



Republika e Kosovës
Republika Kosova - Republic of Kosova
Kuvendi - Skupština - Assembly

T R A N S K R I P T

**NGA SEANCA SOLEMNE E KUVENDIT TË REPUBLIKËS SË
KOSOVËS ME RASTIN E VIZITËS SË AMBASADORIT RICHARD
HOLLBRUCK REPUBLIKËS SË KOSOVËS, TË MBAJTUR MË 9
SHTATOR 2008**

**SA SVEĆANE SEDNICE SKUPŠTINE REPUBLIKE KOSOVA
POVODOM POSETE AMBASADORA RICHARDA HOLLBRUCKA,
REPUBLICI KOSOVA, ODRŽANE 9. SEPTEMBRA 2008. GODINE**

SHTATOR - SEPTEMBAR

2008

TRANSKRIPT

NGA SEANCA SOLEMNE E KUVENDIT TË REPUBLIKËS SË KOSOVËS ME RASTIN E VIZITËS SË AMBASADORIT RICHARD HOLLBRUCK REPUBLIKËS SË KOSOVËS, TË MBAJTUR MË 9 SHTATOR 2008

Seanca solemne filloi punën në orën 11,00.

Seancën plenare e kryesoi Kryetari i Kuvendit, z. Jakup Krasniqi.

(Duartrokitje frenetike)

KRYETARI I KUVENDIT TË KOSOVËS, z. JAKUP KRASNIQI:

Të nderuar deputetë,

I nderuar President, Fatmir Sejdiu,

I nderuar Kryeministër, zotëri Hashim Thaçi,

I nderuar përfaqësues i Zyrës ndërkombëtare,

E nderuara kryesuese e Misionit EULEX, zotëri Kermabo,

I nderuar përfaqësues i Sekretarit të Përgjithshëm, zotëri Zannier,

I nderuar Komandant i KFOR-it, zotëri Gjyzepe,

Të nderuar deputetë, ministra, përfaqësues diplomatikë dhe të ftuar të tjerë,

Zonja dhe zotërinj,

Mirë se keni ardhur në Kuvendin e Kosovës!

Kuvendi ynë po e fillon sesionin vjeshtor me një seancë solemne, të organizuar për nder të Ambasadorit Hollbruck.

Sot Kuvendin tonë po e nderon me pjesëmarrjen e tij miku ynë e diplomati i çmuar Ambasadori Richard Hollbruck.

Për çdo qytetarë të Kosovës, zoti Hollbruck është i njohur mirë për karrierën e tij të bujshme diplomatike, si emisar special për Ballkanin, i

Presidentit të Shteteve të Bashkuara të Amerikës, zotit Bill Clinton, si negociues për përfundimin e suksesshme të luftës së përgjakshme të Bosnjës e Hercegovinës me 1995, si përfaqësues i diplomacisë amerikane për zgjidhjen e çështjes së Kosovës dhe si Ambasador i Shteteve të Bashkuara të Amerikës në Organizatën e Kombeve të Bashkuara.

Përpyekjet e tij për ndaljen e dhunës dhe të terrorit të regjimit të Millosheviqit mbi popullsinë e Kosovës, ishin sa të vendosura e energjike, aq edhe të matura e me durim të një diplomati të pjekur, por kur ato po abuzoheshin nga një kriminel lufte dhe dukej qartë se do të ishte i pasuksesshëm, zoti Hollbruck nisi të shtynte përpara opsionin e ndërhyrjes me forcë për ndaljen e makinës vrastare në Kosovë, ndërhyrje kjo që për vendin dhe popullin tonë solli epokën e lirisë, të pavarësisë, të sovranitetit shtetëror e të demokracisë për të gjithë qytetarët e saj.

Zoti Hollbruck, mirë se erdhe në Republikën e Kosovës dhe në Kuvendin e zgjedhur të saj!

Shfrytëzoj këtë rast që më jepet për t'iu shprehur Juve dhe Shteteve të Bashkuara të Amerikës, Presidentit Bush e Clinton, gjithë popullit amerikan mirënjohjen e thellë në emër të Kuvendit të Kosovës, të qytetarëve dhe timin personalisht, për gjithë çfarë keni bërë për vendin dhe popullin tonë.

Në këto kohë të reja, Republika e Pavarur e Kosovës, e shpallur më 17 shkurt 2008, tashmë e njohur nga 46 vende anëtare të OKB-së, po mbështet gjerësisht nga bashkësia ndërkombëtare, por vazhdon të ndjejë nevojën e ndihmës së miqve të saj për njohje më të gjerë ndërkombëtare, për mbrojtje e mbështetje, zhvillim e integrim dhe për anëtarësim në Organizatën Ndërkombëtare, duke përfshirë familjen e madhe të Kombeve të Bashkuara.

Kosova e kthyer drejtë së ardhmes së saj demokratike evropiane, do të përmbushë të gjitha obligimet e saja kombëtare e ndërkombëtare për të qenë vend i lirë me të drejta të barabarta për të gjithë qytetarët e saj dhe faktor paqeje e bashkëpunimi në planin rajonal e botëror.

Zoti Hollbruck,

Duke Ju falënderuar edhe njëherë, kam kënaqësinë t'Ju ftoj që t'i drejtoheni me një fjalë Kuvendit të Republikës së Kosovës.

(duartrokitje frenetike)

RICHARD HOLLBRUCK: unauthorized transcription

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. speaker, distinguished members of the Assembly, guests this is a great honor for me. When I got off the plane in Prishtina, the day before yesterday I felt both I was coming back to a place I know also to a place and to a place I've never been before. I felt I was arriving here for the first time and in sense I was. When I first visited Prishtina over ten years ago it was still in the era of the Serbian Kosovo, one might say Sloba Prishtina. You lived under your ancient oppressors and rebellion was in the air. I call on Dr. Ibrahim Rugova a blessed memory and I met other figures here in Prishtina. The town was sad and depressed and oppressed and there was a feeling of desperation here. I went to Belgrade to discuss the growing crisis to one Slobodan Milosevic of the consequences. That summer I visited Prishtina often scheduling back and forth between Prishtina and Belgrade. In one of my trips I met young guerilla leader named Hashim Thaqi. What a pleasure is to see him today as your Prime Minister. Over 130 000 Kosovo Albanians fled to the hills in the fall and summer in 1998 and as President Clinton special envoy I was able to negotiate their safe return and to negotiate the introduction into Kosovo of the verification mission which unfortunately was unarmed. We knew then that the cease fire that we'd negotiated in October of 1998 would not last beyond the winter but it gave us time to get unified, allied position in time for the crisis to come. In those days the world was focused on this city and this area in much the same way the world is focused today in event in Georgia to which I shall return in a moment. But after the massacre by Serbian security forces of Albanian people in the town of Recak, it became clear that we were headed for a final crisis. After the Rambuje meeting in which many of you participated we moved on to the ultimatum to Slobodan Milosevic. The last I saw Milosevic in my life was in March 1999 when on behalf of president Clinton I delivered the ultimatum to him and I said to him if you don't accept our position on giving Kosovo the ability to govern itself to determine its own destiny our consequences will be swift and severe and sustained from Kosovo. And so on I came back to Prishtina between 1999 and last year as I did often. I visited the second Prishtina, United Nations Prishtina. I think the UN did a good job here. They did what they had to do, they detached you permanently from Belgrade's control and they run Kosovo on an Interim bases, while helping you establish your institutions. But seven years is too long for that kind of mission and in my view this meeting this freedom that you now have should have been given to you at

least three or four years ago and I believe it would have been an easier transition had it happened earlier. But the European Union and the United States moved too slowly and so it wasn't until 2005 that the process really began. You all know what happened next the Ahtisaari plan which the Russians participated drafting and then rejected. A Russian request for additional delay of 120 days in other Russian decision to veto in any action in December of last year and finally your Government's decision to have a declaration of independence, the unilateral declaration of independence. You were absolutely correct to do that and when the Russians compare your actions to those of South Osetia and Abkhazia they're making a false comparison to which I will return in a minute. Your brave and courageous decision to declare independence was very much in keeping with our own declaration of independence on July 4th 1776 and I congratulate you on it and that allows me today for the first time to speak to you on the soil of the free and independent nation. What an extraordinary thrill is for me to be here under these circumstances. Having seen you now over more than ten years, fight for something that has been your right for more than six centuries. You in this room are making history and the last time I was here four years ago with Bernard Kushner we talked in the Assembly but it was in a small room because you weren't yet an official organization and you couldn't meet in this great chamber. This is democracy in action and I congratulate everyone involved, the current Government, members of the united front who are now in opposition, you have done an extraordinary job. The first thing I want to acknowledge is that the world worried so much about what would happen. The world worried about ethnic conflict between the communities. The NATO forces sent extra troops here, they mobilized, they got ready for trouble and it didn't happen. That is a great, great tribute to your Government and to your leaders and above all to the people of Kosovo for behaving with such responsibility and such restraint and showing the minorities here and specially the Serb minority that they can live in peace with their neighbors. Of course I am well aware of the fact that the situation in the North of the Tiber river in Mitrovica is not yet resolved to your satisfaction and I share your point of view in that but the first thing has to be the good news. The reason the world isn't paying attention to Kosovo right now is because the crisis didn't happen. If you're not on the front news of the newspaper that's good news and you have good news to report which the world has not paid attention to you and I congratulate you for handling this with such skill. Now I know that you are concerned as the speaker just said about the recognition. 46 countries have recognized you, that's one quarter of the world's nations but in terms of the GDP is much much more than half.

The only major nation that haven't recognized you was China, India and Russia and you have managed to get 46 countries to recognize you despite the fact that Russia is conducting a world wide diplomatic campaign against your recognition, something we did not expect and which I think is tragic because the Russians don't really care what happens here, they're doing it as a way of getting back at the United States. This is a part of US, Russian to..... and I'm very sorry that is happening. But the 46 countries that have recognized you, you will have more I'm sure you will go, you will get up some more seats some more recognitions during the UN General Assembly. I hope that countries in the organization of the Islamic States and the Arab League will recognize you. I hope above all you're near neighbor Macedonia and Montenegro will recognize you soon and I have no question that the number will go up whether or not the international court of justice is called in to make a ruling and what ruling can they make possibly except to reaffirm your decision or to refuse to take the position. They can't say that what you did have to be reversed so, I would be confident of the As an issue that can be managed for you. I congratulate your government again on that. Now the Russians keep saying that the situation here somehow caused the situation in Georgia. I was in Georgia two weeks ago, I was in Tbilisi, I drove to Gori the birth place of Josef Stalin. I drove through six or eight Russian check points along the road where the wheat fields were on fire set by the Russians, where some of the check points the Russian soldiers' were wearing stolen Georgian uniforms. We stopped and I asked people why are you wearing Georgian uniforms and the soldier said well because they were better than Russian uniforms. I thought that that was a very sad story. I want to be clear on two things about Georgia, one what happened there and two its complete non connection with Kosovo. What happened was the Russian invaded Georgia, what happened is the Russians are trying to overthrow the government of Mikael Sakashvili. This was not caused by Georgia, any more than the situation in Kosovo was caused by the Kosovo population. This was caused by the Russians and their goal was to overthrow president Sakashvili. Yesterday president Sarkozy and president Barroso of the EU went to Moscow and Tbilisi and the Russians have agreed to withdraw their troops in about a month. I hope they keep their word. But meanwhile using the president of Kosovo they have told their two satellites Abkhazia and South Osetia to declare themselves independent and then the Russians immediately recognized them, saying well if the US and the EU can recognize Kosovo we can recognize Abkhazia and South Osetia. This is a non sensual claim, let no one here, let no one in the world think that there is any connection between what you did to overthrow an oppressive

dictatorship regime and what they did trying to over through a democratically elected government in Georgia. The economist magazine in its current issue explained the differences very clearly. In Georgia's enclave the economist wrote Russian forces have acted in self interested trouble makers not as neutral peace makers. Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic long oppressed the Kosovo Albanians as well as perpetrating war and ethnic cleansing across all of the former Yugoslavia but the Georgian's ended up as the bigger victims of ethnic cleansing in Abkazia in 1990's and have been again the victims in South Osetia in the last month. Unlike Milosevic, Georgia's president Sakasvilli is a democratically elected president. After Milosevici's withdrawal from Kosovo in 1999 the main role of UN and NATO forces in the province was to protect Serb minority and Serb religious cites. The western powers devoted years to negotiations over Kosovo's future, an UN talks lead under Marti Ahtisari. Only when these talks again thank to Russian stubbornness, did Kosovo's unilateral of independence declaration become inevitable. In total contrast Russia's nakedly persuaded its own interest on This is from the most respected magazine in the world last week and I stress this because we're seeing in Georgia something which is encouraging the Russians to oppose your request for international recognition. But I want to focus not on international recognition issue the numbers game because although it is important I think your interest lay mostly in this region and mostly within the EU space. I urge you to focus on your own economic situation you are in a very vulnerable economic situation and that is your enemies your adversaries, they will hope for your economic decline they can't touch you politically, you are independent nation for the first time in your history and that is irreversible. There is no undoing what you achieved but your economy is fragile, you're land locked, you have a limited population, part of your country lies outside your immediate day to day control your natural resources have not been adequately tapped you're great mining capability particularly has to be developed, you need a new transportation unit, you need job creation, you need to create export markets for food and vine and other things that you can produce and you need to become part of the kind of a common market of a western Balkans. To do that you're going to set aside political differences and work together on a master economic plan under leadership of your government and in close consultation with every member of very political party here including those representing the ethnic minorities. It's very important that you work on this, in a systematic way and not let it simply became a political football. And the most important thing of all to me is the EU. Speaking frankly and I hope you will permit me to speak to you as a

friend of your country, speaking frankly your future lies in EU, if you don't join the EU within 10 years you will always be isolated, now because of the nature of your history because you've had to fight for every little thing, the smallest thing, people in your country have a tendency to think short term about today's problems or tomorrow's problem. The EU is a long term project, it will take a lot of work. The EU accession process involves thousands of documents and enormous amounts of effort, is much harder than joining NATO. NATO will take some time too but I'm sure you will become member of NATO sooner or later but the EU is much more important to you. The US is not the member of the EU, we only have some outside influence but you in my view, I recommend to you, you set as a goal for your country, European membership in less than ten years. Ten years may seem like a long time for all of you in this country but ten years ago today where were you, well that's where I started. You were being crushed by the authorities in Belgrade security forces were going around this country, people were being denied their rights, you banded together, you fought the good fight, you set aside party and here we are. I would love to come back here ten years from today and speak to a member of a EU, if it's less than ten years fine but if it's ten years you need to start now and the EU for its part needs to be very careful about what it does with your neighbours. The EU is starting the stabilization agreements with Serbia and also with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Slovenia is already a member and Croatia is on the verge of becoming a member. I am in favor of all countries of this region joining the EU but it is absolutely critical that Brussels not let Serbia in unless Serbia accepts here the international boundaries before it comes in and agrees not to use the fact that it is the member of the EU to veto, your membership once it gets in because as you all know it takes the unanimity to add a new member and if Serbia joins they should not join with the power to block Kosovo. Ideally you'd all come in together, if that doesn't happen there should be an understanding that they will not use their power to block you. I know this is an ambitious agenda but you have achieved a great thing in your country in just a few years and you've done it with courage and skill. The world focuses on the problems you still face, north of the Iber river, recognition, unresolved legacies of the war and that's perfectly understandable but I think we should recognize what you have achieved and if you have the same determination and the same unity now for a goal of historic importance membership in the EU I am sure that you will succeed in that as well. So I thank you mister speaker, thank you mister president, prime minister other friends for allowing me the great honor of speaking to you today and I wish you all the good luck and the success in the world and I look forward to

returning to Prishtina again and again to see my friends and to look forward to the day you will be the member of the EU. Thank you very much

(duartrokitje frenetike)

KRYETARI I KUVENDIT, JAKUP KRASNIQI:

Të nderuar deputetë,
Duke falënderuar edhe në emrin tuaj zotin Ambasador Hollbruck për fjalën e tij përmbajtësore, e mbyllim seancën e sotme solemne.

Mirupafshim në seancat e tjera!

Përgatiti:

Njësia e Transkripteve e Kuvendit të Kosovës