

THE IMPACT OF ETHNICITY IN REGIONAL CONFLICTS COMPARING BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WITH KOSOVO

Reina Zenelaj Shehi^{*} and Egzon Bellopoja^{**}

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze the effects that lead to the ethnic conflicts. From different studies there may be assessed that the reasons leading to ethnic conflict are numerous. For the sake of this paper and to have a clear picture of the issue, there will be analyzed the ethnic conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. These are the latest and most important conflicts that have occurred in Balkans. The latter has always been a hot point in terms of conflicts, but the conflict in Kosovo and Bosnia are a unique case in terms of casualties. In the analysis there resulted many factors that had the same impact for both states, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. On the other hand, in Bosnia-Herzegovina religion was an important factor which led to conflict, but it cannot be said the same thing also for Kosovo. While in the case of Kosovo, the inter-ethnicity was an actor which stimulated the conflict unlike in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Keywords: ethnic conflicts, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, main factors

1. INTRODUCTION

Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo for a long time have been the epicenter of many wars. Despite this, the last decade's conflicts that occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), and in Kosovo (1998-1999), were the bloodiest ones for both states. At this point, it seems right to ask whether ethnicity played any significant role and which were the actors that led to this kind of ethnic conflict? Through this research it is aimed to answer both of these questions. To have a better picture of the situation there will be done a comparison of the factors that stimulated the ethnic conflicts of both states.

In the first part there is given the historical background of both states starting from the Ottoman Empire time and till the eruption of the conflict. Indeed it was a very long, challenging and full of sacrifice path for both states. Firstly it is explained how Ottoman Empire conquered all the Balkan states including Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. Furthermore it is explained the half

^{*}PhD (c) Reina Zenelaj Shehi is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Epoka University

E-mail: rzenelaj@epoka.edu.al

^{**}Egzon Bellopoja is graduate student from the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Epoka University

E-mail: ebellopoja@gmail.com

millennium the Ottoman Empire rule over Balkan states and then it goes through the Balkan wars and the collapse of Ottoman Empire. After the Ottoman Empire collapses, Habsburg Empire takes the rule over some Balkan states, including Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the first and second World Wars the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was formed. Both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo were part of this federal unit. Bosnia-Herzegovina was as a Federal Unit but Kosovo was only as an autonomous province under the control of Serbian state. After decades of ruling by the famous leader of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito he dies in 1980. From this time and till the war erupts in both states Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, an inflammation of nationalism took place over Balkans, led by Serbian Leader Milosevic.

From the literature review many arguments from different scholars may be found which explain the root causes that lead to ethnic conflict. Based on these factors there is done a conflict analysis of both states in order to understand the main causes that led to the ethnic conflict. Based on the analysis, in the findings part, there is conducted a clear explanation of main factors to be followed by a comparison of causes that stimulated both conflicts.

At the end there resulted that conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo have had many similarities, but at the same time, different factors leading to the ethnic conflict.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

To take a look at the history of the Balkan what can be seen is that there always had been conflicts and wars. Balkan has faced many conflicts with big powers that the history has produced or even between its own states. It passed through conquests of big empires and after that it passed through conflicts inside its own states and these conflicts are not yet fully resolved.

In the Balkans the ascendancy of the Ottoman Empire lasted from 1453 to 1913. During this half millennium stand in Balkan the Ottoman Empire fought and conquered all the Balkan states. Bosnia was conquered by Ottoman Empire in 1463. Bosnia-Herzegovina conquest happened during 1482-1483. At that time they were not united in one unit.

Despite a new military and administrative order, the Ottoman Empire brought also a new religion into a part of Balkan states. Many Albanians and Bosnians were forced or convinced to convert to Islam religion that time; it was an influence of the Ottoman Empire civilization during the conflict with the local civilization. After the conquest of Bosnia in 1463 all the Balkan states were subjugated one by one from the Ottoman Empire and no one had any idea how long the ascendancy of the Ottoman Empire could last. So coming to the conclusion that life in Balkans during that time would become easier being a Muslim, many decided to convert and many others moved out to find a better place to live. And of course there were others who didn't convert nor

moved from their place. Obviously the ascendancy of Ottoman Empire could not last forever. In 1908 Habsburg formally annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. (Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries 2007)

Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria gained independence from Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century and they created the Balkan League which on 8 October 1912 declares war on Ottoman Empire. This attack against the Empire was the outbreak of the First Balkan War and it ended seven months later with the Treaty of London. After five centuries possession of Balkan Ottoman Empire lost every possession.

The Second Balkan War broke out in 1913. Bulgaria was dissatisfied with the divisions of the London Treaty so it attacked Macedonia. As a counter attack Serbia and Greece responded from one side and from the other side Romania and Ottoman Empire also attacked Bulgaria. This reduced further its gains from the First Balkan War. The War ended with the Bucharest Treaty.

In 1914 Prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife coming from the Royal Family of Habsburg went to visit Sarajevo the capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina. During his visit he was murdered by a Serbian. Here the First World War has started when Habsburg Empire declared war on Serbia. The war ended with the Treaty of Versailles.

During the second World War Bosnia and Herzegovina was let by the Axis under the Croatian Nazi control. The elimination of all Serbs was their main purpose, but of course this was not fully achieved by the Croats who were helped also by the Muslim Bosnians. (Gutman 1990)

During 1943 the national liberation of Yugoslavia who were anty fascist and led by Tito held a conference in Jajce and granted Bosnia-Herzegovina a republic under the Federal Yugoslavia. Till the end of the Second World War the Yugoslav Partisans captured the whole Sarajevo the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Within the 1946 Yugoslav Constitution, Bosnia-Herzegovina was officially a republic which took place in the composition of Yugoslavia.

From 1945 till 1980 the leader who kept united the Republic of Yugoslavia was Josip Broz Tito. After his death in 1980 the rise of nationalism among different ethnic groups threatened the separation of the Republic of Yugoslavia. Slobodan Milosevic was the last leader and president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, he and his policy was the one who contributed to the breakup of Yugoslavia. Milosevic embroiled Serbia inside some conflicts with other republics inside the Yugoslavia Federal Republic at that time.

In the year 1992 Bosnia-Herzegovina War started.

2.2. KOSOVO

As stated in the early history both Romans and Greeks called Illyrians the inhabitants living in the territory of today's Kosovo. Kosovo Albanians assert the same theory they breed themselves

as descendants of the Illyrians. During the 6th century Slavic groups separated that time in three groups and known also today as Serbs, Slovenes and Croats from North crossed Danube River and deployed in Balkan. By the 12th century today's Kosovo was completely cultural and administrative center. It was ruled by the dynasty of Nemanjic. Even though this dynasty of Nemanjic lasted only for two hundred years, Serbians still today call Kosovo as "Old Serbia".

In 1389 Ottoman Empire helped by a part of Albanians defeated the Serbs in the well known Battle of Kosovo Field. In 1489 Ottoman Empire took the regions sovereignty. During the 15th century a considerable number of Albanians returned and settled in Kosovo region. During this period a sustainable number of Albanians were still Christians and they lived together with the Serbs in a sane harmony. A considerable number of Albanians knowing that converting into Islam will improve and make easy their living condition, started step by step to convert in Islamic religion which was brought by Ottoman Empire. The Serbian population was converted in a very less extent because they kept in touch with the Orthodox Church which was located in Kosovo region. During 17th century time a big number of Serbs defeated many times by the Ottoman Turks were compelled to move north, they moved in today's territory of Belgrade where they still are nowadays. This displacement of Serbian Population is known in the History as "the great migration". So many Albanians from northern Albania Christian or Muslim were able to move eastward and settle in the Kosovo region from which Serbs were compelled to move.

Following the defeat, Ottoman Empire came to a peace settlement with Russia in 1878, this was the Russo-Ottoman war time. Bulgaria was expanded westward so it gave control the Serbian people over Prishtina and Mitrovica two cities in Kosovo, and the other part remained in the Ottoman Empire control. Albanian people were very unsatisfied with this peace settlement so many delegates from Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia gathered in a meeting in the city of Prizeren. This is known as the "The Prizren League". The majority of the delegates were Muslims and landowners, their primary requirements were to keep the control of Ottoman Empire in this region and not let the neighboring countries take control over them. Intellectuals coming from Albania were interested for the unification of all Albanian people under the control of Ottoman Rule. The league had the support by the Ottomans because they wanted to counterbalance the Christian religion while installing among the population the Islamic Ideology. It became a concern of the Serbs because it started to become anti Christian. At the Congress of Berlin presided by Chancellor Bismarck Russia was compelled to sign a new settlement treaty by which Bulgaria size was reduced and all the Albanian lands were given back to Ottoman Empire. All the Serbian troops and people were forced to withdraw back at their land.

Even though Serbs were many times expelled out from Kosovo by Albanians with the help of Ottoman Empire, Serbs didn't give up, they consistently tried and fought to reoccupy the region. During the First Balkan War in 1912 Ottoman Empire was weakened also the Albanians living in Kosovo were not strong enough to hinder the Serbs entering with force in Kosovo lands. Although the majority of people were Albanians during this time inside Kosovo, Serbs could

enter with force and took Prishtina, so the Albanians were forced to leave and go to mountains. Many Albanians and even Turks were killed during this time by the Serbian Armed forces which achieved their purpose and reoccupied the Kosovo territory. They got the whole sovereignty of Kosovo land in the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913. (Vickers 1998)

During the First World War Kosovo was taken under Austria-Hungarian and Bulgarian troop's control. But later after the peace treaty Yugoslavia was formed and Kosovo was let under the Serbian state. 64% of the Kosovo Population consisted of Albanians and three quarter of them were Muslims. In 1921 Kosovo Albanians and Serbs relations deteriorated because Albanians requested the League of Nations to unify them with Albanian State and told them that around 12,000 people were killed and 22,000 were imprisoned since 1918. The League did not take any action in this regard. So between the two World Wars Serbian forces attempted to colonize Kosovo and make the Albanians leave, but most of them resisted. Serbs did not fulfill the colonization plane except some towns that became more Serbian. (Jansen 1999)

In 1943 in Prizren the second Prizren League took place with the similar objectives. This also did not achieve good results. Albanians that time gathered with the German troops against the Serbs and after the war the Serbs and Montenegrins could not return in the villages from which they were expelled. After the Second World War in 1945 many Balkan States as Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia became all part of the Republic of Yugoslavia. Kosovo was promised to grant autonomy that time but as many other promises by the communist this was also not kept. After Josip Broz Tito known as "Tito" came to power Kosovo was still under the led of Serbia. All this was a political reason because Tito needed the support of Serbs over to communism. Albanian in Kosovo took some rebellion steps against the Serbs but they were suppressed brutally by Titos forces. Albanians were disarmed house to house that time.

The Yugoslav constitution of 1946 did not grant any autonomy of Kosovo nor did it recognize the nationality. There was a recurrence of Albanian nationalism. Again there were people arrested and mistreated. For another time they disarmed them house by house.

Titos visited Kosovo for his first time in 1967. He made a very resourceful policy, he purged the biggest "centralist" of the Serbs who was in power of Kosovo his name was Aleksander Rankovic. This step made by Tito created an euphoria among Albanians. Tito also made some concessions dealing with the education, culture, language and even the nationalism. This came as a result of the big birthrate of Albanians during this period of time. From 1961 to 1971 Albanian population increased for 7% from 67% to 74%. For Albanians developments persisted and intensified. The 1974 Yugoslav constitution granted an autonomy province for Kosovo. Even though not a republic in authority Kosovo's autonomy was equal to the other federation units Serbia included. The main thing that kept Yugoslavia united was Tito. He was very neat and skilful in his policymaking.

In 1980 Tito died. Albanians living in Kosovo indeed lost an important person, they lost someone who granted them the most administrative and cultural autonomy in the history till that time. The living condition of Albanian families started to get worse following the increase in population they could not take proper education and the economy recession made their living condition get worse. So during the 1981 big riots took place inside Kosovo. The biggest protest taken place in 1981 started from the Students who had indeed very bad living conditions in their dormitories and also the canteens did not fulfill the conditions it should, also the education was in a very low level. The protest was joint also by workers and even some from the Kosovo's communist league. They demanded republic to be given for Kosovo and the right of secession from other units. Many people were injured, at least ten were killed and thousands were imprisoned. The living condition started to get worse when Milosevic came to power in 1987, he became president of Serbia. He was an ardent nationalist, and got the support of Serbs by inflammatory speeches with words like "No one should dare to beat you!" (Bideleux 1998)

Milosevic entered heavy forces and revoked the autonomy of Kosovo during the 90's. Albanians were expelled from state institutions. They reacted by declaring the Republic of Kosovo in 1992 with its leader Ibrahim Rugova. They also organized parallel education and health care system, the teachers and doctors were those who were sacked from Serbs. But also this reaction done by Albanians did not make the grade, the republic was suppressed by Milosevic forces. Kosovo was also bypassed in the Dayton Agreement which ended the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This removed the hopes of Albanians for outside help. An army known as KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army) was formed by Albanian people in 1993. They began to train soldiers and make them ready to fight against the Serbs for their freedom. It came in public in 1997. The war between the KLA and Serbian Forces of Milosevic started in 1998.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

In his article "ETHNIC CONFLICT AND CIVIL SOCIETY India and Beyond" ASHUTOSH VARSHNEY argues that in a multiethnic society there is an integral link between the structure of civic life in one side, and the absence or presence of ethnic violence in the other side. To make an illustration of this links, Mr. Varshney made some interconnected arguments. Firstly, he says that in ethnic conflicts, interethnic and intraethnic networks in civic engagements do not play the same role they are quite different. Interethnic networks make connection between communities and manage the tensions. They are agents of peace Mr. Varshney argues. But if communities organize themselves only along interethnic lines and have very weak or even nonexistent interconnection with other communities than ethnic conflict more likely happens.

Second, he says that both interethnic and interethnic networks can also be separated as two other types: Organized and Quotidian. Mr. Varshney base the distinction of this whether the interaction is formal or not. He calls the first one "*associational forms of engagement*" and the

second one “*everyday forms of engagement*”. He also mentions that both engagements if robust, they promote peace. But if contrary they lead to ethnic violence. (Varshney, April 2001)

Stefan Wolff, in his book “Ethnic Conflict”, answers many questions related to conflicts that are nowadays happening and happened before around the world. He explains that ethnic conflicts are conflicts taking place between two different groups that at least one of them states it dissatisfaction in ethnic terms. This group of people will claim that their ethnic identity is the main reason why its people cannot achieve their interests or goals. Mr. Wolff explains that empirically it is very easy to determine whether the conflict is ethnic or not, as we have many cases seen during the past decades.

He says in this book that violence does not spontaneously erupt between peacefully ethnic groups. And also he mentions that ethnicity is not the ultimate source of violent conflict in these cases. Power, material gain and other important interests are strong motivations that lead the politicians and leaders to choose conflict over negotiations or cooperation. There are also international interests that lead to conflicts. So according to Wolff to analyze the factors and causes that lead to conflict is more important than only taking a look on the violence degree. He supports the fact that neither nationalism nor ethnicity in itself causes conflicts, but political elite use this as a card to enter the conflict for different reasons like political, economical, cultural, social etc. He also mentions some cases when different ethnic groups live peacefully and their conflict of interests is handled fairly. Switzerland is one of these countries. So the most important thing is to understand the causes of the ethnic conflict which helps a lot to explain the reason who and why are fighting, because conflicts do not erupt themselves.

“Social science scholars view the content and character of the ethnic group in different aspects. Some consider the ethnic group as an objective entity that has its own distinct boundary, while others see it as a subjective phenomenon that is condemned to change by inter-ethnic interaction.” (Jemma, 2011)

According to Huntington (1993) he states that “conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating civilizations.” He says that with the increasing of globalization different ethnic groups or entities with different cultures will have much more contacts and interaction with each other. During all this interactions people will be more consciousness about their differences in their culture and this consciousness will inspire hostilities between the different societies and will lead them to conflicts. (Huntington, 1993 (Summer))

But looking at the Fox (2002) founding’s civilizations clashes comprise a very low minority of ethnic conflicts. He argues that there is no proven evidence which shows that civilization clashes more likely leads or increase the chance to ethnic conflicts. (Fox, 2002)

Another founding result of Fox (2004) describes that religion can play a significant role on influencing an ethnic conflict. He sees the religion as the identity of a part of ethnic groups which can influence an ethnic conflict. According to him religion based conflicts has been

increased since the 1980's and they are much more violent than the other conflicts. What could not be found in this research of Fox is which religion is more violent and in which aspects religions are violent and influence to ethnic conflicts. (Fox, *The Rise of Religious Nationalism and Conflict: Ethnic Conflict and Revolutionary Wars*, 2004)

(Rummel, 1997) explains that all political institutions and their power is dependent on different social groups such as religion groups, and such can more likely bring to a group violence and revolutionary warfare. (Rummel, 1997)

According to Hussein Jemma many scholars religion predicates the ethnicity group people belong to, but many others reject this predication they say the controversial of this theory. So whether religion belongs to the content of ethnicity or not there are many controversial theories that counter attach each other. Also there is no agreement upon the meaning of ethnic conflict according to Jemma. So reading his founding's makes us understand that there is no clear answer by scholars wich do not agree with each other's theories about the sources of the ethnic conflict. (Jemma, 2011)

Joan Esteban (2011) and Debraj Ray (2011) in their article argue that when the policy of any government starts to discriminate various groups, than, more likely the move this groups will take will be toward using force or violence, in order to achieve their requests and as a counter response of this discrimination by the government. This response will bring individuals and monetary contributions for the conflict. And according to them it depends on the human attitudes for the direction of this cause. So they support the idea that there is a conjunction between the income and "radicalism" participating to conflict. And another point they stress is the inequality within a society groups. They mention that rich people will contribute their money but it is harder to mobilize them to contribute for any cause. In contrary the poor people will contribute as labor force, and this may bring an inflammation to the conflict. Horowitz (1997) and Bates (1999) assert the same theory; they mention that inequality inside a society is one of the main reasons to bring a conflict ignition. (Joan Esteban, Debraj Ray, 2011 June) (Bates, 1999) (Horowitz, 1997). Their main opposite result is that if the incomes of the groups are highly balanced than the conflict reduces. This is related to Faeron and Laitin (2003) and many others that agree that the increase in equality income tenderize the conflict.

3.1. CONFLICT MAPPING

3.1.1. ACTORS

The main Actors being part in the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia Conflict were Serbians who were 31% of the population (Orthodox Christians), Bosnians who were 44% of the population (Muslims) and Croats who were 17% of the population (Catholics). (Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2012)

3.1.2. NEEDS

Bosnia and Herzegovina:

After Tito's death and after the bad economical conditions that time and after the threat of Serbian dominance, Bosnia-Herzegovina main need was to declare the independence from Serbia and other states which came as a result of dissolution of Yugoslavia, and to protect the Muslim Bosnians from ethnic cleansing.

Serbia:

Serbian need was to keep Bosnia-Herzegovinian territory inside Serbia and maintain its domination among Balkan countries.

Croats:

Croats need was also to save its community living in Bosnia-Herzegovina and protect them from the domination from Serbian or Bosnian people.

(Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2012)

3.1.3. INTEREST

Bosnia-Herzegovina:

Bosnian Muslims interest was to have the domination governing power among the other ethnic groups living in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbia:

Serbian Orthodox Christians interest was the opposite one of Bosnia, they wanted their Serbian people to dominate and have power among the other ethnicities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Croats:

Croats Interest also was to gather their population living in Bosnia and together with their territory they were living to unite with Croatia.

3.1.4. POSITIONS

Bosnia-Herzegovina was the most complex part of Yugoslavia federation to be separated from the Yugoslavia after its dissolution. This was as a result of the heterogeneous groups it contained in its population. After the death of Tito Bosnia-Herzegovina remained weak, and also another

cause was the economical crisis of that time which weakened Bosnia-Herzegovina more. Its population was separated into three different ethnic groups and this also was a weak point of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the opposite side was Serbia which was more developed in every aspect and also in the aspect of military power which was essential for the conflict. (Western Balkans, 2013)

3. 1.5. ISSUES

According to the new world encyclopedia during the 1990's elections took part in Bosnia-Herzegovina and all democratic parties of the three ethnicities won because it was a multi party system. They made a coalition in order to maintain the peace and tolerance among them.

During the year 1991 a referendum for the separation of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Yugoslavia was held because they thought that it was not on their favor to be governed from Serbia as they dominated the Yugoslav Governance. In this referendum Serbs did not vote but still there was a majority for the separation. The Bosnia-Herzegovina independence was declared in 1992 and the Serbs were very unsatisfied and started protesting against.

During 1991 a "Serb republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina" was formed and they wanted to stay under Yugoslavia. This was their main aim. Also Croats established "Croat Community of Herzog-Bosnia" they wanted the separation of three ethnicity groups from each other.

Another plan to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into three parts was signed in 1991. Serbs wanted to join Serbia, Croats wanted to join Croatia and the remaining part to leave to Bosnians. (Bosnian War, 2013)

3. 2.CONFLICT MAPPING

3. 2.1. Actors

Main actors of this conflict were Kosovo and Serbia and the Serbs minorities living in Kosovo. Both states came out from the dissolution of Yugoslavia. At that time Kosovo was not a state it just had an provincial autonomy granted during the time of Yugoslavia, and this provincial autonomy was left under Serbian state control. After the death of Tito the leader of the Yugoslav federation in 1980, Serbia started to squeeze the autonomy rights of Kosovo i which were granted in 1974. (Gashi, 2012)

3. 2.2. Needs

Kosovo:

Kosovo's main need was to separate from the Serbian state and to declare independence so that Albanians living in Kosovo could enjoy freedom, justice, peace and human rights that are much broader in composition, but Albanians living in Kosovo did not have. Albanians living in Kosovo were expelled in mass from their job position they had and they were tortured by the Serbs who after the 1980's and during the 1990's were lead by Slobodan Milosevic whose main aim was expelling Kosovo Albanians from their state and taking the whole authority and sovereignty over the territory of Kosovo. Kosovo's main need was to give their inhabitants the fundamental human rights, the right to enjoy property, the right of expression, the right to work etc.

Serbia:

Serbia's need was to defend the territorial surface including Kosovo territory as they had it in the time of Yugoslavia. Milosevic wanted to create the big Serbian State including all the territories Serbian people were living even though minorities. And they have many monuments that date from the medieval time and wars which are located in the Kosovo's territory. The famous Orthodox Church placed in Kosovo was very important for the Serbs, it was responsible to create the Serbian beliefs and keep them aggressive nationalists. They still call Kosovo as: "cradle of the Serb nation". (The Kosovo Conflict)

3. 2.3. Interests

Kosovo:

Albanians living in Kosovo had national interests. They had many economical problems that time they were expelled from their jobs and mistreated in a worse mannered by the Serbs. So their interest was to cast out the Serbs and live in freedom and peace inside their territory.

Serbia:

Serbian national interests were to maintain a territory for the Serbs minorities living inside Kosovo. And to put the Serbs living in Kosovo in the Head of governing or ruling all the majority Albanians that were living there. So he could easily maintain the big state of Serbia and rule it without the other minorities. (The Kosovo Conflict)

3. 2.4. Positions

After the dissolution of Yugoslavia it is obvious that Serbia was a very powerful state. This was so because Serbia was one of the most developed countries inside the Federation Unites of

Yugoslavia. Its economy was developed and its military power was very strong and equipped with modern weapons and other developed military staff. The army was called the Yugoslav national Army "JNA". In the opposite side was Kosovo which was autonomy under the Serbian control and it did not have any military staff or weapons. It was always the poorest and tortured part of Yugoslavia. The peoples were tortured and their rights were violated by the Serbs. (Western Balkans, 2013)

So the history of Kosovo did produce a military organization which was transformed from popular resistance against the Serbian torture. This was named the KLA "Kosovo Liberation Army" and was formed in 1993. They started training outside the country in order to be ready for the resistance against the Serbian occupation. Their main program was to enter the war with Serbia for the Liberation of the Albanians living in Kosovo. The program was organized in two stages. First stage was to let people know about the idea of armed struggle, which was characterized by political and organizing efforts to raise the level of national consciousness in the historical responsibility. And the second stage was the actual organization of small guerrilla units and the beginning of armed actions against the Serbian police. (Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës, 2008) (Western Balkans, 2013)

3. 2.5. Issues

The failure of the federal leadership to cope with the bad economic crisis revealed the vacuum that was left after the death of Josip Broz Tito.

"We all cried, but we did not know we were burying Yugoslavia" – Mahmut Bakali, Kosovar Albanian politician and former President of the League of Communists in Kosovo, speaking about Tito's death. (Andrew, 2011)

In the beginning of 1980's many protests were held by Kosovo Albanians students for their unsatisfied living condition they had and for seeking independence from the Serbian oppression. The protests were backed also by other people living in Kosovo. Serbs always claimed that Kosovo Albanians came together with the Ottomans at the time when Serbs were defeated by Ottoman Empire.

After Milosevic came to power he revoked the autonomy of Kosovo and put Serbian control among Kosovo. So he started to implement his nationalist plan to maintain the Big Serbia.

Kosovo Albanians unsatisfied from Milosevic Oppression declared independence from Serbia in 1991 and declared the Kosovo as a sovereign country. Ibrahim Rugova the leader of the "LDK", "Democratic League of Kosovo" was elected as the President of the state. So Kosovo Albanians organized parallel but unofficial education and health system. But this did not last for long because the Milosevic Oppressed the Independence and did not let them developed. By the mid 1990's Albanians KLA formed groups organized some guerilla attacks against the Serbs. (Koppe, 2013)

4. CONFLICT ANALYSIS

Relying on my literature review ethnicity is not the core element that leads to conflict. It is only used by others who want to claim that just because of their ethnicity they belong, they cannot achieve their goals or targets. According to this literature review this is not true because if we take a deeper look inside the conflict, and if we want to draw the main sources that lead to these conflicts, we will find other factors like religion, political power, inequalities in the society, inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic engagements that lead to these conflicts but rely on ethnicity as the main leader.

4.1 Conflict Analysis For Bosnia

4.1.1. Religion:

During 1992-1995 Bosnia-Herzegovina consisted of a mixture of religion, 44% of the population were Bosnian Muslims, 31% were Serbs Orthodox Christians, 17% of the population were Roman Catholics this were the Croats and others contained 8% of the population. (Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2012)

Even though people in Bosnia and Herzegovina lived for decades together in a mixed ethnicity and more than three different religions during the Yugoslavia time, after its collapse in 1992, Bosnians which constituted the Bosnian Muslims were attacked by the Bosnian Serbs with the help of Serbian forces remained from Yugoslavia. They were expelled from their houses, tortured in different manners and a huge number of people were killed and disappeared. (Cigar, 1995)

Norman Cigar (1995) in the section of Genocide writes about the suffering of the Bosnians Muslims victims without forgetting to mention also the Serbs and Croats victims. He explains that Muslims are the most affected ones from the genocide and the majority of these victims have been murdered and brutalized by their nearest neighbors, the Serbs. He did not forget to mention that their main intention was to remove the total Muslim population from their lands without caring much about the costs and the Muslim lives. Their way was killing, raping, torturing in the most terrible manner they could, just to achieve the Muslims deportation. (Cigar, Genocide, 1995)

During the war from 1992 to 1995 according to some statistics there were 329000 people dead or disappeared. 218000 of them or 66% of this total war losses number were Bosnians, 83000 or 25% were Serbs, 21000 or 6% were Croats, 5000 or 2% were Yugoslavs and 2000 or 1% were others. (Prašo)



Figure 1. Describing the dead or disappeared people during the Bosnia and Herzegovina War statistics taken from “Demographic Consequences of the 1992-95 War” by Murat Prašo. (Prašo)

So according to the statistics the majority of the dead or disappeared during the Bosnia-Herzegovina Conflict were Muslims coming from Bosnian ethnicity.

4.1.2. Political Power

During the Yugoslav regime, all the political power was distributed among all the recognized six republics of Yugoslavia and also the autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina). The main advantage of the Bosnians Muslims was their recognition by the Yugoslavia as a nation, this happened in 1968. From that time till the 1991 Bosnian Muslims increased their population for 17.8%. While Serbs and Croats decreased for 11.7%, this was also as a result of migration from Bosnia. After this important recognition also the political representation was better for Bosnian Muslims. (Bosnia and Herzegovina after the 1992-1995 war, 2012)

	Muslims	Serbs	Croats
Census 1991	43.5%	31.2%	17.4%
Republican Administration	34.5%	39%	13.70%
Municipal Bodies	35%	39.7%	17.4%
Ministry of Interior	35.97%	37.12%	13.75%

Table. “Representation of Different Nations in the Administration in 1991” (Bosnia and Herzegovina after the 1992-1995 war, 2012)

Before the conflict Bosnians considered “the multicultural ideal”, but opposing this ideal were the Serbs and the Croats. None of the parties (Bosnians, Serbs and Croats) wanted to bring into consideration the multiculturalism, in their national ideology concept of building a state. According to the authors, the leaders who were elected by their own people were very nationalists and their absence of willingness to cooperate with multiculturalism led to conflict. (Steven L. Burg, Paul S. Shoup, 1999)

Another author mentions that after the secession of Yugoslavia started Bosnians and Croats favored this side. But the Serbs living in Bosnia-Herzegovina were totally against the secession. They favored joining with Serbia as one Unit. This event brought all the ethnic groups in different positions. Both Croats and Serbs were also for the partition of the Bosnia and Herzegovina state in three parts, (the Serbian part) lived with the majority Serbs, (the Croat part), populated with Croats and (the Bosnian part) populated with a majority of Bosnian people. But Bosniaks were against this partition. They were ready to fight in order to keep their only state they had as a whole part. (Timo Kivimäki, Marina Kramer and Paul Pasch, 2012)

4.1.3. Inequality In The Society

We are conscious that any type of inequality, political, economical or social they all bring easily to conflict. There is evidence seen that inequality has taken place before the conflict started in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Meanwhile there was an economic recession after the death of Tito in 1980 and there was a dissatisfaction of the people. But during the election that took place in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1990 there was inequality, all the ethnicities were able to vote in these multiparty elections. Were Bosnians and Croats voted for the Independence of the Bosnian State, but this was not recognized by others. (Malcolm N. R.)

4.1.4. Inter-Ethnic And Intra-Ethnic Engagements

We have seen that after the dissolution of Yugoslavia there were three ethnic groups living in Bosnia. The majority were the Bosnian Muslims the second group was the Serbs living in Bosnia

and the third group were the Croats also living inside Bosnia. After the end of Yugoslavia Bosnians and Croats voted the referendum for independence as Slovenia and Croatia did in 1991. This referendum was not supported by the Serb ethnicity. They demonstrated against this and they supported the remaining of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Serbia. This shows that even though Bosnian, Croats and Serbs three different ethnicity with the same language and same state, after living for decades together and trusting each other, they lost their ethnic trust. And there is evidence that a high level of inter-ethnic violence is used during the Bosnia and Herzegovina War. (Michael D. Ward John O'Loughlin Kristin M. Bakke Xun Cao , 2007)

Noel Malcolm in his book "Bosnia: A Short History" writes about the interrelation people of Bosnia-Herzegovina had before the War of 1992. He explains that 30% of the Bosnians marriages were mixed between each other and that Muslims of Bosnia considered their religion as a private matter. Malcolm considers the Muslims Bosnians as one of "the most secularized Muslim populations in the world" (Malcolm, 1996)

Reading the paper of STATHIS N.KALYVAS and NICHOLAS SAMBANIS we may encounter that in Bosnia inter-ethnic groups were mixed communities, they lived together in contrast with Kosovo inter-ethnic groups which were separated. (STATHIS N.KALYVAS and NICHOLAS SAMBANIS)

4.2. CONFLICT ANALYSIS FOR KOSOVO

4.2.1. Religion:

Many argue that religion was not the ultimate source of the conflict that happened between Kosovo Albanians and Serbs. This is argued very easy by many. If we take a look in the history before the conflict occurred we will see that during the Yugoslavia regime both ethnicities lived together without any problem for decades. This is because Kosovar Albanians usually did not determine their national or ethnic identity through this means, but they did determine themselves through traditions and language. Even though the religion of the majority Albanians inside Kosovo is Muslim, they never fought and never used the religion identity during the peaceful resistance they did many years before the conflict escalated. (Religion In Kosovo, 31 January 2001)

There was an absence of religious fanaticism in both sides before, during and also after the conflict. This is shown in a meeting that was held during 1999 not much time after the conflict has stopped. This meeting was held in Prishtina between three religious representatives that were coming from Muslims, Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians. They showed tolerance, respect and called for all parties political or civilians not to use the religion as the identity or factor that sends to intolerance and violation of human rights. Religious representatives were the first who were interested to talk to each other after the conflict. From this report it is obviously seen that even the representative of Orthodox Christians did not support the actions and policy of the Serbian Leader Milosevic. (Religion In Kosovo, 31 January 2001)

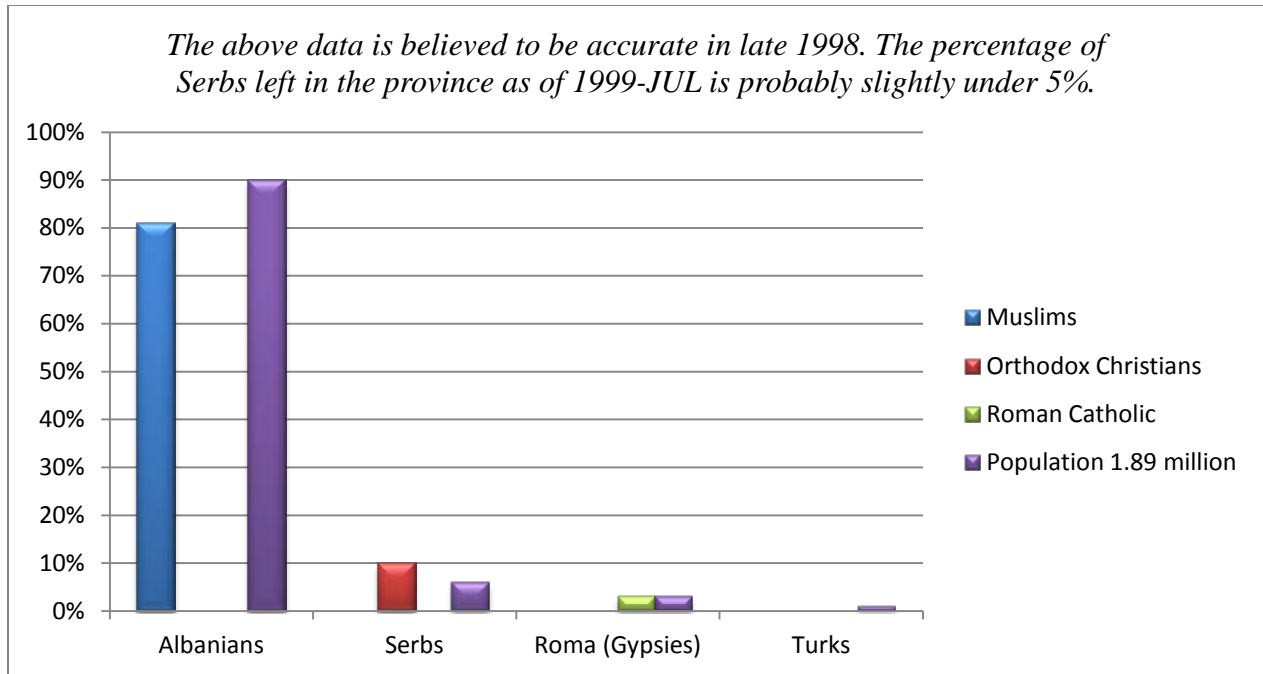


Figure 2. Number of Population and the religious affiliation in 1998. (Robinson, 2007)

Even though there are no official statistics about the religious affiliation in Kosovo, it is considered that 90% of the population are Muslims, 6% Orthodox Catholics, 3% Catholics and 1% others. (Religjioni, 2013)

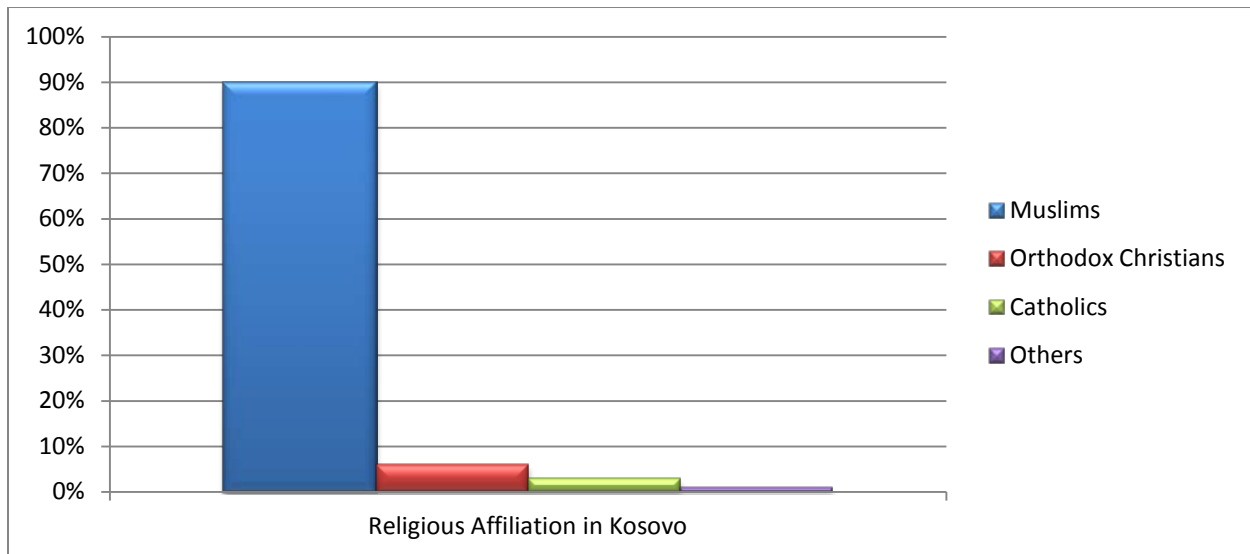


Figure 3. Religious Affiliation in Kosovo 2013. (Religjioni, 2013)

4. 2.2. **Political Power**

We have seen from the historical Background that during the Titos regime in 1974, Kosovo granted autonomy as a Federal unit of Yugoslavia. From that time and till the Titos death in 1980, Kosovo had the same political rights as other units. But after Milosevic coming into Power he immediately revoked the autonomy and the relation of Serbs and Albanians living in Kosovo started to go worse. The majority of Albanians favored the non-violence political movement, but an organization was formed which later became the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), and their aim was to fight against the Serbs for freedom and independence. (Pustina, 2011)

Serbian government used “political and propaganda pressures, and repression of divergent policies” just in order to win the entire territory region of Kosovo. Albanians from Kosovo organized their own educational and healthcare system in parallel with the Serbs institutions. (Isakovic, 1999)

Another author argues that Kosovo Albanians authorities after the collapse of Yugoslavia started to demand independence and convert Kosovo from provincial autonomy into an independence State. This demand was not just ignored, but after Milosevic came to power he also revoked the autonomy of Kosovo which affected the Albanians in a bad manner. Many Albanians representatives started the lobbying with other international organizations and states in order to put this issue in the international agenda. In this time the political representatives of Albanians were searching “searching for new forms of organization and resistance”. They declared independence in 1990 but it was suppressed by Serbs. (Troebst, 1998)

4.2.3. **Inequality In The Society**

After the death of Tito, Kosovo lost a leader who gave the most administrative and religion rights to them. When Milosevic came to Power he changed entirely the policy toward Kosovo Province that time. Milosevic revoked the Autonomy and started to suppress the Albanians in a large measure. Albanians living in Kosovo were tortured and mistreated by the Serbian Forces and police leaded by Milosevic. The majority were expelled from their jobs and institutions. They were not free to enjoy any right. All the protest and downs against the regime were suppressed in the worst manner. Many people were killed during protests that took place and thousands were imprisoned to ten and more years. All this happened just in order to maintain the Kosovo territory inside Serbian state after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The Serbian Nationalism during the time of Milosevic was very developed and against any other nationalism and especially Albanian one. (Western Balkans, 2013)

4.2.4. Inter-Ethnic And Intra-Ethnic Engagements

Taking a look in the history we will see that main ethnic groups in Kosovo were, Kosovo Albanians and Serbs. They once upon a time lived in the same region in Kosovo and under the same Federal Unit of Yugoslavia. But after the Yugoslavia collapsed and after Milosevic came and raised the national feeling, both Serbs and Albanian ethnicities lost their trust. There was no inter-ethnic cooperation but only separations from each other. And the main impact on this was the national identity. (Judith Brand Valdete Idrizi, February 2012)

Even after the war and after Kosovo declared its independence, there is still distrust between these two ethnicities, living both inside one country. To show that the inter-ethnic relationship still not fully resolved and brought to reconciliation, we can mention the Northern Mitrovica case. 14 years have passed from the end of the war and still Kosovo Albanians are not free to move in the Northern Mitrovica which is populated by Serbs majority. This Northern part of Mitrovica city is the main issue that has made tensions after the end of the war. It “became a synonym for an unresolved conflict in the northern part of Kosovo.” (Judith Brand Valdete Idrizi, February 2012)

After the Second World War till the 1990’s Albanian population was increasing in a large scale. The Serbian population was not increasing that time. They were constant and their number during the 1990’s was around 200 000 people inside the Kosovo territory. There were no inter-ethnic communities living together, both Albanians and Serbs were separated into their own communities. (Agjensia e Statistikave te Kosovës, 2008)

5. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The main aim of this research was to find the main causes that stimulated the ethnic conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo during the past decade. Moreover, in order to find the differences that stimulated and triggered these ethnic conflicts, will be done a comparison between these two states.

On basis of the conflict analysis of both states, it was encountered that even though both states came as a result of dissolution of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and they had a common “enemy”, in this case Serbia, there were found different factors that stimulated these ethnic conflicts.

Based on the literature review it was found that the main factors that lead to ethnic conflict are: religion, political power, inequalities in the society and inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic engagements. Both of the states were analyzed on basis of these factors and as a conclusion it may be asserted that for Bosnia-Herzegovina the religion factor inside the country played a big role in stimulating the ethnic conflict which happened from 1992-1995. According to the analysis it is seen that those who make up the majority of dead people, were the Bosniak

Muslims. While Serbs Orthodox and Croats Catholics lost less people. The second cause that also was one of the main root causes of the conflict was the political power. Here also it is seen that all the three ethnicities in Bosnia-Herzegovina had different aims and targets. While Serbs wanted to unify and maintain the “Big Serbian State”, the Bosnians wanted to separate from the Yugoslavia and create their own independent state. On the other hand the Croats wanted the partition of their region from Yugoslavia and the unification with the Croat independent state. Inequality in the society was another factor that should be considered as one of the main causes of the conflict.

The most important factor to mention is the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic engagements, which according to the findings has not lead to the ethnic Conflict of Bosnia-Herzegovina during 1992-1995. There is much evidence that shows that all inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic groups of Bosnia-Herzegovina have lived together in mixed communities, without having any problem. (Michael D. Ward John O’Loughlin Kristin M. Bakke Xun Cao , 2007)

Malcolm (1996), explains the interrelation the three ethnicities had in 1992 the conflict and gives a statistic that 30% of the population were married between the three different ethnic groups that were living together in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Malcolm N. R., Bosnia Conflict, 1996, p. 222)

In the case of Kosovo the analysis of the conflict it may be asserted that religion has not played any role in the conflict that occurred during 1998-1999. In accordance with the analysis it is seen that main representatives of the religions of Muslim and Orthodox, did not support the torture and the casualties that were done from the Serbian nationalists. The political power, in difference with the religion, has played an important leading role in the conflict. Albanian representatives or elites, like the Bosnian ones, demanded independence and separation from the Yugoslavian Federation. While the Serbs nationalist, while staying stoic to their utopian ideology, they did not allow the Albanians achieve their aim easily. So aspirations of both political power of Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo were different from each other.

Inequality in the Kosovo society before the conflict escalated was easily seen. Albanians living in Kosovo suffered a lot from Serbian torture, exclusion from the state institution. Because of this the Albanian’s life became very difficult because of the bad conditions that brought the economical crises. Relying on the findings, this torture was not taking place for the Serbs living in Kosovo territory. But in contrast they lived in very good conditions.

Considering the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic engagements, in contrast with the Bosnian case, in Kosovo there were only two different ethnicities: Albanians and Serbs. Even though also in the case of Kosovo, inter-ethnic factor stimulated ethnic conflict that occurred. The different ethnicities, Albanians and Serbs, did not live in a mixed community as they did in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Usually there have been no marriages between two ethnicities. So their inter-ethnic engagement was quite different from the Bosnia and Herzegovina one.

Coming to the conclusion, the main factors that lead to the ethnic conflict of Bosnia-Herzegovina were as follows: religion, political power and inequality in the society while inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic engagements did not play any significant role. For Kosovo, in contrast with the result of Bosnia, religion did not play any significant role in stimulating the ethnic conflict of 1998-1999. While political power and inequality in the society played an important role, as they did in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But in contrast with Bosnia-Herzegovina inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic engagements in Kosovo also played an important role leading to the ethnic conflict.

So while comparing Bosnia-Herzegovina's and Kosovo's factors that stimulated the ethnic conflict the main differences we see in religion which in Bosnia-Herzegovina played an important role but in Kosovo it did not. Moreover the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic engagements which in Kosovo were an important factor, in Bosnia-Herzegovina it did not. The other two factors, political power and inequality in the society, were important for both states as both of them played a significant role leading to ethnic conflict.

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