

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

This chapter will explain the background of the problem, in which the beginning of the involvement of the United States in the conflict in the Kosovo region, the formulation of the problem, the framework used in writing this paper, the research arguments, and the writing system from Chapter I to Chapter V.

A. BACKGROUND

The United States, well-known as the U.S., is a superpower country that has a significant role in the international world, which often interferes in state affairs outside its territory. The U.S. uses various reasons in carrying out its goals, such as humanitarian intervention. Humanitarian intervention is an effort to prevent or stop human rights violations with military force in a country that has internal conflicts, with or without the approval of the country that being intervened. (Bell, 2019) Doug Bandow said that the intervention carried out by the U.S. towards the conflict in the Kosovo region is a humanitarian intervention which aimed to seek peace and uphold the rights of oppressed Albanian ethnic. (Bandow, 1999)

The actions by the U.S. against Serbia to accept the special autonomy status of Kosovo are based on humanitarian reasons and aim to reduce human rights violations in the country. In this case, Albanian ethnic was the party who received discrimination from Serbia. The relation between the U.S. and Yugoslavia¹, the previous state, was limited to establish diplomatic ties without comprehensive cooperation, because the Federal Socialist

¹former federated country that was situated in the west-central part of the Balkan Peninsula until 1991

Republic of Yugoslavia was closer to the Soviet Union, which based on similar ideology, racial, and political factors. The attitude of the U.S. towards the former countries of Yugoslavia changed when there was a conflict in the Kosovo region. It showed from the intervention of the U.S. to uphold the human rights of Albanian citizens, where the U.S. was supporting the independence of Kosovo.

The collapse of the Yugoslav Communist Federation, which began with the fall of Josip Broz Tito's regime, caused the federation divided into six parts. It dominated by Serbia, followed by Slovenia, Croatia, North Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and two autonomous provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina. Although the Federation of Yugoslavia had collapsed, it had not undermined the violence and authoritarian instincts of its former government. It showed in its dominant country's behavior, Serbia, with its government policies aimed at the province of Kosovo. (Chomsky, 1999) Albanian ethnicity often did not get more attention from the Serbian government because it considered as the minority. It triggered Albanian ethnic to separate from Serbia and form a new country of Kosovo.

Regarding the U.S.' intervention in the conflict in 1999, it had sought peace brought by the U.S. Peace Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, who persuaded the Yugoslav President to reconcile Albanian ethnic by providing autonomy for Kosovo and the placement of peacekeepers. (Holbrooke, 1998) Previously, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had also given an ultimatum to Milosevic as the President of Serbia to resolve the conflict in the province of Kosovo immediately, but he still did not approve it. (Soros, Open Society: Reforming Global Capitalism; 1st edition, 2000)

The ethnic conflict between Serbs and Albanian emerged in 1981 when Kosovo is still part of the Republic of Serbia under the Socialist Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia. Albanian argued with Serbs, which consider Kosovo as one of the provinces in the Republic of Serbia. (Allcock & Poulsen, 2019)

The background of the conflict in Kosovo region was the ethnic differences that inhabited the Republic of Serbia. (Woehrel, 1999) The dominant ethnic Serbs in the Serbian Republic were Orthodox Christians, while Albanian ethnic who occupy most of the region in the autonomous region of Kosovo were Muslims. Kosovo's population was dominated by more than 90% Albanian, while Serbs were less than 5% of people. (Bieber & Daskalovski, 2005) This conflict occurred after the efforts of Serbs to eliminate the Albanian in Kosovo. This conflict escalated in 1989 when there was a large-scale demonstration due to Albanian disappointment towards the Serbian government. They felt the provincial autonomy of Kosovo had significantly reduced since Slobodan Milosevic led Serbia. (Nelsson, 2019) Serbian government passed a constitution in March 1989, stating that Kosovo's autonomy was under the supervision of the government of the Republic of Serbia. As a result of the policy's ratification, some conflicts caused many casualties, both Albanian and the Serbian military.

The ethnic conflict has been going on for a long time since Josip Broz Tito's administration. The ethnic crisis of Kosovo is the most crucial ethnic conflict for Yugoslavia's stability. Various demonstrations took place, causing clashes between Albanian ethnic and security forces. Previously, in 1982, the tensions and riots had spread to Montenegro and North Macedonia.

Milosevic succeeded in eliminating the remnants of the separatist movement in 1990. Furthermore, the removal of Albanian residents due to the Serbian occupation dissolved all Albanian schools. Serbia's efforts to change the constitutions made Albanian ethnic increasingly unsettling. Constitutional amendments were made by

Serbia to give higher authority to the central government, which would reduce the freedom in its republics, including Kosovo. The Albanian ethnic in Kosovo did not agree with such law and amendment. It provoked their anger that eventually formed the nationalist movement Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), which wanted independence for Kosovo. (Sullivan, 2019)

The Serbian conflict was initially an internal conflict between Serbs and Albanian ethnic, where the minority wanted to separate from Serbia. Serbia and Kosovo had become an attraction for the U.S. by its involvement in the conflict in the Balkan region. There was a lot of assistance that has been given by the U.S. for the realization of Kosovo's independence. Among other things, the U.S. had become a mediator to bridge peace in the ethnic conflicts of Serbs and Albanian. The U.S. had also held conferences in this conflict, but it still resulted in a deadlock. Furthermore, the U.S. mobilized its NGO body, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), to provide aid for Kosovo, and it continues until Kosovo's post-independence.

The intervention carried out by the U.S. was based on humanity that seized the Albanian rights in ethnic cleansing carried out by Serbia. However, the involvement of the U.S., which is far from Serbia's territory of Kosovo, certainly raises many questions, because the factors in this conflict are not directly related to the U.S., including the relations between the U.S. and Kosovo's predecessor, Yugoslavia.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the background above, the research question proposed by the author is: "Why did the U.S. intervene in the conflict between Serbs and Albanians in the Kosovo region in 1999 – 2008?"

C. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To analyze the problem that has been explained above, a particular theory is needed. The theory is a collection of explanations on a specific subject. The theory describes a series of concepts that form understanding into one while explaining how the concepts are interconnected. To understand the phenomena of international relations, it needs simplification by using the conceptual framework as an inevitable matter.

Based on the research question, in analyzing the case of the U.S.' humanitarian intervention towards the conflict in the Kosovo region in 1999 – 2008, the author uses the concepts of foreign policy and national interest. Foreign policy, in this case, is used to analyze the national interests of a country, the U.S itself.

1. Foreign Policy

Foreign policy as a reflection of the national interests of a country made by decision-makers. In the Introduction to Political Science written by Carlton Clymer Rodee, there are several insights about foreign policy. Foreign policy can be defined as a group of principles that are adopted by the states to protect their national interest and change the behavior of others. (Rodee, 1976) More simply, foreign policy can be interpreted as a way of countries interacting with other countries to achieve a particular goal. Therefore, a foreign policy carried out by each state is a commitment as a fundamental strategy in achieving its national goal and interests.

Foreign policy is all the actions of a government against another country in international politics, based on a set of assumptions and specific objectives, and is intended to guarantee national security. Foreign policy can be carried out in various ways, but the three most common things are war, peace,

and economic cooperation. Harold D. Lasswell states that policy as “a projected program of goals, values, and practices.” (Lasswell, 1936)

Foreign policy reflects the desires and aspirations of all people in a country that must be fought for by the government, both in domestic and external contexts. It is the effort of the states to determine their involvement in the international political constellation and environmental issues. In this case, the U.S. puts forward its foreign policy which is to intervene in the conflict in the Kosovo region, because the U.S. has goals and interests in this conflict.

2. National Interest

National interest is the interests of a country to achieve particular objectives, such as freedom, independence, or security. National interests are based on the needs of a country, which are made by decision-makers that reflect it into the country's foreign policy to obtain national interest.

National Interest links to Realism, which is about the national defense, economic prosperity, and political power. (Roskin, 1994) National interests are as a means and purpose of international political action. The national interest of each country is the pursuit of power (forming and maintaining control of a country to another country). In interacting with other international relations actors, a nation must always achieve its national interests. National interests are formulated by state leaders and political theorists and obeyed by society because they are linked to social situations and reflect the existence of values, ideas of group interests, and also the interests of the formulators. (Yusuf, 1989) Therefore, national interest is the most important thing that underlies the attitude of formulating a country's foreign policy. As expressed by Paul Seabury that the idea of national interests might refer to a set of goals

and ideals that a nation-state seeks to achieve in its foreign actions towards other countries. (Seabury, 1963) National interest is an element that becomes a vital need for the country. These elements include the survival of the nation and state, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic prosperity. According to Padelford and Lincoln, the types of national interests consist of national security interests, the importance of economic development, the importance of increasing national power, the importance of national prestige. (Padelford & Lincoln, 1962) Donald E. Nuechterlin explains more about the dimension of national interest, which is defense, economic, world order, and ideological interest. The policymakers must protect the nation-state and its citizens, improve the country's economy by their relationships with other countries, maintain an international political and economic system that guarantees the safety outside the border, and protect and advance their values to be universally good. (Nuechterlin, 1976)

Regarding the relation with the involvement of the U.S. in the conflict in the Kosovo region, the formulation of US foreign policy is a result of the political process in addressing the phenomenon of ethnic conflict that occurred, which can fulfill its national interests. The results of the formulation are the basis of all US actions towards the conflict in the Kosovo region.

In interventions carried out by the U.S. against Serbia, humanitarian reasons are the most underlying reason why Serbia must accept Kosovo's special autonomy status. But realistically, this is loaded with the interests of the U.S. in the Kosovo region. Realist understanding finds it hard to ensure that humanitarian intervention is purely for altruistic reasons that are free

from particular interests. Because every country always prioritizes its national interests, and all state actions are always encouraged to realize their interests. It can be concluded that the purpose of the involvement of the U.S., in this case, is based on efforts to achieve its national interests.

In its actions, the U.S. had an interest in gaining sympathy from the countries that had entered the ideology of communism when the Soviet Union's government was still in existence. With that sympathy, the U.S. can expand its area of influence in the spread of its ideology, democracy. To realize the widespread of democracy in the region, the U.S. provided aid to the Kosovo region. The assistance provided by the U.S. is the training for the Kosovo government so that later it can run a democratic system properly. The support is also provided through USAID and the Democratic Effective Municipalities Initiative Program (DEMI) program. On the other hand, Kosovo's position in the middle of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also made this area have special meaning for the U.S. in terms of overseeing the Balkan Peninsula.

The interest of the U.S. in the conflict in the Kosovo region also includes economic interests. The purpose of this intervention is to make Kosovo as a new market. With assistance given to Kosovo, the U.S. will get sympathy and get a new partner for their interest.

D. RESEARCH ARGUMENTS

Based on the issue and theoretical framework that has been explained, the author has its arguments regarding the research of the U.S.' humanitarian intervention towards the conflict in the Kosovo region in 1999 – 2008, especially in terms of economic development and national prestige or ideological interests, which is the national interests of the

U.S. intended to make Kosovo as the new market and to expand the widespread of democratic ideologies in the region.

E. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Type of Research

Research conducted in this thesis writing is a qualitative research that is descriptive-analytical. Sugiyono (2003:11) defines the descriptive method as the research that is done to know the independent variable value, one variable, or more without making a comparison or connection with other variables. (Sugiyono, 2017) Qualitative research is a type of research that has a focus on a particular process and event interactively and added unit analysis using a model or approach to a case study. Case studies are descriptions and comprehensive explanations of various aspects of a study to produce more empirical and facts.

2. Data Collection Techniques

Qualitative research methods are methods where data collected in completing statements in a thesis uses sentences arranged in phrases rather than showing data calculations in the form of numbers. Therefore, in the data collection techniques used in this paper, the author uses library research, specifically the use of works of books and documents in written form. Where in the library research collects data using the literature method by examining books, scientific papers, journals, newspapers, magazines, articles, and other sources that are considered relevant and related to the subject of the thesis.

3. Data Analysis Techniques

Thesis writing is a study based on descriptive-analytical reviews. Therefore, the data obtained will then be analyzed using a predetermined theoretical framework.

F. WRITING SYSTEM

The writing of this thesis consists of 5 (five) chapters, with the system of writing as follows:

CHAPTER I: Introduction
Contains background problem, research question, theoretical framework, research arguments, research methodology, and writing system.

CHAPTER II: First Discussion
Elaborates on the U.S. foreign policy and its implementation regarding democracy and human rights.

CHAPTER III: Second Discussion
Explains the history of Kosovo and the background of Serbia's conflict, as well as the political and economic conditions of Kosovo.

CHAPTER IV: Third Discussion
Outlines the reason and background of the intervention of the U.S. in Serbia's conflict and its interests toward the conflict.

CHAPTER V: Closing
Contains the conclusion of the overall data in detail, concise, and precise form regarding the contents that has

been summarized from the previous chapters.