



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/24729
29 October 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 29 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF ALBANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the letter dated 29 October 1992
addressed to you by H.E. Mr. Aleksander Meksi, Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the Republic of Albania (see annex).

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter and its annex
could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Thanas SHKURTI
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter dated 29 October 1992 from the Chairman of the Council
of Ministers of Albania addressed to the President of the
Security Council

I have the honour to address myself to you to share my ever-growing concern about the risk of the escalation of the conflict in former Yugoslavia to Kosova. The danger has been there for quite a long time now, and every day adds to it new elements.

While international public opinion has been largely focused on the tragedy and atrocities of armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, less attention has been paid to the continued confrontation in Kosova between the Albanians and the Serbian authorities.

This year a number of European and other organizations began to be seized of the crisis in Kosova. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has sent there a number of rapporteurs and fact-finding missions, whose conclusions have sounded the alarm to the international community. Even then they concluded that "there is sufficient manpower and equipment to deploy, without reinforcement, should the Corps be tasked with a secondary role in support of the civil manpower" (report of the CSCE Conflict Prevention Centre fact-finding mission to Kosova) and the situation is "extremely dangerous and requires immediate international attention" (report of the CSCE Human Rights Rapporteur's mission to Yugoslavia).

In spite of all the efforts made by the Albanian political forces and the population, the situation since then has taken a dramatic turn. Both the army and the police are daily intimidating the population and provoking a start of the massacre. They have finally translated fearful omnipresence into defiant physical abuse with a view to finding an excuse to start the massacre. The peaceful demonstrations organized last week in protest against the ban on education in Albania were suppressed with violence. About a hundred people were injured and a lot more thrown in jail. The population avoided direct confrontation.

The European Community and CSCE have called for preventive measures to be applied in Kosova. The CSCE Helsinki Summit reiterated the demand. On the other hand the Secretary-General's "An agenda for peace" has offered a broad range of means to be used. In this context, I think that the Security Council has a big role to play. The question of Kosova must be addressed quickly. Another Bosnian-type tragedy of wider proportions must be nipped. Precisely to this end, Albania suggests that the issue be taken over by the Security Council for discussion. We think that measures should be taken to prevent the outbreak of conflict, by, inter alia, sending United Nations preventive deployment forces on the border between Kosova and Serbia, as in the case of the European Community monitors in the neighbouring countries, establishing a permanent presence in conjunction with regional organizations, and a no-fly

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zone in Kosova to pre-empt Serbian aggression there. The following steps will also help to defuse the conflict and restore confidence:

(a) Withdrawal and demobilization of military personnel in Kosova like certain military contingents of the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), which had been in Macedonia and which are now stationed in Kosova; and United Nations control over them;

(b) Disbanding and disarming of all paramilitary units. Albania supports the demand of the Albanian political forces in Kosova that all paramilitary units in Kosova, including the notorious "White Eagles" that come from the outside, be immediately disbanded and disarmed;

(c) Preventing forced displacement of the population (the policy of ethnic cleansing has already begun there, as testified by the report of Mr. Maszowievski);

(d) Political negotiating for a peaceful and durable solution to the crisis. A lasting solution to the crisis in Kosova can be found through an effective political agreement among the Albanian legitimate political authorities and Serbian authorities. The Serbs would not negotiate with the Albanians of Kosova except on the basis of the new Serbian Constitution, which gives away even the provisions on autonomy and human rights that Kosova enjoyed before. Albania supports endeavours to resolve differences through a negotiated political solution of the problems in the region and, to that end, stresses the need to cooperate with the renewed efforts of the European Community and the United Nations, within the framework of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

Without these measures unarmed Kosovars will hardly survive unrestrained Serbian barbarism. The danger of war in Kosova is becoming one of the most critical problems which the Security Council and the United Nations must take over.

As a country directly affected by everything that may happen to the 3 million Albanians, Albania is very much concerned. Its very future depends on a just solution of the crisis there. In view of the imminent danger of conflict we therefore consider it of the utmost urgency that the Security Council discuss the present situation in Kosova in one of its coming meetings and adopt the relevant preventive measures. In that way only can the Council do service to the cause of peace and security in the Balkans and in the broader context. The international community must stand firmly against the tendency to think that "might is right", and the impression that smaller countries must procure arms to protect themselves and must forget about market economies and free societies because the international community is not going to help them. As events and conflicts in other parts have demonstrated, the problems cannot be resolved by force of arms, and we hope that nobody will accept results achieved by that method. We hope also that the Serbian regime fully understands this message.

Aleksander MEKSI
