

Institute for Comparative Political Research  
Faculty of Social Studies  
Masaryk University

Joštova 10  
602 00 Brno  
Czech Republic  
[www.ispo.fss.muni.cz](http://www.ispo.fss.muni.cz)

## **Nationalistic features in the programmes of the Serbian and Kosovo Albanian political parties**

Věra **Stojarová** ([stojarova@fss.muni.cz](mailto:stojarova@fss.muni.cz))

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# Nationalistic features in the programmes of the Serbian and Kosovo Albanian political parties<sup>1</sup>

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**Věra Stojarová<sup>2</sup>**

*The article focuses on the conceptualisation of nation, national minorities and national reconciliation in the programme and politics of relevant Serbian political parties (DS, DSS, G17+, SPO, NS, SPS and the coalition formed by the Liberal Democratic Party, Civic Alliance of Serbia, Social Democratic Union and the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina- LDP, GSS, SDU, LSV) and in the programme and politics of relevant political parties in Kosovo (LDK, PDK, AAK, ORA, LDD)*

## Introduction

The Serbian party system has consolidated so far, however the political system seems to be still in turmoil. Most of the relevant parties are not willing to cooperate with the de facto winner of the last two elections – Serbian Radical Party and the government was formed only twenty minutes before the deadline given by the constitution. The main problems seems to be caused by the animosities among the main political players, however one could observe certain discrepancies in political course of the relevant political parties.

Most of the current relevant political parties were founded in the period of 1989-1992. The Serbian socialistic Party (SPS) was the most important party in the 1990's and it was led the whole time since its foundation in July 1990<sup>3</sup> by Slobodan Milošević. After his passing, Ivica Dačić was elected president of the party. The Serbian radical Party (SRS), which was in certain periods sitting in the government coalition together with SPS, is currently the strongest political party. The party is led by Vojislav Šešelj since its foundation in 1992; since his indictment by ICTY it is formally led by Tomislav Nikolić. One of the main political parties being in opposition towards the Milošević regime was Democratic Party (DS) which was led since 1994 by the pro-western oriented Zoran Djindjić. The difference in the personal opinions about the Serbian future caused that the nationalistic wing split in 1992 from DS and

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<sup>2</sup> Věra Stojarová. is an analytic researcher at the Institute for Comparative Political Research and Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Science Masaryk University, Joštova 10, 602 00, Czech republic. E-mail: [stojarova@fss.muni.cz](mailto:stojarova@fss.muni.cz).

<sup>3</sup> The Union of Serbian Communists and the Socialistic Union of Serbian Workers united and formed SPS in July 1990.

created Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) led since then by Vojislav Koštunica. Another important opposition party during the Milošević regime was the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) of Vuk Drašković. The party wants to restore the monarchy and quite often uses the nationalistic rhetoric. One fraction of SPO led by Velimir Ilić split and created New Serbia (NS) in 1997. This party has been in coalitions either with SPO or recently with DSS. Another quite new party is G17+ which was created from the economic think-tank in 2002. Last but not least we have to mention the minor political parties which succeeded in the last elections by creating coalition: Civil union of Serbia (GSS), LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) Social democratic union (SDU) and League of social democrats of Vojvodina (LSV). The GSS was mainly associated with Vesna Pešić and in April 2007 the party merged with LDP.

Having in mind that the Kosovo party system started to be fully formed after the 1999, it can not be taken as consolidated one. Many of political parties are personality-based and their only objective is the independence of Kosovo. They lack the internal structure and do not really strive to distinguish in the programme. The main difference is the affiliation to certain people – members of certain clans. The smaller political parties are formed by the ethnic minorities – Serbs, Turks, Goranji, Roma and Ashkali. Last but not least we have to mention, that there are couple of ethnic Albanian parties which demand the unification of Kosovo with Albania. However, these have only marginal position.

The oldest player on the Kosovo political scene is definitely the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) which was founded already in 1989 by the group of intellectuals gathered around Ibrahim Rugova and it could be said that still the party holds stabile position in the system. After the passing of Ibrahim Rugova, the new leader was chosen, the current president of Kosovo – Fatmir Sejdiu. The party was weakened due to the internal split and foundation of a new formation – Democratic League of Dardania (LDD) which was formed in January 2007 by the former Speaker of the Assembly of Kosovo Nexhat Daci<sup>4</sup> after his unsuccessful bid for becoming a chief of LDK. Even though the party has not participated in any elections it has seven seats in the parliament due to the leave of these people from LDK. The second strongest party is the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) which was formed couple of months after the Kosovo war – 10. October 1999 by the former UÇK leaders among them the most prominent one was Hashim Thaçi. The third important player was formed 2. 5. 2000 – Alliance for the future of Kosovo (AAK) which is loose alliance of five political

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<sup>4</sup> Nexhat Daci was charged for some issue relating to law financial controls, acquisition of armoured vehicle for personal use at a cost of more 230 000 euros. He was seen as second most powerful figure in LDK, however after the charges he refused to resign from his post of the President of the Assembly for more than ten days and in this period used assembly funds to purchase items for personal use.

parties<sup>5</sup>. The current leader, former UÇK warrior and former prime minister of Kosovo Ramush Haradinaj was indicted by ICTY. Few months before the 2004 parliamentary elections was formed by the chief of Koha Ditore media group, Veton Surroi<sup>6</sup>, another party – Reformist Party Ora which claimed to strive for change<sup>7</sup>. Last but not least we have to mention New Kosovo Alliance (AKR) which was founded only 17. March 2007 but scoring quite well in the opinion polls. Its leader, Behgjet Pacolli, successful businessman and owner of Mabetex could be labelled in some circles as quite popular. The LDK and PDK have quite stable position in the system – this can not be said about the other ones and we can not exclude formation of new successful political parties<sup>8</sup>.

The article focuses on the main issues linked to the conceptualisation of nation within the Serbian and Albanian society, the relation towards the outside world, national reconciliation and cooperation with ICTY and the stance of the parties towards the final Kosovo<sup>9</sup> status. The author will try to answer the question whether we could claim one party of the conflict to be more nationalistic than the other one while looking at their political programmes.

For the purpose of this analysis the parties which succeeded in the last parliamentary elections were taken in the account. Even though SPO did not gain any seat last elections it was one of the main parties in the past and played important role in the opposition towards Milošević regime and therefore it was included in the analysis as well. Therefore, the text will focus on the programmes of these political parties: SPS, SRS, SPO, Nova Serbia, DSS, DS, G17+, LDP, SDU and LSV. On the Albanian political scene, the article focuses on ethnic Albanian parties which take part in the parliamentary assembly – Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), the Alliance for the future of Kosovo, Ora and Democratic League of Dardania (LDD). Due to the high scores in the opinion polls<sup>10</sup> the New Kosovo Analysis (AKR) was supposed to be included in the analysis as well. However, the AKR still has not made its programme public therefore finally it was not

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<sup>5</sup> Civic Alliance of Kosovo, Parliamentary Party for Kosovo, National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo, People's Movement of Kosovo, Party of National Albanian Union, Albanian Union of Christian Democrats.

<sup>6</sup> Veton Surroi was a member of the negotiating team about the Kosovo status in Vienna.

<sup>7</sup> Ora means an hour in Albanian.

<sup>8</sup> In 2001 LDK gained 47, PDK 26 and AAK 8 seats from the 120 seats in the parliament. In 2004 elections, LDK gained 47, PDK 30, AAK 9 and Ora 7 seats out of 120 seats in the parliament. LDK, PDK, AAK and the Coalition Povratak formed government in 2002 and therefore there was no opposition in the parliament during those 3 years therefore the renewal of such coalition seemed outdated in 2004. LDK and AAK formed the governments after the last elections in 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Kosovo and Metohija or Kosmet (KiM) is used if cited from the Serbian sources.

<sup>10</sup> Voting intentions: LDK 26 %, PDK 17 %, AAK 9 %, AKR 8 %, LDD 6 %, Ora 2 %. *Information for media. Current political affairs in Kosova. Index Kosova.* Joint venture with BBSS. Gallup International. April 16, 2007. Available online at <http://www.indexkosova.com>

included. The Kosovo ethnic Serbian political parties were not included into the analysis due to their constant boycott of the elections or due to their link with the mother parties in Belgrade<sup>11</sup>.

## 1. POLITICAL PARTIES IN SERBIA

### 1.1 Conceptualisation of nation and protection of national minorities, national vs. civic, relation towards church

The very first thing we shall look at is the parties' conceptualisation of nation and national minorities. When we look at the programme of SRS we see that the aim of the **Serbian Radical Party** is the unification of the Serbian territories so that the Serbia, Monte Negro, Republika Srpska and Republika Srpska Krajina would be united. The country would be called Great Serbia and Macedonia can by its free will decide whether it wants to live in the common federation with the Serbs. The SRS want to develop *“the motion of patriotism which would strengthen the democratic view on the world”*. *The protection of the national tradition has to be the concern of the state.* (Program SRS) The SRS states that the party members of the party are religious people which are tolerant to other religious communities. The party supports the division of church and state and *“does not wish to have theocratic state. That's why we support that the Serbian Orthodox Church comes back to the Serbian nation and that the Serbian nation will with the help of state come back to its church”*. (Program SRS: article 1-5) The article 97 of the programme mentions morality and the need to follow the Ten Commandments which would be in order with Christian-Orthodox tradition. The programme states that *“people shall not be discriminated on the basis of sex, race, colour of skin, language, religion, political or other thoughts, national or social background, belonging to national minority or property. The rights of national minorities are part of the human rights”*. SRS further demands that the national minorities shall not be deprived of the right of cultural life, free use of mother tongue, right for education as well as the right for objective information. (Program SRS: article 45)

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<sup>11</sup> In 2001 elections Kosovo Serbs took 22 seats in the parliament (Coalition Return - *Koalicija Povratak*). After the 2004 elections, two seats went to Slavisa Petkovic's Serbian Citizens' Initiative (GIS) and eight to the Serbian List for Kosovo and Metohija (SLKM) a coalition headed by Oliver Ivanovic', although at present the SLKM have refused to take up the seats on offer in the immediate aftermath of the election. The next elections are planned on October 2007. Koštunica makes the Serbs to boycott the elections while Tadić persuades them to cooperate with international community which creates the internal split among the Serbs in Kosovo.

**Socialist Party of Serbia** supports the idea of protection of national minorities, their national identity, culture and tradition. *“SPS is in the same time against the idea that the national minorities and the ethnic groups would use their position and would stand against the interests of the Republic of Serbia and violation of civic principle and the organisation of the state. SPS insists that church should be separated from the state because that’s the only way how the good cooperation and relations with other religious institutions can be set up”*. (Programska deklaracija sedmog kongresa Socialističke partije Srbije 2006: 10-12)

Monarchic **Serbian renewal movement** defines itself as national party of liberal, civic and democratic decisions. *“We are national party, because we believe in the Serbian tradition and faith which were protecting Serbian nation...We believe in the civic principles, because we see that it means development of our nation and our state in the new history*. The programme does not specifically define the position of the party towards the national minorities and it is kind of vague. (Program SPO 2001: 1) However, the nationalistic feeling could be seen from the status of SPO when the symbol of SPO is defined as hand with three fingers and the emblem of SPO is three words on the Serbian flag: S symbolizing tinder (*ocil or, ognjila*) on the national coat of arms, P symbolizing *šajkača* (typical chetnicks hat) and O symbolizing heart and tears. (Statut SPO 1998: 1) Regarding the position of the party towards the Serbian Orthodox Church SPO states: *“ We believe that the Christian vision of men and society forces for the moral and responsible politics, where the faiths and state have to work independently, so that the state would not interfere into the politics and the politics would not interfere into the state affairs”*. Quite interestingly SPO does not mention in its programme the demand for including the religion into the school curricula. (Program SPO 2001: 3)

**New Serbia** supports the state which would protect the collective rights of Serbian nation, national and ethnic minorities. The party does not accept any discrimination in the society. The party states that the constitutional Serbian nation is responsible for the protection of human and civic rights and freedoms of all inhabitants of Serbia. *“New Serbia decided to fight for its political aims; it arose from the nation, which the party will always fight for”*. Even though the party sees the Serbian Orthodox Church as the historical spiritual entity which was serving the nation it demands the secular state. However, NS demands the inclusion of religion into the school curricula. (Program NS 2005: 6)

**Democratic Party of Serbia** states in its programme, that *“democracy is the only way how the Serbian nation and all inhabitants who live in our country could fully culturally, valuably, spiritually and nationally develop”*. The programme was developed before the Montenegrin separation and DSS in that time demanded that the name of the country shall

keep the Serbian name and that the flags of the country shall be identical with the flags of the republics. DSS demands to include in the pre-schools, basic schools as well as high schools curricula the national questions and wishes to re-establish the social status of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the society and state which it had throughout the history. *“National minorities in our country shall possess the same rights which are recognized by the international legal acts and all the rights which were recognized in our country. All national minorities can not have more rights than the others, no matter the numerousness of the minority.”* (Program DSS 2005: 3)

The programme of **Democratic Party** does not specifically deal with the terms of nation and national minorities but it states that *“there has to be national and religious tolerance in our multiethnic society...Our vision of the Serbian society of 21<sup>st</sup> century is dynamic and open society integrated in Europe and world.”* (Program Demokratske stranke 2001: 12, 19) The special election programme of DS states that the party will strive for passing of the law dealing with the national minorities. *“Serbia has to be based on the equality of citizens and on the development of integral multiculturalism and the cultural autonomy of all national minorities”*. The programme mentions affirmative action and states that DS wants to focus mainly on the integration of Roma and Albanians into the Serbian society. (Za bolji život! 2007: 89-90)

In the first paragraph **G17+** states, that Serbia has to have its own state and that their aim is the creation of unique democratic Serbia. The party does not refer specifically to the national minorities in its programme, but in the paragraph dealing with Vojvodina it states that *“Vojvodina is multinational, multicultural, multireligious unity. G17+ supports the protection of national, cultural, religious traditions and will help to set up the dialog about the differences with the aim to enable the active coexistence and common life of all inhabitants”*. The programme does not specifically talk about the relation of the state with the church, however it demands that the education system would be free from any ideology and would be in accord with the experience and tradition of education in Serbia as well as with modern European standards and demands. (Program G17+)

**Liberal Democratic Party** would vote for constitution in which the rights of the national minorities, individual as well as collective rights shall be guaranteed. LDP supports the idea of autonomy for Vojvodina, Sandžak and Kosovo because it means responsibility of the Bošnjaks, Hungarians and the Albanians. *“The process of disintegration of our country will not be accelerated but stopped by this. Without regard to the ethnicity, religion, sex, race,*

*political thoughts, everyone born in Serbia has to see and have higher chance here than in other countries of the world". (Drugačija Srbija 2007: 29)*

**League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina** states in its programme that all people have the right on their homeland, their ethnical identity, language and culture. It promotes the secular state where the clericalisation of the society and the interfering of the church into state affairs would not be possible. LSV thinks that nationality shall not be the only criteria for the statehood and that the legal order shall not be based on the nationality. *"The basis for the legal order shall lie in the freedom of every person bounded by the freedom of all others"*. LDV opposes the territorial division of Vojvodina according to the ethnical basis and opposes that the ethnic communities in Vojvodina would unite against the Serbs while it opposes the same unification of communities on ethnic basis in other countries. (Program LDV)

**Social Democratic Union** does not have any programme but rather short political declaration in which states that it supports the equality of all inhabitants without regard to the national, religion or other belonging. (Politička deklaracija 1999)

Even though all political parties demand the protection of rights of national minorities and equality of all citizens without regard to their national, religious, ethnic or other background, we could see two different approaches. The first group of the parties SRS, SPS, SPO, NS and DSS are the parties of ethnic Serbs which use the populist method of protection of *our Serbian nation*. These parties rather support the vision of nation state than the civil state; most radical in this sense is SRS which demands the unification of all Serbian territories. The second group consisting of DS, G17+, LDP, LDV and SDU are definitely not the parties based on the ethnic origin – they support multiculturalism, modern and dynamic society and some of them even talk about affirmative action.

Much more the same could be said about the relation of the parties towards church. All parties declare the secularism of the state as important precondition for the future development of Serbia. However, the conservative and traditional group (SRS, SPO, NS, DSS) inclines more towards church, mentions the religious values and demands to give back to the Orthodox Church its traditional important status in the society. Second, secular group of the parties (SPS, DS, G17+, LDP, LDV and SDU) promotes the idea of the state in which the interfering of the church into state affairs would not be possible. However in this context it has to be mentioned that the position of SPS during Milošević time was not that clear and that Milošević in the beginning of his era used church in order to gain support.



## 1.2 Kosovo

Kosovo has been the focal point of most of the political parties at least since 1999. **The Serbian Radical Party** demands the abolition of the autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija and is against any similar territorial statuses, apart from the case of Macedonia if it decides to live together in the common state with Serbs “*as a process of its existential and state interest*”. (Program SRS article 7)

**Socialist party of Serbia** insists on the full implementation of SC Resolution 1244, therefore it insists on the fact that Kosovo is an integral part of Serbia. “*Kosmet became the most ethnically clean territory in Europe after the constant terror, persecuting remained Serbs, Montenegrins and other non-Albanian inhabitants and the hindrance to return of refugees and IDPs...SPS supports the highest autonomy for Kosovo within the Serbian borders as possible solution...SPS insists that the new constitution of Serbia should state that Kosovo is indivisible part of territory of Republic of Serbia*”. The programme goes further on and attacks: “*SPS strongly opposes the dissemination of defeatism and the creation of such image, that the final solution for Kosovo has been already found, that the only option is independence and that Kosovo was lost in 1999 etc. Kosovo was defended from the aggression of Albanian terrorists and NATO and all who in Serbia support surrendering of Kosovo to the Albanian separatists, they support high treason as well*”. (Programska deklaracija sedmog kongresa Socialističke partije Srbije 2006: 11-12)

**Serbian renewal movement** demands the withdrawal of the NATO troops and the return of Serbian troops and Serbian nation into Kosovo. The way how to get the Serbian troops back is the association into Partnership for Peace and the integration into NATO. “*The expelled Serbs will return after the army*”. (Program SPO 2001: 6)

The programme of **New Serbia** does not mention Kosovo at all, however it states that, “*the national independence and territorial integrity are the basics of the programme, because the national independence presents presupposition for national sovereignty, political, and religious freedom and democracy*”. (Program NS 2005:8) It is worth to mention that one can enter through the web pages of Nova Srbija into the petition for *No to independence of Kosovo*<sup>12</sup>.

**Democratic Party of Serbia** demands the full implementation of Resolution of UN SC 1244. “*Kosovo and Metohija, which is currently under the UN unwelcome protectorate, forms the indivisible and integral part of our country... “Serbs and all other non-Albanians*

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.ns.org.yu/dokumenta.asp>.

*IDPs have to be enabled to come back and to regain their rights and their property”... We demand from SC that instead of declarations it requests UNMIK and KFOR to pursue concrete steps to stop the Albanian terror”.* (Program DSS 2005: 3) DSS clearly states that the state policy towards KiM is defined by the Constitution of Serbia and the resolutions of National Assembly which confirm that Kosmet is part of Serbia. Koštunica declared that the government is ready for the compromised solution which would be in accord with all international documents and which would protect minorities and which is the highest level of autonomy within Serbia<sup>13</sup>.

The official programme of **Democratic Party** from 2001 is kind of vague and states only *“that Serbia has to sort the future relations towards Montenegro and the future status of Kosovo and Metohija”.* (Program Demokratske stranke 2001: 23, 24) The election programme of DS does not explicitly refer to their position towards the final Kosovo status, however it states that DS wants to strive for the protection of the human and civil rights of Serbs and other non-Albanian communities, the responsibility of the Serbian political actors for the representation of the Serbs from KiM, the creation of real strategy for the solution of the Kosovo problem, definition of the Serbian position and its legitimate interests and the solution options, protection of the cultural heritage, hindrance of the misuse of the Kosovo problem in the daily political life. (Za bolji život! 2007: 14)

Boris Tadić proposed in November 2005 plan which shall resolve the final Kosovo status analogously to the Bosnian situation. Kosovo would remain part of Serbia, however would be divided into two entities – Serbian and the Albanian one. The local administration would have the full cultural autonomy, govern health and social politic, economical and financial issues, would be the authority over police and courts. There would be horizontal relations between the districts (opština) while simultaneously they would have direct institutional relations with Belgrade.<sup>14</sup>

**G17+** states in its programme, that Serbia has the historical responsibility to protect the Serbs in Kosovo and to enable those who want to come back to return. *“The lasting solution should guarantee the full autonomy for the Serbian entities in the north of Kosovo, Kosovo polje and Binačka Morava as well as the competency of Serbia over the monasteries in Gračanica, Visoki Dečani and Pečka patrijaršija... G17+ supports the compromised*

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<sup>13</sup> *Vlada spremna za pregovore o Kosmetu.* DSS. Available at <http://www.dss.org.yu/vesti/vest.php?id=4337>.

<sup>14</sup> The Serbian entity would be formed around Severna Mitrovica, Central Kosovo, Kosovsko Pomoravlje, Metohija and those parts where the most important monasteries of Serbian Orthodox Church are placed – Pečka patrijaršija, Visoki Dečani, Bogorodica Ljeviška, Sveti Arhandjeli I Dević. *Predlog plana predsednika Republike Srbije Borisa Tadića o formiranju dva entiteta, srpskog i albanskog entiteta, na prostoru Kosovu i Metohije.* Available online at <http://www.danas.co.yu/20051126/dogadjajdana1.html#2>

*solution.*” (Program G17+) The party comments the Ahtisaari plan as well: *“It is needed that we seek the sovereignty over the regions where the Serbs live, where Serbia should be economically sovereign – would invest and collect taxes. It is needed to seek formal sovereignty but we should try even more. The tactics till today was defensive and the politicians who were elected in the elections have to be offensive, because the professors from the negotiation teams were not able to perform even one offensive tactic”.* (Ahtisarijev predlog 2007)

**Liberal Democratic Party** proposes dialogue between the Albanians and the Serbs and supports the status of autonomous province for Kosovo. The party wishes that the Albanians could see their future in similar consensus as was concluded in the neighbouring Macedonia and proposes Plan 2K – constitutionality and consensus. The territory would be given to Albanians in exchange for the equal treatment of the Serbian minority on Kosovo through consensus and guarantee that everything will be solved through mutual consensus and by majority decision. Serbia would be next to the Security Council and the EU the guarantor of this aim. *“This is the last chance to come to the historical agreement about the creation of normal Kosovo society where Serbs would be equal partners to Albanians”.* (Drugačija Srbija 2007: 10-11)

The primary aim of the **League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina** is the Vojvodina case and not really Kosovo. LDV proposes the federal organisation of the state, where Vojvodina, Šumadija, Southeastern Serbia, Belgrade with its surroundings, Sandžak and Kosovo would be the units of federation. The federative Serbia according to LDV should have parliaments on the federal level as well as on lower levels. The programme states that Vojvodina should have the status of republic but does not mention any kind of status for the other above mentioned units. (Program LDV)

As already mentioned above, the political declaration of **Social Democratic Union** is very short and kind of vague. Regarding Kosovo, SDU only states, that it insists on the principle of the inviolability of borders and supports the societal relations in Kosovo on the basis of equality of inhabitants and on the basis of state integrity. At the same time SDU supports the decentralisation of Serbia and the full autonomy for Vojvodina. (Politička deklaracija 1999)

When we look at the political programmes of the political parties in the Kosovo issues, we realize, they all share the same aim – insistence on inviolability of borders, adherence to the SC Resolution 1244 therefore sticking to the idea of Kosovo as integral part of Serbia. Again we can talk about two groups – radical and modest one. The radicals (SRS, SPS, SPO,

NS, DSS) demand the return of Serbs (SPO talks about the return of the Serbian army) into Kosovo and talk about ethnic cleansing and Albanian aggression. Out of these SRS supports the abolition of the status of autonomous province for Kosovo. The modest group (DS, G17+, LDP, LDV and SDU) supports the preservation of autonomous status for Kosovo or better to say creation of autonomous province of the Serbs within the autonomous province of Kosovo. The second group talks about compromises solutions and will to negotiate.

### 1.3 National reconciliation and cooperation with ICTY

There is no way **Serbian Radical Party** would support national reconciliation. The programme starts with the acclamation that at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Serbia was in very unfavourable encompassment. Serbia is divided in three territories and big parts are occupied by Croats and Muslims – the traditional Serbian enemies. *“We want to show to the whole world that we are European nation with old traditions, that we do not traditionally incline towards communism, that we are cured from the illness, that we went to the war because our existence was endangered, because we are not able to revolt or to give up without combat”*. We can not talk about national reconciliation in SRS at all in the future, having in mind that the anthem of SRS is the song *“Sprem’te se Sprem’te”*<sup>15</sup>.

**Socialist Party of Serbia** sees the ICTY as *“political and not independent institution formed with the aim to punish and satanize the Serbian nation. The cooperation with ICTY is big burden and we have to take care of state and national dignity. The crimes have to be individualized and it has to be secured that the nation and state would not be labelled through the manipulation and falsification as protagonists of genocide. The process of Slobodan Milošević shows the inequality, selective truth and infringement of international laws so the credibility of this institution becomes in question.”* (Programska deklaracija sedmog kongresa Socijalističke partije Srbije 2006: 11-12)

**Serbian Renewal Movement** strives for future of Serbia and not for digging into the past, because there is a risk that *“we would make again the mistakes of previous regime which would cause conflicts and left Serbia in the narrowest borders on the periphery of Europe and the Balkan. Serbia being aware of its alternatives and its answerability can again become the founder of peace and security and the initiator of the process of integration of south-eastern Europe into the European Union”*. (Program SPO 2001: 7) Vuk Drašković said many times

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<sup>15</sup> The third strophe goes like this: *Get ready, get ready chetnics, there will be great figur, Draža vojvoda will roar, throw the bombs, chetnics*. The whole anthem available online at : [http://www.micapetrovic.com/chetnik\\_lyrics.php](http://www.micapetrovic.com/chetnik_lyrics.php).

that Serbia has to cooperate with ICTY: *“When Brussels and Moscow are making plans about union from the Atlantic to Vladivostok, some still ask where is our destiny: European future of Serbia or protection of war criminals in Hague?”* (Interview with Vuk Drašković, Politika 22.3.2005) In June 2005 SPO issued declaration condemning the war crimes in Srebrenica: *“We demand the accountability of the generals for the war crimes and in Srebrenica and elsewhere and we condemn those who proclaim them war heroes”*. (Deklaracija povodom desete godišnice ratnog zločina u Srebrenici 2005)

The programme of **New Serbia** does not refer at all to the past and avoids any reference to the national reconciliation or cooperation with ICTY.

**Democratic Party of Serbia** is quite critical towards the ICTY and states that *“even though the ICTY is more of political rather than legal institution and it is easy to transform it into the instrument of the political powers, the cooperation with Tribunal presents our obligation which we can not dispose of.”* However, DSS states that the cooperation with Hague has to be legally regulated and shall be done with national dignity. (Program DSS 2005: 6)

**Democratic Party** defines itself as a modern party which always thinks about future of Serbia: *“We see ourselves as the transformers not only as one of the parties on the political scene. Our responsibility is bigger as what was in the last 12 years”*. (Program Demokratske stranke 2001: 6) The election programme of DS states vaguely that the status of Kosovo and Metohija as well as cooperation with ICTY is in the agenda of the party. (Za bolji život! 2007: 82) The newest document of DS states that *“Serbian society has to deal with the crimes from the past...All attempts to cover crimes have to be persecuted and all police and judicial organs who take part in that shall be seen as crime participants. Not even one institution or person can be protected from the uncovering of crimes in the past”*. (Strategija promena 2006: 39)

**G17+** states that *“the cooperation with ICTY is our international and internal responsibility. The completion of the cooperation with ICTY will improve the political position of Serbia in all sense – in the case of negotiations about the status of Kosovo as well as the fast integration of Serbia into the EU. The state organs are responsible to locate and arrest those indicted by that court”*. (Saradnja sa sudom u Hagu 2006)

**Liberal Democratic Party** has probably one of the most radical stance towards the past. In the beginning of its programme it states, that Serbia does not have option any more whether it wants to deal with ICTY or Kosovo problem but it can actively sort these problems out. *“There are judicial proceedings with the war criminals in Hague and in Serbia we have*

*to condemn those politicians who support those war criminals. Modern Serbia can not be built until there are politicians who committed crimes. The court against Milošević and Šešelj in Hague has to lead to the abolition of their political parties in Serbia.”* The programme goes further on and criticises the politicians who relativize and deny the crimes committed in Srebrenica and elsewhere during the wars. *“We have to call genocide a genocide. Conversely, we would become Nazis of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Because the only difference between the photos from Srebrenica and Auschwitz is that the first one are in colour”*...*The people are still hypnotized by the messaged that everything what is not good is not our responsibility but other people are responsible for that. It is true, that the way to Europe goes through Hague.* (Drugačija Srbija 2007: 7-8)

**League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina** insists that all the war crimes committed on the territory of Vojvodina as well as on the territory of whole ex-SFRY shall be condemned. LDV opposes the inefficient politics of central Serbia regarding the cooperation with ICTY, due to which the inhabitants of Vojvodina suffer. (Program LDV)

**Social Democratic Union** is from those parties which do not want to share the responsibility for past and rather say that *“fast political elimination of regime Milošević-Šešelj is the first step of the departure from the deep social crisis. Serbian nationalism and its political exponent – regime Milošević-Šešelj devastated the Serbian nation not only in Serbia but as well abroad. To get rid of the responsibility of the nationalism of even our actual regime the theories about the conspiracy against the Serbian nation are made up”*. The declaration further states that it demands the full responsibility of the actors for the war politics and the war crimes. (Politička deklaracija 1999)

As we have seen the most intransigent are SRS and SPS, which strongly oppose the cooperation with ICTY, talk about occupation of Serbian lands, about atrocities committed to Serbs and about Serbian enemies. Both parties do not even mention any national reconciliation and populistically repeat the black/white prism of good slandered Serbs and bad enemies – Croats, Muslims, Albanians and NATO or better to say the whole international community demanding the cooperation of Serbia with ICTY. SPO and NS do not really mention any national reconciliation or better to say SPO explicitly states it does not want to deal with the past and so repeat the mistakes of the previous regime. Democratic Party of Serbia is somewhere between the first radical group (SRS, SPS) and the modest one (DS, G17+, LDP, LDV and SDU) talking on one hand about ICTY as political institution, but on the other one about the need of Serbia to cooperate with the Hague Tribunal. The modest group of the parties talks about the national reconciliation, the need to look at and deal with

the past and about the need to cooperate with ICTY. The most pro-ICTY is the LDP which openly talks about genocide.

## **1.4 Foreign policy – relation towards main actors, regional policy and policy towards the Serbian diaspora in the region**

As already mentioned above the main aim of **Serbian Radical Party** is the creation of Greater Serbia. The party demands that the refugees from Slovenia, Croatia, BiH obtain immediately Serbian citizenship without any procedural or administrative hindrances. (Program SRS: article 28) SRS would like to establish active cooperation “*with the equal states and nations on the basis of respect towards the national sovereignty, not-interfering into the internal affairs of other states except in the case of protection of individual human freedoms and rights, solution of international disputes in the peaceful way as well as not-recognition of the principle of use of force in the international relations*”. The programme does not explicitly state any state it wishes to have special relations with, however it mentions that the party wants to have special relations with those states who were sympathetic and were helping Serbia in the most difficult times. The same vagueness is used when talking about international organisations – SRS supports integration into such organisations which would regard the non-interfering into the internal affairs and the national sovereignty of the states. It supports in the same way the accession into such military-political unions with those countries Serbia has common interest with. (Program SRS: article 48-50)

The **Socialist Party of Serbia** supports active cooperation with all countries in the world on the principle of equality. It backs the equal cooperation with the EU countries and supports the negotiations about the European integration. The negotiations have to be done so they would be in accord with the national interest of Republic of Serbia. SPS promotes the cooperation with all countries in south-eastern Europe which would enable the free movement of people, good, capital, cultural, academic and other values. “*Serbia has to be the important international factor not only in the Balkans but even wider in Europe*”. The SPS is against the accession of Serbia into the Partnership of Peace and NATO “*but it would understand such decision if approved by the inhabitants of Serbia*”. Socialist party of Serbia insists on the safe return of the Serbian refugees to Croatia and the restoration of their property. SPS claims, that those refugees who want to stay in Serbia should have the right to obtain Serbian citizenship. SPS plans to reinforce the relations with Republika Srpska (economically, politically and culturally) in accord with the Agreement about the special parallel relations (*Sporazum o*

*specijalnim i paralelnim vezama*) “SPS is against any revision of the Dayton Peace Agreement which would erase political identity and autonomy of Republika Srpska. (Programska deklaracija sedmog kongresa Socialističke partije Srbije 2006: 11, 44-5)

**Serbian renewal movement** sees Serbia in the future as the bridge between the Western Europe and the Middle East, Mediterranean countries and the Central and Eastern Europe. SPO wants to create above all great relations with the neighbouring countries while the aim of the country shall be the integration into the EU. The party wishes the cooperation with USA, Russia, China, Japan and all countries of world on the principle of equality and mutual interests. SPO demands the return of Serbs into Croatia and BiH and the protection of their civic, national, religious and other rights. (Program SPO 2001 : 6-7)

**New Serbia** wants not only to integrate into the European structures, but it strives for the strengthening of the EU and transformation more of the economic union into the political union. *“The aim is the United Europe where all will be taking care of their national and cultural identity. The aim of the New Serbia is the creation of United Europe based on solidarity and unity of nations and inhabitants therefore strong Serbia in strong Europe”*. (Program NS 2005:8) Regarding the Serbian diaspora, NS demands that the Serbs living abroad shall have the right for the Serbian citizenship and all other rights which stem from that, which means electoral right in all the countries where Serbia has the permanent diplomatic representation.

**Democratic Party of Serbia** resolutely refuses any restoration of former Yugoslavia based on forming some kind of federation with the neighbouring countries. The text mentions the support for the Dayton Peace Agreement and the maintenance of the special relations of Serbia with Republika Srpska as one of the strategic aims of the state politics. *“Having in mind the non-interference into the state politics, Serbia will be in normal diplomatic way striving for the protection of the national, political and human rights of the Serbs living in the neighbouring countries...Cooperation with diapora is one of the means for the creation of national unity. It is not possible that one part of the country would cease from the state or exchange for other part with other state without an approval of the nation who live on that territory.”* (Program DSS 2005: 3-4)

Regarding the Euro Atlantic integration DSS strives for the EU integration as well as for the cooperation with neighbouring countries. However, it is quite obvious that the accent on the EU is not such as in the DS programme. The DSS wishes that Serbia will become again part of the international community and integrate into important international organisations. (Program DSS 2005: 5)



**Democratic Party** clearly states in its programme that the aim is the integration of Serbia in the EU in the fastest realistic term. *“We wish that European structures and standards will become part of our society and that we will become equal member of the EU”*. Regarding the task of Serbia in the region, DS wants Serbia to become the stabiliser of the region it wants *“to support all Serbs living outside of Serbia and take care of national and cultural identity, easiness of communication and exchange of experience.”* (Program Demokratske stranke 2001: 24) Besides the EU integration DS strives for becoming relevant partner in the war against terrorism, in the euro-atlantic integration and wants to keep the strategic partnership with traditional Serbian partners – Russia and China. (Strategija promena 2006: 39)

**G17+** states that historically, culturally and emotively Serbia is already part of Europe but not institutionally therefore the party supports the fast integration into EU. The aim of the party is economically strong and democratic stable Serbia which would become leader in the Balkans, ready to accept the European standards and to protect the best from its tradition and culture. The party sees that the EU candidate status as well as membership in Partnership for Peace will improve the status of Serbia in the negotiations about the future Kosovo status. G17 + states that the state has to create new politics towards diaspora so there would be political will to solve the problems of diaspora and to launch the economic cooperation through the projects with Serbia. (Program G17+) The aim of the party is the unification of all Serbs through the membership in the EU. (10tema 2003)

**Liberal Democratic Party** sees these issues as priorities of the foreign policy of Serbia: integration into the EU and NATO, strengthening of the regional cooperation and return of the key political factor on the Balkans, cooperation with the international financial institutions, finalizing of the cooperation with ICTY, cooperation with relevant international factors and the war against terrorism and proliferations in accord with the capabilities of the country. (Drugačija Srbija 2007: 56-59)

The pivotal focus of **the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina** lies in the status of Vojvodina which is even reflected in the proposed foreign policy: *“Due to the geographic position and tradition, Vojvodina has special task and responsibility in the process of integration of Serbia into the EU. The EU standards have to be firstly applied in Vojvodina which would be the representative illustration for other parts of our country who would follow our example”*. (Program LDV)

**Social Democratic Union** does not mention at all integration into Euro Atlantic structures, the only reference dealing with the foreign policy is about the normalisation of the

relations with BiH, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and the strengthening of the relations and cooperation with all neighbours and fast integration into the Stability Pact for south-eastern Europe.

SRS is the only party which demands the revision of Dayton Peace Agreement and creation of Greater Serbia based on ethnic borders. The party does not explicitly mention any land it has to have special relations with, it only states that is open to all countries which were helping Serbia in the past. SRS is the only country which does not talk about the integration of the country into the EU. All other countries talk about the accession to EU while quite interestingly SPO sees in the integration into NATO the way how to get Kosovo back. SPS is against the integration of the country into NATO, but it would accept the decision if taken by majority of the citizens. Most of the countries accent the cooperation with Serbian diaspora in the region. DSS goes even further in that a wants to establish special relations with Republika Srpska. The rest of the parties (DS, G17+, LDP, LDV and SDU) fully support the integration into the EU as well as NATO and look at the regional cooperation as the main precondition for that.

## **2. POLITICAL PARTIES IN KOSOVO**

### **2.1 Conceptualisation of nation and protection of national minorities, national vs. civic**

Looking on the party programmes, the oldest one have in certain way elaborated their concept of nation or their stance towards national minorities. However, these can not be said about the newly emerged political parties. **Democratic League of Kosovo** according to its programme respects and protects democracy, the compliance with human rights, respect, tolerance and good understanding with everyone without regard to ethnic origin. *“We know there can not be free society in Kosovo without guarantee of individual freedoms”*. (Programi i Lidhjes demokratike të Kosovës 2006) The programme is quite superficial and does not go deeper into racial, sex or religious tolerance.

**Democratic Party of Kosovo** states that *“all inhabitants have the same rights without regard to their national, religious or racial origin. PDK protects and guarantees the rights and freedoms of national minorities which live in Kosovo in accord with the standards of the international covenants”*. The programme states that the human rights shall be guaranteed according to the national standards, Universal declaration of human rights of UN and the OSCE documents. (Programi PDK 2002)

**Alliance for the future of Kosovo** does not mention anything similar to their conceptualisation of nation and the relations with national minorities.

The program of the **Reformist Party Ora** does not specifically mention national minorities and it only vaguely states that the legal system should ensure the rights and freedoms for the Kosovo inhabitants.

According to its programme, **Democratic League of Dardania** respects ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, defends the laws of all minorities in Kosovo on the level of European as well as world standards. (Platforma politike e Lidhjes Demokratike të Dardanisë 2007)

As seen above, the concept of national minorities has not taken any significant place in the programme of the political parties. Neither of the programme mentions the significant Serbian minority and the stance of the party after the declaration of independent Kosovo. The most elaborated programme in this sense is the PDK one while the least elaborated one in this sense seems to be the AAK of Ramush Haradinaj.

## 2.2 Kosovo status

It could be said, that all relevant parties in Kosovo are single-issue party. All of them do not count with any other option than Kosovo independence and they do not really care about other issues. The Kosovo independence is the pivotal aim of all the parties.

**Democratic League of Kosovo** according to its programme strives for the recognition of the independence of Kosovo as “*existential question for the Albanians, important question for the region, which can not be solved without international help of USA and EU.*” (Programi i Lidhjes demokratike të Kosovës 2006)

The stance towards Kosovo status of **Democratic Party of Kosovo** is quite clear. PDK states that “*the independence of Kosovo is necessary condition for the stability of the region. It is real solution and does not present any risk. The main goal of PDK is realisation and aspiration of civil society in independent Kosovo through the democratic process. The period of common being with UNMIK and OSCE will come to the end one day. In this period the process of independence will be crystallized and will become real because of the neutral right for independent Kosovo*”. (Programi PDK 2002)

The programme of **Alliance for the future of Kosovo** states in the first line “*We are the owners and we will be the owners of Kosovo*”. AAK “*supports the cooperation with LDK and the parties of the governmental coalition on the whole level and with every format of*

*cooperation, based on plurality of opinions and experience*". (Dokument-platformë AAK 2006) AAK stands for the realisation of the politics of people of Kosovo, for sovereign and independent state of Kosovo.

**Reformist Party Ora** does not mention independence of Kosovo or better to say it does not take in account there could be anything else than independence. The motto of the party is *Independence, peace, prosperity*. It states that the constitution of Kosovo should guarantee the rights for all inhabitants of Kosovo. The party demands to build modern army which would secure the Kosovo state.

According to its programme, **Democratic League of Dardania** works for independent and sovereign Kosovo state, integrated into the EU, NATO and having good relations with USA. (Platforma politike e Lidhjes Demokratike të Dardanisë 2007)

As already stated above, the relevant political parties do not see any other option as the independence of Kosovo. All parties agree that the independence of Kosovo is inevitable. Probably the most radical stance has the AAK with its proprietary approach. The political parties which promulgate the creation of Greater Albania are at the edge of the political spectrum.

## **2.3 National reconciliation and cooperation with ICTY**

The programmes of the political parties are kind of vague regarding the relation towards the past. **Democratic League of Kosovo** mentions in the beginning the conditions in which the party was formed and its activity during the 1990s. *"LDK was trying for one decade through tolerance and dialogue to resolve the Kosovo question in democratic way against the aggressive and oppressive politics of Beograd. They organized resistance with all the people, people agreed with everything LDK was doing. In the years 1998 and 1999 the Serbian oppression in Kosovo was doing genocide against Albanians and the LDK together with the Kosovo people was helping to fight in the armed resistance against the aggression of Belgrade. The uprising organized by the Albanians and the international intervention against Serbs in June 1999 caused that the paramilitary Serbian groups in Kosovo surrendered to give Kosovo chance to decide their future.* (Programi i Lidhjes demokratike të Kosovës 2006)

The programme of **Democratic Party of Kosovo** states that PDK was created in special historical moment. *"The heroic war of UÇK and abolition of the Serbian authority, arrival of the international forces, setting up of the organisations and institutions needed for the democracy are creating conditions for public political activity. PDK is descendent of*

*political structures of UÇK and the people which were leading the patriotic war in the WWII. It strives for the independency of Kosovo. PDK will support poor people and the people which suffered in the wars in special way, political prisoners and the victims of Great Serbian aggression.* (Programi PDK 2002)

**Alliance for the future of Kosovo** does not state anything about the national reconciliation and cooperation with ICTY. Even the interviews with Ramush Haradinaj do not even tackle the issue. (Ramush Haradinaj – Intervistë 2007)

**Reformist Party Ora** does not mention anything about the past; only in the foreign policy in the region it states it wants to have good relations with neighbours.

**Democratic League of Dardania** does not mention anything about reconciliation or about the past at all.

To sum it up, the Albanians feel themselves as victors of the war and therefore they do not see the reason for any national reconciliation. They do not even think that they could be indicted by ICTY and handed over to Hague. There are only two parties who explicitly talk about the past in their programmes – PDK and LDK. However, both only talk about the Serbian aggression and the victorious Albanian patriotic war and the white/black image of the allies and enemies and victors and defeated ones is preserved.

## **2.4 Foreign policy – relation towards main actors, regional policy and policy towards Albania and Albanian minority in Macedonia**

**Democratic League of Kosovo** strives for the independent Kosovo based on the international standards which would integrate into NATO, EU and other international organisations and create open relations with neighbours with common interest and aim. The programme states that *“the Albanian people in the whole territory of Kosovo and in diaspora in Europe and in America support the policy of LDK”*. (Programi i Lidhjes demokratike të Kosovës 2006)

**Democratic Party of Kosovo** *“strives and forces the Albanian politics in the region, with the aim to participate on the process of regional as well as European integration in order to realize the uncontested national rights”*. (Programi PDK 2002) PDK supports the integration of Kosovo into the European Union and demands the restructuring of the army in order to integrate into Euro Atlantic structures.

**Alliance for the future of Kosovo** demands the regional cooperation and the integration of Kosovo into Euro Atlantic structures, creation of special relations with USA and launching of bilateral relations with all states on the basis of bilateral will. AAK supports

the cooperation with UNMIK, KFOR, diplomatic missions in Kosovo and the international mechanisms present in Kosovo. It supports the regional cooperation, the relations with Contact Groups, USA, NATO, EU, UN, with all international organisations and monetary institutional supranational and national, political parties to create favourable climate for Kosovo.

**Reformist Party Ora** mentions three dimensions of their preferred foreign policy. First of all, they support the integration of Kosovo into the EU. The second dimension shall be the relations with neighbours:” *Kosovo state shall be maximally engaged in the launching of good relations with all states in the region. Kosovo will take care of all lives of all Albanians which live in neighbouring countries and support their legitimate rights where they live. Kosovo will help the neighbouring countries in respecting the minority rights and strongly will aid to establish the Albanian language schools.*” (Program i partive reformiste ORA) The third dimension shall be special relations with Albania and cooperation mainly in the school curricula in the two subjects: history and the Albanian culture. Last but not least, the relations with USA shall be crucial. The programme mentions as well the integration of Kosovo into NATO, but not in the foreign policy part.

**Democratic League of Dardania** supports fully the integration into the EU and NATO while having optimal relations with USA. The programme does not mention any relations with other countries except special relations with Albania. (Platforma politike e Lidhjes Demokratike të Dardanisë 2007)

All parties focus on the integration independent Kosovo into the European union and NATO. Besides that AAK, LDD and Ora mention the special relations with the USA. All countries except Democratic League of Dardania accent the regional cooperation and integration. Special relations with Albania and Albanian diapora are accented in the programmes of all political parties except from Alliance for the future of Kosovo of Ramush Haradinaj.

## Conclusion

The analysis showed that rough division of the Serbian party system could be nationalist vs. modernists. The first radical and populist group would encompass SRS, SPS, SPO, NS and DSS while the second pro-western group would comprise DS, G17+, LDP, LDV and SDU. For simplification we will call the first group radical and the second one modest. If we would like to be more precise we would have to go more deeply into the issue. The most

nationalistic and populist party is SRS propagating the creation of Greater Serbia therefore the annexation of Republika Srpska and Republika Srpska Krajina into the new national state. SPS uses the populist means as well, however it does not want to revise the Dayton Peace Agreement and does not wish to revise borders.

When looking at the Serbian party system we saw that all parties demand secular state in which the human rights and rights of national minorities would be respected. Some of them would like to restore the special status of Serbian Orthodox Church but without interfering of the church into the state affairs.

All parties in Serbia see the future of Kosovo within the Serbian borders. The radical groups demand the return of Serbian nationals and Serbian army into Kosovo while the modest groups demand dialogue leading to consensus which could be the autonomy of the Serbs in the autonomous province of Kosovo and special protection of the property of Serbian Orthodox Church.

SRS and SPS are the most radical when talking about the cooperation with ICTY. None of these two parties talk about any national reconciliation but rather talk about genocide committed on the Serbian nation. SPO and NS do not want to deal with the past in order not to repeat the mistakes of the previous regime. DSS has kind of middle position while the modest group talks about the need to cooperate with ICTY and acknowledge the crimes committed by the Serbs.

In foreign policy all parties except SRS talk about the integration into EU while DS, G17+, LDP, LDV and SDU support the NATO accession as well. Most of the parties talk about the support of the Serbian diaspora in the neighbouring countries while DSS talks about special relations with Republika Srpska. Mainly the modern parties support the regional cooperation.

When looking on the Kosovo party system, one can claim, that the programmes of analysed Kosovo political parties are not fully elaborated yet. All political parties are single-issue parties and there is practically no difference in their party policy. All of them pursue the independence of Kosovo and the integration of sovereign Kosovo state into the Euro Atlantic structures. The parties are formed around influential figures and their programme does not play any role at the minute. There is no real cleavage in the Western sense in the Albanian society. The animosities between the party leaders and the clans play the main role in the

behaviour of the electorate. There is no economic right-left axis, no real cleavage centre/periphery<sup>16</sup>, no cleavage at all church vs. state or any other.

It is likely that with the independence of Kosovo, the parties will have to change their policies, find their main topics so that the classical right-left axis would be created. However, it is hard to say how long or if at all will happen. The society based on the clans functions completely different than the society in the western sense.

As already stated above, the concept of national minority is not really elaborated in the party programmes. The only exception is PDK states that the rights of national minorities shall be guaranteed to all minorities living in Kosovo. The least elaborated programme is the one from AAK of Ramush Haradinaj. None of the programmes mention the Serbian minority and what will happen after the Kosovo independence with the Serbian nationals.

None of the parties mention any national reconciliation or the cooperation with the Hague Tribunal. LDK and PDK talk about the past and mention the Serbian aggression and the victorious patriotic war. It will be quite interesting to look at the political scene in Kosovo after the recognition of independence when there will be no real obstacles for Carla del Ponte to indict the ethnic Albanian war criminals and ask for the indictees to be handed over to the Hague. At the minute, the author sees two ways. Either the animosities between the leaders will deepen and the governing party will be handing the oppositional leaders to ICTY or the Albanians will unite against the outside world and will resist. The first option seems quite likely having in mind that even during the Kosovo war the animosities between FARK and UÇK, or better to say between Haradinaj and Musaj family went on even with the exercise of the blood revenge.

All relevant political parties strive for independent Kosovo integrated in the Euro Atlantic structures, having special relations with USA, Albania and the Albanian diaspora and promoting the regional cooperation. After the recognition of independence we can expect rise of new issues on the political scene (Serbian minority, cooperation with ICTY, economical issues, national reconciliation, coping with the organized crime, health, education, etc.) and profile of the parties around these. At the minute we can only claim that the ethnic Albanian political scene in Kosovo is not consolidated yet.

The very first difference between the Serbian and the Kosovo Albanian political parties is that the first ones are far more elaborated, that they differ along issues and that the

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<sup>16</sup> Except the territorial cleavage which overlaps with the ethnic cleavage. Certain territorial divisions stem from the fact that the party leaders come from certain leaders affiliated to certain territories/flans. E.g. Haradinaj and AAK get the biggest support from the Dukagjini region he comes from.



party system seems to be somehow stable and created along cleavages. Even though the Kosovo Albanian party systems seems to be quite stable, it is not evolved along the conflicting issues but rather the affiliation to certain people plays role and the parties could not be distinguished according to their programmes. The Albanian parties have one aim – independence for Kosovo; they do not really differ in their prospective policies and can easily collaborate all together in one government. After the proclamation of independence we could hope for establishing of classical party systems. However, the future will only show if this is done along conflicting issues in the society or along the clan divisions. The same could be said about the national reconciliation – the Serbian parties differ in this issue. However, the Serbs are perceived as the defeated nation and therefore it is highly disputable whether there will be any discourse in the Albanian society about the national reconciliation, individual vs. collective guilt, ICTY indictments etc. The analysis showed that we could easily predict the future steps of the Serbian political parties due to their stable position and ideological anchorage while it would be highly disputable to predict the future steps of the Kosovo Albanian parties due to their *youth* and the fact that they were founded in order to fight against the external enemy and not to fight against each other in the election battles.

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## Abbreviations and party pages:

- <http://www.srs.org.yu/> (Srpska radikalna stranka, Serbian Radical Party, SRS)
- <http://www.ds.org.yu/> (Demokratska stranka, Democratic Party, DS)
- <http://www.dss.org.yu/> (Demokratska stranka Srbije, Democratic Party of Serbia, DSS)
- <http://www.spo.org.yu/> (Srpski pokret obnove, Serbian Renewal Movement, SPO)
- <http://www.sps.org.yu/> (Socialistička Partija Srbije, Socialist Party of Serbia, SPS)
- <http://www.ns.org.yu/> (Nova Srbija, New Serbia, NS)
- <http://www.g17plus.org.yu/> (G17 plus)
- <http://www.ldp.org.yu/> (Liberalno demokratska partija, Liberal Democratic Party, LDP)

- <http://www.lsv.org.yu/index1.php> (Liga socijaldemokrata Vojvodine, League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina, LDV)
- <http://www.srpskinacionalisti.com/> (Srpski nacionalisti, Serbian nationalists)
- <http://www.rferl.org/balkan-report/1998/10/41-211098.html> *Balkan report*. 21. 10. 1998, N. 41
- <http://www.vojislavseselj.org.yu/> (Vojislav Šešelj)
- <http://www.antiglobalizam.com/> (Antiglobalistička politika)
- <http://www.anti-glob.ru/> (Antiglob)
- <http://ldk-kosova.eu/> (Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës, Democratic League of Kosovo, LDK)
- <http://www.ldd-kosova.org/> (Lidhja Demokratike e Dardanesë, Democratic League of Dardania, LDD)
- <http://www.pdk-ks.org/site/?id=1,0,0,1,a> (Partia Demokratike e Kosovës, Демократска Странка Косова, Demokratska Stranka Kosova, Democratic Party of Kosovo, PDK )
- <http://www.aleanca.info/> (Aleanca për Ardhmërinë e Kosovës, Alliance for the future of Kosovo, AAK)
- <http://www.ora-kosova.org/> (Partisë Reformiste Ora, Reformist Party Ora)
- <http://www.akr-ks.info/> (Aleanca Kosova e Re, New Kosovo Alliance)
- UÇK (Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës, KLA Kosovo Liberation Army, OVK Oslobodilačka vojska Kosova)
- <http://www.chetnici.com/> (Srpska radikalna stranka Paltalka, Serbian radical party Paltalka)
- <http://www.srbija-glas-cetnika.com/> (Glas cetnika)
- [http://www.micapetrovic.com/chetnik\\_lyrics.php](http://www.micapetrovic.com/chetnik_lyrics.php) (Chetnics lyrics)
- <http://www.hic.hr/velika-srbija17.htm> (Velika Srbija)