

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Doctoral School of Military Science

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The problem of peoples' right to self-determination:

Through the example of Kosovo and Catalonia

The author's description of his doctoral (PhD) thesis

THESIS BOOKLET

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Conception of the Scientific Problem

My research focuses on the right of peoples to self-determination. My thesis presents the problems of this principle by examining the cases of Kosovo and Catalonia. The starting point for my choice of topic is that I no longer have any direct experience of a bipolar world order and when I looked at a map as a child I thought the division of the Earth into countries was static. I assumed that it would stay that way and not change. It soon proved that this was not the case, as after the break-up of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia was split in two and then Yugoslavia was split into its constituent parts. You could hear on the news or read in the newspapers about a conflict, a war to gain more independence and to fight oppression. I was always interested in the reasons why certain peoples have to live under oppression, for example, why the right to use their mother tongue is not evident, or what determines who can live in certain areas and why? The framework for the answers I sought to these questions was provided by my studies of international law and, to some extent, constitutional law, and the main answers I sought were in the area of the right to self-determination. But my studies in political science, geography, history and security policy also played a major role in providing answers. I try to keep this multidisciplinary approach in mind throughout the thesis. In any case, I wanted to present the problem of the right of peoples to self-determination through two peoples with whom I have some attachment, personal knowledge and different origins in the subject.

The break-up of Yugoslavia took place here in our neighbourhood. For many years, the leading foreign policy news stories were about what was happening. At one time or another, our security was also threatened, and one cannot ignore the fact that there were very many Hungarian people living in minorities in parts of Yugoslavia. Many Hungarian soldiers were and are also involved in stabilising the region. This is one of the reasons why Kosovo was chosen. „The study of the security situation in the Balkans, especially in Serbia and Kosovo, is of paramount importance for Hungary's security. Geographical and cultural proximity, as well as historical links, make this region important for Hungary as well. Kosovo has become a new element in the process of the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, since this time it is not a former member republic but an autonomous province, which makes it interesting to examine the issue. The fact that the stability of the region has direct implications for the security of our country makes it particularly important to examine the issue.”¹ Another is that I have spent short periods of time in Kosovo

¹ Zoltán Kovács: PhD Thesis 2019 https://tudasportal.uni-nke.hu/xmlui/static/pdfs/web/viewer.html?file=https://tudasportal.uni-nke.hu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12944/14730/kovacs_zoltan_doktori_ertekezes_2019.pdf?sequence=23&isAllowed=y (2023.04.27.) - 7. oldal

and other parts of the Balkans. So I have personal experience of the province. These are not experiences of scientific value, but they help me to understand the processes.

I chose Catalonia because I lived there for two years, at a time when the desire for independence was growing and, albeit exaggeratedly, when I went away for a few weeks, I was told by my Catalan friends that I would return to an independent Catalan Republic. At first I did not feel these thoughts and movements for independence. But as I started to get to know more and more about Catalonia beyond the tourist region, including the parts where Catalan communities live, I started to understand things that I thought were very strange at the beginning: Why do you have to write political slogans on the road, on the walls, near the tourist attractions of Barcelona? Why put huge banners on the medieval bridge in the town of Besalu? Why do they have to put Catalan independence symbols everywhere or hang Catalan flags from windows? Why must every window in every administrative building in Vic's vast main square have pictures of Catalan politicians? In short, the answer is that these people have lived under such oppression that they have not been able to use their own language for many decades. Fortunately, what that really means is something we in Hungary do not understand. However, it is understood by those Hungarians who, through no fault of their own, were suddenly, through no fault of their own, put in a situation where, through no fault of their own, they were also deprived of their basic rights, which they had taken for granted until then. The Catalans, too, are constantly fighting for the widest possible range of rights, and although independent statehood has not yet been achieved, their autonomy aspirations so far could serve as a good example for Hungarians living in Romania.

The study of the right of peoples to self-determination did not provide precise answers to my questions and concerns. During my research, it became increasingly clear to me that conflicts cannot be resolved solely and exclusively on the basis of a legal approach. Especially in the light of the lack of regulation in this area. The study of the right of peoples to self-determination requires a complex approach. That is why, in addition to legal documents, I have tried to study the works of as many thinkers as possible and to follow major world events.

These experiences and knowledge have encouraged me to study the national and international literature on the subject. During the research, my aim was to understand the causes of conflicts in the context of the right to self-determination, based on the published results of Hungarian and international researchers and reports of international organisations.

Objectives of the research

In preparing this thesis, I had the following objectives in mind:

1. to present in a comprehensive way, with examples, the problem of the right of peoples to self-determination. To present the main milestones of the principle and of the transformation of principle into law. To summarise the main legal provisions on the subject.
2. to explain why the independence aspirations of the Kosovar Albanians followed a different path from those of the Catalans. What external and internal factors caused the escalation of the Kosovo crisis. What were the processes and circumstances under which Kosovo gained its independence.
3. to show what external and internal factors generated the Catalans' aspirations for independence. What are the reasons why Catalonia, with its much better economic and social indicators, is currently out of reach of independence.
4. to analyse and compare the situation of Kosovo Albanians and Catalans in a multidisciplinary and complex approach. Furthermore, to identify scientific findings that help to understand the drivers of the two conflicts.
5. to examine, with the help of the main thinkers in the field of security and political science (in particular Samuel P. Huntington, Kissinger, Brzezinski), the implementation of the right to self-determination in general and in relation to the two groups under study.
6. to make recommendations for a better implementation of the right to self-determination in the future.

Hypotheses

My thesis is based on the basic hypothesis that the right of peoples to self-determination, as an important principle of international law, is not well regulated and applied in practice according to a coherent logic. In my doctoral thesis, I examined the following hypotheses in relation to the research objectives:

1. the existence of a given nation with a positive economic situation, an adequate social structure and democratic institutions is inversely proportional to its aspirations to become an independent state. To prove this hypothesis, I give the example of the Albanian people of Kosovo and the Catalan people's aspirations for independence. We

will see that the economic indicators of the independent Kosovo that has emerged are among the worst in Europe, its democratisation process is slow and its society is constantly beset by tensions. By contrast, Catalonia's economic indicators are dynamic by EU standards, its society is stable and its democratic institutions are well developed, despite its independence aspirations.

2. Related to the first point, but slightly separate from it, those nations that enjoy the support of a great power have a better chance of achieving independent statehood, the pinnacle of self-determination. These are states that are strategically located in key geopolitical locations that may be advantageous to the supporting party. Kosovo has received this support, both from the United States of America and the European Union. Serbia may have enjoyed the support of Russia, but it was not enough to keep Kosovo as part of it. At present, Catalonia has no one to support its independence aspirations, as all the major powers are in favour of Spain's territorial unity and consider the situation to be Spanish internal politics.
3. The territorial sovereignty and territorial unity of a country takes precedence over the right of peoples to self-determination. So my hypothesis is that as long as the territorial extent of a country is a priority, independent statehood cannot be achieved without (armed) conflict, or only in very rare cases. A change of mindset in the international arena would be needed.
4. International organisations operate in a hyper-politicised way, along the lines of great power interests and not supranationally. This is a serious obstacle to international peace.

Research methods

In my research I have tried to collect, organise and analyse international documents related to the right to self-determination. The difficulty in this part of my research was that although there are several international treaties, documents, court decisions and customary law on the subject, there is no uniform interpretation of the law. Indeed, there are sometimes conflicting rules. I also studied the literature on the subject by national and foreign thinkers. For the chapter on Kosovo, I have relied on the literature in Hungarian and English, and on news reports in the media on the subject. In some cases, I also tried to find and interpret the original Albanian or Serbian sources. In my research on Kosovo, I was assisted by interviews with Hungarian soldiers serving in the region. I was also able to draw on my own experience and knowledge

when analysing the current situation in the country. In my dissertation I use a historical-temporal method, because I present the conflicts by analysing the historical past of the countries. I also follow a comparative (legal) methodology when analysing the situation of each nation.

In the case of Catalonia, I have mainly relied on the literature in Spanish, Catalan and Hungarian, as well as on Spanish and Catalan legislation. For current events, I have used news reports in the press.

For both topics, I also tried to consult social media. Communication at high levels of government is now also taking place on Twitter, Instagram and Facebook. Of course, I do not attach any scientific importance to this, but it can help to understand what is going on if you get a direct reaction from a high-level politician in Kosovo or a prominent Catalan politician who is serving a prison sentence. Today, it has become very important that political actors also use these platforms, because of the possibility of reaching an ever wider audience. There is also a growing social demand for reactions to foreign, domestic or geopolitical events from different politicians, or even for no reaction to a particular event. So, in relation to the specific topic, if there was an event in Kosovo or Catalonia, I tried to monitor the social media expressions of major politicians and channel them into my thesis.

My personal experiences are also reflected in the essay. I will try to show where both peoples have come from and where they have gone in history and try to shed light on the connections. The global cohesion of the essay is the right to self-determination.

Throughout the essay, I will also refer to treatises by foreign and Hungarian scholars, as well as to legislation, resolutions, reports and official publications of various international organisations dealing with the right of peoples to self-determination. In studying these materials, I have analysed the information using simple logical procedures and drawn conclusions from them. From a scientific point of view, this can be seen as an application of the so-called explanatory method.

In preparing this thesis, I carried out the analytical analysis on the basis of primary and secondary sources. The documentary analysis was carried out by verifying and evaluating the information obtained, then organising the results and drawing conclusions. Based on these results, I was able to confirm the hypotheses I had put forward and, on the basis of the facts and conclusions I had drawn from my research, I made recommendations for the use of the results obtained.

All literature and other sources used in this thesis are listed in the bibliography. I closed my research on 30 March 2022, so the events of the period after that date, as well as new data and information in scientific papers and reports published since then, are no longer included in this thesis.

Structure of the thesis- the performed analysis per chapter

The thesis is divided into six major sections.

In the first part of the thesis, after an introduction, I describe the problem of the right of peoples to self-determination. The first part of the paper will start with an overview of the principle of self-determination, the main milestones in its development as a right and the major historical events leading to its emergence. The objective of the chapter is to summarise the flaws in the theories and practices related to the right to self-determination.

The second part of the paper, the next, is devoted to Kosovo. I will describe the geography and history of the region, also in relation to Yugoslavia and Serbia. I analyse the situation of Kosovo and the Kosovar Albanian people in the Balkans. I describe the relations between Serbia and Kosovo and the main events of the Serb-Kosovo war. This chapter describes the process of democratisation of Kosovo with international assistance and the problems, current situation and future prospects of the newly born state.

The third chapter of the thesis is on the Catalans. It discusses 'Catalonia' in both its broader and narrower sense. The geography and history of Catalonia in relation to Spain is presented. The chapter focuses on Catalonia in the 20th century and the independence struggles of the last decade. The causes of the Catalan-Spanish conflict are outlined.

The fourth chapter is entitled: Comparison of the independence aspirations of Kosovo Albanians and Catalans through the constitutional elements of the state. International law, defines the conditions that are objective prerequisites for the existence of a state. These are three things, population, territory and the existence of a sovereign state (the Austrian statesman Georg Jellinek is the originator of the three criteria). In addition to the objective based comparison, at the end of this section I will also examine the two areas on the basis of more subjective e.g. economic indicators. I summarise the results of the analysis.

Chapter 5 is entitled Geopolitics and Self-Determination in Kosovo and Catalonia. The framework of this chapter is provided by the theses of the most prominent political scientists of the last few decades. I have highlighted the major geopolitical and great power theories of Fukuyama, Huntington, Kissinger and Brzezinski, which are the focus. Based on these theories, I examined the actions of the Albanian people of Kosovo and the Catalans for self-determination.

In the concluding part of the thesis, I will provide answers and proposed solutions to the hypotheses raised in the introductory part. I will summarise the conclusions and the scientific results. I will outline how the results of my thesis can be applied. I demonstrate that the failure to resolve conflicts is due to the inadequate application of the principle of self-determination. I have shown that the border issue has been the source of countless disputes and that it can give rise to new conflicts today.

Review of the literature used

In the first chapter, the problem of the right of peoples to self-determination was presented. In this section I will rely mainly on international legal documents in chronological order, which provide the framework for this section. It is of particular importance to mention the United Nations Resolutions, especially the Charter and UN General Assembly Resolution 1541 and UN General Assembly Resolution 2625 (XXV) (1970), the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States. The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights are key instruments in the field of self-determination as a fundamental human right. In addition to international documents of a universal nature, I will also refer to some more important documents of a regional nature. The Convention of the 1975 Conference of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and its Helsinki Final Act are prominent among these. Decisions of the International Court of Justice on the right to self-determination are also covered.

In addition to international legal documents and their interpretation, I have also drawn on the research of Mihály Samu, István Bibó and Stefánia Bódi on the right of peoples to self-determination.

The legal framework for the second chapter on Kosovo is provided by UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) and UNSC Resolution 1199. The Holbrooke-Milosevic Convention, the Ramboulet Conference, the Kumanovo Convention, the Brussels Convention and the Stabilisation and Association Agreement between Kosovo and the European Union play an important role in shaping the content of the chapter.

In addition to the legislation, the Serbian and Kosovar official state, official EU, UNMIK and KFOR websites, web pages and daily news have played an important role in the development of the chapter.

In relation to the military engagement, I studied the works of Colonel Zoltán Kovács, including his writings on KFOR, the Hungarian Defence Forces' engagement in Kosovo, and several of his publications on Kosovo.

The legal framework for the third chapter on Catalonia is provided by the Constitution of Spain and the Statute of Catalan Autonomy.

In addition to the legislation, the Spanish and Catalan official state websites, media and news have played an important role in the development of the chapter. In my research on Catalonia, I have benefited enormously from the works of Endre Domonkos, who provides a very detailed and comprehensive account of regional autonomy models and Catalan regional autonomy.

The theoretical framework of the fourth chapter is provided by the book *International Law* by Péter Kovács.

In the referendum section of the chapter, I draw on data from the official Catalan government. I also draw on news and media reports to structure the section.

In the fifth chapter, I outline the theories of various scholars of security and political science. I take as a starting point the theories of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger and Samuel P. Huntington.

Finally, in the sixth and final chapter, I draw conclusions and recommendations based on the theories and findings on the right to self-determination presented in the previous sections and on the lessons learned from the two groups under examination. I also draw on the literature and legislation used in this thesis.

Achievement of research objectives, results

1. I have summarised the problems of the right of peoples to self-determination in a comprehensive way, illustrated with examples. I have discussed the complications of the use of the concept. I have brought together the main legal universals on the subject, highlighting UN resolutions. I touched in part on the regional rules relating to the concept and gave a few examples from the regulations of federal states. I have also dealt with the relevant decisions of the International Court of Justice and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice addressed to the Court by Serbia on the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo.)

2. In the latter case, with the help of István Bibó. Lastly, I also addressed the problem of states that are unviable.

3. I have analysed and presented a comprehensive geography and history of Kosovo and summarised the struggles of the Kosovar Albanian people to achieve statehood (I have also examined the geopolitical situation of Kosovo, including the external and internal factors that led to the escalation of the Kosovo crisis and the processes and circumstances under which Kosovo gained independence). I have explored why the Kosovo Albanians' independence aspirations followed a different path from those of the Catalans. I outlined the current situation in Kosovo. I summarised the causes of the Serbian-Kosovar Albanian conflict.)

4. I have comprehensively analysed and presented the geography and history of Catalonia, outlining the external and internal factors generating the Catalans' aspirations for independence (I have examined, in doing so, the reasons why Catalonia, with its much better economic and social indicators, is currently out of reach for independence). I have analysed the main elements of Catalan identity. I have summarised the reasons for the Catalan-Spanish conflict.)

5. I analysed the relationship between the state and the right to self-determination in general terms, based on objective criteria of international law. After the general findings, I examined this issue in relation to the Albanian people of Kosovo and the Catalans. I summarised the issue of the referendum. Besides the legal approach, I have analysed and compared the situation of the Kosovar Albanians and the Catalans in a multidisciplinary and complex way.

6. I summarised the application of the right to self-determination in general and in relation to the two groups under study, with the help of the main thinkers in the field of security and political science (in particular Samuel P. Huntington, Kissinger, Brzezinski).

7.I have formulated recommendations for a better implementation of the right to self-determination in the future.

8.I have produced publications in the course of my research, which are also results.

Summary of the research work based on the hypotheses

1.I have proved that the existence of a nation with a positive economic situation, a good social structure and democratic institutions is inversely proportional to its aspirations for an independent state.

A good example to prove this hypothesis is the independence aspirations of the Albanian people of Kosovo and the Catalan people. In my thesis, I have shown in detail that the democratisation process of the independent Kosovo that has emerged is slow and its society is constantly fraught with tensions. Its economic indicators are among the worst in Europe. In contrast, Catalonia's economic indicators are dynamic by EU standards, its society is stable and its democratic institutions are well developed, despite its independence aspirations.

This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the three most recently independent states on our planet, Kosovo, Timor-Leste and South Sudan, have gained independence after decades of tensions. The democratisation process in all three countries has been slow and difficult. Without outside help, a functioning state would not be possible. All three countries have very poor economic indicators. Without international aid they would probably be unviable.

It is clear that in all three countries, the depth of social problems, poverty and repression has reached a level that has required intervention to stabilise the region and has led to the independence of the people concerned.

In the case of nations with better democratic and economic indicators, it is precisely these advantages that often make independence impossible. For at a certain level of democracy, people no longer seek to solve their problems through armed conflict, but try to achieve what they want through negotiation and constitutionalism. If this is coupled with economic prosperity, then the people concerned will think twice about giving up their current situation for an uncertain one.

2. Related to the first point, but slightly separate from it, I have shown that those nations that enjoy the support of a great power have a better chance of achieving independent statehood, the pinnacle of self-determination. This is due to their role in being strategically located in key geopolitical locations that can be advantageous to the supporting party.

Kosovo has received this support, both from the United States of America and the European Union. The United States of America had been monitoring the events in Yugoslavia since the beginning of the South Slavic wars and then decided to intervene through NATO. It was important to it that Yugoslavia, as a former regional power in the region, should not leave a vacuum. The Balkans is a region where every great power wants to have some influence and not let another great power have too much power. Serbia may have enjoyed Russia's support, but it was not enough to keep Kosovo as part of its territory. This was compounded by the fact that Russia in the 1990s, after the break-up of the Soviet Union, was beset by internal conflicts and had lost a great deal of its foreign policy power.

At present, Catalonia has no one to support its independence aspirations, as all the major powers stand up for Spain's territorial unity and sovereignty and see the situation as Spanish domestic politics. Although Catalonia has been a geostrategic priority for many times in history, it has long been a bridge between Spain and France, two great powers, and between the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of continental Europe. It was involved in the conquest of the Mediterranean and was an important trade route. But today it is no longer a geopolitically important place for the great powers. It is part of Spain, the European Union and NATO. As such it is part of the sphere of interest of two great powers, the European Union and the United States of America.

3. I have argued that the territorial sovereignty and territorial unity of a country takes precedence over the right of peoples to self-determination. Thus, as long as the territorial extent of a country is of paramount importance, independent statehood cannot be achieved without (armed) conflict, or only in very rare cases.

In the case of Kosovo, we have seen that it was first part of Yugoslavia, not as a member republic, but as a province. This is important to point out because only the member republics had the option of secession. Yugoslavia, and later Serbia as its successor, repeatedly invoked the territorial sovereignty of the country when Kosovo's independence was discussed. As a result, during the period of international administration following the Kosovo war, Kosovo was

not treated as an independent state, but was formally part of Serbia. True, the Serbs did not exercise any authority over the territory at that time. Kosovo's independence was defined by the major powers as a distant vision, without any concrete terms. This also suggests that they were trying to take into account both Serbia's territorial integrity and Serbian demands, and not to commit themselves unequivocally to an independent Kosovo. However, Kosovo's society increasingly wanted independence and at some point it was clear that there was no "undoing" and that Kosovo would become independent. At that time, the great powers saw that they had to recognise the right of the Kosovar Albanian people to establish an independent state in exchange for Serbian territorial integrity, in order to avoid further bloodshed and escalation. One of the results of this was the recognition of Kosovo as an independent state by the majority of the countries of the world. And for those countries that did not recognise Kosovo's independence, the territorial unity and sovereignty of Serbia remained the reference point.

In the case of Catalonia, it is easier to support the hypothesis, since the Spanish Constitution clearly states the territorial unity and sovereignty of Spain. Despite its territorial differentiation and the composition of its population, Spain is not a federal state, although in many respects it may even appear to be. Most countries, including the major powers, support the unity of Spain. The Catalan independence aspirations have only supporters who are themselves struggling with similar problems.

So it is clear here that the territorial unity of the Spanish state takes precedence over the right to self-determination of the Catalan people.

4. In my thesis, I have also supported my hypothesis that international organisations operate in a hyper-politicised way, along the lines of great power interests, and not supranationally. This is a serious obstacle to international peace. Indeed, international organisations do not always actively intervene in conflicts where bloodshed, violence against civilians, genocide or other crimes against humanity are taking place. In fact, there have been incidents, for example in the South Slavic war, where genocide took place in territory protected by peacekeepers.

My hypothesis is also proven by the fact that the rules of international law define the right of peoples to self-determination as a fundamental collective right, but the concept itself is not clearly defined. Although various international documents attempt to give substance to the concept, it is often unclear or conflicts with another fundamental right. This is precisely why there is no uniform procedure or practice for determining how the right is applied. So here we have a nice-sounding right, but enforceability by law alone is not enough. Added to this is the

fact that the UN Security Council's operating mechanism is outdated. The veto power of the Permanent Members of the Security Council has become something of a plaything of great power politics. For this reason it does not fulfil its role properly.

Recommendations for a more satisfactory functioning of the right of peoples to self-determination

1) Reducing the politicisation of international organisations and striving for a more supranational approach to the functioning of international organisations. Reforming the functioning of the UN Security Council would be a priority. Permanent membership should be abolished and with it the veto power.

2) International law, although it enshrines the right of peoples to self-determination as a principle, does not define it or give a uniform interpretation. International law should define the concept of the right to self-determination. It would also be necessary to establish a procedural order if a people wishes to become independent. For all its faults and all its potential for abuse, I would see a referendum as the solution to remedy the problems. Let all peoples decide how and in what form they want to live.

3) It would be important to declare that the right of peoples to self-determination takes precedence over the territorial unity of the state. This would ensure peace in the long run.

4) There are several things that could guarantee peaceful coexistence between Catalonia and Spain. One is the negotiated secession of Catalonia from Spain and the creation of the Catalan Republic. This version would cause a lot of problems for both sides in the short term, but just as a BREXIT could be conducted, this would not be a problem either.

My other suggestion is that Spain becomes a federal state and Catalonia is given member state status. In that case, the issue of financial distribution, which is so sensitive for the Catalans, would definitely have to be renegotiated.

5) Kosovo is moving towards the European Union as an independent state. Of course, membership of the European Union is not in the foreseeable future. Its economy needs to be strengthened and its infrastructure significantly improved. But the most important thing would be to resolve internal tensions. I see one way of doing this in the settlement of relations between Serbia and Kosovo. Obviously, this will be a very difficult task, since Serbia is not prepared to

recognise Kosovo even if the European Union has virtually 'blackmailed' it into EU membership. Perhaps a solution to settle the relationship could be for the Serbs living in a bloc in Kosovo to become part of Serbia as an enclave.

Usability of research results

My thesis mixes legal, security policy and political findings and conclusions. In line with the research objectives, the thesis and its results can be used in the fields of education, research and practice, and in the fields of security policy, law, military science and international law.

In my thesis, I have presented the process of the development of the right of peoples to self-determination, and I have systematized the most important international legal documents related to this right. This summary will be useful for teachers, students, researchers and other professionals working in the fields of law, foreign policy, security policy, law and order and defence.

The chapters on Catalonia and Kosovo in my thesis will also be useful for those who want to have a comprehensive overview of the history, geography and current situation of the two territories. I would therefore recommend it to people who are travelling to the region, for example on foreign service, or to lay people interested in the region. My thesis can be a good background for researchers or a good basis for university lectures.

Publications list

- Quo vadis Katalónia? – *Hadtudomány* **2015**. (25. évf.) elektronikus szám 39-47. old.
(Quo vadis Catalonia? – *Military Science* 2015 (vol. 25) electronic number 39-47. page)
- Az önrendelkezési jog érvényesülése Kelet-Timorban – *Valóság* **2016**. (59. évf.) 4. sz. 82-89. old. (The enforcement of the right to self-determination in East Timor - *Reality* 2016. (Vol. 59) No. 4 82-89. page)
- Az orosz-grúz háború információs dimenziói – *Jogelméleti Szemle* **2017**. 2. sz. 189-195. old.
(The information dimensions of the Russo-Georgian war - *Review of Legal Theory* 2017. No. 2 189-195. page)

- Az önrendelkezési jog és az állam konstitutív elemeinek viszonya – Jogelméleti Szemle **2017**. 4. sz. 51-56. old. (The relationship between the right of self-determination and the constitutive elements of the state - Legal Theory Review 2017. No. 4. 51-56. page)
- Albánok és az önrendelkezés – Jogelméleti Szemle **2018**. 1. sz. 76-83. old. (Albanians and self-determination - Review of Legal Theory, No. 1, 2018. 76-83. page)
- The Right to Self-Determination of Peoples in International Documents – Jogelméleti Szemle **2018**. 2. sz. 110-116. old.
- A népek önrendelkezési jogának megjelenése a nemzetközi dokumentumokban – Valóság **2018**. (61. évf.) 7. sz. [49]-54. old. (The appearance of the right of peoples to self-determination in international documents - Reality 2018. (Vol. 61) No. 7 [49]-54. page)
- Konfliktusok a Kaukázusban - HADTUDOMÁNY: A MAGYAR HADTUDOMÁNYI TÁRSASÁG FOLYÓIRATA, 26 (E-szám). pp. 130-138. ISSN 1215-4121, 2016. (Conflicts in the Caucasus - MILITARY SCIENCE: THE JOURNAL OF THE HUNGARIAN MILITARY SCIENCE SOCIETY, 26 (E issue). pp. 130-138. ISSN 1215-4121)
- A népek önrendelkezési jogának problémaköre – A Hadtudomány és XXI. század Konferenciakötet **2018**. 103-115. oldal (The problem area of peoples' right to self-determination - Military Science and XXI. century Conference Volume 2018. 103-115. pp.)

Conferences, presentations

- Researcher's Night in Hungary – National University of Public Service: „The self-determination in Timor-Leste” címmel, Sept/2016.

CURRUCULUM VITAE

Adrienn Körtvély-Kiss graduated from Ferenc Földes High School in Miskolc in 2006. After graduation, he continued his studies at the Faculty of State and Law of the University of Miskolc, where he obtained a law degree. In parallel with his law studies, he also studied geography and political science at Eötvös Loránd University. Based on his geographical interests, he visited the USA, North Africa, and the Middle East. As part of a European Union

Erasmus program, he spent a semester at the University of Ghent, Belgium, where he participated in international law and European Union law courses.

He worked at the National Disaster Management Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior and several local governments. In September 2015, he began his studies at the Doctoral School of Military Science of the National Public Service University. He speaks Russian at a basic level and has an intermediate language exam in German, English and Spanish. His publications were published in Hungarian and English.

The topics of his publications: the right of peoples to self-determination and the analysis of related problem areas. In his research topic, he combined his experiences gained abroad, and in connection with this, he also visited a significant part of the post-Soviet region and the Balkans. He participated as a speaker in the Night of Researchers program series. (Hungarian lecture entitled "Self-determination and East Timor", on September 29, 2006 at the National University of Public Service, within the framework of the Researchers' Night program series.)

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