



# Language Rights in Kosovo

Norbert TÓTH

National University of Public Service (Budapest)

Balázs VIZI

Institute for Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

**Abstract.** This article offers an overview of the legal framework of language use in Kosovo. The existing wide range of legal instruments, adopted under international control, provide guarantees for non-Albanian communities to use their mother tongue in public sphere. Nevertheless, the implementation of the law is often problematic. Most of the information gathered in the field work for this paper refers to the situation in 2009-2010.

**Keywords:** Kosovo, Albanians, Serbian community, minority, human rights, language rights, supranational arrangements.

## 1. Communities, Minorities in Kosovo and Note on Terminology

The questions related to the co-existence and rights of ethnic and national communities have been determining the shape of the Kosovo society in the past decades. Obviously, in the light of the 1998-1999 war and the heavy conflicts – occasionally erupted in open violent acts like in 2004 – between the Serbian and Albanian population of Kosovo, the issues related to the situation of minorities in general have always been highly sensitive. In this aspect, the independence of Kosovo, declared in 2008, was closely linked to the fate of minorities in independent Kosovo (compare Ahtisaari Plan 2007). As a matter of fact – already under international administration (under UNMIK<sup>1</sup> between 1999 and 2008) –, the legislation of Kosovo was designed to reflect a tolerant, multiethnic and multilingual society. The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, adopted after obtaining independence, declares among others that ‘The Republic of Kosovo ensures appropriate conditions enabling communities and their members to preserve, protect and develop their identities.’ (Art. 58. 1). Art. 5 of the Constitution generously established

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1 United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo. See more at: [www.unmikonline.org](http://www.unmikonline.org)

two (Albania and Serbian) official languages at national level and other languages with an official status at local level.

Probably, the most visible sign of this multiethnic approach to stabilizing the Kosovar society is the legal terminology used for national and ethnic minority groups. While international documents and the most widespread practice in domestic legislation of European states is to use the term of ‘minority’ for groups which differ from the majority in their linguistic, cultural, national or ethnic identity and which enjoy specific rights,<sup>2</sup> the Assembly of Kosovo refrained to use this term, which may have negative connotations for minorities (especially for the Serbians) and opted for the use of ‘communities,’ suggesting even by this terminology the equality between the Albanian and non-Albanian populations of the country.<sup>3</sup> In this article, thus, the terms ‘community,’ ‘minority community’ and ‘minority’ will be used alternatively.

## 2. Minority Community Rights in Kosovo

### 2.1. Attitudes of Kosovo towards Relating to Norms of International Minority Rights Law and the Case of the Law on the Use of Languages in Kosovo from an International Legal Perspective

Following from the legal situation described above, the Republic of Kosovo usually has no possibility to accede to international organizations. Obviously, one of the most challenging issues is that the majority of the relevant multilateral international conventions relating to minority rights were drafted by international organizations whose members are divided upon the question of the legality of the declaration of independence by Kosovo. Due to these facts, Kosovo is usually not allowed to accede to international organizations dealing with – amongst others – minority rights, which would lead to problems relating to the recognition of the compulsory effect of international conventions containing minority rights, including particularly the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted by the UN) and the relevant instruments of the Council of Europe (CoE) such as the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages of 1992 and the 1995 Framework

2 To cite the most acknowledged definition of the term offered by Francesco Capotorti, UN Special Rapporteur in 1979: ‘a minority is a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members – being nationals of the state – possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their cultures, traditions, religion or language.’ UN Doc E/CN.4/Sub.2/384/Rev.1. 1979. 5–12.

3 However, there is a broader use of the term ‘community’ in Kosovo besides referring to the minorities of the country: it is also used as referring to *all* ethnic, linguistic groups in Kosovo, regardless of their numerical position. (ECMI 2009)

Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM). According to the mechanisms relating to CoE legal instruments, only member states are allowed to accede to its treaties and perhaps that is why Kosovo could not become a state party to the international legal texts drafted by the Council of Europe so far. In theory, there is another option for non-members, but such states are allowed to accede to CoE conventions in case of an official invitation formulated by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. Similarly, Kosovo is not allowed to accede to any other legally binding international document relevant in this field at the moment. However, Kosovo is bound by these instruments because of certain unilateral declarations made by the official state authorities. However, accession of treaties is not the only possible option to undertake international obligations. According to the 'Guiding Principles applicable to unilateral declarations of States capable of creating legal obligations' drafted by the International Law Commission of the United Nations in 2006 – similarly to the capacity of concluding treaties –: 'Any State possesses capacity to undertake legal obligations through unilateral declarations' (ILC 2006, Section 2) and 'declarations publicly made and manifesting the will to be bound may have the effect of creating legal obligations. When the conditions for this are met, the binding character of such declarations is based on good faith; States concerned may then take them into consideration and rely on them; such States are entitled to require that such obligations be respected' (ILC 2006, Section 1). In theory, this means that Kosovo can undertake obligations arising from an international convention by declaring unilaterally her intentions to do so without formally acceding to any of these instruments. Accordingly, the Constitution of Kosovo in its Article 22 declares the following:

Human rights and fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the following international agreements and instruments are guaranteed by this Constitution, are *directly applicable* (emphasis added) in the Republic of Kosovo and, in the case of conflict, have priority over provisions of laws and other acts of public institutions:

- 1) Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- 2) European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols;
- 3) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Protocols;
- 4) Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities;
- 5) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;
- 6) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women;
- 7) Convention on the Rights of the Child;
- 8) Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Furthermore, the Law on the Use of Languages in Kosovo in its – legally non-binding – preamble states:

It is based on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages; in addition, the Parliament of Kosovo ‘is taking into account the Hague Recommendations regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities and the Oslo Recommendations regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities, the Guidelines on the use of Minority Languages in the Broadcast Media (...)’.

However, the preamble of the Law on the Use of Languages in Kosovo cannot be considered as a legal declaration since the parliament wished only to note that during the drafting process of the law in question several relevant international norms were being taken into consideration. The case of the Constitution is slightly different though because of the declarative character of its article quoted above. After all, the only question is whether domestic laws such as the Constitution of Kosovo can be considered as legally binding unilateral declarations under international law or not. According to the current international norms in this field, the answer can be both positive and negative. No doubt that the Constitution was issued by a law-making body, namely the Assembly of Kosovo, and not by a person representing the state in its international relations. Even though a parliament has quite restricted powers and possibilities in this field, it is clear enough that Kosovo intends to take into consideration the rules of international minority rights law including language rights as well.

## **2.2. Principle of Non-Discrimination and Language Rights**

The situation of national minority communities in Kosovo has become a key issue in legislation both before and after obtaining independence. Already under UNMIK administration, the provisional institutions of self-government in Kosovo, i.e. both the provisional Assembly of Kosovo and the provisional government, actively worked on the establishment of a coherent legal framework for the equal rights of communities in Kosovo (Dimitrijević 2004). Still under UNMIK administration, the Assembly of Kosovo adopted the Anti-Discrimination Law (2004) and the Law on the Use of Languages (Language Law). Both pieces of legislation rely on the acknowledged principles of equality and minority language rights as formulated in international and EU documents. The anti-discrimination law reflects the most important elements of non-discrimination legislation adopted within the EU (see the so-called Employment Directive (EU 2000a) and the Race Directive (EU 2000b): such as the definition of the concept of discrimination, the definition of protected groups and personal characteristics, the judicial procedure applicable

for the violation of the law, including the procedures of issuing fines etc. This law prohibits discrimination based on – among others – national or ethnic origin and language, and its area of application extends to both the public and the private sectors; the procedure for evaluating complaints is entrusted to independent bodies. Although from the perspective of persons belonging to minorities, the legal regulation of the prohibition of discrimination can only be tested in its implementation, which may raise concerns regarding the effective competencies of the authorities designated by the law for implementation. Nevertheless, one of the main positive elements in this law is that not only individuals but also civil organizations, NGOs representing the victims, are entitled to turn to the authorities for requesting investigation of complaints of discrimination. The main obstacle for the thorough activation of the anti-discrimination law, however, lies in the low level of citizens' awareness of their rights and in the malfunctions of the institutional guarantees of the rule of law.

Furthermore, it shall be underlined that the prohibition of discrimination is always just the first step in safeguarding the identity of minority communities. As it was formulated already by the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (later, until 2006, known as the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights),<sup>4</sup> there shall be a clear distinction between the concepts of 'prevention of discrimination' and 'protection of minorities': *'Prevention of discrimination is the prevention of any action which denies to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish. Protection of minorities is the protection of the non-dominant groups which, while wishing in general for equality of treatment with the majority, wish for a measure of differential treatment in order to preserve basic characteristics which they possess and which distinguish them from the majority of the population.'* (UN 1947)

Even if in the context of Kosovo, as it was explained above, the constitutional framework does not use the phrase 'minorities,' but it recognizes the communities in Kosovo, it is still obvious that all the non-Albanian communities are in non-dominant, minority position. Thus, for fulfilling the constitutional commitments of Kosovo to treat all communities equally, there is a need to go beyond the prohibition of discrimination and to guarantee specific rights for non-dominant communities.

In this context, the other law, which was adopted for the protection of minority communities before gaining independence, the law on the use of languages is of outstanding importance for the recognition of minority or community rights in Kosovo. The law recognized Albanian and Serbian languages as official languages; it declares the full equality of the two languages on the entire territory of Kosovo

4 This UN body ceased to exist in 2006 and it was replaced by the Human Rights Council Advisory Committee.

(Language Law Art. 1(ii)). Besides the regulation of official languages, the law recognizes the right of citizens who speak other than the official languages to preserve their linguistic identity. At municipal level, the law recognizes Bosnian, Roma and Turkish as official languages if the number of people speaking one of these languages reaches three percent of the population in the municipality. Albanian and Serbian languages enjoy equal status in all Kosovo institutions, thus, at the level of central institutions as well: on government or parliamentary sessions, both national official languages can be freely used and ‘every person has the right to communicate with and to receive available services and public documents from the central institutions of Kosovo in any of the official languages’ (Language Law, Art. 4.). In a similar way, at municipal level, the official languages of the municipality can be used equally in the communication with municipal institutions, in official documents and in their contacts with citizens. Municipal regulations and decisions shall be issued in all official languages of the municipality (Language Law, Arts. 7-8). Furthermore, the law regulates the use of languages in public enterprises, in judicial proceedings, in education and media. For supervising the implementation of the regulations on the use of languages, the law requires the Government of Kosovo to establish a Language Commission. The main task of the Language Commission is to supervise the effective use of official languages in public institutions and to overview the implementation of the language rights of communities, to issue recommendations and proposals, and to report on the violation of language rights to the government and the parliament (Language Law, Art. 32.). The composition of the Language Commission is based on the administrative instruction issued by the Prime Minister (however, no information was available for us on the work of the Commission).

In general, this language law reflects the main principles acknowledged at international level for the protection of persons who speak minority languages and the regulation is in full coherence with the constitutional and international obligations of Kosovo.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the main problems in the effective implementation of the law are the lack of appropriate social and political awareness and the administrative obstacles in implementation: e.g. the functioning and efficiency of the Language Commission was for long doubtful (HLC 2008: 6).

### 2.3. The Rights of Communities

Regarding the establishment of a coherent system of protection of minority communities in Kosovo, the adoption of the Law on the Protection of the Rights of Communities and their Members in the Republic of Kosovo in March 2008

<sup>5</sup> Art. 58.2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo prescribes the respect for the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages.

was a remarkable step (Communities Law 2008). This law reinforces the rights of minorities – protected often in other legal regulations – to use their language, to enjoy healthcare assistance on an equal basis, to take the position of vice-president in municipal assembly and deputy mayor of municipality etc. But the main goal of the law is to strengthen the participation of minority communities in political and social life. Probably the most important instrument in this endeavour at national level is the establishment of the Consultative Council for Communities. The law also requires from the government to adopt every year a general strategy for the protection of communities and it shall report the Assembly of Kosovo on the implementation of that strategy. The Consultative Council operates under the auspices of the President of the Republic, which underlines the significance of high-level representation of communities in the political life of Kosovo. Following the adoption of the law, the President of the Republic, Fatmir Sejdiu – within his own constitutional authorities – issued his decision on 15 September 2008 on the establishment of the Consultative Council. In the selection process of the members in the Council, the Kosovo Office of the European Centre for Minority Issues was actively involved (ECMI 2008). The mandate of the Consultative Council of Communities according to the law is:

a) to assist the organization and the articulation of the views of communities and their members in relation to legislation, public policy and programmes of special relevance to them;

b) to provide a forum for co-ordination and consultation amongst communities and to ensure the effective functioning of the community representative organizations according to a code of conduct to be adopted by the Community Consultative Council;

c) to provide a mechanism for regular exchange between communities and state institutions;

d) to afford the communities the opportunity to participate at an early stage in legislative or policy initiatives that may be prepared by the Government or the Assembly, to suggest such initiatives and to have their views incorporated in the relevant projects and programmes, including the annual strategy and report under Article 13 of this law, in accordance with the law;

e) to fulfil requests for other mandatory consultations with regard to certain legal acts as foreseen in the Constitution and the law;

f) to enable communities to participate in the needs assessments, design, monitoring and evaluation of programmes that are aimed at their members or are of special relevance to them;

g) to make recommendations during the decision-making process concerning the apportionment of funds – both internationally and allocated from the budget of the Republic of Kosovo – for projects aimed at communities or their specific interests;

h) to contribute to the reporting of the government of Kosovo to international human rights mechanisms;

i) to raise awareness of community concerns within the Republic of Kosovo and to contribute to harmonious relations between all communities within the Republic of Kosovo. (Communities Law, Art. 12.1)

Though the law does not give direct decision-making competencies to the Consultative Council, it is still – according to its mandate – entitled to have the widest institutional and political influence among other representative institutions of minority communities. The members of the Consultative Council are appointed by the President of the Republic for a two-year term (a mandate which is once renewable) and its members shall be selected from among the leading representatives of civil associations and NGOs representing the communities. Within the constraints defined by the law, even members of parliament representing the community concerned can be appointed.<sup>6</sup> The President of the Republic and the head of the Prime Minister's Secretariat for Communities are also members of the Council, just like other representatives of relevant governmental agencies can also be members, however, with the restriction that in taking decisions the representatives of communities shall always represent the majority of votes in the Consultative Council. Thus, it is not possible to take any decision against the will of the community members of the Council. The Consultative Council holds ordinary meetings monthly and twice a year it holds a meeting chaired by the President of the Republic to overview the community policies and concerns of communities in Kosovo.

Despite the constructive approach reflected in this law for the inclusion of community representatives in decision-making processes at the highest level, the implementation of the law raised some serious concerns. The establishment of the Consultative Council took more than half a year as the law was adopted on 15 June 2008, the selection process of the members of the Council started in November-December 2008 and the first session of the Council took place in March 2009. Based on information received from the representatives of minority communities, the main problem in setting up the Consultative Council was not only the delay of the President of the Republic, Fatmir Sejdiu, but much more the hardly transparent selection process of the members: in line with regulations of the law, besides the determined number of MPs representing each community, the civic associations of the minority communities select the members who shall be then appointed by the President of the Republic for the two-year mandate.

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6 Art. 12.6. states that the Roma, Ashkaali and Egyptian communities have 2 members each in the Consultative Council (1 for each community can be an MP), the Bosnian and Turkish communities shall have 3-3 members respectively (of which 1 can be an MP), the Gorani community is represented in the Council by 2 members (1 of them can be an MP) and the Serbian community shall have 5 representatives in the Council (2 of them can be MPs).



However, the law does not regulate in detail which civic organizations or NGOs should be considered as representative organizations of the community concerned and offers a relatively wide range of power to influence the selection procedure when the candidacy is disputed among the community's NGOs. For this reason, Serbian and Turkish NGOs harshly critiqued the law (HLC 2008). The main concerns regarding the establishment and functioning of the Consultative Council of Communities in 2009 could be summarized in four main points:

i.) The selection of members for the Consultative Council was rather problematic in many cases (e.g. no civil organization or NGO was involved from Northern Kosovo – Northern Mitrovica and so on – in the selection of Serbian members of the Council).

ii.) Taking into account that both the President of the Republic and the representatives of the Government are members in the Council, the President of the Republic could gain excessive influence in the Council only by referring to his high office. Moreover, the representatives of the Government as an executive body may also influence the decisions of the Council referring to the budgetary constraints or to hardships of implementation. But the most important question in this regard is how the Council will really be able to influence the legislation procedure and government policies. Will the Council get all appropriate information from the government for its work? For the moment, only contradicting information is available on that.

iii.) In the long run, it may raise concerns that the Council does not have any effective decision-making competencies.

iv.) Moreover, most problems affecting minority communities can be addressed at a local level and the Council does not have any competence to intervene in or review local practices at municipal level.<sup>7</sup>

There is no reliable information on any change in this political approach to the Consultative Council, the new members of the Council were appointed by the President of the Republic on 3 March 2010.

It needs to be mentioned that after declaring independence, a new office was created in the Government to tackle issues related to communities. The main task of the Office for Communities within the Office of the Kosovo Prime Minister is to co-ordinate the government's community policies, to prepare the government strategies and legislation for communities and furthermore to inform the public continuously on the situation of communities. As the Office has operated for more than two years, two yearly government strategies should have been published, but these have not been published on the website of the Prime Minister.

All this shows well that the full implementation of specific legal commitments is not yet complete and often delayed.

7 Information received during personal interviews from Bosnian, Turkish and Egyptian members of the Consultative Council of Communities in March 2009.

## 2.4. The Situation of Communities and Municipalities in Kosovo

The administrative structure of independent Kosovo largely builds on the municipalities, i.e. the local self-governments. Following the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, one of the first legal acts adopted in parliament regulated the status of municipalities (Law on Self-Government). The law delegates a wide sphere of competencies to the municipalities. Among others, the law requests the protection of communities in municipalities<sup>8</sup> and – in coherence with the law on the use of language – guarantees the linguistic rights of minority communities as well (Law on Self-Government, Art. 9.). In accordance with the Constitution of Kosovo and in line with the principle of subsidiarity, municipalities obtained relatively wide authorities: within their jurisdiction, they can decide on local economic development plans, on environmental and urban planning, construction permits and regulations, cultural and free-time activities, primary healthcare assistance etc. (Law on Self-Government, Art. 17.). Furthermore, their delegated competencies cover the management of real estate property registration, citizen registration, firm registration, the distribution of social assistance and aid (except for pensions), forest management etc. on the territory of the municipality. Besides that, the law states that the municipalities of Northern Mitrovica, Graçanicë/Gracanica and Shtrëpcë/Štrpce are entitled to maintain higher level health services (i.e. hospitals)<sup>9</sup> and in Northern Mitrovica the municipality has special rights in the organization and accreditation of university education in the municipality.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the law guarantees special competencies in the fields of culture and the preservation of cultural heritage for municipalities with Serbian majority (Law on Self-Government, Art. 21-22.).

Certainly the most important regulations of the law regards the establishment of the fundamental conditions of territorial self-government such as the level of budgetary autonomy of municipalities; however, the legal arrangement applied by the law in this regard is rather vague: as a matter of fact, it does not clearly design the proportions between the three sources of municipality income, i.e. own sources, the central government's budgetary transfers and other incomes. The representatives of minority communities often complained that they had no influence on the distribution of budgetary sources and many times they did

8 The preamble of the law makes direct references to the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and also to the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages. Moreover, it states that municipalities are required to establish their regulations and follow their local policies in a way which creates conditions for communities to express, preserve and develop their national, ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identities. (Art. 4.3.)

9 This also includes the right to manage, among others, the training or the salaries of the personnel (see Art. 20.).

10 This provision was clearly intended to secure the maintainance of the existing Northern Mitrovica University, a former branch of the University of Pristina, which after 1999 has become an independent university.

not even get the most basic information on such matters from the municipality. Moreover, the distribution of financial sources from the national budget among municipalities is often considered to be lacking transparency and being motivated by party political preferences.<sup>11</sup>

From a legal point of view, the domestic legal regulations in Kosovo – besides Kosovo's international obligations in this field to implement the two Council of Europe treaties, the Language Charter and the FCNM – offer a broad range of rights for non-Albanian communities. Nevertheless, two main concerns need to be highlighted:

1. The institutional background for the effective implementation of the laws is not functioning properly: at the level of the central government, sometimes even the competent ministries ignore the rights of communities in their actions (such criticism was formulated, for example, in regard to the use of language rights in hospitals under the control of the Ministry of Health); on the other hand, the municipalities follow very different practices and the control of the central administration on the implementation of community rights is usually weak, while many times the level of effective protection for communities in the municipality depends on the goodwill of local leaders.

2. According to the law, not only the Consultative Council of Communities has the right to voice the opinions and concerns of minority communities, but the seats reserved for them at municipalities, such as the position of deputy mayor and the representatives of communities in municipality assembly, should also facilitate their involvement in local decision-making processes. However, in practice, they are rarely involved in the preparation of decisions and many times the local representatives of communities face difficulties in getting information from the administration of the municipality. As a matter of fact, in light of the existing legislation on the rights of communities in Kosovo, it does not offer cultural or political self-government for minority communities; their representatives by law have only rights to be consulted, which can be easily ignored by local municipality officers. The only exceptions are of course those municipalities where a minority community forms the majority, but even here the competencies of these municipalities are the same as in any other non-minority municipality. But it affects only the Serbian and Turkish communities (the municipality of Mamusha has a Turkish majority). For the other minority communities, only consultative rights are assured by the law.

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11 Information received during personal interviews from local community representatives in Prizren/Prizren and Peje/Pec in March 2009 and in April 2010.

### **3. Main Challenges in Improving the Situation of Minority Communities**

The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo and the law on the use of languages declare their goals in preserving a multilingual, multiethnic society in Kosovo. However, in practice, this is not always reflected in appropriate actions.

The representatives of non-Serbian minority communities (in Dragash, Prizren and Pejë/Peć municipalities) claim that they face serious obstacles in enjoying their constitutional rights. For the Turkish and Bosnian communities, the use of their mother tongue in education is often hindered by the restrictions affecting institutions operating in minority languages: many times, they lack textbooks and other school materials in their language. In education, as in other fields of life, linguistic rights are largely dependent on the support given to their use by the municipal authorities, while the central government institutions often fail to exercise effective control over municipal practices in this area.

The representatives of the Gorani community complained about the ignorance of municipality to recognize them as a separate community and their children are often forced to attend Serbian schools and use Serbian textbooks. The situation of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities is a bit different inasmuch as, for them, not linguistic rights but open and hidden discrimination is a main problem and they often face – largely as a long-lasting memory of the activities of Serbian-assimilated Roma during the 1998-1999 conflict – social exclusion in everyday life.

In the decentralized administrative framework adopted by Kosovo, the local self-governments, the municipalities, have an outstanding role. The life of local minority communities is largely influenced by the actions of the mayor and its administration. Thus, today it is still a vital issue for minority communities to create new municipalities where they could form the majority (for example, there are initiatives for that in the Bosnian community of Pejë/Peć).

Taking into consideration the relatively low percentage of minority communities in the populations of some municipalities (like Pejë/Peć or Dragash), it is hard to give an objective assessment on the relations between municipality administration and the local minority communities – for personal career interests, local minority community representatives may have very good relations with the mayor and its administration without achieving much for improving the situation of their communities. Nevertheless, the main problems for non-Serbian minority communities can be clearly identified in the implementation of language rights and in the situation of education in minority languages.

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