

THE RISE OF A MULTIPOLAR WORLD AND ITS ROLE IN INFLUENCING THE POSITION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is how the creation of a multipolar world is affecting the position of the Republic of Kosovo in international organizations. In recent years, the world has shifted toward a multipolar global order, where power is distributed among multiple nations and regions rather than a unipolar world dominated by a single superpower. The establishment of a multipolar world has had a significant impact on the position of the Republic of Kosovo in international organizations. Kosovo, a partially recognized country in Southeast Europe, declared independence from Serbia in 2008, but its sovereignty is not recognized by several countries, including Serbia, Russia, China, etc. In a unipolar world dominated by a single superpower, Kosovo's position in international organizations is likely to be determined by the policies and preferences of that dominant power.

However, in a multipolar world, Kosovo has more opportunities to seek support from several countries and to defend its interests in various international forums. For the realization of this study, several methods and techniques are used. The methods used in this research are theoretical and empirical in nature. Induction method, deduction method, analysis method, and comparative method are used. In the methodology, the standardized questionnaire was applied through the Likert scale and their answers were included in the results. The research uses a questionnaire with 50 respondents, mainly composed of professors of political science and international relations, opinion leaders, journalists, experts on global problems, publicists, and economists. The questionnaire was completed online with all respondents. The questionnaire was compiled with open and closed questions, where the responses of the respondents were presented visually in the graph and percentage.

The results show that most respondents think that the growth of a post-American and multipolar world, as well as the growth of Chinese and Russian influence in the world, have weakened Kosovo's favorable position in international organizations. Most of the respondents accept the negative effects of multilateralism on Kosovo's position in its international subjectivity, but they also emphasize the negative and positive effects of American support for Kosovo, since the anti-Americanism of some countries in the world only hinders international strengthening of Kosovo, as they consider Kosovo as part of the American global domination.

Keywords: international organization, membership, multilateralism, unilateralism

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1974, the legal status of Kosovo within the federation was quite weak, but this year marked an extraordinary advancement in the legal order. But all these constitutional achievements would be suppressed in 1989 and a decade after this year, a completely parallel system of the Albanian majority in Kosovo would be created, organizing the powerless referendum in the early 90s for Kosovo. Republic and the escalation of the suppression of national rights and freedoms by Slobodan Milosevic's regime. But at this time, and especially after the Dayton Agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo seemed as if it had not yet become an international issue for its international position. The war internationalized Kosovo the most in the media and world politics, right in the decade of American unilateralism, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the dominance of democracy and Western and American capitalism in the globe. In the years 1998-1999, the armed conflict took place, with great consequences in casualties and material damage, with about 1 million refugees outside Kosovo, forcing NATO, the USA and the West in general to intervene militarily. In 1999, the conflict ended and the international civil, military and political administration was created, with the multinational troops of the UN, KFOR, UNMIK, etc. The Rambuje agreement, unsigned by Serbia and signed by the Kosovo Negotiating Team, with American insistence, created a new moment of international strengthening of Kosovo's position towards a new international subjectivity for the solution of the Kosovo status issue. In 2007, Martin Ahtisaari became the mediator who presented his Comprehensive Proposal for Kosovo, otherwise known as the Ahtisaari Plan, Serbia did not officially accept this document either, although practically, on the basis of this document, the Declaration of Independence was also announced of Kosovo on February 17, 2008. After independence, the number of international recognitions increased rapidly, marking around 116 recognitions for Kosovo. In 2010, good news comes again for Kosovo, as the International Court of Justice considered that Kosovo has not violated international law and this marked further strengthening of Kosovo's

position and position for membership in international organizations. Afterwards, Kosovo-Serbia negotiations began again, regarding technical aspects, freedom of movement, etc. For the last 5 years, the topic of negotiations with Serbia has been opened again, but not at the technical level, but at the political level. Even this year, the discussions on the Kosovo-Serbia Final Agreement continue, with American and European mediation, which is believed to strengthen Kosovo's position in international organizations, resulting in Kosovo's membership in the UN. In this research, the aim is to identify the position and position of Kosovo in international organizations, the challenges for recognition, acceptance and membership by these organizations, the role of the USA in this process, the pros and cons of American support for Kosovo, and the growing influence of China and Russia, for the favorable influence for Serbia about Kosovo. The common perspective of all Balkan countries is European integration, but Kosovo is the only one without visa liberalization in the Schengen Area of the EU, while in its integration processes in the EU and other organizations, it is not in a satisfactory position.

2. PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

Kosovo advanced in its position and international position significantly after the announcement of the Declaration of Independence on February 17, 2008, like never before, but there are still challenges to be accepted as an international subject, to join the organizations of international power and many countries with global powers (Russia, China) have not yet recognized it, but not even some European countries (such as Spain, Greece, etc.) and South American, Asian, and Arab countries. China's strengthening of Kosovo's position in international organizations is considered harmful, due to the stronger ties that exist between China and Serbia, both of which are in rapprochement policies with Russia and rival policies with the USA, and Kosovars, Americans are the main supporters. That China is on the rise is also shown by the ongoing debate of world-renowned authors. Is China's rise unstoppable? Powered by the human capital of 1.4 billion citizens, recent technological advances, and a relatively efficient system of state-run capitalism, China seems poised to become the global superpower of this century... Does the 21st century belong to China? (Kissinger, 2011) Kosovo, although a small country with a population of 1,739,825 individuals, (ASK, 2011) is a watershed in World Politics. As an ethnic phenomenon, it not only prompted a re-examination of some of the central issues of ethnicity, but also raised an important question about the role of the United Nations in international politics... These questions included issues of humanitarian intervention, the importance and diminished role of the United Nations in the sphere of the use of force in world affairs, changed the role of peacekeeping of the United Nations in conflicts within states, the role of the United States as the sole superpower in conflicts and its influence in the system of Nations United. (Singh, 2008) One of the main goals of Kosovo, when discussing the Kosovo-Serbia negotiations and reaching a Final Agreement, is Kosovo's membership in the UN. (Nations, 2004) Kosovo's acceptance into the Council of Europe is also a challenge, because Russia has influence, which does not recognize Kosovo, but also supports Serbia as an opponent of Kosovo's secession from it. (CE, n.d.) Kosovo is also oriented towards the integration processes of the European Union, having signed the Stabilization-Association Agreement. (EU, 2015) Kosovo has membership in one of the largest military organizations as one of its main objectives. Currently, NATO has 30 members. Only Kosovo among the countries of the Western Balkans does not even have visa liberalization - although the European Parliament approved it on September 13, 2018, (EP, 2018) nor membership in NATO. Kosovo, like Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, and North Macedonia, aims to integrate into the European Union, but is far from them for membership. The European Union is a unique economic and political union between the 28 EU countries that together cover most of the continent. (EU, n.d.) Compared to the time before the war, Kosovo has never been in a more favorable position in international organizations than today. During the 90s, Kosovo was at the peak of its internationalization, due to the escalation of the armed conflict. The United States and its European allies were determined to avoid an escalation in the conflict... These efforts failed - and the result was NATO's decision in March 1999 to intervene militarily to achieve by force what it could not reach through negotiations. NATO made the decision to go to war with the belief that a few days of limited bombing in the Balkans would be enough to convince Milosevic to end attacks on the Albanian population of Kosovo and accept a political formula for the restoration of Kosovo's autonomy. This proved to be a miscalculation. Instead of bowing to the will of NATO, Milosevic escalated his violent campaign against the local population... (Daalder, 2000) The suffering of Albanians, especially for European audiences with the events of Srebrenica still fresh in their collective memory, prompted the international community to take action. Efforts to negotiate a settlement with Milosevic were undermined by his interference and Russian insistence that the issue be dealt with under the auspices of the UN, thereby providing veto power over any resolution that did not favor its Serbian allies. (Murphy, 2007) As promised, Ahtisaari offered his Plan shortly after the Serbian elections, on February 2, 2007 (his "recommendations" will come later). The document had already been reviewed by the Contact Group... The reaction in Belgrade was hostile. The bloodshed of 1998 and 1999, the assassination of Djindjic, and the riots of March 2004 meant that the possibility of violence was never far from the minds of observers.

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM

Why does Kosovo continue to have difficulties with admission and membership in international organizations? What is the position and current position in these organizations? What are some of the factors that influence the increase in obstacles for Kosovo to become part of the UN, NATO, the Council of Europe, the European Union, INTERPOL, UNESCO, etc.? Who helps Kosovo the most in its international subjectivity? How much does the US help the process of international strengthening of Kosovo and how much does it indirectly hinder it, when we consider that the states create common interests and when Kosovo is described as an "American project", the states that have rivalries with the US create open and systematic opposition even with its projects, such as Kosovo?! To answer these questions, an empirical research, a theoretical review of the literature, and a SWOT analysis were carried out. After announcing the Declaration of Independence, Kosovo has received 116 international recognitions from over half of the world's countries, but it is still not recognized by global superpowers such as China, Russia, India, many South American countries, some Asian and Arab countries, etc. Kosovo continues to be part of international negotiations, with American and European mediation, to still solve many problems and disagreements that exist since the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia between Kosovo and Serbia, making its regional and international journey unclear. The common perspective of all Balkan states is the process of integration into the European Union, NATO, but Kosovo is the latest and the most excluded from these integrations, although paradoxically, in Kosovo is the first rule of law mission, called EULEX - the first EU mission abroad after the announcement of the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo; also with the euro as the only currency, with the presence of UNMIK in a smaller number of personnel, with the presence of KFOR, but it continues to be without visa liberalization, without hope for quick membership in the EU, without membership in NATO, although some progress in internal and external consolidation has been achieved in recent years, such as the signing of the Stabilization-Association Agreement with the EU, but it still continues to be part of international discussions, especially American and European, so that to close the Kosovo-Serbia conflict, with a Final Agreement, where the mutual recognition of Kosovo-Serbia, as well as Kosovo's membership in the UN, has been mentioned as a reward so far. The research reflects some of the obstacles that appear in Kosovo, on its path to acceptance in international organizations.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

It is combined, applying the review of literature from international relations, applying the questionnaire of 8 open and closed type questions with some given alternatives, as well as doing the SWOT analysis. The research sample is composed of 50 respondents of different ages and professions, including professors, international relations researchers, political analysts, opinion leaders, publicists, journalists, and civil society activists. The research was done online, completing the questionnaire electronically, including 50 addresses of respondents who know the political and economic developments, at the local and global level. The realization of the answers was done through the well-known Google Forms application, where the results are presented as a percentage, for each question of the questionnaire.

Hypotheses: Main hypothesis: The growth of the multipolar world has reduced the influence of Kosovo's most powerful supporter – the USA, after the strengthening of China and Russia and the American withdrawal from global problems. Assisting hypothesis a): American unilateralism during the decade of the 90s has helped the international advancement of Kosovo, since the influence of Russia and China - as two allies of Serbia - claimant for Kosovo as part of it and with the constitution has fallen. Assisting hypothesis b): The US has hindered Kosovo's position in international organizations, due to the growth of global multilateralism.

Variables: The dependent variable is Kosovo's membership in international organizations, while the independent variable is global unilateralism and multilateralism.

Findings: Due to the importance of political opinion and following political developments, neither the age category nor the gender of the respondents was important. The sample was distributed to all participants who are familiar with public opinions on political developments, and who are professionally connected to political science, diplomacy, international relations, civil society activists, and journalists.

Question 1. From the beginning of the implementation of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked about the general assessment of the position and position of Kosovo in International Organizations. Most of them, 48% of them stated that Kosovo has a moderately favorable position and position, 34% very favorable, 12% slightly favorable and only 6% stated that Kosovo does not have a favorable position at all in International Organizations. So, from the beginning, an extremely positive and encouraging assessment is observed, taking the opinion of the respondents that Kosovo has a favorable position in International Organizations. The reasons can be various, in retrospect, since in the former Yugoslavia, where Kosovo only in 1974 within the former Federation, had a more advanced status, and that autonomy was suppressed in 1989. All these dates and the later ones have naturally

influenced the comparison of Kosovo's position in the past and today. Likewise, the announcement of the Declaration of Independence, the number of over 100 international recognitions after February 17, 2008, and the verdict of the International Court of Justice in favor of Kosovo were events that greatly influenced the successful evaluation of Kosovo, the position and position of its international. Likewise, the membership of Kosovo in several regional organizations, the membership of the Sports Federations of Kosovo in International Federations, such as that of Aeronautics (2015), Basketball in FIBA (2015), and especially the acceptance of the Football Federation of Kosovo in UEFA and FIFA (2016). In terms of European integration processes, which may also have influenced such a highly positive assessment by the respondents for the international position of Kosovo, is the signing of the Stabilization-Association Agreement of Kosovo with the European Union in 2015. While if let's stop at the respondents who have not evaluated Kosovo's position and position in International Organizations at all, 6% of them, may have been influenced especially by the following circumstances and processes: the slowdown of EU expansion, recent discussions, and lobbying by Serbia for withdrawal of recognition for Kosovo, from several states and many other delays in the European integration processes.

Question 2. In the question of which of the international organizations, Kosovo has the greatest difficulty being accepted, 56% of respondents stated that it is more difficult to be accepted in the UN, 14% in INTERPOL, 12% in the Council of Europe, 10% in the European Union, 6% in UNESCO, 2% in NATO. The highest percentage is found for membership in the UN, since the states that have the right of veto in the Security Council, are especially two superpowers, which are in a geostrategic and historical alliance with Serbia, Russia, and China, while right after it, distrust is in INTERPOL, especially due to the failure for membership during Kosovo's application in 2010, 2015 and 2018. Even UNESCO failed for admissibility, but the distrust stayed aside, after the news that the USA and Israel would leave UNESCO, in 2017 and which entered into force in 2018 when it was known that Kosovo only hoped for American aid.

Question 3. In the discussions of the international and local meetings of Kosovo, the subject of a Final Agreement between Kosovo and Serbia has been widely mediatized, especially since 2015, to culminate in the last five years. One of the benefits that was said by the highest officials of Kosovo for this agreement, was that at the end of the process, Kosovo would have a seat at the UN. For this reason, respondents were asked what they think about the impact of an eventual Final Agreement with Serbia on increasing membership in International Organizations, 85% believed that this agreement would increase Kosovo's position in International Organizations and only 6 % said "No" and "Maybe", while 3% refused to predict the future of this process.

Question 4. The role of the USA in Kosovo's membership in International Organizations, knowing that the USA has been among the main determinants of Kosovo's membership in International Organizations, among the objectives and hypotheses of the research was the correlation between American support and international empowerment of Kosovo. 72% of the respondents stated that the USA has greatly influenced Kosovo's membership in International Organizations, 16% on average, 10% a little, and 2% not at all. So, the considerable majority have highly valued the American influence on the international subjectivity of Kosovo. But the influence of the Americans on Kosovo's membership in International Organizations, where they have not been able to extend much influence, due to the power of Russia and China to influence certain countries, especially those of South America, or some Asian, Arab countries Islamic, etc., has caused the American influence to be negative in Kosovo's membership in these organizations.

Question 5. The impact of the "correction of the borders" Kosovo-Serbia on the inhibition of membership In recent years there have been many discussions in the Kosovo and international media, initiated by the protagonists of the political scene in Kosovo, Serbia, USA, Germany, France, etc., on the correction of Kosovo-Serbia borders. For this reason, the opening of this topic pushed the broad public opinion in Kosovo to split in two, dominating the group of those who thought that this topic would affect the inhibition of Kosovo's membership in International Organizations, since the states with the right to vote and veto, they would wait until this process was completed and would not decide for now on Kosovo, while the rest of the public opinion believed that this would have a positive effect.

Question 6. On which factors can have the most influence on the growth of Kosovo's membership in International Organizations, 52% believed that this can only be done by reaching an agreement between the world superpowers, namely the USA with Russia and China, 24% with the recognition of Kosovo by Serbia itself, 20% if the states resolve their internal disputes with their regions that want independence, 4% with the cessation of Serbia's lobbying against Kosovo, and no one has believed in the strength of Kosovo's diplomacy for influenced the states that oppose the vote on Kosovo's admission to international organizations.

Question 7. The Effect of world superpower relations on Kosovo's Position

To measure the opinion of the respondents on the most hindering factors for Kosovo to join the International Organizations, 48% mentioned an obstacle, the rivalry between the USA with China and Russia, 20% the strong

relations of the states that oppose it Kosovo, with Serbia itself; 12% for Serbian lobbying against Kosovo, 8% for the poor professionalism of Kosovar diplomacy and 8% for Kosovo's majority Muslim population.

Question 8. The impact of the multipolar world on the decline of Kosovo's international position

How has the multipolar world affected and the comparison with the pronounced American unilateralism in the 90s of the XX century, before the attacks of September 11, 2001? the significant majority, 82% of the respondents, stated that if there was American unilateralism in the last decade of this century, as in the last decade of the last century, Kosovo would have the most favorable position in international organizations, while 10% said "no", 6% "maybe" and 2% "I don't know".

SWOT Analysis

HELPER	OBSTRUCTING
Powers: Kosovo has over 100 international recognitions;The decision of the ICJ that Kosovo has not violated the LawInternational with the announcement of the Declaration of IndependenceKosovo;Kosovo has been admitted to the IMF, the World Bank;Federations of Kosovo have been accepted in most federationsinternational such as: FIFA, UEFA, FIBA, KON, etc.;Support from world superpowers - the USA;	Weaknesses: Underdeveloped economy; High rate of unemployment and poverty;Poor image of the Special Court for suspected crimesfell of the war;Serbia's lobbying against the recognition of Kosovo and nothe number of controversial derecognitions in the last two years;Lack of visa liberalization only for Kosovo;
Possibilities: The resolution of the conflict with Serbia opens perspectives for discussionof economic development;Membership of Kosovo in the UN; Knowing the five countriesEuropeans who have not recognized Kosovo, after recognizing itKosovo from Serbia itself;Long-term stability in the region, after the conclusion of the AgreementGreece-North Macedonia, the membership of Montenegro and Macethe will of the North in NATO;Return of missing persons of war and peace and justice transitiononal for the victims and their families;	Risks: The division of Kosovo;Renegotiation again for the status of Kosovo;Exchange of territories;Prohibition of international recognitions;The increase in international recognitions as in the case of Ghana;

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5. CONCLUSION

At the end of this study we reach some conclusions, which are argued during the study: Kosovo, compared to its history as a separate geographical, administrative and political entity, is in the most favorable position today in international organizations; Kosovo strengthened international subjectivity with the decision of the International Court of Justice two years after independence; Before the ICJ and after its decision, the number of international recognitions of Kosovo as a state reached 116 states, from the majority of democratic states and over half of the member states of the United Nations Organization and the significant majority of the member states of the Union European; A special challenge is the non-recognition of Kosovo and the open opposition of Russia and China, as two member states of the UN Security Council, with the right to veto; Their alliances with Serbia and the rivalry with the USA as the main supporter of Kosovo have had a great effect on its position and its favorable and unfavorable position in international organizations.

The main hypothesis is that the growth of the multipolar world has reduced the influence of the most powerful supporter of Kosovo - the USA, after the strengthening of China and Russia and the American withdrawal from global problems, in strengthening the international position of Kosovo in international organizations. The departure of the USA and Israel from UNESCO has also had a great impact on discouraging Kosovo from applying for the second time, either out of solidarity with the USA to express dissatisfaction with UNESCO, but also for the impossibility to receive enough votes as in the first failure for non-acceptance, since the US is increasingly in a post-American or multipolar world, where the influences on many member states have increased, including from China

and Russia, which defend the position of Serbia during the opposition to the international subjectivity of Kosovo. Graph 4 and the answers of the respondents with no. 1, 4, and 7, confirm the main hypothesis since 72% of respondents stated that the USA has greatly influenced Kosovo's membership in International Organizations. So, the considerable majority have highly valued the American influence on the international subjectivity of Kosovo. But also the disagreements with the American foreign policies from the countries that have not recognized Kosovo, have made the American role an obstacle factor in the position and the most favorable position of Kosovo in international organizations. Such a hypothesis is confirmed by graph no. 5, wherein the question of the "anti-Americanism" of some countries in the world, how much do you think it has influenced Kosovo's membership in international organizations and refusal to recognize Kosovo since they value Kosovo as "American project", and not as a result of the suppression of the rights of the Albanian majority?", 69% of the respondents affirmed that this perception hurt Kosovo. This hypothesis is also confirmed by the results presented in graph no. 6 d, where 48% have mentioned as an obstacle, the rivalry between the USA with China and Russia, and 20% the strong relations of the states that oppose Kosovo, with Serbia itself. ; 12% for Serbian lobbying against Kosovo, which partially confirms the second auxiliary hypothesis, that "the USA has hindered the position of Kosovo in international organizations, due to the increase in anti-Americanism in the world, due to the designation of Kosovo as the 'American hegemonic project'." While the findings of graph no. 8, confirm the first auxiliary hypothesis that American unilateralism during the decade of the 90s has helped the international advancement of Kosovo, after the Russian and Chinese influence, as two allies of Serbia, has decreased - claimant for Kosovo as part of it, even with the constitution. A significant majority, 82% of the respondents stated that if there was American unilateralism in the last decade of this century, as in the last decade of the last century, Kosovo would have the most favorable position in international organizations. So, the first auxiliary hypothesis is fully confirmed. With the rumored achievement of Kosovo's Final Agreement with Serbia, Kosovo's politicians have linked it with the agreement of Russia and China to accept Kosovo as a member state in the UN, if Kosovo would be recognized as a state by Serbia itself, although this assumption may it remains only as such and hardly measurable for now. Currently, in a multipolar world, where there is an increase in Russian and Chinese influence, also known for the rivalry with the USA as the main sponsor towards Kosovo, the chances are for the reinforcement of international subjectivity to stagnate, without a new movement of political circumstances, in a context after reaching a Final and Comprehensive Agreement between Kosovo and Serbia, which would result in mutual recognition and its influence on the US-Russia-China agreement not to oppose Kosovo's membership in the UN.

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