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KOSOVO REQUEST FOR RECOGNITION AND SLOVAKIA

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ABSTRACT

Slovakia is one of the five EU member states that has still not recognized Kosovo as an independent state whereas Kosovo is one of the eight units of Yugoslav federation. Seven units of the former federation became independent states deriving from the nonconsensual process of dissolution of the federation. Kosovo declared its independence on February 17, 2008 and ever since it has been recognized by more than 100 states. Republic of Slovakia still has not shown clear indications that it is going to very soon recognize the state of Kosovo. Even though there are certain activities developed that could be considered as something leading towards de facto recognition. However Republic of Slovakia was active in and the Western Balkans is a focus of its foreign policy and thus it is expected that the attitudes of Slovakia will change in favor of recognition. Reasons of non recognition of Kosovo as an independent state are different whereas they may be divided into two groups: not proper lobby activities in requiring recognition from Kosovo institutions in one hand, and a public discourse still not in favor in Slovakia, on the other hand. Paper aims to explain why such a situation from both sides and perspectives is faced and what are the causers along with recommendations that lead towards potential recognition of Kosovo from the Republic of Slovakia.

Keywords: Kosovo, independence, recognition, *de facto*, *de iure*

INTRODUCTION

Kosovo since the end of the World War II, became a constitutional unite of the Yugoslavia federation. Kosovo position within the federation differs from constitution to constitution. The 1946 Constitution of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia gave Kosovo a significant place in the federation whereas its position weakness with the 1963 Constitution and it strengthens making Kosovo already equal to other federal units. Kosovo is one of 8 units[1] that consists Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia where working people, nationalities, etc., exercise and realize their rights.[2] Federation survived going through different forms of inner regulation: sometimes more centralized and sometimes organized very close to confederation. 1974 Constitution was adopted "between federal aspirations from one side and the aspirations for confederation that nobody mentioned at that time"[3]. This shows in one way that the disagreements are present at every moment about the way of how Yugoslavia was to be build up and developed. Centralist-unitary tendencies where more present in Serbia whereas more democratic and decentralized federation were present in especially western republics: Slovenia and Croatia. These republics left Yugoslavia in early phase of dissolution of federation.[4] Following them Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence[5] and for this it paid a very high price. Bosnia and Herzegovina no matter of price it paid, it did not achieved to fulfill will of three ethnic communities that consist Bosnia. Bosnians, Serbs and Croats based on the Dayton Conference[6] achieved an agreement to create a state that did not fulfill completely their aspirations. This because

[1] See article 2 of the SFRJ Constitution
[2] See article 4 of the SFRJ Constitution
[3] Gazmend Zajmi, *Rrjedhat kryesore të konfliktësisë shqiptaro-serbe në rrafshin kushtetues të ish-Federatës multinacionale të Jugosllavisë*, marrë nga Esat Stavileci,Vepra V, *Çështja e Kosovës në veprën e Gazmend Zajmit*, Dardania, Prishtinë 2013, fq.230
[4] Slovenia declared independence in 1991 after a very short war against Yugoslav army. Croatia declared independence on 1992. Both became independent states and gained recognition at very polarized international community. It was Germany to be the strong supporter and sponsor their independence whom these countries showed respect and thankfulness. Even popular musicians made special songs in form of "Danke Deutschland". Other federal units got their independence with a lot more difficulties, wars, people life's, etc.
[5] Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence on March 3rd, 1992
[6] It was organized on November 1995 whereas the agreement was signed in Paris in December 15, 1995. The agreement called General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, brought peace in Bosnia but it is said that the durability of the settlement is a matter of question.

Bosniaks aspired unitary state, Croats aspired confederation and the Serbs aspired union with Serbia. This was achieved after many unsuccessful efforts to bring peace or after as stated "this was the biggest failure of the West since 1930"[7]. Dayton brought peace in Bosnia but made Kosovo population very unsatisfied since Kosovo was not put on the agenda of Dayton Conference. Thus the so called peaceful resistance led by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova began to lose the impact it had. This is the year when other ideas and platforms appeared in Kosovo regarding the way of opposing the RFJ/Serbia regime that by the majority of population was treated as the occupying power. The peaceful resistance began to lose its support by Kosovo Albanians. Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA-UCK) created earlier attracts especially youth and undertook guerilla actions against Serb police forces. The support for UCK becomes bigger and bigger whereas RFJ[8]/Serbia military and police forces respond heavily undertaking big offenses which hit hard also civilians of especially Albanian villages. Thus the situation aggravates and in Kosovo we see only oppression and domination of the minority over the majority population. Albanians became second hand citizens living in the so called parallel system created in Kosovo. Peaceful resistance and military actions of UCK against Serbia/FRY forces mobilized international community to act for a solution. Year 1998 was a very difficult year. Early in March Serbian/FRY forces undertook an action against KLA in Drenica region and during this attack legendary UCK commander (Adem Jashari) was killed. Fighting during the summer of the same year caused lots of killed, damages and increased the number of refuges and the internally displaced people. The engagement of International Community became more visible and "The OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission (OSCE-KVM) was created in October 1998 as part of the international response to events in Kosovo".[9] This was an achievement bringing peace a chance. "In 1998, after more than six months of escalating armed conflict between Yugoslav and Serbian forces and the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), the UN Security Council, in Resolution 1199,

[7] Richard Holbrooke, To End a War (New York: Random House, 1998)

[8] Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was created by Serbia and Monte Negro during the process of dissolution of former Yugoslav Federation. These two republics were trying during the entire process of dissolution of the federation to appear as successors of former federation. They dealt together and this creature got the international recognition after the Dayton Conference. But in 2006, Monte Negro after the referendum called independence referendum (organized in May 21, 2006) and the Assembly of Monte Negro declared its independence on June 03, 2006.

[9] OSCE-Kosovo/Kosova As seen as told, An analysis of human rights findings of the OSCE Kosovo Verification Missiosn October 1998 to June 1999

called for an immediate cease-fire in Kosovo, an international presence to monitor it, the withdrawal of "security units used for civilian repression", and dialogue on the future of the province. On 16 October 1998 the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission (OSCE-KVM) was established to monitor compliance with Resolution 1199 and with the cease-fire. The Human Rights Division within the OSCE-KVM became operational in December 1998, and was deployed extensively across Kosovo by the end of January 1999. A core activity of the OSCE-KVM Human Rights Division was to monitor, investigate, document and report allegations of human rights abuses committed by all parties to the conflict in Kosovo."[10] This was a big monitoring mission that no matter of the size could not ensure the peace and the peaceful settlement in Kosovo. In mid-January, 45 people - some of them children - were found murdered in Racak/Recak (Stimlje/Shtime), mostly shot in the head at close range forces made International Community enter into a quite more and concrete engagement.[11] The Head of the Mission Ambassador William Walker after the visit the place gave a statement, by which this massacre was called crime against humanity.[12] Serbian authorities announced him persona *non gratae* and he was ordered to leave Kosovo. On the other hand finally the International Community mobilized entirely and the International Conference on Kosovo was decided to be organized. Thus in Conference was organized in Rambouillet and continued in Paris. The proposed Agreement from this conference was signed by the Kosovo delegation whereas Serbian/FRY delegation refused the proposed agreement. This led towards the NATO air strikes against Serb/FRY military targets that ended after 78 days with the Technical Agreement achieved between FRY/Serbia and NATO. This opened the doors for UN Security 1244 Resolution which brought in Kosovo the International Civil Administration – UNMIK. During UNMIK administration in Kosovo there were developed various types of activities whereas UNMIK exercised its power through its four pillars. After the Provisional Institutions of Self Governance were established the needs for determining the final status of Kosovo came to be very important. Thus there were created so called Standards before status that were benchmarks Kosovo had to fulfill and that were to be

[10] OSCE-Kosovo/Kosova As seen as told, An analysis of human rights findings of the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission October 1998 to June 1999, Published by OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights 1999

[11] Ibid

[12] Wolfgang Petritsch&Robert Pichler, *Rruga e gjatë në luftë – Kosova dhe bashkësia ndërkombëtare 1989 - 1999*, Koha, Prishtinë, pg.161

measured before talks about the final status of Kosovo. These benchmarks had to be measured in sense of reflecting the achievements in Kosovo before entering into the phase of defining the final status. After Kai Eide's report," on 31 October 2005, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council of his intention to appoint Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, former President of Finland, as his Special Envoy (SE) for the future status process for Kosovo, and Mr. Albert Rohan (Austria) as Deputy to the Special Envoy (DSE). The Security Council supported their appointment in a letter dated 10 November 2005"[13]. Special Envoy Mr.Marti Ahtisaari started with the activities with a clear agenda and he together with his Deputy Mr.Albert Rohan undertook the first trip in the region in November 2005,visiting Prishtina, Belgrade, Skopje and Podgorica.[14] The meetings between Kosovo and Serbian delegations were various and of various types. The UNOSEC table presented bellow gives details of these meetings:

Listing of Direct Talks between the Belgrade and Pristina Delegations

- Meeting of the Serbian and Kosovo leadership in Vienna (24 July)
- Eight meetings related to decentralization: (20-21 February, 17 March, 3 April, 5 May, 19 July, 7 August, 7 September and 15 September)
- Three meetings related to the protection of cultural and religious heritage in Kosovo: (23 May, 18 July and 8 September)
- Two meetings related to community rights: (8 August and 8 September)
- One meeting related to economic issues: (31 May)[15]

After the very dense agenda, "on 2 February, the Special Envoy travelled to Belgrade and Pristina to present his draft Comprehensive proposal for a Kosovo Status Settlement to both parties. In Belgrade, the proposal was handed over to President Boris Tadić of Serbia. In Pristina, the Special Envoy presented his proposal to President Fatmir Sejdiu and the Team of Unity"[16]. Kosovo Parliament approved the proposal whereas Serbia even after many additional efforts refused to accept the proposal. This made Kosovo Parliament gather on February 17, 2008 and declare the Kosovo Independence. Kosovo Declaration of

[13] http://www.unosek.org/ (accessed in June 20,2015)
[14] http://www.unosek.org/ (accessed in June 20,2015)
[15] http://www.unosek.org/ (accessed June 20, 2015)
[16] http://www.unosek.org/ (accessed June 20, 2015)

Independence accepts all obligations from the Ahtisaari Proposal and the same does the Kosovo Constitution adopted afterwards. Since 17 February 2008 Kosovo was recognized by more than 100 countries of the world. Serbia initiated a procedure before the International Court of Justice about whether Kosovo Declaration of Independence violated the International Law. The opinion of the International Court of Justice was that this was not a violation of the international law. According to the ICJ regulations many states provided written contributions regarding Kosovo Declaration of Independence. The Republic of Slovakia on April 16, 2009 submitted general comments of the Government of Slovak Republic on the request for an Advisory Opinion, to the International Court of Justice.

Position of Slovakia regarding International Recognition of Kosovo

Republic of Slovakia is one of the five states that didn't recognize Kosovo. At least not formally and at least it doesn't seem that the formal recognition is going to come very soon. But before going to find out reasons of non recognition by Slovakia let us see what the recognition of a state means, what are the main types of recognitions and is there any element that shows that there is something in regard to relations Slovakia – Kosovo, that has some elements of the de facto recognition. Or maybe as stated: "the ultimate act of recognition by Slovakia will most probably only arrive after a gradual acceptance of the situation on the ground manifested through a series of technical steps that will slowly lead to a de facto recognition".[17]

The International Law, the term recognition refers to the formal acknowledgement by one state that another state exists as a separate and independent government. Recognition is not mere technically. A state has no status among nations until it is recognized by other states, in spite of the fact that it might possess all other attributes of state, including a

[17] Kosovo Foundation for Open Society and the British Council, *Kosovo calling, International Conference to launch Position Papers on Kosovo's Relation with EU and Regional Non-recognizing Countries*,2012,pg.34

definable territory and population, a recognizable government, and a certain amount of continuity or stability.[18]

International recognition is the action taken by a state or group of states to accept the emergence or the establishment of a new state or, the coming into existence of a government through constitutional or non-constitutional forms or means and to establish and keep official relations with them in areas of mutual interest. The act of recognition itself can appear in different forms. It can be an official statement; an official letter addressed to the newly elected entity; a statement made before a domestic court, or it can be derived from the establishment of full diplomatic relations. In general, participation in a multilateral conference, along with an unrecognized state (or with the unrecognized government of an already existing state) does not mean an act of indirect recognition, although it is definitely a proof of the fact that the entity in question has acquired international legal personality to a certain extent. Voting in favor of accepting a new state in the UN is an indirect recognition, as in the case of the UK vote for the admission of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the UN, on 08 April 1993. Recognition of the relations between the two countries is a necessary precondition for fully voluntary bilateral relations, such as the opening of embassies and entering into agreements. On the other hand, lack of diplomatic relations between the two countries might not be related to the recognition.[19]

Is the de facto recognition by Slovakia at some level already seen?

States may enter into the different relationships based on various interests or/and facts. They may enter into relations even if the recognition is not formally declared. In regard to de iure and de facto recognition and related to Slovakia we cannot conclude clearly that this has happened regarding Kosovo. De iure obviously not. De facto a lot not but signs and acts close to this have happened. Whereas de facto recognition is a step leading toward de iure. In a

[18] http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/recognition (accessed June 15,2015)

[19] Cited by Ksenofon Krisafi *on The affirmation of the Albanian state with the status of the subject of international law taken from*: Martin Dixon, *International Law*, Aissa, Tirana, without publication year, p. 186-187.

paper presented in Kosovo, Eliska Slavikova stated: ”this paper claims that the ultimate act of recognition by Slovakia will most probably only arrive after gradual recognition of the situation on the ground manifested through a series of technical steps (in bilateral relations with Kosovo or in EU). These would slowly lead to a de facto recognition before the announcement of formal ‘yes’”.[20] An analysis from the Slovak written contribution submitted to the International Court of Justice shows that Slovakia held a position against support of the Kosovo Independence. In this 6 pages document, Slovakia held the position of the traditional international law regarding the right to self determination of states. In the written contribution it goes “outside the colonial context, the principle of self determination is not recognized in practice as giving rise to unilateral rights of secession by parts of independent states…” [21]. Going further through the text, it is worth to mention section D where Slovak Government deals with the UN Security Council Resolution 1244. It is true that the Resolution 1244 doesn’t predetermine the independence of Kosovo as stated in the point 18, but it also doesn’t forbid it. Kosovo Declaration of Independence comes almost 9 years after resolution was adopted. Resolution talks about FRY and its integrity, whereas FRY since 2006 doesn’t exist, because Monte Negro left that federation. Kosovo Declaration of Independence comes based in a long term process of negotiations and fulfillment of various standards that were measured by international institutions. Kosovo institutions accepted international obligations and the Kosovo Declaration of Independence comes in coordination with the international community which on the other side is not a static creature that is given once forever. The same is the international law. It is not given to be unchangeable. It changes and it is enriched with the new norms and principles. On the other side there are no international law norms that forbid proclamation of declarations for independence. Finally the International Court of Justice with its opinion on July 2008 confirmed that Kosovo Declaration of Independence was not a violation of the international law.

The Republic of Slovakia however has given quite e good contribution to the positive developments in Kosovo, even though it has not recognized the state of Kosovo. The

[20] Kosovo Foundation for Open Society and the British Council, *Kosovo calling, International Conference to launch Position Papers on Kosovo’s Relation with EU and Regional Non-recognizing Countries*,2012,pg.46.

[21] See point six of: Government Of Republic of Slovakia,*General Comments of the Slovak Republic on the request of an Advisory Opinion submitted to the court through Resolution* 63/3 (A/63/L.2) of 08 October 2008

contribution was given in various forms that in some aspects could be treated as if not totally de facto recognition, at least as some activities that look like acts towards de facto recognition. Kosovo becomes more known to the Slovak public opinion especially during the Kosovo war. Journalists, politicians, etc., brought Kosovo issue to Slovak public opinion in their respective competences. After the war Slovak civil society engagement in Kosovo was quite active. Organizations like People in Peril Association, Ecopolis foundation, etc., were seen to be directly engaged in the field whereas Slovakia participated officially in the composition of NATO presence in Kosovo."Since 2003, after Slovakia has established its Official Assistance program (SlovakAid) which included Kosovo as one of its territorial priorities (albeit as part of Serbia), People in Peril has implemented numerous projects together with local partners in Kosovo"[22]. These were Slovak public funds. This organization during a determined period of time organized various civil society activities during which there were present in some activities Slovak officials as well. For example, on May 2006, in one of the activities of the people in peril Project, "on the first panel five people from Kosovo based NGOs introduced the situation in Kosovo, on the second, Slovak NGO experts and Miroslav Lajcak, the Foreign Ministry's Political Director at that time, discussed Slovakia's views on Kosovo. The whole event was funded by the SlovakAid Program and organized under the auspices of the Foreign Minister, Eduard Kukan. At that time Kosovo still was not independent state and by Slovakia it was treated as the territory under the international civil administration. Thus no space to talk about any recognition at that time. But, it is important to underline that there were Slovak officials meeting Kosovo NGOs and all this was organized with the Slovak public funds. Is this something that could be mentioned as a step towards knowing Kosovo as a special entity? Depends on the viewpoints and on the approach. Further more the bellow paragraph serves for more analysis, not necessarily only for this paper regarding official contacts between Slovakia and Kosovo.

"Contacts held at an official level through official visits have been scarce, though they have indeed taken place. Since 1999, three serving Slovak foreign ministers visited Kosovo; the fourth and current foreign minister has not yet done so. The most significant visit was that of Minister Miroslav Lajcak in April 2010. Two years after Kosovo's independence, he was

[22] Kosovo Foundation for Open Society and the British Council, *Kosovo calling, International Conference to launch Position Papers on Kosovo's Relation with EU and Regional Non-recognizing Countries*,2012,pg.36

one of very few foreign ministers who have visited Kosovo – even including the countries that have recognized Kosovo's independence. Lajcak had already visited Kosovo in December 2005 in his capacity of Political Director at the Foreign Ministry. In addition to his meetings with leading Kosovo politicians, during that trip he also met with a large group of Kosovo Civil Society representatives and discussed their vision for future development.Still as Political Director, in October 2006 he invited Prime Minister Agim Ceku to Bratislava,and in early 2007 the then –head of Ora opposition party, Veton Surroi. In Bratislava both had meetings with Foreign Ministry officials as well as with the media and civil society".[23]

Before going further with some more discussion let us draw a definition of *de facto* recognition and see how/if the above mentioned cited paragraph could be linked to the de facto recognition or to the entrance of the de facto recognition. Whereas it is generally accepted that the *de facto* recognition is a step before *de jure* recognition.

"Despite much argument over precise meanings, de facto recognition seems to mean a "qualified" or "provisional" recognition that subsequently may be withdrawn, whereas de jure recognition is final and irrevocable, indicates the legitimacy of title, and signifies closer political ties than de facto recognition"[24].

Taking into the consideration what was mentioned in the cited paragraph, a discussion will start and end with conclusion and without them in regard to Slovak position related to Kosovo recognition. Meetings with officials, official visits and similar activities, especially after the Kosovo declaration of independence should not be treated only as meetings of courtesy between officials. It is something more that perhaps for political reasons is not being named as recognition. And in fact the recognition of states is more a political act related to a factual situation. Visits and official meetings whatever we like to treat them, are facts that happen and these happen to parties that know each other. Knowing each other and visiting each other officially may be considered as a qualified recognition that more obviously take the direction of *de jure* recognition, even though it doesn't seem to happen very soon. This for many reasons that could be discussed in a potential new paper.

[23] Kosovo Foundation for Open Society and the British Council, *Kosovo calling, International Conference to launch Position Papers on Kosovo's Relation with EU and Regional Non-recognizing Countries*,2012,pg.39

[24] http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/O-W/Recognition-Definitions-of-recognition.html (accessed on June 21, 2015)

Slovakia in 2006 has opened a Liaison Office in Prishtina "that operates as a branch of the Embassy of Slovakia in Belgrade and is accredited to the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), established under the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) which under the relevant Vienna Convention serves as the host organization guaranteeing appropriate diplomatic privileges and immunities".[25] In the official web page it is further stated "The Liaison Office administrates the diplomatic affairs in relation to the territory of Kosovo as territorially defined in the abovementioned UN Security Council and the consular agenda related to the territory as defined, as of 1 January 2010, by the Council Regulation (EC) 539/2001 amended by Council Regulation (EC) 1244/2009 (visa liberalization of Serbia without Kosovo).[26] The Liaison office again may be raised as a question to open a debate about the aim that Slovakia had when decided to establish this office in Prishtina[27]. Slovakia could have continued to work directly from the Belgrade Embassy and not necessarily to open the office in Kosovo. Opening the office, official meetings, visits, etc., could be considered if nothing else as the assumption that Slovakia goes carefully and gradually towards recognizing Kosovo as a state.

CONCLUSIONS

Republic of Slovakia has shown a great interest of being engaged in the Balkans. On the other side Slovakia as a stated could have impact in the positive developments, because it is a country that is listened by the parties in the Balkans. This might be among the others also because of engagement of some distinguished Slovak politicians or diplomats, as for example, Mr.Miroslav Lajcak. Their engagements left important tracks behind.

[25]http://www.mzv.sk/servlet/pristinapzu?MT=/App/WCM/ZU/PristinaPZU/main.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_621F5291AE4A5FD4C125715B004FFE51_EN&TG=BlankMaster&URL=/App/WCM/ZU/PristinaPZU/main.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_461BA1054B5E1118C12571920045CD99_EN&OpenDocument=Y&LANG=EN&HM=10-kontakt#zastupurad (approached on June 21,2015)

[26]http://www.mzv.sk/servlet/pristinapzu?MT=/App/WCM/ZU/PristinaPZU/main.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_621F5291AE4A5FD4C125715B004FFE51_EN&TG=BlankMaster&URL=/App/WCM/ZU/PristinaPZU/main.nsf/vw_ByID/ID_461BA1054B5E1118C12571920045CD99_EN&OpenDocument=Y&LANG=EN&HM=10-kontakt#zastupurad (accessed on June 21,2015

[27] Prishtina is Kosovo capital city

Non governmental activities and subjects from both states were successful and they served in various aspects. Slovak NGOs were among the most successful NGOs from the world that were directly engaged in Kosovo. Their know how transmitted to their counterparts in Kosovo is a direct contribution to the development of Kosovo Civil Society sector. In addition to this the engagement of Slovak NGOs could be considered in some elements and at some determined periods of time as opening the doors for official contacts between authorities of Slovakia and Kosovo. It is a perception (maybe more than a perception) that Slovak NGOs and media had an impact in Slovak society, in the Slovak public opinion, etc. Slovak NGOs also seem to more easily accept Kosovo as the independent state compared to the Slovak public politics.

Slovak official policy still has not given signs of potentially recognizing Kosovo independence. There is a hesitation perhaps linked with the inner situation in Slovakia or from a perception that Kosovo appears to be a precedent to be used elsewhere. But apart of this and as it was noted with the paper the attitudes of Slovakia have changed. In this regard concrete activities were mentioned. Of course expectation in Kosovo are bigger in one side and possibilities to do more are evident in the Slovak side, on the other hand. Slovakia could do more and indeed it should be doing more in order to achieve results that it has proclaimed with its foreign policy interests and commitments in the Balkans. Slovak politicians and diplomats could be great human resources on intermediation in the relations between Serbia and Kosovo. Personalities like Mr.Lajcak, Mr.Kukan could obviously be giving and doing more. Kosovo is recognized by more than 100 states of the world and Slovakia is a country that is expected to be joining to the states that recognized Kosovo. Kosovo aspires EU integration and in this regard Slovakia may take a lead in especially dialogue in the region.

There is quite a big room for more activities from both sides. Especially there should be more done by Kosovo. By all Kosovo sectors. It should be more present in Slovakia public opinion. It should be more present in media, in universities, in offering the space for Slovak companies to work with Kosovo counterparts, NGOs should be more used since they have shown to be successful, etc. Simply Kosovo should be more present in Slovakia and this has not a big cost compared to what it could bring up. The request for recognition shall be expressed in various forms and not only through forma diplomatic request. This among the other because the recognition may come in the daily activities, no matter if it is not going to

come soon. Concrete activities that are de facto being developed should be spread bringing to de facto recognition and going forward.

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