



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

T R A N S K R I P T

NGA SEANCA SOLEMNE ME RASTIN E VIZITËS SË ISH KRYEMINSITRIT TË
BRITANISË SË MADHE, TONI BLER, NË KOSOVË, MË
9 KORRIK 2010

SA SVEÇANE SEDNICE POVODOM POSETE BIVŠEG PREMIJERA VELIKE
BRITANIJE, TONI BLERA, KOSOVU, OD 9. JULA 2010. GODINE

KORRIK – JULI
2010

E premte, 9 korrik 2010

Seancën solemne drejton: Kryetari i Kuvendit të Kosovës, zoti Jakup Krasniqi.
Ndihmës kryesues: Xhavit Haliti, anëtar i Kryesisë së Kuvendit

XHAVIT HALITI: Të nderuar deputetë dhe ministra, pjesëmarrës, ju lus që të uleni dhe t'i zini vendet tuaja, sepse edhe pak do të vijë ish kryeministri i Britanisë së Madhe, zoti Bler.

(Duartrokitje me rastin e hyrjes në sallë të ish kryeminsitrit britanik, Toni Bler)

KRYETARI I KUVENDIT:

Të nderuar deputetë,
I nderuar President, zoti Fatmir Sejdiu,
I nderuar Kryeministër, zoti Hashim Thaçi,
Të nderuar ministra,
Të nderuar përfaqësues diplomatikë,
Zonja dhe zotërinj

Kam nderin dhe kënaqësinë e veçantë të hap këtë seancë solemne të Kuvendit për nder të njërit ndër figurat e shquara politike në plan ndërkombëtar dhe mikut të shtrenjtë të Kosovës, ish kryeministrit të Mbretërisë së Bashkuar, zotit Toni Bler.

(Duartrokitje)

Në emër të qytetarëve që përfaqësojmë, në emrin tuaj dhe timin personalisht, e përshëndes mysafirin tonë të lartë dhe zonjën Bler, duke u uruar mirëseardhje në Republikën e Kosovës dhe në këtë seancë solemne parlamentare!

Dje Kosova pati dy sihariqe të mira nga Evropa, arritjen e mikut të madh të saj, zotit Bler, dhe Rezoluta e Parlamentit Evropian.

Ardhjen Tuaj në Kosovë, zoti Bler, e përjetojmë si një ngjarje shumë të rëndësishme, nder të madh dhe kënaqësi njerëzore për mikun luftëtar të paqes, që kontribuoi aq shumë për lirinë dhe të drejtat e njerëzve liridashës të këtij vendi.

Ju mbaheni mend në Kosovë, zoti Bler, për lidërshtipin tuaj të fuqishëm, si kryeministër për kohë të gjatë i Mbretërisë së Bashkuar, por edhe si lider i shquar botëror, mbaheni mend për angazhimin e pakursyer për të drejtën e Kosovës, duke qenë gati të ndërhynt me trupat tokësore për mbrojtjen e qytetarëve tanë nga gjenocidi, mbaheni mend për takimin vëllazëror me refugjatët e Kosovës, të cilëve u dhatë shpresë e besim, mbaheni mend me emnakët e shumtë që keni në këtë vend dhe do të përjetësoheni në kujtesën e tij historike.

Mbretëria e Bashkuar ka pasur dhe vazhdon të ketë rol të veçantë e historik në mbrojtjen e drejtësisë karshi çështjes së Kosovës, në rindërtimin dhe rimëkëmbjen e vendit tonë të

dalë nga lufta shkatërruese dhe në sigurinë e në ngritjen e themeleve të Kosovës së re.

Gjatë këtyre dy viteve të pavarësisë Kosova ka ndryshuar shumë, duke bërë përparime të dukshme në të gjitha fushat. Për këto ndryshime të thella është kontributi juaj i çmuar.

Unë dua ta shfrytëzoj edhe këtë rast që më jepet për t'ju shprehur Juve personalisht, Qeverisë dhe Parlamentit të vendit tuaj mirënjohjen e thellë, në emër të Kuvendit të Kosovës, të qytetarëve dhe timin personalisht për gjithë çfarë keni bërë për Kosovën dhe për qytetarët e saj.

Ju siguroj, zoti Bler, për ndjenjën e lartë dhe të përvetshme që ka Kosova për Mbretërinë e Bashkuar dhe për Ju personalisht, si viganin e mbrojtjes së saj.

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

Ju falemnderit!

(Duartrokitje të gjata)

Mr President, Mr Prime Minister, Mr Speaker, Members of the Assembly,

Urime!

Unë jam krenar për ju!

You are much kinder to me, than my Parliament used to be. Thank you!

My friends,

I recall late in 1998, the visit to Downing Street of Ibrahim Rugova. He was a quiet, modest man. He gave me a little present of purple and white crystal. I kept it all through my time in Downing Street on my desk. Now it is on my mantelpiece in my home.

He told me the truth about Kosovo, the plight of its people, the need for the world to listen, the duty of the world to act. He didn't shout, he didn't make his case in slogans or extravagant gestures. He just spoke gently but with a most impressive sincerity. And as he left he said to me: "Please, I ask only this: do not let my people suffer any more. Feel for them as you would for your own. And help."

I said Britain would help. I gave him my "besa." My bond. I kept it. Today I remember Ibrahim Rugova and pay tribute to his leadership, determination and wisdom.

I recall too my first meetings with ordinary Kosovans, in the refugee camps of Macedonia, living in tents, not knowing what future, if any would be theirs, alone, vulnerable. I recall our conversations, the stories of brutality and misery. But I recall also the pride, and the courage. It is 11 years ago now. And here you are, still with immense challenges ahead, but with today a state, recognition from 69 countries, membership of the IMF and World Bank and most of all – peace. Congratulations!

We helped, NATO helped. Britain and our brave armed forces helped. But above all, it was your achievement, yours – the people of the independent sovereign state of Kosovo.

The Ambassador showed me today the New Born monument here in Prishtina. It is simple, plain and inspiring. Its signatures, thousands of them, from people making their own declarations of independence. It's also symbolic. What we did, when we intervened in 1999, was to give you the chance of a new chapter in Kosovo's history. But it was for you to write it. And you are.

I know that my good friend President Bill Clinton came to speak to you here a few months ago. In his speech he made much reference to Rwanda. As you know, he shared my very basic view - never again. It was his commitment to prevent ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, despite the very difficult decisions that followed for both of us and others, which ensured NATO involvement. It was at first a rescue mission, upholding European values, values shared then as now with the United States of America.

But for both of us, it eventually became clear that the only way to continue the defence of those values of peace and of freedom, was to allow Kosovo the independence that it had largely achieved anyway in the last years of Tito. We hold to that view today. Kosovo's independence was right. Kosovo's independence is a fact. And Kosovo's independence will endure.

Now you must determine the nature of the state – not its borders or its sovereignty, but the institutions, the economy, its values.

This state of Kosovo is a state that belongs not to one group or one religion. It is for all the people of Kosovo.

The Albanian majority here suffered grievously as a result of the idea that the Balkan borders could be re-designed along ethnic lines. But as Bernard Kouchner said to you when he also addressed you recently, you know how it feels. This must be a state consistent with the values that drove its formation, a state for all those who have lived here for generations- Albanians, Bosniaks, Turks, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians.... And Serbs.

As you will know, having adopted it into your Constitution, President Ahtisaari's Plan does everything it can to accommodate Kosovo's minorities and Serbs in particular. It is right to do so. And you are right to follow it.

I salute what you have done so far. Especially, I was glad to see your government, Hashim, work methodically with Pieter Feith's office to bring about the formation of Serb majority municipalities with decentralised authority, consistent with best practice on decentralisation in the European Union. And the response of your Serb citizens in voting in municipal elections was immensely heartening. It was a tribute also to them and their commitment to this country.

But please, Fatmir, please Hashim, keep going. Go the extra mile. And to all Kosovo Albanians I say what you know already: if you ensure that the government and institutions of Kosovo reach out to every member of every community in this country, they can play their part in making your shared country great. They are already in your government, they are already in your police, they need to be judges in your courts and ultimately when you have a full fledged army, ready to contribute to NATO, they need to be in that too. All who live in Kosovo are Kosovans. And they will be writing the future, as one nation, one people, equal before the law.

The European Union is your future. Itself, it is a multi-ethnic unity. It celebrates its diversity.

I love your recent publicity slogan - Kosovo: the Young Europeans. You are the newest country in Europe with also, I believe, Europe's youngest population.

The European Union is not an easy club to join – ask Britain. Its standards are exacting. And you are a very new state, not a rich one, and one that suffered in the years up to 1999 from disinvestment and neglect. So getting into the EU will take time. As in any other club, you have to respect the rules. With this club – Europe – that means the rule of law.

There are historical reasons for why the rule of law in Kosovo is not yet all that it might be. You have been engaged in a long freedom struggle. But, you have your state now. Whatever alliances of expediency there may have been with those outside the law in the past, must be severed. You Kosovans now make the laws. You Kosovans must both police them, and keep them.

So I am glad, Mr President, Mr Prime Minister, that you have reiterated your support for EULEX. It is there to help Kosovo entrench the rule of law. It is the European Union's biggest single field assistance mission in the world- by far. It is a vital part of preparing the nation for Europe. However hard, that path must be taken.

Europe will also support and underline a commitment that you, Mr President and Mr Prime Minister, have made already, that is to combat corruption. Corruption corrodes popular support for the state. It breeds inefficiency. It undermines hard work. It can never be justified. Its absence is an essential pre-condition for European Union membership.

You also need investment. To invest, businesspeople seek security of contract - the rule of law again. To invest, businesspeople need confidence in the courts. And you need foreign investment.

British investors, along with others, are already showing real interest- in services, tourism, mining, agriculture. I understand Kosovan wine is already being sold in British supermarkets. And having gratefully taken some last night, I can very much recommend.

Your Diaspora, developing businesses and sending money home, will also give you a head start as the doors to the European Union, and the benefits of the Europe-wide free market, begin to open for you. Yesterday's resolution of the European Parliament, especially with its strong reference to visa liberalisation, shows you, you have real support in Europe.

I have often been asked often since arriving in Prishtina, how best to accelerate progress towards Europe. The answer is simple: build your institutions, build the rule of law, open up and build your economy and European membership will, in time, be yours. Europe has left its door open. But it is for you to enter in. Europe is your destiny – in your hands. So fulfill that destiny. Join us and enter into European Union.

Your friends are here to help you. I pay tribute to all the internationals who over the last eleven years have given of their talents, their time, occasionally endangered their safety and even their lives, to help you in your mission. The men and women of KFOR, of UNMIK and the other UN agencies, of the OSCE, of the Council of Europe, of EULEX

and the ICO – custodians of Ahtisaari's Plan. I would also like to pay tribute to Marti Ahtisaari himself, a great man deservedly awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

I know relations with Serbia remain fraught. Serbia is also a friend of the UK and itself has ambitions for Europe. At least the tension today is diplomatic. But in time I hope that will also change so that the memory of those terrible events becomes a distant reminder of a past really left behind.

There were many reasons why after decades, even centuries of conflict, we were able to bring peace to Northern Ireland. One reason was, with both Britain and the Irish Republic in Europe, we stopped defining ourselves by reference to past enmities and began to regard future opportunities. And today, after all that history, our two nations are friends.

So we are not condemned perpetually to repeat our history. New Born means more than a new state. It means new hope. New possibility. A new state of mind.

For me, the insistence that we intervened those years ago, was off course first and foremost about Kosovo and Kosovans. But it was more than that. It arose from a view I had of the world and how it was changing. I held that view then. I hold that view now.

We intervened because to have allowed ethnic cleansing here on the doorstep of the European Union, would have been a gross dereliction of our duty, an obscenity. So, yes there was a moral case. But there was also a case in our enlightened self-interest. Today's world is interdependent. Few problems – financial, security or cultural – remain isolated within traditional borders. We did not intervene in Bosnia in the early 1990s, when hundreds of thousands died in conflict. Did that save us from the consequences of such savagery? It only postponed the moment of action. Had we left Kosovo to its fate, the result would not just have been catastrophic for you, I would have been a disaster for us.

The characteristics of your struggle were part of a bigger picture. And as you search for your place in the multinational institutions of global governance including the European Union and NATO, your future, your progress can also affect the world as much as the struggle of your past.

The bricks of the New Born still have much to be written on them.

It is now three years since stepping down from Downing Street. I have been working in different parts of the world, notably the Middle East, but also Africa and I visit now regularly now the Far East, as well as the more familiar places of America and Europe. Here is what I have learnt.

First, religious or cultural extremism, not political ideology, right or left, is the biggest challenge we face. I have started a foundation dedicated to greater understanding and respect between those of different faiths. To me faith is a set of values, a code by which to try to lead your life. It should not be a badge of identity worn in opposition to those who do not share that faith. We may have different paths to God. But humility in deference to God's will, should teach us not to declare those of one faith superior to those of another, one human being inferior to another. We are all God's children and equal in God's sight. I believe that regardless of race, religion, gender or class, human beings should have the same rights everywhere, equally. So let us learn to live with each others in peaceful co-existence not divide from each other in prejudice or hate.

Secondly, there could be no more powerful harbinger of such a world than if we were able to bring peace to Israel and Palestine. Israel should have its security and recognition. Palestinians should have the dignity and justice of their own independent, viable and sovereign state. I am working on this now as Quartet Representative. You can tell I like a challenge. I will work at it until it is done.

Thirdly, the fight against global poverty affects us all. One million people die every year in Africa from malaria alone, mostly women and children. We should judge any society by the condition of its weakest not the strongest. That is true of a nation. It is true of a global community. If we fail to help Africa's struggling people to a better future, we will not let them down and only store up greater trouble for our own future.

The fourth, and final lesson I learnt, this interdependence I described is not diminishing, it is growing. We see it in the financial crisis. We see it in climate change and the environment. We see it in the fight against terrorism. We see it in the battle against organised crime. We will see it soon in the new issues that are arising: food security, water and population.

So the world our children are growing up in, is a world in which nations do not stand alone but together, people should not divide from each other but must live together, and where every one of us is confronted by a world shrinking, changing, and evolving rapidly under the pressure of science, technology and globalisation.

The countries that succeed, the people who succeed, are those who are open minded, tolerant, prepared to adapt, ready to partner, eager to learn. Nations who understand this can progress quickly even if they start from behind. Nations who don't, can decline even if they start well ahead.

This is the world that greets your new state of Kosovo. You may look at it and see challenges of politics, of development, of institutional capacity that seem too daunting to contemplate.

But realise this: with the right attitude there is nothing you cannot achieve. Why can I say that? Because look at what you did achieve. You took a country whose people were dispossessed, some killed, oppressed and forgotten, and made it a symbol of hope, determination and freedom.

What you did then to create the state of Kosovo, you now must do to build it. It isn't a false dream, a delusion, something beyond your ability. You had a dream before. You realised it. There is a dream for you now, that one day and in a future I hope to live to see, Kosovo takes its place as a member of the European Union, a proud independent state not just directing its own affairs but playing a part in the affairs of the biggest political and commercial union of the world. That is your dream today, and you can and you will fulfill it.

To do that you must be true to the values which gave rise to the Republic of Kosovo. Those values were of course about freedom. But they were also about the values intrinsic to Europe itself. That after the horrors of World War Two, and the holocaust, never again would we see racism, with all its savagery, suppress a people, never again would we permit the innocent to be butchered without mercy, never again would we pass by whilst those we could help, suffered in agony without our help. We did it because we believed

and should believe that injustice to one person was injustice to all. That is why we were right to help liberate Kosovo and its people from tyranny. Those are the values we share. They are as relevant now as when we fought for them together in Kosovo eleven years ago. They are what will bind us together, you and the other nations of the Balkans, in peace, in Europe in the future.

My friends, eleven years ago, sitting in a tent in Macedonia, such a thought would have appeared impossible. But you have shown that what seems impossible, can indeed come to pass. Show that same spirit now. Show the same courage. Show the same striving to achieve. And you will achieve it.

I would like to thank you all for the warmth of your welcome here today. I confess, occasionally, as I've driven through Prishtina and seen the posters of what I used to look like, I've been a little sad at the ageing process that has been so dramatically expressed. But I also recall a time of friendship and solidarity, and I recall it with immense pride. Good luck and thank you all! It was my honour to help you then. It is my pleasure to be with you now. It would be a privilege to be with you still in the great future that awaits you.

Thank you all!

KRYETARI I KUVENDIT: Të nderuar deputetë,

Zonja dhe zotërinj,

E falënderojmë ish kryeministrin e Mbretërisë së Bashkuar, zotin Toni Bler, për kontributin dhe fjalën e tij të urtë, për mesazhet e tij për të sotmen dhe të ardhmen tonë evropiane.

Me këtë mbyll këtë seancë solemne, duke ju falënderuar për pjesëmarrje!

(Duartrokitje)

Përgatiti:

Njësia e Transkripteve