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BETWEEN STATES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 23 February 1990 from the Permanent Representative of
Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

In connection with the letter of the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Budimir Lončar, I sent to you today (A/45/139-S/21163), and the question dealt with therein, I have the honour to transmit to you excerpts from the statement of Dr. Janez Drnovšek, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, made in the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 7 February 1990 (annex I), from the concluding remarks by the Vice-President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dr. Borisav Jović, made in the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 8 February 1990 (annex II), and from the conclusions of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of 9 February 1990 relating to Kosovo (annex III).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and the annexed documents distributed as an official document of the General Assembly under the same items as the aforementioned letter of the Federal Secretary, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragoslav PEJIĆ
Ambassador

* A/45/50.

ANNEX I

Excerpts from the statement made on 7 February 1990 by the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia in the Assembly of Yugoslavia

Recent developments in Kosovo compel us to examine once again the situation there with special attention and also to review our policy on Kosovo. It is obvious that the situation in Kosovo has not been improving. It is with added vehemence that all the manifestations and consequences of the prolonged crisis which has beset the country are felt.

In January this year, despite the express prohibition of the SFRY Presidency, there were massive demonstrations, suspensions of work and instances of violence throughout the province of Kosovo. According to the assessments both received and made by the Presidency, these demonstrations were characterized by Albanian nationalism and separatism.

The SFRY Presidency continuously followed the situation and insisted on the consistent implementation of the measures which remained in force even when other measures were implemented. The request of the SFRY Presidency of 29 January 1990 for the immediate end of demonstrations, and strikes, as well as of all forms of violence and threats to the personal security and property of all the citizens of the SAP of Kosovo, was not met with understanding and support. On the contrary, the situation in the Province continued to deteriorate.

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All this caused great concern and bitterness in the SR of Serbia and in other parts of the country and strengthened the demands that the State intervene with all means available. The Serbs and Montenegrans even started organizing themselves, within the SAP of Kosovo and outside it, and evacuating women and children. Further emigration took place, which can be taken as a lack of confidence in the functioning of legitimate organs. This created possibilities for new and even graver inter-ethnic conflicts.

That is why the SFRY Presidency has decided to resort to measures which would be more efficient, which would put an end to rallies and demonstrations leading to the eruptions of violence, in order to establish public law and order and ensure personal security and property of citizens threatened, protect facilities and particularly important traffic routes, as well as settlements of Serbs, Montenegrans and other nations and national minorities.

Among other things, the SFRY Presidency, having assessed the situation and following the proposal of the Federal Secretariat for National Defence, decided that units of the Yugoslav People's Army should be organized to undertake planned and, as appropriate, special exercises, activities and movements in the territory of the SAP of Kosovo. The purpose of these activities was to help calm down the situation and prevent any violence and acts of terrorism and exert thereby a stabilizing influence both in Kosovo and in the entire country.

Last week, the Federal Executive Council also submitted to you a comprehensive report on the situation in Kosovo and on the measures within its competence it had undertaken, intended to open up the process of a comprehensive solution of the Kosovo problem. I will not therefore specifically dwell on that.

The task which is before us now is to steer clear of extreme approaches and propose such an approach to the solution of the Kosovo problem as would be acceptable to Yugoslavia as a whole. Such an approach could be based on the following:

1. The SFRY Presidency wishes to stress on this occasion too its resolve and its responsibility to protect with all the means at its disposal the constitutional order and integrity of the SFRY and ensure further democratic, economic and social transformation of our country in peace and without pressures;

2. Intervention by state agencies is necessary and shall be resorted to in countering the acts of violence which threaten the constitutional order and when its purpose is to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts. The security of persons of all nationalities must be guaranteed and this will prevent various forms of pressure for their moving out. We must ensure the proper functioning of institutions of the legal state, and thereby law and order in Kosovo.

3. Intervention by state agencies must be fair. Not even under aggravated circumstances may there be any abuse on their part. The SFRY Presidency has already stated that all the cases of casualties and wounded during the latest events in Kosovo will be looked into by a commission and the public will be duly informed about any abuse of power or irregularities. In this context, we invite all the citizens of Kosovo to help the state agencies in dealing with the complex situation in this Province and to behave so as to make it easier for them to carry out their duties.

We have pointed out ^{on} a number of occasions the fact that under the complex circumstances in Kosovo the independent and timely action of the judiciary is of special importance.

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4. Once the situation in Kosovo is stabilized, the conditions will be created for the SFRY Presidency to lift the special measures which have been in force so far. Everything possible will be done to guarantee the permanent security of all the inhabitants of Kosovo, and the state will intervene again if violence should escalate, the security of the citizens of Kosovo be threatened, or should the risk of inter-ethnic conflicts arise.

5. To resolve the situation in Kosovo, it is necessary to restore confidence among the members of all the nations and national minorities in Kosovo, the Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins and others who used to live together in Kosovo for a long time as good neighbours. It goes without saying that the problem of Kosovo cannot be solved in a lasting, stable and peaceful way on the assumption that state agencies alone will take care of the security of all the inhabitants of Kosovo. A dialogue should be initiated with all the people of Kosovo who want the peaceful solution of the problem and who want to live in harmony with others in Kosovo as well as in Yugoslavia.

In such a dialogue, naturally, there is no place for hard-line nationalists to whom national affiliation is primordial and who have put all their actions in the service of nationalism. We offer dialogue to all those who accept the logic of common sense, who are aware of the fact that problems cannot be resolved by force and who are ready to contribute to the further development of Yugoslavia on the basis of the political and economic objectives of our reform. The implementation of the political and economic programme that we are offering will create objective conditions for the solution of the Kosovo problem. Under such circumstances, we should make cooperation between all political parties and associations possible, provided that their activities do not lead to a further deepening of

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inter-ethnic contradictions and the forcible destruction of the existing constitutional order, but to a harmonious and peaceful life together in Kosovo. We expect that the further democratic transformation of our political system will entail a further evolution of the democratic and pluralistic forms of resolving problems in Kosovo as well.

6. The responsibility of the provincial, republic and federal agencies entails charting a different development concept for Kosovo, which will not, like so far, lead to an accentuation of the national factor and to increasing divisions on a national basis and thus to new inter-ethnic conflicts in Kosovo. The potentials of Kosovo should be redirected towards such developmental possibilities which would ensure people's existence and within which people would not dwell only on irrational national issues, but on the objective economic and other social and developmental problems of Kosovo. We shall consistently observe the principle of equality of our nations and nationalities, which of course means that in Kosovo no nation or nationality may be brought into a subordinated position.

7. The successful implementation of the current economic programme should ensure the stabilization of the entire Yugoslav economy, and, within that, of the Kosovo economy as well. The foundations are being laid for new and stable economic growth. In the period that lies ahead we will be able to activate a new developmental cycle which will make possible the decrease of social tensions in the country as a whole, especially where they are most pronounced, i.e. in Kosovo. New economic activities should redirect the energy now being spent on irrational nationalism towards activities leading to a better life in the future. In that context, the SFRY Presidency has already requested the Federal Executive Council to prepare a new

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economic programme for Kosovo. We proposed that in the formulation and implementation of a new developmental programme for Kosovo, which would include the solution for the problem of demographic explosion, the international financial and expert institutions, especially the World Bank, should be included. Certain activities aimed at facilitating the position of Kosovo are already under way. For instance, within the framework of the rehabilitation programme of the entire financial system, the rehabilitation of the Kosovo Bank, which should be the basis for the financial consolidation of the entire economy of Kosovo, is emphasized. It is indispensable that in this process all strikes, which are now blocking the economy of Kosovo and making its consolidation difficult, should stop.

ANNEX II

Excerpts from the concluding remarks made on 8 February 1990 by the Vice-President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia in the Assembly of Yugoslavia

It is clear that the fate of Yugoslavia centres today around the problem of Kosovo. Most of the speakers made such references. As it can be seen here today, the question of Kosovo reflects the entire Yugoslav drama. Kosovo has become the barometer of the political climate in Yugoslavia, but also - on a note of self-criticism - in a considerable measure, the victim of conflicts between the republics.

It is incumbent upon all of us to seek to resolve the problem of Kosovo and to prevent its worsening.

For all our differences, there is a large degree of agreement that the territorial integrity of the country and its constitutional order are at stake in Kosovo. The most sacrosanct things, for which we are jointly responsible before the whole country and before all its nations and nationalities are in question. That "game" in Kosovo has lasted long. The most recent events were spurred, unfortunately, whether we want to admit it or not, by the differences and splits which have become evident. Instead of discord and quarrels about Kosovo, we need to talk about ways of achieving a more efficient implementation of adopted programmes, as well as new programmes for the development of Kosovo and for the resolution of its numerous long-term problems.

The assessment by the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia of the demonstrations and riots in Kosovo over the past few days, leaves no doubt whatsoever that an attempt was made by the separatists to topple

the legally elected leadership of Kosovo by force. We should bear in mind that 80 per cent of that legally elected leadership of Kosovo are Albanians. Therefore, the problem with the separatists is not the national composition of the leadership of Kosovo, but its Yugoslav orientation and, let us be frank, the fact that it recognizes the Socialist Republic of Serbia and does not approve of the slogan "Kosovo - Republic". So, their aim is first to take the power and then use it to pursue further the well-known separatist goals.

As far as the taking of territory or power is concerned - and there were such attempts in the past few days, - the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia has resolutely stressed that, in any such instance, the territory and the legitimate power should be recaptured and the functioning of institutions secured, immediately and with all means at the disposal of the state, including the use of force.

The separatists' goals have not changed, regardless of the new slogans put up. In the past, they hid behind Tito. Now, they hide behind democracy, but the slogan "Kosovo - Republic" has remained crucial to them, this time with a clarification that this implies secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia. Of course, it was clarification for those who were not aware of this before.

The idea behind the separatist movement is to undermine the integrity of Yugoslavia. There is a clear continuity in that respect. In addition to the slogans they use as a front, the method of their activities, which increasingly tends to escalate into an armed rebellion, is also new. In this regard, the assessment of the separatist intentions, presented here in the Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia last year by the former Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia, proved correct, for they are being carried out.

Also new and, unfortunately, seriously disturbing is the growing disunity in the country, weakening our ability for action and facilitating nationalist and separatist activities in Kosovo. This is beyond doubt. We are all accountable for this. It is dangerous to call into question the legal means used by the state in order to ensure the functioning of the constitutional order in Kosovo, or to challenge measures taken by the appropriate government organs aimed at curbing the actions and demands of separatists. It is even worse to openly approve of them. Perhaps we are not always aware that we are thus acting to our own disadvantage.

Some of the newly established political alliances in Kosovo condone, publicly and openly, the separatist demands of the demonstrators and terrorists. There are many indications that two fronts of the same action exist - the front of the political and the front of the physical struggle to the same ends.

In this connection, if demands for more democracy are voiced, and we support and wish that, it is necessary to have peace rather than vandalism and terrorism. We can place confidence in democracy provided the rule of law is ensured. There can be no advance of democracy under the nationalist and separatist violence and unrests.

There is no doubt that the impending economic and political reforms, if implemented successfully, will help resolve the problem of Kosovo, too. But, let's not deceive ourselves, we must bear in mind that the problem of separatism is a political one, apart from all the rest, and that it is capable of surviving all our reforms if we fail to see what it is all about.

Separatists are against Yugoslavia. As such, they are not interested in our programmes, however good they may be. Reforms can provide a more suitable setting for

resolving problems, if they are properly understood or, vice versa, for their escalation, if the assessments are wrong.

As to the allegations relating to civil rights, everyone can see that all Yugoslav citizens, including Albanians, enjoy the same civil and national rights in our country. We are intent to help further development of those rights. However, the trouble is that they cannot be exercised in these conditions, under the constant pressure of the Albanian nationalistic and separatist activity. Civil rights are threatened by terrorist pressure, and not just the rights of those who are a minority in Kosovo, above all the Serbs and Montenegrins who continue to leave the territory, but also rights of the majority of Albanians, who have had enough of living in fear of violence. No one has the right to pronounce the entire Albanian nationality nationalistic and separatistic. It is not surprising to hear Albanians say: "It is easy for the Serbs, they have where to run away."

That is why our state had to protect this time too, and will have to protect in the future, its constitutional order and its territorial integrity, and thereby the fundamental human, civil and national rights from any nationalism and separatism, including Albanian in Kosovo.

ANNEX III

Excerpts from the conclusions of 9 February 1990 relating to Kosovo
of the Assembly of Yugoslavia

1. The Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia assesses that the recent developments in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo which reflect the continuous activities of Albanian separatists and terrorists aimed at separating Kosovo from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, pose a direct threat to the territorial integrity and constitutional system of the country and to the human rights and freedoms of citizens, and impede the implementation of the economic reform in the country.

2. The latest events in the SAP of Kosovo have seriously disturbed all the citizens, arousing a feeling of insecurity particularly among the Serbs and Montenegrins and giving rise to a sharp increase in the number of them leaving the territory of the SAP of Kosovo. Therefore, the Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia calls upon all federal organs, the organs of the SR of Serbia and, in particular, of the SAP of Kosovo, to take all measures to ensure the full security of citizens and of their property in order to enable the return of those who had left Kosovo in this period, and to stop the exodus of those who intend to leave as a consequence of the above-mentioned events.

Proceeding from the existing political, security and socio-economic conditions in the SAP of Kosovo, the Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia supports the position of the Presidency of the SFRY regarding the enforcement of special measures, provided that their further application depends on the development of the political and security situation in the SAP of Kosovo.

3. The Assembly of the SFRY calls upon the competent authorities to continue to take, even more efficiently and resolutely, all necessary measures at the disposal of a legal state, in accordance with their constitutional and legal powers, to create conditions for a normal functioning of government organs and unhampered economic activities and for a responsible attitude towards work in the Province, in accordance with the intentions of economic and social reform.

The Assembly of the SFRY demands the consistent application by the competent federal authorities of the Law on the movement and stay of aliens to the emigres engaged in activities contrary to the Constitution and laws of the SFRY.

4. The Assembly of the SFRY demands all those involved in the implementation of the Yugoslav Programme for Kosovo to strive for its consistent and full realization; and insists that measures and responsibility be precized for insufficient and untimely fulfilment of obligations taken. Also, a new programme of the economic development of Kosovo should be prepared.

5. The Assembly of the SFRY once again points out the need for consistent pursuance of wide-ranging socio-political activities among all citizens in the SAP of Kosovo, from the local community and work organizations up to the highest organs and organizations of the Province, in order to mobilize the masses, particularly members of the Albanian nationality, the majority of whom have a Yugoslav orientation, with a view to suppressing and preventing the aggressive actions of Albanian separatists and terrorists. Parallely with these activities, there is a need to create all necessary conditions for mutual trust, dialogue, and peaceful life together of all citizens of Kosovo, as well as for the economic, cultural and other integration and closer links of the Albanian nationality with other nations and nationalities in the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Through such activities a united front of all progressive forces (Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Croats, Muslims, Romanians, etc.) will be created. This should be the decisive factor in the struggle against Albanian separatists and terrorists, for a lasting stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, as well as for the participation of all progressive forces in the democratic processes.

The Assembly of the SFRY emphasizes the need for curbing the practice of associating Albanian nationalists and separatists with the Albanian nationality as a whole, as well as for eliminating the propaganda creating ill feelings and distrust towards the Albanian nationality.
