UDK 341.61(497.11:497.115)"2022-"

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KOSOVO AND SERBIA AFTER UKRAINE WAR

Cansu Yazar²⁹

GELISIM University

Abstract: The relationship between Kosovo and Serbia has been characterized by hypertension for many years. This disagreement has led to ongoing political and diplomatic disputes between two sides. In a 20th century, contained by Yugoslavia but declared independence in 2008 because of conflicts with Serbians. Serbia never consents the decision and sees the Kosovo as an integral part of Serbia. Furthermore, Kosovo accepted as heart of Orthodox Church therefore the place is very significant according to Serbian's national identity. In the background, the conflict took place and committed a war crime because of the independence of Kosovo unacceptable to Serbia. In addition that, ethnic tensions between the majority Albanian population in Kosovo and the minority Serb population have also contributed to the ongoing tensions. In the past, tensions have increased to violent conflicts. NATO's intervention has virtually not stopped the violence and the UN Interim Administration Mission (UNMIK) established in Kosovo. After years, the observation does not change in Serbia, but in comparison the area has stabilized. Kosovo's independence is recognized by more than 100 countries, including the United States and most of European nations. But Serbia, Russia, China and other several countries have never recognized. Nevertheless, Kosovo's status remains an open question in international politics. However, related topics between two country seems as to normalize in recent years but tension rises again after Russia and Ukraine war started because most people liken Kosovo and Ukraine in fact their leaders. There was the same violence on the borders of Ukraine as the Serb soldiers in Yugoslavia before. Kosovo's concerns will be understandable once the present situation in Ukraine has been analysed. The war sparked the tension in the Balkan region that already exists. Movement of Russia concerns the worry in Kosovo because Putin frankly said that; Ukraine belongs to Russia and never think separate. Keep in view the similar attitude of Serbia and Russia, Kosovo has begun to anticipate for any move.

Keywords: War, Tension, Balkan, Conflict, Risk

Introduction

Historically, the relationship between Serbia and Kosovo has indeed been complex. The complexity formed around historical, ethnic and political factors. Between 1998-1999 The Kosovo War, a significant conflict happened. It was marked by ethnic tensions and political strife amid the dissolution of Yugoslavia. UN Security Council Resolution 1244, adopted on June 10,1999, in response to the Kosovo War, played a pivotal role in addressing the crisis in Kosovo. UNSCR 1244 aimed to uphold the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, emphasizing the need for a political resolution and the establishment of a autonomous interim framework for self-qovernment. The dissolution of Yugoslavia in the

²⁹ Contact address: cansu.yazar@alshaya.com

early 1990's and the subsequent Kosovo War in 1998-1999 marked surging period, resulting in Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence in 2003. In addition that, Serbia along with a significant number of countries has not recognized Kosovo's domination, contributing to an enduring source of tension in the region. The primary reason for Serbia's refusal to accept Kosovo's independence is rooted in international law, which, according to Serbia designates Kosovo as part of Serbian territory.

1. Post-Ukraine War Dynamic: Impact on Kosovo, Serbia

The aftermath of the Russia-Ukraine War introduces a new chapter in their historical narrative as both nations grapple with the evolving geopolitical landscape and reassess their positions in a post war Europe. Understanding the historical context is essential to unravel the intricacies of their relationship and discern the potential avenues for cooperation or conflict in the wake of recent geopolitical developments. Also, the geopolitical landscape of the Western Balkans has witnessed significant shifts in the aftermath of the Ukraine War, with reflection extending to the delicate relationship between Kosovo and Serbia. Against the backdrop of evolving regional dynamics, this article aims into the nuanced intricacies that define the postwar interactions between these two nations. The conflict in Ukraine has not only reshaped the geopolitical alliances in Europe but has also prompted a revaluation of relationships within the Western Balkans. As Kosovo and Serbia navigate this transformed landscape, examining the dynamics of their engagement becomes crucial in understanding the potential implications for regional stability and the chase of diplomatic solutions after Ukraine War. The situation in Ukraine is complicated and dynamic. Ukraine is facing with occupation risk by Russia. Considering the reasons, Ukraine and Russia were part of Soviet Unions until 1991 therefore those two countries have an interwoven history. Even so Ukraine declared independence from Soviet Union on August 24,1991. Ukraine is an independent country and recognize from all over the world, according to Putin, Ukraine is Russia's back garden therefore two countries can never think apart from their selves. Some of people in Ukraine sees themselves as a part of Russia but in other respects, other people deny being a part of Russia and they describe themselves as an independent Ukrainians. Since the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014, tensions in the region have persisted, fueling a protracted conflict in Eastern Ukraine between Ukrainian government forces and pro-Russian separatists. Nevertheless, international efforts to find a peaceful resolution have been met with varying degrees of success and the issue continues to strain relations between Russia and the Western world. The conflict's impact extends beyond regional boundaries, affecting global politics and security. Also, domestic factors such as economic struggles and political reforms contribute to the intricate nature of Ukraine's current predicament. The situation requires careful international diplomacy and concerted efforts to address the root causes of the conflict, striving towards stability, and fostering a sustainable path for the Ukrainian people.

1.1. Onging Challenges and Pro-Russian Dynamics

Ukraine is still facing conflicts in the eastern regions of Donetsk and Lugansk. In these areas, pro-Russian separatists supported by Russia. However, Putin further stated that "Russia has no borders" and that "Ukraine is part of Russia as a historically". Those statements remind us Milosevic's speech in 1989 at celebrating the 600th anniversary of

Kosovo War. Before, Milosevic alleged that Serbia would get what deserve, based on Serbian Empire. Putin used the same metaphor and based on Russian Empire to occupy Ukraine's land. Both Countries have complex and surging histories, with changes in borders, political regimes and hot conflicts. These historical complexities have left lasting legacies and continue to influence politic issues. Multiple ethnic groups exist in both country for instance Kosovo has majority Albanians but there is also Serbian minority. Ukraine has a mix of ethic Ukrainians and Russians it means they have diverse populations. Also, there are similarities about independence between two countries. Ukraine faces territorial disputes, including the status of Crimea and the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. Kosovo also facing with hot conflicts all the time. After Russia-Ukraine war, the tension started to rise in Kosovo because similarities set of crises again. In the meantime, Balkan counties follow a balance policy between Russia and Ukraine, but this war prompted the make a choice between them. For this reason, Balkan countries take up position in different sides and this situation further intensified the internal conflicts they were experiencing. The complicated histories of Kosovo, Serbia and Ukraine have integrated in a complex chart of geopolitical challenges. The aftermath of the Ukraine War has not only reshaped alliances in Europe but has also cast its shadow over the delicate relationship between Kosovo and Serbia. As these nations navigate the transformed landscape, it is imperative to recognize the historical complexities that have shaped their identities and interactive relations. The situation in Ukraine with its complex history and ongoing conflicts, mirrors and influences the dynamics in the Western Balkans. The chase of diplomatic solutions in the aftermath of the Ukraine War necessitates a nuanced understanding of the historical context, acknowledging the shared complexities and divergent paths of these nations. As the region faces challenges, the international community plays a crucial role in fostering stability and promoting sustainable resolutions to ensure peaceful future for all involved parties. The interplay of historical legacies, geopolitical shifts, and ongoing conflicts underscores the need for careful diplomacy and collaboration to navigate the complex terrain that lies ahead. In summary, the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia stands a pivotal juncture shaped by the intricate interplay of historical forces and the contemporary reverberations of the Ukraine War. The unfolding narrative reflects the delicate nature of regional dynamics where the echoes of past conflicts and the evolving geopolitical landscape demand thoughtful consideration. As both nations grapple with the challenges posed by history and the shifting tides of international relations, the imperative for constructive engagement becomes ever more apparent. The aftermath of the Ukraine War serves as a catalyst for change, prompting a reassessment of alliances and priorities. While historical complexities persist, the potential for cooperation emerges as a beacon of hope. Regional stability hinges on the ability of Kosovo and Serbia to transcend the confines of past grievances recognizing the shared imperative for a peaceful and prosperous future. The international community in turn, plays a crucial role in fostering an environment conducive to dialogue and collaboration.

1.2. Crimea's Annexation

Crimea is previously part of Ukraine since the Soviet Union's dissolution in 1991.In antiquity Crimea's' status was "independent state" as "Autonomous Republic of Crimea" but it was closely with Ukraine. Ukrainian Constitution, article 134 frankly said that "Republic of Crimea is autonomous region that is closely connected to Ukraine". From past to present

Russia claim that "Crimea always belongs to Russia". In 2014, Putin decided to annex Crimea to Ukraine and began supporting the separatist rebels since then. " Mr Putin told parliament that Crimea, which was taken over by pro-Russian forces in February, had "always been part of Russia." (BBC, March 2014) "Kiev said it would never accept the treaty and the US has called a G7-EU crisis meeting next week in The Haque. 'Ukraine foreign ministry frankly said that, they will never recognize the independence of Crimea. In 2014 a referendum held in the predominantly ethnic-Russian region, %97 of voters backed splitting from Ukraine. Additionally, the referendum took place under the indirect influence of Soviet soldiers. Despite Russia's claims that the soldiers wore masks to uphold the legitimacy of the matter and that they were present to support troops exercising their right of self-defense, compelling evidence suggest these assertions are inaccurate. After that, Crimean Parliament declared independence and participation to Russia it means Russia formally annexed Crimea in 2014, March. Because, although the reasons to justify the annexation claimed by Russia seem quite reasonable, they do not seem to be compatible with reality at some points. The EU and US declared the referendum as illegal. Also, Putin said: "In the hearts and minds of people, Crimea has always been and remains an inseparable part of Russia.3*"*3However referendum boycotted in Crimea and hot conflicts started between Ukrainian government forces and separatist militias. Crimea's status remains in international politics and ongoing calls for return to Ukraine's control. In conclusion the annexation of Crimea took place in 2014 and the conflict in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions began shortly thereafter. After the date, hot conflict is decelerating for a while, but political tensions have continued unabated. Incident that occurred started to process of conflicts. By 2022 major deal completed, and Russia recognize Luhansk and Donetsk as an independent state. As a result, annexation of Crimea sparks off the conflicts and other political issues. By 2023, there will be no agreement between Russia and Ukraine. It has directly affected the geography of the Balkans and they are facing challenges at national and regional level because of this war. "Donbass and Kosovo are compared by Putin himself, so the opening of those sensitive issues in countries that have an influence on the Western Balkans, such as Russia, could have a negative impact on the region." Until the Russia-Ukraine war, Balkan countries maintained neutral relation both Russia and the West. Nevertheless, after the war, they were compelled to make a choice. In this case, Serbia and Republic of Srpska in Bosnia-Herzegovina diverged. The situation increased the tension not only between Serbia and Kosovo but also within Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. The war in Ukraine brought certain issues again in the Western Balkans. Because of the Wari Balkan countries faced to difficulties due to deficiency of food energy, followed by a high rise in price. Annexation of Crimea event not only had immediate repercussions in Eastern Europe but also cast a shadow over the delicate relationship between Kosovo and Serbia in the post-Ukraine War era. The annexation of Crimea had direct implications for the delicate balance between Kosovo and Serbia. The parallels between the situation in Crimea and Kosovo were undeniableboth regions were deal with questions of self-determination, sovereignty and the complex interaction of historical and ethnic factors. As Serbia closely watched the developments in Crimea, it found itself at an ideological crossroads, torn between historical alliances and the shifting geopolitical landscape. For Serbia, traditionally aligned with Russia, the annexation of Crimea presented both challenges and opportunities. In spite of this, there was a sense kinship with Russia's assertive stance echoing sentiments of historical ties and shared Slavic identity. On the other hand, Serbia as a candidate for European Union (EU) accession faced

the dilemma of balancing its historical ties with the imperative of aligning with the principles upheld by the European Union-principles that violently opposed the violation of territorial integrity. The Kosovo-Serbia relationship, already loaded with historical complexities, faced an additional layer of scrutiny in the aftermath of the Crimea annexation. At the same time, annexation of Crimea heightened concerns about the precedence it might set for challenging established borders based on the principle of self-determination. In Kosovo, the annexation of Crimea fueled anxiety about the potential impact on its own statehood. The parallels were evident-both regions had experienced conflict, sought international recognition and were grappling with the complexities of post war reconstruction. This incidence heightened Kosovo's alertness regarding any attempts to undermine its sovereignty, drawing attention to the delicate nature of geopolitical alignments in the region. So, the annexation of Crimea had far-reaching implications for the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia in the aftermath of the Ukraine War. It underscored the intricate dance of geopolitical considerations, historical allegiances and the delicate balance that both nations must navigate. As the two nations grapple with the legacy of their relationship continue to evolve against the backdrop of rapidly changing geopolitical landscape.

2. Slavic Fellowship

Serbia is the most important ally of the Western Balkans to Russia. As it is known, Kosovo declared unilateral independence from Serbia in 2008 but Serbia never recognized the decision and sees the Kosovo as an integral part of Serbia all the time. The echoes of the Ukraine War not only reverberated through Eastern Europe but also resonated within the intricate tapestry of Balkan geopolitics. However, "Russia's use of the unresolved status of Kosovo is a case in point. Russia aligned with Serbia's position and opposed Kosovo's independence, blocking its UN membership and emboldening Serbia's nationalists. Keeping Kosovo's status in limbo has slowed down both Serbia and Kosovo's EU integration process, turning it into a latent security threat." The Slavic connection between Serbia and Russia, historically rooted in common linguistic, cultural and religious ties, has been defining element of Balkan politics. This fellow ship based on shared Slavic identity, has often shaped alliances, diplomatic interactions and geopolitical alignments in the region. Nevertheless, as the Ukraine War unfolded, this shared heritage became a source of both solidarity and tension. The conflict in Ukraine strained the delicate balance between maintaining historical ties and adhering to international norms. The principle of Slavic fellowship, historically a unifying force became a point of contention as Serbia navigated its diplomatic course in the post-Ukraine War era. Moreover, relations between Serbia and Russia have involved economic cooperation, political collaboration and military ties. Also, energy projects such as the South Stream pipeline have been discussed as part of their economic cooperation. Additionally, military cooperation includes arms sales and joint military exercises. For instance, these two countries organized a military application called "Slavic Fellowship". In this context Russia Serbia and Belarus perform a military exercise bordering on Ukraine and Poland. Also, these executions arrange regularly. This organization draw attention to solidarity between Slavic states and the situation can be probable risk for other communities. The other point that causes hesitation is the fact that the exercises are being held on the Ukrainian-Polish border. After all, Serbia has military and defense cooperation with both Russia and Belarus. The

cooperation includes purchase of military equipment. They also have diplomatic missions in each other's capitals to facilitate diplomatic relations. However, Moscow rejected comments about the allies but frankly called for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Serbia for never join to NATO. From a different perspective, there was a sense of solidarity with Russia, a fellow Slavic nation. This sentiment was not solely based on geopolitical considerations but was deeply ingrained in shared cultural and historical experiences. The concept of Slavic fellowship also introduced complicities in Serbia's diplomatic engagement, particularly regarding its relationship with Kosovo.

2.1. Kosovo's Security Dynamics

However, Kosovo while sharing some cultural and historical ties with Serbia, has a unique identity shaped by its own historical experiences and ethnic composition. The Ukraine War prompted a reevaluation of how Serbia balanced its Slavic fellowship with Russia and its diplomatic commitments in the broader European context. The conflict in Ukraine indirectly impacted Kosovo's relationship with Serbia as the principles of Slavic fellowship played out on the broader stage of Balkan politics. The post-Ukraine War era necessitated a nuanced approach to Slavic fellowship, recognizing its significance in historical bonds while acknowledging the diverse realities within the Balkans. The concept became a touchstone for understanding the intricacies of regional relationships, prompting a reassessment of traditional alliances and a recognition of the evolving dynamics in the aftermath of the conflict. In a word, Ukraine War's impact on the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia reached beyond geopolitical considerations, delving into the realm of cultural and historical ties. The concept of Slavic fellowship, while historically unifying, introduced complexities that both nations grappled with in the post-Ukraine War landscape. Navigating the intricate balance between shared heritage and individual identities became a crucial aspect of their diplomatic discourse, sharping the trajectory of their relationship in the evolving geopolitics of the Western Balkans. Besides, due to the Russia orients itself as a protector of Serbians and Orthodox. For this reason, their strong relations-built courage and Kosovo can be faced with occupation risk. Because of this Slav allied, Russia could rush up nationalism in Balkans and violence conflict could become braze in that area again. Russia can aim throw out the war fear to Balkans for disquiet to West. Therefore, nationalist Serbians can take courage from Ukraine's attack in future. Moreover, the Presidents of Kosovo indicate that Russia and Serbia are similar states and therefore Kosovo as much under risk as Ukraine. Putin and Vucic have the same objectives and international society must hold on to that.

3. Compelexities of Kosovo: Historical Conflicts

The troubled history of Kosovo has been characterized by a persistent and intricate conflict, the results of which continue to echo through the region. Nestled in the heart of the Western Balkans, Kosovo has been a crucible of historical, ethnic and political complexities that came to a head in the late 20th century. The dissolution of Yugoslavia, the ensuring Kosovo War in 1998-1999 and subsequent declaration of independence in 2008 have shaped the trajectory of this small, landlocked nation. This article delves into the multifaceted layers of the Kosovo conflict, exploring its historical roots, the challenges of nation-building, and the ongoing efforts to forge a stable and sustainable future among the complexities

of regional dynamics. Understanding the intricates of the Kosovo conflict is not only an academic exercise; it is an essential step toward comprehending the delicate balance that defines the geopolitical landscape of Western Balkans complex terrain that lies ahead. From past to present Kosovo is facing with hot conflicts. Because of the ethnic diversity there is always disagreement between minority and majority groups. During certain periods, conflicts remain confined to verbal disputes otherwise; it escalates into hot conflict. In examining the intricate tapestry of the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia in the aftermath of the Ukraine War, it is essential to delve into the historical context that has defined this region, particularly the conflicts that have left an indelible mark on Kosovo. The Kosovo War, fueled by ethnic tensions and political aspirations, erupted against the backdrop of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The conflict saw brutal violence, mass displacement and human rights abuses a significant scale. The root of the conflict lay in Kosovo's desire for independence from Serbia, a sentiment that was met with vehement resistance from the Serbian government. The warfare that ensued, marked by ethnic Albanian insurgents seeking autonomy and Serbian forces attempting to maintain control resulted in widespread destruction and loss of life. The conflict reached a critical juncture with the NATO intervention in 1999, which aimed to curb the escalating humanitarian crisis. The intervention ultimately led to the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo and the establishment of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to oversee the administration of the territory. The repercussions of the Kosovo War cast a long shadow over the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia in the post-Ukraine War era. The unresolved status of Kosovo, compounded by historical grievances and ethnic complexities, continues to be a focal point of contention. While Kosovo strives for international recognition and full sovereignty, Serbia adamantly refuses to acknowledge Kosovo as an independent state, viewing it as an integral part of its national identity. The conflicts in Kosovo have manifested not only in political and diplomatic arenas but have deeply permeated societal structures. Ethnic divisions persist, hindering genuine reconciliation and fostering an environment where historical animosities linger.

3.1. Contemporary Challenges

The issue of displaced populations, a consequence of the war, further complicates efforts to establish stable and inclusive communities. The delicate balance between acknowledging the historical context of the conflict and fostering a path toward cooperation is an ongoing challenge for both Kosovo and Serbia. The international community, through organizations such as the European Union, has played a pivotal role in mediating dialogue and encouraging a resolution to the longstanding disputes. However, the complexities embedded in the conflicts of the past continue to pose hurdles, making the journey toward lasting reconciliation an arduous one. The conflicts in Kosovo, against the backdrop of the Ukraine War's aftermath, underscore the urgency of addressing historical grievances and working toward a sustainable resolution. The wounds of the past, if left unhealed, have potential to derail diplomatic efforts and perpetuate a cycle of tension in the Western Balkans. As Kosovo and Serbia navigate this complex terrain, the need for constructive dialogue, facilitated by the international community, becomes increasingly evident, with the goal of fostering a future that prioritizes stability, cooperation and shared prosperity. Recently, tension rised

again, after Violent clashes followed local elections in May. Vucic gets his victory then the president of Kosovo said that he represents Putin, not democracy. Due to the radical rhetoric, the tension gradually increased because of the set of plates. Leaders of Serbia and Kosovo specified that, they were ready to war. In fact, there was a siren sounded in Mitrovica also before shots fired to Kosovo police force, but no one injured anyway some borders needed to seal as Jarinja and Bernjak. Above the news flash, Kosovo leaders blamed to Vucic with imitate the Putin. (Euronews Albania, 2022) Also, Kosovo President Kurti mentioned about being Kosovo under the risk because of Serbia threat and he call for Europe to stop Vucic for probable war risk in Balkans. (Perteri, August 2022) In Banjska, 30 heavily armed gummen barricaded and hot conflict stared eventually Albanian police Afrim Bunjaku killed. After that Vucic accepted that police killed by ethnic. Kosovo officials bore ultimate responsibility for the deaths. Also, he said that "They will never recognize Independence of Kosovo. In case, Albin Kurti blamed "Serbia" because of the sponsored criminals. Osmani stated "this was attack to independence of Kosovo Republic." Tension has run high in Kosovo. (BBC, 2023) In spite of this appeal, the level of conflict risk has not diminished, and NATO has decided to increase the number of soldiers in Kosovo.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, the geopolitical chessboard in the Western Balkans has seen a paradigm shift and the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia stands at a crossroads. Historical conflicts and power struggles have led nations to a crucial point where achieving stability and diplomatic solutions is crucial. The conflict in Ukraine, even though it's far away geographically, has significantly influenced the Western Balkans. Past conflicts, ethnic complexities and political ambitions have fundamentally shaped the nuanced examination of the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia. The dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s had already left and impact the region, reaching a critical stage in the Kosovo War and the subsequent declaration of independence. However, the recent conflict in Ukraine has added a new layer of complexity to their historical narrative. One of the main challenges in the post Ukraine War era lies in the recognition of Kosovo's sovereignty. Serbia refused to acknowledge Kosovo's independence. This ongoing dispute has been a source of enduring tension, influencing regional stability and hindering diplomatic progress. As both nations reassess their positions in the aftermath of the Ukraine War, the question of recognition remains a pivotal point of contention.

The geopolitical landscape of Western Balkans is in state of streaming and the aftershocks of the Ukraine War have prompted a reevaluation of alliances. The delicate relationship between Kosovo and Serbia, already strained by historical grievances, now faces the added challenge of navigating a transformed regional dynamic. International actors play a crucial role in shaping the trajectory of Kosovo-Serbia relations. The European Union has been actively involved in mediating dialogue and fostering reconciliation. The post Ukraine War era offers an opportunity for renewed international engagement, leveraging diplomatic efforts to de-escalate tensions and chart a course toward sustainable peace in the region. In the midst of these challenges, it is essential to recognize the shared history- that binds Kosovo and Serbia. The two nations have a complex relationship, marked by periods of cooperation and conflict. While the specter of the Ukraine War casts a shadow over their interactions, it also

serves as a catalyst for introspection and dialogue. As we navigate the intricate landscape of post-Ukraine War geopolitics, the lessons learned from the Kosovo-Serbia relationship can serve as a microcosm of the broader challenges facing the Western Balkans. The pursuit of lasting stability demands a commitment to understanding, cooperation, and diplomatic solutions. The legacy of the Ukraine War is a call to action, urging nations to transcend historical animosities and forge a path toward a more secure and harmonious future in the Western Balkans.

During this term, utter of " to understand to Kosovo, take a lesson from Ukraine" is draw attention to Balkan and throw the questions in all over the world about war risk in this area. Until this time conflict prevents by United Nations and United States of America. Nevertheless, Kosovo hesitate for occupation risk by Serbia. In a word, After the Ukraine-Russia war tension rise over in Balkans especially between Kosovo and Serbia. From this point of the view sayable to war effected those states in fact the area as unfavorable. Discussion of the new conflict risk of Kosovo, particularly due to Serbia-Russia relations forced the EU to bring Kosovo-Serbia back to the diplomacy table. The developed Franco-German plan can be evaluated as a strategic move for prevent Kosovo issue. The plan aims both Serbia and Kosovo to granting privilege and guarantee their rights. According to plan, establish the Union of Serbian Municipalities. Nonetheless, Kurti openly opposed the establishment of the Union of Serbia municipalities and specify that, it would be similar to República Srpska in Bosnia-Herzegovina and jeopardize Kosovo's territorial integrity. After this plan, Kosovo has become a competition between Western and Russia. For sure, the role of United States in Kosovo's independence and Russia's allied relations with Serbia shaped this competition. Western actors narrow down to Russia's movement area in the Balkans under the shadow of ongoing Russia-Ukraine war. But all these strategies hesitate to Moscow therefore Russia could create cooperation with China and create inconvenience in Kosovo. In fact, Russian Ambassador to Serbia Aleksandar, Bocan Harchenko frankly said that a "fair" solution can never find in Kosovo without Russia and China. From this point of view, it could be argued that the plan is not a solution. Because the plan could bring risks. As a result, Russia, and Ukraine war stirred the Balkan area and flamed the rivalry between Western actors and Russia above Kosovo.

References:

- Aroua, A. (2018). Addressing Extremism and Violence. The Importance of Terminology. Geneva: The Cordoba Foundation of Geneva. [Online] Available at: https://www.cordoue.ch/images/pdf/Papers/CFG_ConflictTransformationPerspective.pdf
- Becker, Jens. (January 2008). The European Union and the Western Balkans.
- Becker, Jens. (July 1999). Kosovo: Review and Analysis of Policy Objectives, 1998-June 1999.
- Bebler, Anton. (March 2015). Crimea and the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict.
- BBC News. (March 2014). 'Ukraine crisis: Crimea always been part of Russia, says Putin'. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-26624471

- BBC. (March 2014). 'Putin signs Russia-Crimea Treaty'. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26630062
- BBC. (September 2023). 'Kosovo and Serbia Row Over Monastery Gun Battle'. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-66908955
- Blyth Crawford and Florence Keen. (2020). 'The Hanau Terrorist Attack: How Race Hate and Conspiracy Theories Are Fueling Global Far-Right Violence,' CTC Sentinel, 13:3, https://ctc.usma.edu/hanau-terrorist-attack-race-hate-conspiracy-theories-fueling-global-far-right-violence/
- Bruce Hoffman. (2019). 'How Serious Is White Nationalist Terror?' Council on Foreign Relations, https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/how-serious-white-nationalist-terrorism
- Cottey, Andrew. (April 2009). The Kosovo War In Perspective.
- Daniel Byman. (2019). 'Is Right-Wing Terrorism Rising?' The National Interest 13, https://nationalinterest.org/print/feature/right-wing-terrorism-rising-73241
- Daniel Koehler. (2014). 'German Right-Wing Terrorism in Historical Perspective. A
 First Quantitative Overview of the "Database on Terrorism in Germany (Right-Wing
 Extremism)"—DTG Project,' Perspectives on Terrorism 8:5.
- Daniel Koehler. (2016). 'Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in Europe,' PRISM 6:2 https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_6-2/Koehler.pdf?ver= 2016-07-05-104619-213
- European Commission (2021). Project Based Collaboration (PBC) on Violent Right-Wing Extremism (VRWE), Directorate General Migration and Home Affairs.
- European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalization (2008). Radicalisation Processes Leading to Acts of Terrorism. Report, https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20080500_cscp_report_vries.pdf.
- Fatih Fuat TUNCER, (2019) Discussion About the Ottoman Image in Kosovo's History Writing: Kosovo War and Skanderbeg
- Florent Muçaj and Luz Balaj, (2019) The Process of Dialogue Between the Republic of Kosovo and The Republic of Serbia, August
- Galina A. Nelaeva, Andrey V. Semenov, (2016) EU Russia Rivarly in the Balkans: Linkage, Leverage and Competition (The Case of Serbia) September
- Gazment Qorraj-Gezim Jusufi, (2018) The EU Stabilisation and Association Agreement for the Westersn Balkans: Between Challenges and Opportunities
- Grant Wardlaw. (1989). Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics and Counter-Measures, Cambridge University Press.
- Jens Becker, (1998) Kosovo: Review and Analysis of Policy Objectives

- Jens Becker, (2008) The European Union and the Western Balkans, January 2008
- Martin Russel, (2019) Serbia-Kosovo Relations
- Marta Szpala, (2018) Serbia-Kosovo negotiations playing for time under pressure from the West, August
- Martin Russel, (2019) Serbia-Kosovo Relations
- Mourlon-Druol, Emmanuel, (2017) Rethinking Franco-German relations: a historical perspective
- Mourlon-Druol, Emmanuel, (2017) Rethinking Franco-German relations: a historical perspective
- Reznigi, Shpetim. (2015). Context in Kosovo, Challenges and Opportunities.
- Salaschev, Sergey. (2014). Annexation of Crimea: Causes, Analysis and Global Implications.
- Sezai ÖZÇELİK, (2019) The Russian Occupation of Crimea in 2014: The Second Sürgün (The Soviet Genocide) of the Crimean Tatars
- Shpetim Reznigi, (2015) Context in Kosovo, Challenges and Opportunities
- Tero Lundstedt, (2020) From Kosovo to Crimea
- Tor Bukkvoll, (2016) Russian Special Operations Forces in Crimea and Donbas
- Time.com. (March 2018). 'Crimea Signs Treaty To Join Russia'. Available at: https://time.com/28443/putin-paves-way-for-crimea-annexation/
- Zora Popova, (2013) Minority Participation in Kosovo Elections: Opportunities and Challenges