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Kosovo:

The Achilles' Heel Of

Balkan Security

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Disclaimer

All references to Kosovo should be understood in terms of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) and the International Court of Justice opinion on the Kosovo Declaration of Independence. This designation is without prejudice to the various positions on the status of this territory.

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Trigger Warning

This presentation contains excerpts from direct testimonies of survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence from 1998–1999 Kosovo war. Although quotations do not include suggestive details, sensitive persons should skip slides 8–10.

MUNI A Bit of History I.

FSS

- Double-sided coin of the "Kosovo Myth":
 - Lazar and Murad I. on Kosovo Polje/Fushë Kosovë, 1389.
 - Besëlidhja e Prizrenit, 1878.
- Yugoslav Constitution, 1974.
- Gazimestan, 28. June 1989.



MUNI A Bit of History II.

FSS

- Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës.
- Gándhí of the Balkans, Father of the Nation.
- Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës.
- DPA 1995 and Albanian pyramids 1997.
- 28. February 1998 – 24. March 1999 – 11. June 1999.
- Račak/Reçak January 1999 and the “hot phase” of war.
- 17. February 2008.
- CRSV, paramilitaries, mass graves, IDPs and other war crimes.

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MUNI Conflict-Related Sexual Violence FSS in Kosovo.

- 10–20k of survivors
- Dehumanize enemy and dissolve target society => both strategic and tactical objectives.
- “Birth machine” labelling by propaganda
- Gang rapes, public rapes in front of family or community members, assaults, harassment, and sexual mutilations.
- Revenge sexual violence widely ignored by Kosovar institutions.
- TW (3 slides)!

“They usually had very short nicknames. Nicknames like Fish, or Lion, the other was Wolf. My dear God, how much we suffered from that guy called Wolf. They tore us apart. They literally did. They raped us until we were torn.”

“Four different persons embraced me that night in that house. One after the other. Then they beat us up, and pissed on us. Yes, they even pissed on us. It was strange. We could not find our own clothes. And I can tell you, I was surprised how strong people can be to defy suffering.”

“They killed my husband. And while shooting at my husband, they also killed my daughter. Me they grabbed by my hair and pulled me. They took me to a police station. And then they started to rage over me. Four hours later they let me go.”

MUNI Kosovo's Statehood and Territorial FSS Integrity.

- UNSCR 1244/1999, ICJ Opinion on Declaration of Independence.
- UNSC: Russia and China; EU: Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Slovakia, Spain.
- *Republic of Kosova; Republika e Kosovës, RKS, KiM, “our southern province”*.
- Kosovo: 117; Serbia 92. Extensive un-recognition campaign.
- *Shqipëria e Madhe / Etnike, Lëvizja Vetëvendosje*.
- Association/Community of Serb-Majority Municipalities.
- “License Plates Dispute” (Sept. ‘21), Resignation of Serb Officials (Nov. ‘22).

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Current Security Challenges in Kosovo: Cyber Security.

- One of the first conflicts witnessing heavy cyber warfare.
- Serbia–NATO → China–US → US–Serbia.
- *Njësia Nacionale për Siguri Kibernetike* : in 2016 + NCS;
- 2 people KOS-CERT and 3 people KSF CERT in 2020
- National Cyber Security Council: main body but no mandate.
- Scant cyber threat knowledge and awareness.
- Lack of legal framework for Info & Comm Tech.

Current Security Challenges in Kosovo: **Environmental Security.**

- Air pollution, land degradation, water pollution and scarcity.
- Lake Gazivode/Ujmani ($\frac{1}{3}$ in Serbia, rest in Serb-dominated north).
- $\frac{1}{3}$ of population supply + TPPs
- Mitrovica/Mitrovicë, tradition of waste burning, open mine pits.
- General similarity to pan-Balkan situation

Current Security Challenges in Kosovo: Energy Security.

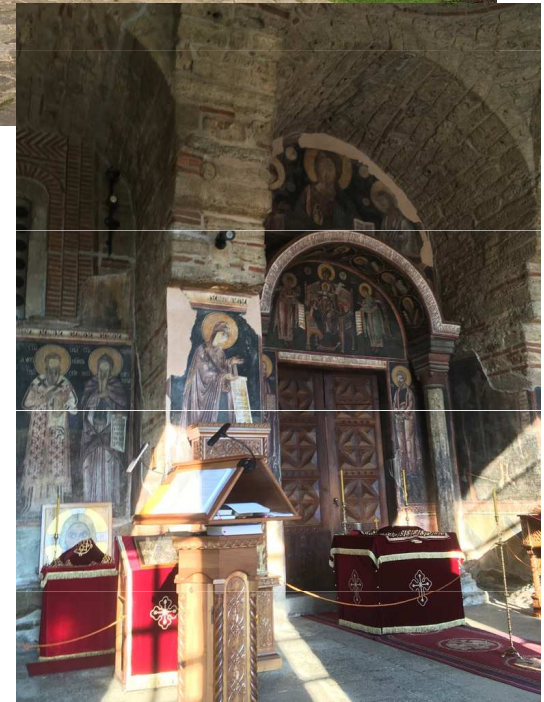
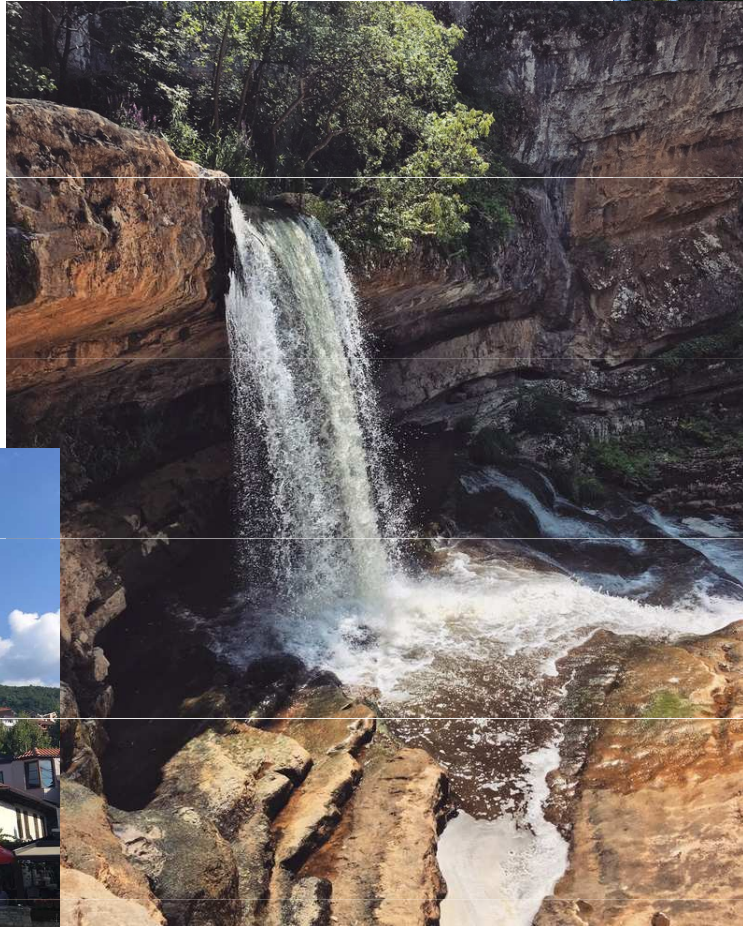
- Interconnectedness of Enviro & Energy Security.
- Lake Gazivode/Ujmani once again → Kosovo A (1962) *dhe* Kosovo B (1983).
- *Kosova e Re* ...→ when? 😊
- World's 5th largest lignite reserves → self-sufficiency.
- 28 % grid losses, insufficient production reserves, no flexibility.
- New TPP and HPP by 2028 + smaller renewables to cover flexibility.
- Energy is also an “independence issue”.

MUNI This Month's Events (So Far). FSS

- “High Combat Readiness” in Serbia due to alleged drone infiltration.
- Manoeuvre 22 and increased army presence along the border.
- Mass Serb resignation from state institutions → 10 MPs, 4 Mayors, judiciary and police officers (Car Plates Dispute).
- Serbian rally in Mitrovica.
- Today night: Arrival of Carabinieri.

What More to Read, Watch or Listen?

- Independent investigative journalism page [Kosovo 2.0](#), or alternatively [Prishtina Insight](#) (Balkan Insight's Kosovo Branch) for current updates.
- Němec, Jiří. 2022. "Socio-Legal Aspects of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Survivors' Victimization in Kosovo." In *Peace Review: Journal of Social Justice*, 34: 140–150. [Here](#) (MUNI login needed).
- Oxford University's [podcasts](#) on Kosovo.
- And of course our chapter from the book! 😊



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Faleminderit shume per vemendjen tuaj