

Peacebuilding in Kosovo

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Abstract

Peacebuilding as a definition has been initiated and studied quite late, while as a concept it began to be used after the Cold War. The well-known researcher Johan Galtung, was the one who developed and reasoned the notion of peacebuilding as well as its development phasing.

For this scientific paper, which deals with peacebuilding, we have chosen as a case study, the case of Kosovo.

The main objective of this paper is to present the developments in Kosovo, and its journey towards peacebuilding, starting from 1999, a period when the war ends and peace begins.

Materials elaborated in this paper, are mainly articles and scientific papers by foreign authors, because it is worthwhile and important to have an insight into their point of view regarding Kosovo peacebuilding case.

The methodology applied in this research paper, is based on the analysis of these materials, using descriptive and historical method, through which we will highlight the case of peacebuilding in Kosovo.

The expected outcomes of this paper, aim to present the definition of peacebuilding as a concept as well as its usage in the case of Kosovo, as a case study used in this research paper.

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It also aims to show the challenges that Kosovo politics have encountered in order to build a sustainable peace.

In the conclusions of this paper, we would like to present the case of peacebuilding in Kosovo as a success story, and this case may be used as a model for other international cases where needed.

Keywords: Kosovo; peacebuilding; challenges; successes; failures; the international factor;

1. Definition of peacebuilding and the case of Kosovo

The term peacebuilding began to be studied in the 1960s and 1970s (Chetail, 2009:1). Whereas as a concept began to be used after the publication of the "Agenda for Peace" (1992) at the time by Boutros Boutros-Ghali (UN Secretary-General) (United Nations, Secretary General, 1992).

Johan Galtung, is the "symbol" of the term peace -building. He regarded peace in three phases or forms: peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding (Verheij, 2010:11). These three forms, more extensively are given as follows (Chetail, 2009:1):

- **Peacekeeping** - has to do with the sole purpose of ending violence;
- **Peacemaking** - after peacekeeping comes peacemaking, which is related to the resolution of conflicts in peaceful ways (negotiation, mediation, etc.);
- **Peacebuilding** - the main goal is the establishment of a sustainable peace.

In 2001, the UN Security Council reconfirmed the close relationship between these three forms of peace, highlighting the values of the inclusion of the elements of peacebuilding in peacekeeping missions. Also, the UN Security Council, has set itself as the core of peacebuilding tasks, the building and strengthening of democratic institutions, (Teran, 2007: 4).

There are two sides to the peace: negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace means: "organizing violence between nations or groups of people". Positive peace means: "the establishment of a lasting peace, making this possible through cooperation between these groups or nations and elimination of causes of conflict" (Chetail, 2009:1).

By addressing the reasons or causes of the conflict, is intended peace building in a country as well as the transformation of the society into a sustainable peace. Peacebuilding goes through three phases: from “unstable peace” to “stable peace” and ultimately to “sustainable peace” (Verheij, 2010:13). After a conflict, operations undertaken regarding peacebuilding are mainly activities aimed at taking immediate and much needed actions after a conflict has ended, such as: demobilisation, new programmes for re-integration and urgent rebuilding of vital infrastructure, where in many cases, these activities were performed at the same time with military peacekeeping operations (Verheij, 2010:14). Such is the case of Kosovo with KFOR/NATO, as a military peacekeeping operation, but in Kosovo this was not the only matter, because in after-war Kosovo it was KLA’s turn to demobilise. Apart from that, another great issue was the aim of refugee re-integration, as well as the re-building of vital infrastructure which was destroyed during the war.

2. When does peacebuilding start in Kosovo?

Since the 12th of June 1999, with the entry of NATO troop and onwards, we have the initiation and continuation of peacebuilding in Kosovo, and later, state-building too.

Civil-military intervention in Kosovo in 1999 was based on the aspiration to prevent the continued violation of human rights and freedoms, the extent of murder, massacre and genocide on the Albanian population. The purpose of the civilian mission (UNMIK) and military mission (NATO / KFOR), was their establishment or presence in Kosovo on the basis of legitimacy. On this basis, the civilian mission UNMIK and the military one KFOR, took all the authority from Serbia, in full compliance with United Nations Security Council resolution 1244. This authority included competences in the triangle of the functioning of a state, which are state powers (legislature, executive and judiciary), The UNMIK authority included powers in the triangle of the functioning of a state, such as state powers (legislature, executive and judiciary), and on the other hand, KFOR had the power to deliver the country and public order and peace, based on the Bilateral Technical-Military Agreement with Serbia in 1999 (Narten, 2007: 122). The unity and cooperation of UN, OSCE, EU and NATO in Kosovo, is considered a story of success (Narten, 2007:13).

With regard to Kosovo case, when it comes to peacebuilding, many challenges have come across the peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding processes. On this long journey of Kosovo, there were many successes and failures of the Kosovo political class. With the achievement of independence in 2008, Kosovo policymaking has shown that successes have dominated in relation to failures.

After all, peacebuilding aims at building the many areas necessary for the existence and functioning of a society such as: human security, democratic governance, human rights, rule of law, sustainable economic development, equal access to resources (Paris & Sisk, 2009:16).

After NATO forces removed the Serbian police and military from Kosovo, the UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 1244. Resolution 1244 through UNMIK and NATO offered an international presence in Kosovo in the civil and security fields. UNMIK's mandate was mainly focused on (Lemay-Hebert, 2009:67):

- Creation of an interim administration, although temporary, it had to be functional;
- Creation of a substantial autonomy and self-governing institutions; and
- Assisting in the process of Kosovo's status in the international arena.

With the introduction of Resolution 1244 by UN Security Council, these two situations were automatically invalidated (Buxhovi, 2012:9):

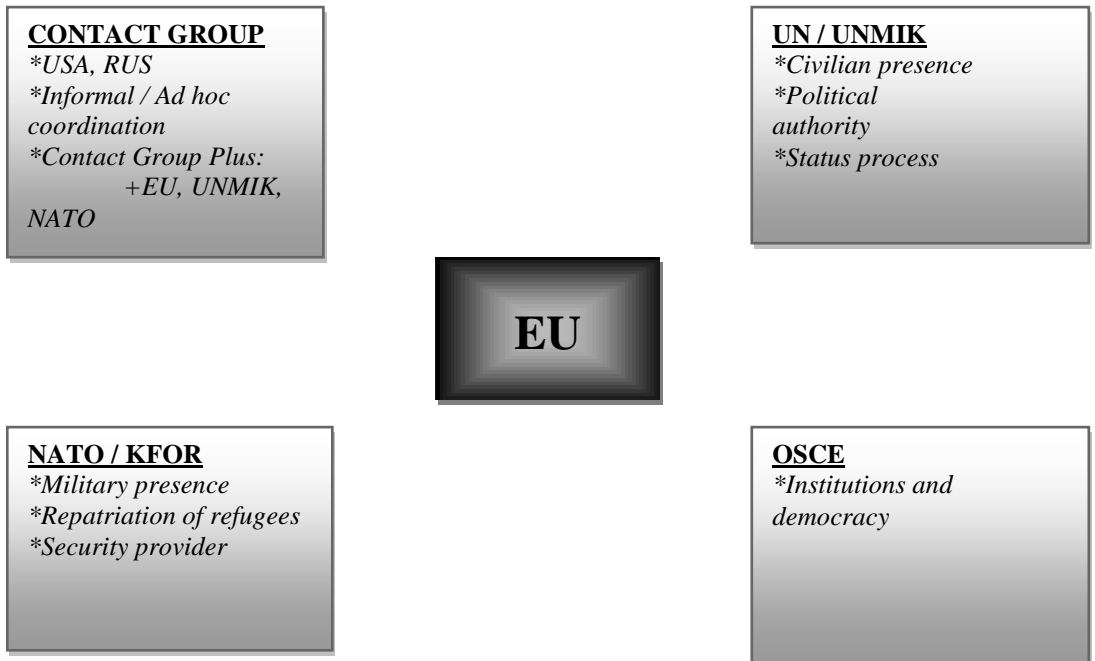
- The Republic of Kosovo which was proclaimed in the Assembly of Kaçanik (7th of September 1990), as well
- Belgrade's invasion of Kosovo with police and military forces (23rd of March 1989), when Serbia suspends Kosovo's autonomy given by the 1974's constitution.

The war in Kosovo is limited to seven (7) areas (Weller, 2009:40):

- In the very concept of state and state sovereignty in relation to its components;
- On the issue of governance within the state;
- On the issue of human rights;
- On the debate about the legitimacy and the benefit of the threat or use of force for humanitarian purposes;
- On the problem of unilateral secession that is opposed;

- On the issue of hierarchies and competencies between international actors, including here the tensions between collective and unilateral actions.
- On the matter of state consent in resolving international disputes and in accepting international obligations.

Figure 1: European Union in Kosovo's administration



Source: Harnisch and Stahl (2010)

Joint efforts and intense cooperation between these organizations are seen as the success of the international administration in terms of preserving peace and protecting human rights (Narten, 2007:121).

International peacebuilding missions in Kosovo have been very active in promoting human rights and freedoms, in promoting cooperation between different ethnicities in Kosovo, in the development of democracy, in the development and engagement of NGO's and media, etc. (CARE & CDA, 2006).

The UNMIK mission has established the foundations of government institutions, it has also helped toward peacebuilding, etc., but it has failed to improve the climate between ethnicities in Kosovo (this was also witnessed in March 2004). On the other hand, after the declaration of independence, EULEX mission has contributed in the restoration of order and the rule of law and has helped in the field of justice, by offering assistance in judicial reforms, but it has failed to adjudicate cases of corruption which have gripped our society. Although the character and main objective of EULEX mission was not the interethnic cooperation, it was still the EULEX (EU) that took the mediator's role between Albanians and Serbs. The problem that has continued to bother both, local institutions as well as the mission of UNMIK and EULEX, and it continues to be a problem even nowadays, are the parallel structures in northern Mitrovica. Although the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia has reached some agreements, the issue of parallel structures remains quite disturbing for that part of Kosovo.

Seeing this, Kosovo society can see two sides of the coin in the case of the international factor in Kosovo. This is emphasized for the fact that, as in the case of UNMIK where it failed to keep the situation under control during the March 2004 riots, the EULEX mission has failed to successfully complete the objectives and aims it has come to Kosovo. Nevertheless, UNMIK, as well as EULEX, have had their successes during their mandates in Kosovo, and those successes were briefly highlighted above.

3. Conclusions

This research paper, conducted on the subject of peacebuilding, by clarifying the defining aspects and using Kosovo as a case study, was aimed at briefly presenting the processes of peacebuilding in Kosovo, starting from 1999, the period when the war ended in Kosovo.

Initially in the paper we have presented the very beginning of usage of the term *peacebuilding*, the conceptual aspect and the division of peace, where we have explained what is considered as negative peace and positive peace. Also, the separation or complementary approaches made by researcher Johan Galtung have been mentioned, where he has presented three phases of transition and peace-building starting with peacekeeping, and then peacemaking and peacebuilding.

To proceed further in this paper, we have made a greater insight into our case study. Kosovo, with the end of the war, begins the process of peacebuilding, of course with the great help of the international factor. After the war, we have the arrival of NATO / KFOR military mission, as well as the mission of UNMIK as a mission derived from United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1244.

It is understood that these two missions had great challenges ahead of them. One mission (NATO/KFOR) had the task to secure peace, while the other mission (UNMIK) had the challenge to establish, strengthen and start cooperation with local institutions. Apart from these major challenges, were also the challenges of rebuilding the infrastructure which was heavily destroyed by the 1999 war, as well as providing conditions for the return of refugees to their country. In the course of these challenges, there were also other challenges that these missions were facing, such as the creation of a climate of inter-ethnic cooperation, in order to create stability and a broad peace for all. Kosovo after the end of the war (1999) until 2004 (March riots) went through an unstable peace. After overcoming the crisis of 2004, until the declaration of independence, the peace in Kosovo transforms into a stable peace. Now we can say that Kosovo is in the third phase of peace and that is sustainable peace. We base this on many developments, especially recent ones such as Serbian provocations with the wall in northern Mitrovica, the Russian-Serbian train, and many other provocations. But, these provocation, the Kosovo society has overcome and is continuing to do so in a peaceful manner and is also maintaining its inter-ethnic stability.

The final objective (declaration of independence on 17th February 2008) has shown that Kosovo and its policymakers, in cooperation with the international missions, despite all the challenges they have faced continuously, result in having successfully completed the final mission. After this phase, Kosovo faces challenges such as: recognition of the state in the international arena and membership in the UN. In addition, Kosovo has a great challenge in achieving recognition of independence from five (5) EU member states (Spain, Greece, Slovakia, Cyprus and Romania). Membership in regional and international organizations should be the goal of Kosovo politics and especially foreign policy leaders who have the main responsibility. In some important organizations, such as CEFTA, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, FIFA, UEFA, etc, Kosovo is already a member. In addition to increasing the number of recognitions, membership

in international organizations should increase, and in the long run we need to gain membership in both the EU and NATO.

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