

Why Self-determination?

Self-determination is the right of all colonized peoples. The absence of preparation in the fields of politics, economics, society or education cannot be used as a pretext to delay independence. (UN SC Resolution 1514, 1960)

VETËVENDOSJE!
<http://www.vetevendosje.org>

Newsletter from the Movement for SELF-DETERMINATION!

Nr.17, 12th November 2006

THIS WEEK:

**Delaying status
Unilaterally declaring independence
Destabilization
Meetings in Klina, Gjilan,
Vushtrri and Pasjak
The lessons of Republika
Srpska**

Delaying 'status'

The delay of status is just another insult in a long line of insults. It reconfirms the lack of respect for the humanity and dignity of the people in Kosova who are existing without democratic rights and without freedom, and yet are asked to wait whilst the people of Serbia exercise their democratic right to vote for a new government.

But, the delay of status is not in itself a reason to protest with us on the 28th November. It is far more important to protest against the form of status that will be offered to us next year. There will be no legal international document that recognizes Kosova's independence. Kosova will have no army, no foreign ministry, and no seat in the UN. Its culture will be usurped by Serbia, and within its borders, decentralization will create an ethnically contiguous Serb entity directly controlled by Belgrade – a Republika Srpska inside Kosova. This is the agreement that we are being asked to wait for, patiently and quietly, without 'discrediting' ourselves through protest.

**DEMONSTRATION
28th November 2006
Against the Negotiation Team**

Unilaterally declaring independence

A unilateral declaration of independence in the Parliament of Kosova would be words without foundation in law or the will of the people. Another false promise.

Without the removal of Resolution 1244 which recognises the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, Kosova cannot achieve sovereignty. A declaration of independence made without the removal of this Resolution would be simply vetoed by the SRSG.

Without consulting the will of the people in a referendum, an independent Kosova will have no dem-

ocratic basis. We do not want anyone else to decide how we should be governed, neither international diplomats nor politicians in Serbia or Kosova. It is the right of the people of Kosova to exercise their right to self-determination.

**1244
seriously damages your health**

Destabilization

Accusations that an independent Kosova will 'destabilize' the region, or calls for people to remain quiet in case they 'destabilize' the situation, misunderstand the meaning of peace. It is possible to have stability, but no freedom and no peace, argues Glauk Konjufca in our newspaper this week.

"Potential destabilization is the actualization of peace. The potentiality of destabilization is the actualization of stability. During the years 1998-1999, the KLA managed to destabilize Serbia. Until that moment, stability meant our slavery. The military organization of Albanians broke that stability. Destabilization and stability do not have meaning in themselves but only in relation to the context in which they exist. While Serbia was holding all of Kosova under military domination, its goal was to uphold this kind of stability. Whereas for Kosova, the oppressed, its goal was to destabilize this situation of slavery. But what happened? In Rambouillet the Albanian politicians gave up their potential for destabilization. This is why the struggle for liberation did not end with the building of a state. Kosova lost its destabilizing potential, while Serbia guarded hers. This is why independence was made impossible."

Meetings in Klina, Gjilan, Vushtrri and Pasjak

This week, Lëvizja VETËVENDOSJE! held a public meeting in Pasjak, a village near Gjilan. We also took part in two debates, one in Klina hosted by the LPK, and the other in Gjilan, hosted by the organizing committee of the September protest against decentralization. Our activists were applauded by the people of Vushtrri as they challenged Fatmir Limaj in a PDK debate in Vushtrri.

Lessons of Republika Srpska

Alex Channer wrote in our newspaper, "In 2001, the ICG wrote a report titled 'The Wages of Sin: Confronting Bosnia's Republika Srpska'. It was written 6 years after the signing of the

Dayton Accords which recognized the legal existence of two entities within Bosnia, Republika Srpska (RS), which controls 49% of the territory, and the Bosnian Croat Federation. This report provides us with a clear lesson for Kosova: that the creation of the Serb ethnic entity of RS fatally undermined the sovereignty of Bosnia.

First, the continued influence of Serb wartime leaders in politics and positions of authority combined with decentralized control of policing and the judicial system, meant that war-criminals went unpunished, and were even re-employed in the police force, and that a blind-eye was turned towards the many perpetrators of violent attacks against returning Bosniaks and Croats. . . This occurred despite NATO's presence in Bosnia. Still, Karadzic and Mladic walk free.

Second, the RS publicly pursued a policy of illegally reallocating both

**United
Nations
Mission
Impossible in
Kosova**

public and private land to displaced Serbs within the RS in order to reinforce Serb dominance. From 1998 to 2001

between 13,000 and 25,000 plots of land were reassigned to displaced Serbs . . . Most of this resettlement occurred in areas within the RS which formerly had a Bosniak majority. Finally, in April 2001, the international OHR issued an order banning this reallocation of land, but the RS did not comply.

In Kosova, there is a new protocol for the return of Serbs which allows them to return to locations other than those where they lived before. It will be the responsibility of the central institutions under international supervision, and local municipalities to ensure that this is not misused. The example of Bosnia demonstrates how ineffective this control will be if decentralization results in the creation of an autonomous Serb entity.

Third, the delegates of RS have consistently acted as defenders of the sovereignty of RS, arguing that anything beyond Dayton is a violation of the agreement. They have acted together to block any legislation that increases the central powers of the state, or anything that enhances Bosnia's symbols of statehood . . .

These are just a few examples of what happens when you decentralize power without sovereignty. This is what will happen if a Serb ethnic entity

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is created inside Kosova through
decentralization.”