjilan and 20 or 8.4% from Gjakova.

Here are the basic data of the respondents and below we will present and analyze each question / conclusion.

1. Do you think that public diplomacy is the main tool of foreign policy, especially of small states, without influential capacities in military, political and economic terms?

![Survey results graph](image)

To this question we have the following data:
- 293 out of 334 respondents or 87.7% agree,
- 22 out of 334 respondents or 6.6% disagree,
- 19 out of 334 respondents or 5.7% have no answer.

From these answers, we can conclude that the vast majority of respondents agree that public diplomacy is the main tool of foreign policy, especially small states, without influential capabilities in military, political and economic terms.
2. Kosovo needs to develop and use more public diplomacy.

In this conclusion we have the following data:
- 195 out of 334 respondents or 58.4% completely agree,
- 100 out of 334 respondents or 29.9% agree,
- 23 out of 334 respondents or 6.9% have no answer,
- 11 out of 334 respondents or 3.3% disagree,
- 5 out of 334 respondents or 1.5% do not agree at all.

From these answers, we see that our conclusion is consistent with that of the respondents, where the vast majority of them or almost all largely fully agree with this conclusion. A very small percentage disagree with our conclusion.

3. Is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo sufficiently engaged in the development and advancement of state interests in the international arena?

To this question we have the following data:
- 117 out of 334 respondents or 35% believe in the commitment of the Ministry,
- 198 out of 334 respondents or 59.3% do not believe in the commitment of the Ministry,
- 19 out of 334 respondents or 5.7% have no answer.

From these answers, we can conclude that most respondents do not agree that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo is sufficiently engaged in the development and advancement of state interests in the international arena.

4. Is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo sufficiently engaged in the development and advancement of public diplomacy?
To this question we have the following data:
- 48 out of 334 respondents or 14.4% agree,
- 268 out of 334 respondents or 80.2% disagree,
- 18 out of 334 respondents or 5.4% have no answer.

From these answers, we can conclude that the vast majority of respondents do not agree that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo is sufficiently engaged in the development and advancement of public diplomacy.

5. Evaluate the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo in the development and advancement of public diplomacy.

In this conclusion we have the following data:
- 81 out of 334 respondents or 24.3% give a poor assessment,
- 148 out of 334 respondents or 44.3% give a passing grade,
- 79 out of 334 respondents or 23.7% give a good rating,
- 17 out of 334 respondents or 5.1% give a very good rating,
- 9 out of 334 respondents or 2.7% give an excellent rating.

From these answers, we see that the assessment regarding the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo, in the development and advancement of public diplomacy, is weak or to some extent even transient.

6. Do you think that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo should use the human assets that Kosovo has around the globe to advance foreign policy, more precisely public diplomacy?
To this question we have the following data:

- 299 out of 334 respondents or 89.5% agree,
- 18 out of 334 respondents or 5.4% disagree,
- 17 out of 334 respondents or 5.1% have no answer.

From these answers, we can conclude that almost all respondents agree that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo should use the human assets that Kosovo has around the globe, to advance foreign policy, more precisely public diplomacy.

**Conclusion**

Among the many instruments or tools available to foreign policy to achieve its goal is diplomacy. Right at the beginning of this scientific paper, the question "what is diplomacy?" and "how is it divided?"

In the 21st century and in the era of globalization, normally the best form of diplomacy is public diplomacy. Especially, for countries that do not have the capacity or power to influence militarily, politically and economically other countries. Public diplomacy is the main tool to achieve the goals of small states, which in our case is a small state such as the Republic of Kosovo.

Globalization affects small and weak states by imposing on them the cultures of large and powerful states. Also, multinational corporations that have a global reach, manage to influence the policies and agendas of small countries, and Kosovo is no exception. For this reason, Kosovo, seeing that it has a lot of human potential, should use them for the development of foreign policy and public diplomacy. There are figures from all fields including sports, science, art, etc., who can be included and made part of the strategy for the development of public diplomacy and the success would be great.

That the state of Kosovo and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself should work and engage more about the country's image and the development of public diplomacy, was also proven by empirical research. The answers given by our respondents proved the fact that Kosovo, as the youngest state in Europe, without influential military, economic and political capacities, must necessarily and as soon as possible develop and advance public diplomacy.

As a conclusion of this paper we can say that after clarifying the difference between classical diplomacy and public diplomacy, and the cases when these two types of diplomacy were used, we realized that in the case of Kosovo the pillar of foreign policy should be public diplomacy because we have all the assets and opportunities in terms of the Balkan region to dominate in public diplomacy. At the same time, public diplomacy would help us improve the image of the country, promoting our artistic, cultural, sports, etc. values.

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The importance of public participation in building up democracies in former Yugoslav states. Case study: Kosovo and Croatia
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Abstract: There is a large body of scientific literature in social science and governmental documents which deals with abstract norms and principles for assessing and judging public deliberation and participation. Most all political scientists agree that public participation enriches democracy by helping to ensure better decision-making and strengthening politicians’ accountability to the people. But, what is the effect of public participation into transforming political systems, and what are the key factors that cause these transformations? These questions remain still unsolved completely. Through this article, the main purpose is to elaborate the effects of public participation on building up democracies (similarities and differences) in former Yugoslav states, Kosovo and Croatia, by analyzing the Transformation Index BTI, Croatia and Kosovo Country Reports and also Varieties of Democracies - Public Variables on Public Participation for Kosovo and Croatia. The hypotheses raised are based in transformation studies that put an effort on explaining the importance of public participation in different political changes, especially on bringing up democratic values. Given a history that in many respects can be considered similar, Kosovo and Croatia as two states that built the legal framework based on the principles of the European Union, seem to have their differences in the development of democracy with a focus on public participation in decision-making that are rated very differently into the Transformation Indexes. Keywords: public participation, democracy, Kosovo, Croatia, transformation

Introduction
In countries emerging from war and conflict, building democracy is a multi-factor process. But the most important factor is civic activism and public participation in building democracy. There are many ways to do this, which will be further elaborated in this paper, however, the purpose of this paper is to highlight how the countries of the former Yugoslavia have prospered in democracy through civic participation in politics, and such an action has had effect in practice. Croatia and Kosovo have a past that coincides in many respects, especially in historical and political terms, yet as two countries emerging from the great Yugoslav state; both have prospered on their path to Euro-Atlantic integration and also in building democracy. After the end of the wars, it is important to analyze their path in this process, to see how certain policies that have encouraged public participation in policy-making have influenced the advancement of democracy in the country. Through this article, the main purpose is to elaborate the effects of public participation on building up democracies (similarities and differences) in former Yugoslav states, Kosovo and Croatia, by analyzing the Transformation Index BTI, Croatia and Kosovo Country Reports and also Varieties of Democracies - Public Variables on Public Participation for Kosovo and Croatia. The hypotheses raised are based in transformation studies that put an effort on explaining the importance of public participation in different political changes, especially on bringing up democratic values.

Theorical approach on public participation and democracy
There is a large body of scientific literature in social science and governmental documents which deals with abstract norms and principles for assessing and judging public deliberation and participation. Public participation is the bedrock on which democracy rests. It enriches democracy including by helping to ensure better decision-making and strengthening politicians’ accountability to the people. Today, people increasingly engage in conventional and unconventional political actions. Conventional actions refer to classical modes of political action like voting, petitions and membership in parties, whereas unconventional actions add demonstrations, flash mobs, critical consumption, protest marches and other forms of (digital) protest, squatting, and civil disobedience. As the authors Achen and Bartels argue in Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government, that in the conventional view, democracy begins with the voters. Ordinary people have preferences about what their government should do. They
choose leaders who will do those things, or they enact their preferences directly in referendums. In either case, what the majority wants becomes government policy—a highly attractive prospect in light of most human experience with governments.[2] Public authorities have a responsibility to provide education, information and encouragement for public participation. [3] In difference on conventional view, Democratic systems provide, in addition to the classic, conventional, a variety of unconventional forms (Kaase 1992, 148), unconstitutional (Uehlinger 1988, 110) or activist/extra-parliamentary (Ekman and Amnå 2012, 295) forms of political participation. To set the political agenda or to exert political influence, the citizens participate in unconventional activities (mostly in different forms of protest actions). Those forms of political participation appear as a "spontaneous or planned mobilization process outside of institutionalized framework" of the state, thus, in relative distance from party-based political institutions (Kaase 2000) hence occur as more themed and issues-focused (Kersting 2008, 24). [4]

Transformation studies put an effort on explaining the importance of public participation in different political changes, especially on bringing up democratic values. Following key factors for successful democratization in Central and Eastern European countries including former Yugoslav states that absence of a credible alternative to liberal democracy; wide change of elites via democratic elections; relative strong establishment of civil society and their active role in the regime change; and perspective of EU accession as general orientation for reforms. [5] All these examples have happened in Kosovo and Croatia, which will be my case studies of this analysis, with the focus of how public participation is affecting their democratic system to be further developed.

Yugoslavia collapse has influenced development of democracy in Kosovo and Croatia

As for the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a steady and increasingly violent process of disintegration of a multiethnic state that prided itself for bringing harmony and stability to a traditionally fractious region. Yugoslavia’s collapse had two primary patterns of breakdown. One pattern, seen in Slovenia and Macedonia, was largely peaceful, leading to little ongoing conflict. The other pattern, seen in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosovo, was one of ethnic warfare, massacres, war crimes, and conflict resolution imposed from the outside by foreign powers. [6] Specially, the second example shows that the large engagement of public was determining the historical/political changes happen before/after the existence of Yugoslavia. Also, it brings in front line the importance of public participation on initiating and differentiating public policies and political narratives.

However, three decades after Yugoslav disintegration, all the states are formally democratic countries: In Kosovo and Croatia especially, there are regular multi-party elections, apparent separation of powers, established democratic institutions and democratic language. Still, there is a need to distinguish between the institutions and formal procedures of democracy and actual implementation. Accountable governments, checks and balances, rule of law and freedom of speech are largely absent from political practices in the region. [7]

Current situation of democracy development through public participation

Even though, Kosovo and Croatia have incorporated the International conventions and rules into their constitution system, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, article 25 [8] of which states that every citizen has the right and opportunity to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; Have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country. Both countries lack on increasing public participation in different levels of governance.
Civil participation can occur during different times of election and in-between elections, during the various stages of development of policies and laws. Still comparing the results of ten years, there are low levels of public participation in political decision-making processes, including elections, as well as low interest in participating, due to limited trust in government and democracy.

However, the low level of participation of citizens and CSOs in the decision-making and policy-making process is not only related to the access of institutions, but also to the culture of participation and the capacities of civil society. This low level of civic activism greatly affects the process of participation in decision-making and policy-making. The quality of a government depends largely on social norms and civic engagement. The networking and cooperation of citizens in a society is also known as social capital. Researchers have found numerous links between societies which have a high level of social engagement or civic networking, with better public policies and more efficient governance.

As for the election, as the direct democracy through which citizens chose the authority to govern the state, both, in Croatia and Kosovo, the election turnout is low, and there is no trust in elected political representatives’ abilities or willingness to act in public interest in both states.

As presented in the figure from V-dem Institute, similar to Croatia, also in Kosovo the election turnout remains equivalent throughout the years. There is no in-depth analyses why the results are remaining almost constant, but the dissatisfaction with the governance remains the most mentioned cause.

Based on Transformation Index BTI 2018, Croatian elections for the national parliament local and regional self-government units, and presidency can be rated as free and fair. Generally, the legal framework of political-party and electoral-campaign financing is well-structured, but the enforcement of legal provisions and effective legal sanctioning of violations of law is weak. Croatia has 10 electoral districts, each electing 14 members of parliament. The eight remaining members of parliament are elected by
national minorities (with three seats reserved for the Serb minority). Three additional members of parliament are elected by Croatian citizens with no permanent residence in Croatia (the diaspora).

The democratically elected representatives possess an effective power to govern. As the social partnership system in place in Croatia is only partially efficient, strong groups such as the most powerful entrepreneurs, war veterans and representatives of the Catholic Church exercise influence over many important political decisions. Croatian citizens face no limitations when organizing themselves into political or civil initiatives. Freedom of expression is constitutionally guaranteed, but occasionally subject to interference.

Kosovo has held six parliamentary elections since the 1999 war. While Kosovo Serbs from northern Kosovo boycotted subsequent local and national elections, in the rest of Kosovo the Serbian population has increasingly participated in and run for seats in the National Assembly. The spending of public funds on election campaigns and the use of media controlled by the government or political parties are considered standard practice.

According to the constitution the freedom of association and gathering is guaranteed. More than 7,000 civic organizations/NGOs are active in Kosovo, especially on municipal policy, corruption and environmental issues.

The problem remains that interference in NGOs’ activities, is still common. Street protests are a frequent means of putting pressure on the government. Freedom of expression and media is guaranteed by the constitution. Freedom of expression can only be limited by law and the decision of the Independent Media Commission (IMC). But many journalists believe that the IMC’s decisions are of a rather political nature.

**Conclusion**

Given a history that in many respects can be considered similar, Kosovo and Croatia as two states that built the legal framework based on the principles of the European Union, seem to have their differences in the development of democracy with a focus on public participation in decision-making. Croatia has advanced...
both in the area of free elections and association, having a democratization with an indexation of 8.4 out of 10 in total, yet it still needs to develop incentive policies for elections and civic activism to keep the government accountable and transparent.

On the other hand, although the electoral system in Kosovo has advanced, frequent elections do not help increasing the election turnout. Many political issues have often provoked protests and instability. Also, although freedom of association is guaranteed by law, many entities are still considered not independent to act, therefore the democracy indexation is 6.5, out of 10 in total.

As a result, this paper has reflected that in both countries mentioned above, there is still a low level of citizen participation in the decision-making and policy-making process, which is not necessarily related only to the approach of the institutions, but also to the culture of participation and the capacities of the civil society. Therefore, in the future, government institutions should feel obliged to invest in the strengthening of civil society. Because this would consequently affect the change of social mentality, and that would affect the increase of interest in participation in decision-making and political processes. Thus, consequently, the general social climate would be improved, which would have an even greater impact on social activism.

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Abstract In the first half of the year 2020 we have witnessed a pandemic spread all over the globe. The harmful impacts of Covid-19 on the health of humans that could end in “death-penalty” were tried to be prevented by locking down almost all businesses/economy except the medical sector and businesses that offer essential goods and bakery. The lock-down had massive negative effects on the businesses that were effecting therefore global economy is facing a recession. The main aim of this paper is to understand the policymakers’ decision towards the “Covid-19 first era” by tuning economical tools such as lower interest rate by central bank; justifying tax & fiscal policies; cut the government spending; the lock-down and the post-pone of the utility payments (roll over debt), rents and other regular payment such as loans (don’t pay debts) which will hibernate the economy. Furthermore, this paper elaborates the economical tools that should be taken in concern in order to overcome the pandemic recession also known as “the post “Covid-19 first era”. This paperwork objectives are defined through dependable, intermediary and independent variables, in order to overcome the hibernation of the country’s economy. The Covid-19 impact in Kosova economy’s to overcome the recession through sustainable pro-jobs investment, fair taxation and other economical tools such as Remittance and Kosova Pension Trust Fund, in order to accelerate the economy.

Keywords: Policymaker, economy, loan, debts, tax & taxation, unemployment, remittance & trust. JEL classification codes: H11, I15, H81, H63, H2, E42, F42, J32.

OBJECTIVES OF THIS PAPER WORK

This paperwork objective focuses in the impacts of Covid-19 that enable the policymakers to make the decisions that will hibernate the economy, case study Kosova. The independent variable of this paper is the decision of policymakers, through intermediate: Central Bank Interest rate; Tax & Fiscal Policies; Cut Government Spending; Lock-down of almost all Businesses/Economy expect the medical sector and businesses that offer essential goods and bakery, and the post-pone of the utility payments, rents and other regular payment such as loans, lead to the dependable variable the GDP and the employment. Therefore, the paperwork raised the following research questions and hypotheses:

1.2 QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS

This paperwork defines its research variables: The Decision of Policymakers is considered as the independent variable, the main central bank interest rate; tax & fiscal policies; cut governmental spending; the lock-down of almost all businesses/economy expect the medical sector and businesses that offers essential goods and bakery, and the post-pone of the utility payments, rents and other regular payment such as loans, lead to the dependable variable the GDP and the employment. Therefore, the paperwork raised the following research questions and hypotheses:
**Question:**
Q1  How Policymakers made a decision that hibernates the economy during the “Covid-19 first era” (March-June 2020) in Kosova?
Q2  What are the main decisions that Policymakers should take to improve the economy post “Covid-19 first era” in Kosova?

**Hypotheses:**
H1  In order to overcome the “Covid-19 first era” the decisions of the Policymakers in Kosova were to lower interest rate by central bank; tax & fiscal policies; cut the Government spending; the lock-down of almost all businesses/economy expect the medical sector and businesses that offers essential goods and bakery, and the post-pone of the utility payments (roll over debt), rents and other regular payment such as loans (don’t pay debts) to hibernate the economy.

H2  In order to improve the economy from recession known as “the post Covid-19 first era” the decisions of the Policymakers should focus on sustainable pro-jobs investment, fair taxation and other economical tools such as: Remittance and Kosova Pension Trust Fund in order to accelerate the economy.

**THE ART OF LITERATURE**

2.1  Covid-19 in Kosova

In order to understand the speed and time of the Covid-19 spread (Ostrowsky, 2020) pointed out: “*The coronavirus pandemic and the economic fallout affecting millions of citizens in record time*” (p.16).

Therefore, the policymakers’ action was ad-hoc decision with no analyses nor comparisons, whereas according to the (IMF, 2020) statement that the background of Kosova: “*Number of confirmed COVID-19 cases has reached 1,298 with 913 been recovered and 31 deaths as of June 11. Containment measures taken by the government in order to delay the spread of the coronavirus include temporary suspension of educational process on all levels, closures of all non-essential businesses, social distancing, travel and movement restrictions.*” (p.110).

**Figure 1 Total cases of Covid-19 in Kosova**

Source: (Covid-19, 2020)

The figure one above, presents the data of Covid-19 era in Kosova and consequences on the public health for pre and post first recession era. Pre era is considered until 4 May 2020 and post era is from that date, hopefully we will not have call them the first and second era.
2.2 Policymakers Decisions Pre Covid-19 era

In order for one to understand the challenges that the policymakers had to face, one must understand the issues that they had to face during the Covid-19 era, (which are presented in the figure 2.) Policymakers decisions, below:

**Figure 2 Policymakers**

- **Lock-down of almost all Businesses/Economy expect the medical sector and businesses that offer essential goods and bakery**
- **Cut Government Spending**;
- **Central Bank Interest rate**;
- **Post-pone of the utility payments (roll over debt)**;
- **Post-pone rents and other regular payment such as loans (don’t pay debts).**
- **Tax & Fiscal Policies**;
- **GDP in Kosovo**
- **Employment rate. whereas this leads to the hibernation of**

Source: prepared by author (2020)

- **Lock-down of almost all businesses/economy expect the medical sector and businesses that offer essential goods and bakery**

Regarding the lock-down due to the Covid-19 the policymakers were forced to take such an action in order to protect the population’s health. In the context of the lock-down, (Begg, 2020) pointed out that: “the economic effect stems from the uneven incidence of the lock-down of economies. Aviation, tourism, leisure activities and non-food retail face an extended period of inactivity.” (p.1). Furthermore, (Jung, 2020) elaborated the consequences of the lock-down: “Due to the lockdown and related policies, government debt levels will increase significantly.” (p.1). Following the debts there are expected to be private and public debts due to the economic lock-down (Begg, 2020), (Jung, 2020), (Ostrowsky, 2020), and (Uka A., 2020).

- **Cut Government Spending**;

Due to the Covid-19 recession, the government/policymakers have seen the need to cut its own spending in order to fulfil the necessary immediate needs of society. In this context, (Jung, 2020) pointed out: “First, spending cuts – known as austerity – can help reduce the budget deficit and decrease the debt level over time.” (p.3) whereas, this government spending cut should be very carefully planned in order to not have side effect as (Jung, 2020) stated: “But the last ten years have proven that austerity is bad for the economy and terrible for society.” (p.3).

- **Central Bank Interest rate**;

In order to maintain economy and support various businesses, the Central Bank lowers its interest rates and with that the procedures for borrowings. Nevertheless, (Begg, 2020) pointed out that: “Coordinated action by central banks has seen interest rates slashed, vast new injections of liquidity, and renewed quantitative easing.” (p.1). Hence, (Jung, 2020) stated that the: “The Treasury can afford to borrow more because interest rates are very low” (p.1). Whereas in regards to the government borrowing (Jung, 2020) pointed out: “The government can afford to increase its debt level, because interest rates are close to zero – the lowest they have ever been.” (p.1). However, this economical tool is absent in Kosova and the policymakers/government cannot use due to the fact the Kosova is only user of the Euro value and is not a decision maker.

- **Post-pone of the utility payments (roll over debt), and post-pone rents and other regular payment such as loans (don’t pay debts).**
In order to understand the post-pone of payments especially loans payment, the (IMF, 2020) regarding the Monetary and Macro-Financial pointed out: “The Central Bank of Kosovo (CBK) together with the Kosovo Banking Association decided to suspend the payment of loan instalments for businesses and individuals starting from March 16 until April 30 and later on been extended to three months which end by mid-June. The CBK will apply regulatory forbearance on loan provisions and capital requirements on reprogrammed loans.” (p.112). According to (Begg, 2020) statement: “The fiscal stimulus packages, in varying ways, take account of these considerations, with a mix of grants, loans and loan guarantees... emergency loan funding for airlines and other directly hit sectors.” (p.1). In Kosova the business rents were paid by policymakers/government for 50%, but postponing other utility bills for any period was not a choice since public companies had faced a lack of financial stability to maintain its operation.

- Tax & Fiscal Policies;
According to (Cukierman, 2020) statement: “Optimal taxation considerations imply that the decision on allocating deficit financing between debt and HM falls within the realm of fiscal authorities--a fact that infringes on Central Bank (CB) autonomy.” (p.1). According to (IMF, 2020), the Fiscal Policymakers regarding the spending and tax measures included the main issues:

“(i) Allocation of €6 million to the health ministry;
(ii) Deferrals for corporate income and personal income taxes, and VAT;
(iii) Advancing payments for social assistance schemes by additional one-month’s amount (from one month to two months) to support families in need;
(iv) Removal of VAT on imports of wheat and flour;
(v) Deferral of public utilities payments until end of April.

In addition, fiscal package in the amount of 170 million euro (2.5 percent of GDP) been adopted by government and execution of it to start soon. Ministry of Finance has approached IFIs (e.g., IMF, WB, EU and EBRD) and other bilateral donors for financial support. Ministry of Finance has started making payment to workers as been planned under fiscal package where 64 million been paid so far and more payments to take place in coming days.” (p.112)

Furthermore, in order to understand the positivity of the economic cycle (Uka A. F., 2018) stated that: “The increase in the cycle leads to increase on the national income, by: the sales tax and income tax raises, which mean that Ministry of Finance receives more income, whereas controversy reduce spending towards the unemployed since the rate is drop by the economy cycle.” (p.49). Whereas, one can state now that decrease of the national income would impact lower sales tax and lower income tax, which leads to the policymakers/government spending towards the unemployment rise.

In order to maintain or improve the economy, (Uka A. F., 2018) pointed out that: “...the Central Bank buy any Governmental Bonds that Ministry of Finance is issuing, in order for delaying the collapse of the economic cycle. Then this money Ministry of Finance distributed to the population, this is known as ‘helicopter’ money” (p.51), to keep running the economy. According to (Cukierman, 2020) that stated: “This led a number of economists to reconsider the taboo on using seignorage (or more colourfully Helicopter Money (HM)).” (p.1). Hence, this would help the policymakers/government to prevent its economy from high recession; this should consider the prevention from second wave of recession in economy. Nevertheless, (Uka A. F., 2018) regarding cutting taxes and helicopter money importance, elaborated that: “...cutting taxes, however after the ‘helicopter’ money the price start to rise and inflation is back.” (p.51)

- GDP in Kosova
According to (Cukierman, 2020) statement: “The huge actual and prospective expansionary fiscal policies triggered by the corona crisis are expected to substantially raise Debt/GDP ratios.” (p.1). Furthermore, (Begg, 2020) regarding the impact of Covid-19 on economy pointed out: “A sharp recession is already underway and could see a double-digit percentage decline in global GDP in the next quarter, with no real sense of when it will end or how a recovery can be achieved.” (p.1). Nevertheless, in Kosova policymakers are aware of Covid-19’s impact and are looking forward to face the 5% to 6% decrease in the GDP, which is considered promising compared to the two digit % of GDP decreasing in Europe.
● Employment rate, whereas this leads to the hibernation of the country’s economy.
In order to understand the state that almost every country is facing we refer to the statement made by 
(Begg, 2020): “Rapidly rising unemployment rates and warnings from many businesses about their 
viability testify to the looming economic threats from the Covid-19 health crisis.” (p.1).
Furthermore, (Uka A. F., 2018) pointed out: “The direct impact of newly unemployed faces difficulties on 
paying up their loans. The families with unemployment effects go directly to the commercial banks for 
rearrangement/appeal, whereas the banks normally see this as a broken the contract and takes the property 
out for Sale. This lead to bank in positioning of many households/properties, which has an impact of price 
fall on premises. As unemployment rises, have the impact on lowering the sales and the stock on the 
warehouse start to pill up and have a negative impact on the Ministry of Finance by losing money out by 
paying the unemployed benefits and by getting less cash from taxes.” (p.52).
The negative side effects of the recession enable the policymakers to make a decision to lock-down its 
economy activity, which leads to the hibernation of the country’s economy. The other activities up- 
mentioned are considered as decisions by policymakers PRE (preliminary) to facilitate the decline of the 
negative effects of the Covid-19 recession.

2.3 Policymakers Decisions Post Covid-19 era
Following the pandemic situation as (Begg, 2020) mentions, came the next step to reopen the economic and 
to face the consequences while being careful to not get infected and prevent the further spreading of the 
virus, therefore: “Ending the lockdown will require careful judgement of when the health imperatives need 
give way to the economic concerns.” (p.2).
Furthermore, (IMF, 2020) elaborated the reopening of the Kosova’s economy from the lock-down:
“Starting from May 4 2020, relaxation of some containment measures has started by Ministry of Health. 
Business activities under construction sector, real estate, trade of vehicles and some small shops been 
allowed to work. Second phase of relaxation measures has started on May 18 when more business activities 
allowed to work such are dentists, barbers, restaurants (take away), green market, museums, art galleries, 
urban transport. Starting from June 1st, third phase started being implemented where almost all business 
activities allowed to work. Also, workers in public institutions been asked to show up in the office starting 
from June 1st. Starting from June 8 no movement restrictions and also borders with countries in the region 
are open” (p.111)

Figure 3 Policy options for keeping debt sustainable post Covid-19
Following the Jung, K. we also have to develop the incentives to imply as a solution for Kosova’s economy during the pandemic recession.

Figure 4 Policymakers Decisions (Pre) Post Covid-19 era

- **Sustainable pro-jobs investment**, Regarding the importance of the sustainable pro-jobs investment (Jung, 2020) stated: “a plan for putting public finances on a firm footing, anchoring the recovery around sustainable pro-jobs investments” (p.1). Furthermore, (Jung, 2020) stated that: “a strategy that focuses on sustainable pro-jobs investments in education, the green transition, health and social infrastructure. Such investments, following an initial stimulus during the crisis, can ensure enduring growth of the economy.” (p.3).

- **Fair taxation** Regarding the importance of the tax reform (Jung, 2020) stated: “a plan for putting public finances on a firm footing, anchoring the recovery around … fair tax reform.” (p.1). Furthermore, (Jung, 2020) pointed out: “smart investment can bring in a multiple of that in tax revenues in the future. This means the debt burden is more easily repaid in the future, with a smaller share of tax revenues.” (p.3). Contrary, (Fitchsolutions, 2020) elaborated that: “Low taxes and incentives to attract foreign investment have been a major draw for multinationals” (p.32). Despite the attempt to offer the solution (Uka A., 2020) by taking into consideration the importance of foreign direct investment, pointed out that: “Implement the so-called ‘pandemic tax’ on production and consumption until the sinking of the Covid-19 pandemic impact.” (p.11).

- **Other economical tools such as Remittance** Since, Kosova’s economy is highly impacted by remittance and because Covid-19 lowers the opportunities for exiles to visit their country/Kosova, this will lead the second recession of the country’s economy. Furthermore, according to the Governor of Central Bank of Kosova, (Mehmeti, 2020) stated: “Another important channel of the Kosovo economy shocked by the pandemic crisis may be the foreign sector. Kosovo is highly depended on remittances, receiving an amount of more than 10% of GDP on annual basis.” (p.2). Due to the lack of the remittance presence and its high impact into Kosova’s economy, the policymakers justly review the opportunity towards the Kosova Pension Saving Trust Fund.
Kosova Pension Saving Trust Fund.
The fund in Kosova Pension Savings Trust at the end of the first quarter of 2020 is almost Euro2billion (KPST, 2020) and the policymakers/government sees the opportunity to return up to 10% of the saving to its citizens, mentioned by the Kosova Ministry of Finance (Bajrami, 2020). Returning 10% is almost Euro200million, which is considered positive from many other economists in the country (Uka A., 2020). This amount of money returns to the market through the consumers/demand, consequently the market will welcome this cash injection.

Overall, the policymakers should act quickly in order to maintain the economy cycle running consistently; also it is recommended to increase the withdrawal amount up to 30% of the saving trust in order keep the economy up and running, since the absence of remittance will decrease the up and running of Kosova’s economy (Uka A., 2020).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusion of this paperwork ensuing the implication of the various secondary data that are relevant to the economy impact during the Covid-19 era followed by the decisions of the policymakers to maintain Kosova’s economy stability or at least lighter decline, therefore the hypotheses statement are to confirm as follow:

**H1**  
*In order to overcome the “Covid-19 first era” the decision of the Policymakers in Kosova were lower interest rate by central bank; tax & fiscal policies; cut the Government spending; the lock-down of almost all businesses/economy expect the medical sector and businesses that offers essential goods and bakery, and the post-pone of the utility payments (roll over debt), rents and other regular payment such as loans (don’t pay debts) which hibernate the economy.*

The decision made by policymakers in Kosova during the Covid-19 first era are almost in accordance with the hypothesis, especially hibernating economy, whereas the impossibility to act on the interest rate from central bank was due to the fact that Kosova is only a user of Euro value; the postpone of the utility payments towards the state’s own companies was also impossible since they faced a lack of financial stabilities to maintain its operation. Therefore, one can state that the hypothesis one is semi (half) confirmed.

**H2**  
*In order to improve the economy from recession known as “the post “Covid-19 first era” the decision of the Policymakers should focus on sustainable pro-jobs investment, fair taxation and other economical tools such as: Remittance and Kosova Pension Trust Fund, in order to accelerate the economy.*

Regarding the decision of Policymakers to improve the economy from recession known “the post “Covid-19 first era” no decisions have yet been made regarding the sustainable pro-jobs investment and issues of any so called “pandemic tax”, whereas they are dealing partially with remittance or facilitate the exile citizen to come in Kosova. Also policymakers have a partially approach on Kosovo Pension Trust Fund to be withdrawn up to 10% whereas this should change in accordance with absence of exile visiting the motherland Kosova up to 30% in order to maintain the economic sustainability. Therefore, one can state that the hypothesis two is partially (quarterly) confirmed.

The Covid-19 impact in Kosova economy is obvious, and to overcome the recession this paperwork clearly states that it can be done through sustainable pro-jobs investment, fair taxation ‘pandemic tax’ and other economical tools such as Remittance and Kosova Pension Trust Fund.

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