

# Kosovo after the Declaration of Independence: Admission to UN, EU AND NATO

*Besfort Rrecaj\**

Original paper  
UDC 325.8:327(497.115)  
Received in June 2008

---

*After Unilateral Declaration of Independence Kosovo's main struggle is to position itself in the best way within the international community. Being a new state is like a newborn child who requires support from everyone to get used to and fit into the new life. However, the way the status of Kosovo was resolved seems to put more hardship on Kosovo. Current global development with Cold War rhetoric between the West and Russia and the row over independence could make it very difficult for Kosovo to establish relations with other states and enter international organizations such as the UN, NATO, and the EU. Thus, Kosovo has to make a lot of efforts and drain a lot of energy in to lobbying process to get as much recognition as possible. Joining the above mentioned organizations will be very important and will facilitate the engagement of the newborn state in international relations.*

**Key words:** Kosovo, Independence, UN, NATO, EU

---

## 1. Introduction

Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia on 17 February 2008 promising to be a democratic state of all its citizens regardless of nation, religion, cultural or language background<sup>1</sup>. The declaration of independence came after 2 years of official negotiations and almost 9 years since the installation of the UN administration that followed NATO air strikes. Failed attempts by the UN special envoy for Kosovo former President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari to bring about a common solution for both parties led to deep divisions between permanent members of the UN Security Council (SC). SC did not put into agenda the proposal of Martti Ahtisaari for the final settlement of the status of Kosovo knowing that it would be a failure because of Russian clear threat to veto it. The proposal suggested a kind of an internationally supervised independence with specific internal arrangements with due regard for

the position of minorities, especially the Serb minority. Despite all the favourable provisions and affirmative action towards minorities it was rejected by the Serbian side. With tacit agreement of independence supporters, mainly from the US and western European states, Kosovo's prime minister declared independence on 17 February 2008. It was followed by a recommendation of the Secretary General to allow deployment of the EU rule of law mission under the name of EULEX. All these steps created a unique situation in which Resolution 1244 is still being active with EULEX established by a decision of the European Council.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the international political position of Kosovo after its declaration of independence. An independent state cannot stand alone and its statehood needs to be acknowledged and supported by other states, which in turn influences international position of Kosovo with regards to other states and international organizations as well. So far, Kosovo has been recognized by 45 countries including the US and most of EU coun-

---

\* Besfort Rrecaj, Professor Assistant at the Law Faculty, University of Prishtina

tries. However, Kosovo needs more recognition to join most important international organizations it aspires to. In most international organizations the principle of equality of states is of paramount value meaning that all states composing the particular organization have equal right of vote which means that Kosovo has to get the required majority of votes to enter an international organization. The decision-making on important matters in some international organizations such as the EU is based on consensus, while in the others such as the UN the decision-making mechanism is more complicated, it is a two-tier system shared between Security Council and General Assembly while it also gives the right to veto to some states. Kosovo needs more recognition to enter important international organizations it aspires. This paper will focus on Kosovo's efforts to enter three important international organizations: UN, NATO and EU.

## 2. Failed Mediation Attempts to Settle the Final Status of Kosovo

Recognizing the need to determine the future status of Kosovo but concerned with the democratization process, especially the situation of the minorities, the international community created standards that needed to be met by Kosovo institutions. In this process international community firstly adopted the policy of "standards before status" to be changed later to "standards with status" apparently showing confidence towards Kosovo institutions but also avoiding any situation which could be misused by Belgrade in its efforts to block moving forward of the process. These standards consisted of eight main benchmarks that would have been used to test the ability of Kosovo institutions to build a legal state, and, in particular, protect minorities<sup>2</sup>. A successful evaluation of these standards would begin the negotiating process. The green light was given after the UN special representative Kay Eide, presented a positive report to the SRSG on the fulfilment of standards. On October 7, 2005, the UN Secretary General informed the Security Council that conditions existed for a dialogue to begin, with the international community mediating the negotiations. To facilitate the process of negotiation, the UNSC appointed its special envoy (SE), the former Finish Prime Minister, Martti Ahtisaari to mediate and facilitate the negotiating process. Ahtisaari office would be named United Nations Office of Special Envoy for Kosovo (UNOSEK)<sup>3</sup>.

Due to conflicting interests between the two parties, the Contact Group constructed ten basic principles upon which the future status should be determined<sup>4</sup>. The most important principle is principle no. 6, which states firmly that Kosovo will not return to its status before March 1999, that there will be no partition, and that there will be no union with another state.

During negotiation process, Martti Ahtisaari used different forms of diplomacy ranging from shuttle diplomacy to facilitating direct negotiations of both parties in Vienna. "The SE and the Deputy SE (DSE) paid their first visit to the parties and the region in November 2005, visiting Prishtina and Belgrade, as well as the neighbouring capitals of Tirana, Podgorica and Skopje. Since then, the Special Envoy, his Deputy and senior staff members of UNOSEK have made frequent visits to the region. In the course of 2006, UNOSEK held 15 rounds of direct talks between the Belgrade and Pristina negotiating teams<sup>5</sup>.

On 25 January 2007, the Special Envoy met the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, in Paris to brief him on the latest developments in the status process and share with him the proposal. The next day, the Special Envoy met in Vienna with the Contact Group members and also shared the content of his proposal, as part of the regular consultations and close cooperation process between UNOSEK and the CG. The proposal was presented to the concerned parties beginning of February to be followed by two series of meetings between them in Vienna, on 21 February and 2 March 2007, and a final one on March 10. At the end of the High level meeting (10 March), the Special Envoy observed that there was no will from the parties to move away from their previously stated positions. Left with no doubt that the parties' respective positions on Kosovo's status did not contain any common ground to achieve an agreement and that no amount of additional negotiation would change that fact, the Special Envoy concluded that the potential of negotiations was exhausted. He announced his intention to finalize his proposal for submission to the UN Security Council in the course of the month of March.

On 14 March, Deputy Special Envoy Albert Rohan went to New York to hand over to the Secretary-General the Final Comprehensive proposal for a Kosovo Status Settlement, as well as the Report of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Kosovo's Future Status. The report and the Comprehensive proposals were officially delivered to the UN Security Council member on 26 March<sup>6</sup>. In a letter dated 26 March 2007 the Secretary General addressed the UN Security Council on the Report of the Special Envoy of the Secretary General on the future status of Kosovo. The report recommends that Kosovo should be given independence under the supervision of international community, which will allow Kosovo to enter international agreements and international organizations such as the UN, WTO, IMF, etc. The report suggests that reintegration into Serbia is not a viable solution due to a history of "enmity and mistrust" that has long antagonized relationship between Kosovo Albanians and Serbs. It also gives importance to the situation on the ground during the past eight

years of Kosovo's governance independent of Belgrade authorities. The report also draws the attention of the international community to the continuance of *status quo*, which could lead to destabilization of Kosovo and potentially the region as the frustration of the majority of the people of Kosovo is under strain after 8 years of waiting<sup>7</sup>. Despite broad endorsement by state and international organization officials<sup>8</sup> the document failed to get support of the SC. It even did not get that far as to be put in the official agenda of the SC because of Russia's clear threat that it would use veto if the proposal was put on the table for voting which would of course determine the fate of the whole process to follow. Despite possible obstacles due to the lack of endorsement for independence by the SC, the newly elected government of Kosovo move on to unilateral declaration of the independence of the Republic of Kosovo after almost nine years of international administration.

### **3. Unilateral Declaration of Independence and Reincarnation of a Formally Dead Document**

Democratically elected parliament of Kosovo declared independence of the Republic of Kosovo on 17 February 2008 in a well prepared ceremony. The declaration of independence was read by the former political leader of Kosovo Liberation Army, Hashim Thaci. The declaration declared independence of Kosovo while acknowledging an extended EU presence under the name of EULEX and ignoring UNMIK suggesting that Kosovo's institutions would gradually stop respecting authority of international administration under the name of UNMIK thus seizing the power formerly in the hands of that administration<sup>9</sup>. The EU mission started to build up its presence since June in a process which is going very slowly and is not complete yet. By accepting the EU presence in Kosovo according to Ahtisaari's plan the Declaration of Independence actually declared a so called supervised independence as envisioned in the Ahtisaari's proposal. Endorsing Ahtisaari's plan Kosovo committed itself to respect ethnic minorities rights and decentralize power as well as to create more municipalities with Serb majority. In this way Kosovo reincarnated a formally dead document which could not receive endorsement by the SC due to veto threats by Russia. Reference to Ahtisaari's proposal was the best way to yield some legitimacy. After all, Martti Ahtisaari was a person appointed by the Secretary General of the UN to act on its behalf to bring about a final solution for the status of Kosovo. The Declaration of Independence made it easier for other states to recognise Kosovo.

The constitution of Kosovo which entered into force in June 2008 finalized the creation of a new state and established the Republic of Kosovo as an inde-

pendent and sovereign state within its borders. It also endorses the highest standards of human rights with the most important international human rights treaties being directly applicable in the Republic of Kosovo<sup>10</sup>.

The unilateral declaration of independence created a unique and challenging situation in Kosovo. The declaration and the constitution of Kosovo were designed to give full authority to the institutions democratically elected by the people of Kosovo. It means that the so called reserved powers of UNMIK would now be in the hands of Kosovo's institutions. In his speech to the SC Mr. Zanieri stated that UNMIK authority was fundamentally challenged and Kosovo authorities took control of the situation.

But on the other side, formally, UNMIK still exists because the SC failed to suspend its Resolution establishing it in the first place while EULEX started to be deployed in Kosovo in an effort to functionalize its mandate granted under the EU Council Joint action of 4 February 2008<sup>11</sup>. Faced with the new situation the Secretary General assigned his new Special Representative for Kosovo, Alberto Zanieri to instruct him later to start the process of the so called reconfiguration. During this process the UNMIK would gradually start to shrink in size while Kosovo authorities will take over the power and EULEX will expand its mission in Kosovo.

However, Serbia and majority of the Serb Kosovo refused to recognize Kosovo although Serb politicians hold positions of Ministers in the Government of Kosovo and are also deputies in the Parliament of Kosovo. In a defiant move the Serb minority in Kosovo organized local elections thus electing parallel local authorities in Kosovo. However, Mitrovica North where Kosovo still cannot stretch its authority remains a hot spot. At the same time, although proclaimed illegal, there are some signs that these parallel structures could be legitimized in some way to help the dialogue on technical issues.

### **4. International Recognition of the Republic of Kosovo and Its Perspective of Entering UN, NATO and EU**

The lack of support by the Security Council proved to be a big challenge for Kosovo authorities and supporters of Ahtisaari's proposal. Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence was to be coordinated with its main supporters with recognition coming within hours of declaration, such as with the declaration of recognition coming for the USA, France, Costa Rica, Turkey, etc. It should be noted that the states that formally recognized the Republic of Kosovo recognized it as a fully sovereign state, which is not stated in its declaration. For example, the President

of the USA stated "on behalf of the American people, I hereby recognize Kosovo as an independent and sovereign state" although according to the declaration of independence and following Ahtisaari's proposal Kosovo is a state under international supervision. Again the declaration of recognition of France states that "France recognized the Republic of Kosovo as independent and sovereign state"<sup>12</sup>.

Since its declaration of independence on 17 February 2008 Kosovo has been recognized by 52 countries. Many states are still neutral but have declared that they will accept official documents which are issued by Kosovo authorities including passport, car registration plates, etc. meaning that in the near future many of those states will issue formal recognition. In fact recognition of passports and other official documents in international law could be implied as a tacit recognition of a state<sup>13</sup>. So far, Kosovo could be proud for having some of the most powerful states issuing formal recognition including the USA, Japan, Canada, Australia and most of the EU member states. They represent 7 out of G8 group with more than 60% of the world GDP.

Kosovo needs quantitative recognition to be able to enter international organizations through which it can benefit politically and economically. Because of the nature of intergovernmental organizations each vote counts and the states are equal regardless of their wealth, political or economical status. This is one of the main principles enshrined in the UN Charter<sup>14</sup>. The principle of equality is fundamentally realized through voting rights. But in some financial and monetary organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund the voting rights of its members are exercised according to their membership fees<sup>15</sup>. It appears that admission of Kosovo to these two organizations would be easier as those countries that have recognized Kosovo hold most votes within the system. Kosovo has already applied to these organizations and the Director of the World Bank affirmed that saying that they regard Kosovo as an independent state and will consider the application for membership. He also stated that the membership to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund is not linked to the UN membership<sup>16</sup>. Membership in these two organizations would be very beneficial to the economic recovery and independence of Kosovo.

The story is different with other important organizations to which Kosovo aspires. The UN is the largest and most representative intergovernmental organization. According to the Charter there are two criteria for a state to become a member: it should be a peace loving state and it should endorse the principles of the Charter which Kosovo is ready to fulfil<sup>17</sup>. The UN membership is important for Kosovo in many ways. First of all it would legitimize the new state of Kosovo

by including it in this intranational organization but also implying that states who voted in favour of the Kosovo's UN membership recognize Kosovo. Secondly, Kosovo would become a part of an organization of collective security within which Kosovo would get guarantees of territorial integrity and sovereignty in compliance with the principles of the Charter. At the same time Kosovo would be a part of an international forum where different policies are made.

However, mainly because of Russia's strong opposition to the independence of Kosovo, the membership to the UN currently seems to be years away. The membership to the UN consists in two phases. First, it should be recommended by the SC and then the positive recommendation is sent to the GA for voting. Voting procedures in the SC for new members are stated in Article 27 saying that for procedural matter it needs 9 votes pro to approve a decision while for other important matters it requires 9 votes pro to include five votes of permanent members of the SC or nine votes pro but no veto from any permanent member state which means abstention<sup>18</sup>. As this point it seems that Kosovo membership to the UN is some time away because of Russia's determination to oppose the independence of Kosovo. In the GA Kosovo would need two thirds of the votes meaning that Kosovo would need around 130 states to vote pro Kosovo membership<sup>19</sup>.

Membership to NATO is another aspiration of Kosovo and a very important one. NATO is a political-military organization based on democratic values with the principle of collective defence as its primary objective. Today NATO in its redesigned role after the Cold War is involved in providing security in many countries outside Europe, such as in Afghanistan, Sudan, etc., which has been its main territorial activity. In order to become a NATO member Kosovo will have to prove that it is a democratic country and wants to join NATO, but also it should generate security in the region and beyond. The former two requirements are an easy part since Kosovo has now formally established a sustainable democracy by organizing free and fair elections and accountability process towards its citizen while most of the population of Kosovo overwhelmingly support NATO membership. The latter criteria can become very delicate because of the still tense situation in the region and internal arrangement of Kosovo. Ethnic situation in Kosovo, its factual division of Mitrovica North and Serbian readiness to manipulate the Serb minority within Kosovo can destabilize the new state in which case KFOR troops would still be necessary in their peacekeeping mission. Such is the case with national and local Serb elections when Serbia encouraged Serb minorities to organize local elections in Kosovo and form parallel institutions regardless of Kosovo's and UNMIK's opposition that deemed them to be illegal.

The NATO membership is also related to the readiness of its members to admit Kosovo as an equal partner. In this case all members need to agree in favour of membership in order for Kosovo to be admitted to NATO<sup>20</sup>. There are obstacles in this process because some member states have not yet recognized Kosovo, i.e. Spain, Greece, Portugal, etc. Internally it would be the United States, Britain, France and Germany as the big players within NATO who could play an important role in pursuing other countries to vote in favour of the Kosovo membership.

The European Union is another important organization. Accession to the EU would mean that most of the European continent countries, currently 27, would recognize the new state of Kosovo. The EU has stated many times that the western Balkans belong to Europe and thus are welcome in the EU. Membership to EU is also important in many other ways, mainly it will be a part of a very strong economic community but also it will provide a sense of a European identity. Accession to the EU would mean economic and political support for Kosovo through different means.

The EU can also prove to be a very good incentive for setting aside deeply rooted differences between Kosovo and Serbia and look for something they have in common such as economic and political stability but also a European identity. It is something that all Balkan nations want. Serbia is among the countries looking forward to the EU membership despite many statements by Serbian officials saying that they will not step down in their claim for Kosovo in exchange for the EU membership<sup>21</sup>. However serious are these declaration the EU membership of Kosovo and Serbia would be the best way to turn away from nationalistic feelings and look for a prosperous future.

There are many complex criteria for the EU membership, related to political and economic factors which the state must fulfil in order to become a membership candidate. In particular a state has to have

affinity towards communitarism and being able to live with the norms common to many communities. The process is known as the implementation of *acquis communautaire* in which case Kosovo needs to harmonize its legislature with that of the European Union. *Acquis communautaire* cover 30 different areas including democratic institutions, market economy, fiscal policy, etc. After harmonizing its legislation to that of the EU, Kosovo may become a membership candidate in which case all of the EU members would have to vote in favour of Kosovo to become a full EU member.

## 5. Conclusion

Kosovo is the youngest state in Europa and is recognized by 52 states by October 2008 since its establishment. The existence of a state is a factual matter and its recognition is a political decision of each state. Kosovo needs more recognition in order to better succeed in its path to a better future. Kosovo has to develop its relations with other states and recover its ruined economy as a result of the past war. More recognition would mean greater legitimacy for the newest state but also development of economic relations. More recognition means better chances for Kosovo to enter aspired international organizations. It will also help to make the pressure on Russia and other countries who openly oppose independence of Kosovo, to join the ranks of countries that recognize Kosovo or at least to not impede Kosovo's action to join international organizations.

The history of the EU tells us a good story on how, at times, worst enemies can become closest friends in their quest for a better future. Joint admission of Kosovo and Serbia to the EU could certainly follow that path. Focusing ourselves in finding common issues with common solutions is the best way to create better future. ■

## LITERATURE

### Documents

- UN Charter
- Declaration of independence, 17 February 2008
- Constitution of Kosovo, 15 June 2008
- Resolution 1244, 10 June 1999
- The Contact Group Guiding Principles for the Final Status of Kosovo, 07 October 2005
- Martti Ahtisaari's, Comprehensive Proposal for the Final Settlement of the Status of Kosovo, 15 March 2008
- EU Council Joint Action on establishing EULEX, 04 February 2008
- EU official webpage
- North Atlantic Treaty official webpage
- World Trade Organization official webpage
- International Monetary Fund official webpage

### UNOSEK official webpage

- US Declaration of recognition of the Republic of Kosovo, 17 February 2008
- France Declaration of recognition of the Republic of Kosovo, 18 February 2008
- Statement of High Representative of EU Javier Solana, 02 February 2008

### Books

- Gerhard von Glahn, LAW AMONG NATIONS, (Seventh edition, 1996), Allyn & Bacon

### Newspapers

- B92, Serbian news agency
- Blic Serbian news agency

## NOTES

1 See Declaration of independence, 17 February 2008

2 The eight standards are: 1) functioning democratic institutions, 2) rule of law, 3) freedom of movement, 4) sustainable returns and the rights of communities and their members, 5) economy, 6) property rights, 7) dialogue, and 8) Kosovo protection corps.  
3 See: Anan preporucio pocetak pregovora (in Serbian), B92, October 07, 2005, [http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2005&mm=10&dd=07&nav\\_id=177995](http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2005&mm=10&dd=07&nav_id=177995), Eide predavao izvestaj Ananu, B92, October 05, 2005, [http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2005&mm=10&dd=05&nav\\_id=177882](http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2005&mm=10&dd=05&nav_id=177882), The Eide report was criticized by the Serbian side as too weak and not comprehensive, see Eide je trebalo da bude ostriji, B92, October 09, 2005, [http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2005&mm=10&dd=09&nav\\_id=178120](http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2005&mm=10&dd=09&nav_id=178120)

4 The Contact Group Guiding Principles for the final status of Kosovo are: 1) The settlement of Kosovo issue should be fully compatible with international standards of human rights, democracy and international law and contribute to regional security, 2) the settlement of Kosovo's Status should conform with democratic values and European standards and contribute to realizing the European perspective of Kosovo, in particular, Kosovo's progress in the stabilization and association process, as well as the integration of the entire region in Euro-Atlantic institutions, 3) The settlement should ensure multi-ethnicity that is sustainable in Kosovo. It should provide effective constitutional guarantees and appropriate mechanisms to ensure the implementation of human rights for all citizens in Kosovo and of the right of members of all Kosovo communities, including the right of refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in safety, 4) The settlement should provide mechanisms to ensure the participation of Kosovo communities in government, both on the central and on the local level. Effective structures of local self-government established through the decentralization process should facilitate the coexistence of different communities and ensure equitable and improved access to public services, 5) The settlement of Kosovo's status should include specific safeguards for the protection of the cultural and religious heritage in Kosovo. This should include provisions specifying the status of the Serbian Orthodox Church's institutions and sites of the patrimony in Kosovo, 6) The settlement of Kosovo's status should strengthen regional security and stability. Thus, it will ensure that Kosovo does not return to the pre-March 1999 situation. Any solution that is unilateral or results from the use of force would be unacceptable. There will be no change in the current territory of Kosovo, i.e. no partition of Kosovo and no union of Kosovo with any country or part of any country. The territorial integrity and internal stability of regional neighbors will be fully respected, 7) The Status settlement will ensure Kosovo's security. It will also ensure that Kosovo does not pose a military or security threat to its neighbors. Specific provisions on the security arrangements will be included, 8) The settlement of Kosovo's status should promote effective mechanisms to strengthen Kosovo's ability to enforce the rule of law, to fight organized crime and terrorism and safeguard the multi-ethnic character of the police and the judiciary, 9) The settlement should ensure that Kosovo can develop in a sustainable way both economically and politically and that it can cooperate effectively with international organizations and international financial institutions, 10) For some time Kosovo will continue to need an international civilian and military presence to exercise appropriate supervision of compliance of the provisions of the Status settlement, to ensure security and, in particular, protection for minorities as well as to monitor and support the authorities in the continued implementation of standards, see: Annex of the Letter dated November 10, 2005 from the President of the Security Council addressed to the Secretary General, available at: <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Kos%20S2005%20709.pdf>

5 Fourteen of these rounds of talks have focused on decentralization, the protection of cultural and religious heritage in Kosovo,

and the protection of community rights. In addition, the SE presided over direct talks with the Serbian and Kosovo leadership in Vienna on 24 July 2006. President Boris Tadić and Prime Minister Vojislav Koštunica led the delegation of Serbia, while President Fatmir Sejdiu led the Kosovo Team of Unity. The meeting gave each party the opportunity to present at the highest level its view of the future of Kosovo to the other, as well as to the international community, represented both by UNOSEK and by observers from the Contact Group (CG), the EU and NATO. In addition to these direct talks between the parties, since January 2006, 26 UNOSEK-led expert missions have visited Belgrade and Pristina to talk separately to the parties on various issues. Seemingly, since November 2005, the SE and his Deputy have been meeting extensively with other key players in the process. Those have included briefings to the Security Council (4 March, 13 July and 22 September 2006); meetings with the CG, EU Foreign Ministers, and other international actors, including NATO and the OSCE. Meetings discussed different issues as following;

- One Meeting of the Serbian and Kosovo leadership in Vienna (24 July 2006)

- Eight meetings related to decentralization 20-21 February, 17 March, 3 April, 5 May, 19 July, 7 August, 7 September and 15 September)

- Three meetings related to the protection of cultural and religious heritage in Kosovo ( 23 May, 18 July and 8 September)

- Two meetings related to community rights: (8 August and 8 September)

- One meeting related to economic issues; (31 May)

see UNOSEK official webpage available at: [www.unosek.org](http://www.unosek.org)

6 The proposal covers following important issues: 1) constitutional provisions, 2) human rights and fundamental freedoms and the right of communities and their members, 3) decentralization, 4) religious and cultural heritage, 5) economic and property issues, 6) the justice system, 7) security sector, 8) international presence, 9) transitional agreements

7 See UNOSEK official webpage: [www.unosek.org](http://www.unosek.org)

8 In its statement, Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the CFSP endorsed the proposals by stating "I strongly encourage both Belgrade and Prishtina to engage actively with Marti Ahtisari on the basis of his proposal. I expect both parties to demonstrate responsibility, flexibility and a recognition of the need for realistic compromise based solution", Brussels, 02 February 2007 document no. S043/07

9 See The Declaration of Independence, 17 February 2008

10 See the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, 15 June 2008

11 See EU Council Joint Action, 04 February 2008

12 Links to declarations of the states which recognized the Republic of Kosovo are available at [www.kosovothanksyou.com](http://www.kosovothanksyou.com)

13 Gerhard von Glahn, (Seventh edition, 1996), Law Among Nations at 67. USA: Allyn & Bacon

14 See Article 2 of UN Charter

15 Statement of membership of the Republic of Kosovo in the IMF, IMF press release No. 08/179, 15 July 2008, <http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2008/pr08179.htm>

16 See official website of World Bank and International Monetary Fund press release

17 See Chapter II of the Charter on Membership issue

18 Article 27 of Charter on SC voting procedure for new members

19 Article 18 of Charter on GA assembly voting procedure for new members

20 See North Atlantic Treaty of 04 April 1949 Article 10

21 See Đelić: Nećemo pristati na ucene zarad članstva u EU, Blic newspaper, 05 August 2008 <http://www.blic.co.yu/politika.php?id=51923>, Kosovo nećemo menjati za članstvo u Uniji, Blic newspaper, 04 August 2008, <http://www.blic.co.yu/politika.php?id=51692>