

Post-truth: "Kosovo thanks 6000 Portuguese soldiers who helped peace"
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Post-truth or the politics of post-truth, ie. post-factual politics, is a situation when public debate is limited to provoking emotions by avoiding important facts, as well as details, with repetition of elements of speech or writing that seek to achieve a particular, especially political goal, while refuting such statements with facts is ignored.

It is therefore the creation of an atmosphere in which objective facts, therefore the truth, have a much smaller impact on shaping public opinion in relation to personal and individual opinions and emotions and reactions in public. In this way, bypassing, even ignoring the truth, prejudices are often encouraged, and they are the best food for the passions and emotions that block the ratio.

The following terms are also used to explain this term: the skill of lying, and even the art of lying (The Economist). In Serbia and some other countries, this shaping of public opinion was also known as Goebbels. Books (Ralph Keyes, The Post-Truth Era) are already being written about the age of post-truth, where dishonor, fraud and deception reign. Post-truth politics used to be associated with undemocratic, totalitarian societies, but it is becoming an increasingly important sociological concept in democratic societies, opening a whole range of essential questions about modern democracy, its limitations, and even its crisis.

This is exactly what the article published in your esteemed newspaper on October 7 this year, entitled "Kosovo thanks 6,000 Portuguese soldiers who helped peace", by Ilber Kreziu, is about. The facts say something completely different.

Namely, Serbia and the Serbs who remained in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija are especially grateful to the Portuguese (and Italian) soldiers who enabled those Serbs to survive and preserve a part of their Christian churches and monasteries in that area (it is worth noting that in just three months since KFOR took over responsibility for security, due to the withdrawal of the Serbian police and army, 78 Christian churches and monasteries were destroyed, and even cemeteries were destroyed!). So, the Portuguese soldiers, about whom the Serbs have only words of praise, "helped peace" but to the Serbs, from the horrible attacks of the Albanians who not only killed them, but also removed the organs for sale on the world market, this is something that the Swiss Special Rapporteur of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Dick Marty wrote in his official report to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (Inhuman treatment of people and illicit trafficking in human organs in Kosovo). At the same time, the largest number of volunteers for the so-called "Islamic State", according to official data, came from "Kosovo". Fortunately, Portugal and Europe do not share such, as the article says, "the same European values".

The article states that "the people of Kosovo are promoted through values such as human rights, democracy and social justice." Besides what have been told, it should be added: Serbs live there in enclaves (reserves) often fenced with wires, and these reserves are guarded by Portuguese and other soldiers! From whom? This is best evidenced by the Portuguese General Raul Kunja, commander of the army within the UMNİK in Kosovo from 2005-2009, in his book: KOSOVO - A Incoerencia de uma Independencia Inedita. So, the Portuguese commander of all foreign troops, and of course those 6000 Portuguese as well, says everything contrary to what is written in the mentioned article.

Regarding the reasons why "Kosovo" is not a member of the UN, the author writes: "that the recognitions of other countries have consolidated Kosovo's independence". First of all, why then "the president" and "the government of Kosovo", but also some great powers, are constantly asking Serbia to recognize Kosovo's independence "? Second, a number of states initially recognized unilaterally declared independence (some under pressure, some because of bribes, some by mistake), while in the last few years alone, 17 countries withdrew their recognition when they realized they were mistaken, and a number withdrew when it became known that the previous government had received a bribe for recognition. Otherwise, if the number of inhabitants of the countries that did not recognize the independence of "Kosovo" were taken into account, then it would be clear that it is more than 2/3 of the planet. The biggest untruth, if gradation of a lie is possible at all, is that, as the article states, "the International Court of Justice, in July 2010, confirmed that Kosovo's independence is in accordance with international law"! This really requires the truth, and it reads:

The UN General Assembly asked the Court whether "Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence" was in accordance with "international law", and the Court's response in the Advisory Opinion stated that such a declaration "did not violate" international law.

For laymen and malicious interpreters, this gave rise to the claim that since the said declaration did not violate international law, it means that it is in accordance with it! Such a claim is legally unfounded, and therefore inaccurate, untrue, ie. fake. The facts are as follows:

1. The title of the Advisory Opinion is not formulated to assess the unilateral Declaration of Independence of Kosovo, but refers to the unilateral Declaration of Independence with regard to Kosovo;
2. "The Declaration of Independence is an attempt to determine the final status of Kosovo";
3. The Court "came to the conclusion" that the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government **did not adopt** a unilateral act on the declaration of independence of Kosovo, and those institutions which were formed on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and the Constitutional Framework of

- UNMIK, but that the authors of the Declaration are individuals who acted in the capacity of a representative of the people of Kosovo outside the framework of the interim administration;
4. In its decision, the Court states that the limited scope of the issue concerning the legality of the Declaration of Independence did not include the question of whether international law authorizes the implementation of secession, ie. to achieve the effect of secession. The question posed does not relate to the question of whether Kosovo has acquired statehood (sic!);
 5. The Court itself has stated that advisory jurisdiction is not a legal remedy that can be used by states, "but a mean by which the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as other UN bodies and bodies specifically authorized by the General Assembly in accordance with Art. 96 (2) of the Charter, may obtain the opinion of the International Court of Justice to assist them in their activities;
 6. The Court notes that "the declaration was written on two sheets of paper and was read, voted on and then signed by all the representatives who were present. It was not submitted to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and was not published in the Official Gazette of the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government in Kosovo. "The Court considers that the authors of the Declaration did not act or intend to act, in the capacity of institutions created and authorized to operate within that legal order, on the contrary, they decided to adopt a measure whose significance and effect lie outside that order";
 7. The Court stated that "nowhere in the original text of the Declaration (which is the only authentic text) is there a provision that the Declaration is the work of the Assembly of Kosovo. The words 'Assembly of Kosovo' appear before the Declaration only in its translated version in English and French. (sic!);
 8. The Court further notes that the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General is empowered to classify unlawful acts of the Provisional Institutions as such, as acts that are not in a line with the Constitutional Framework, to dissolve the Assembly, to call new elections... and further states that the Special the representative "was obliged to take measures with regard to the acts of the Assembly of Kosovo which he considered to be *ultra vires*" (in translation - valid, legally relevant) and notes that the Special Representative did not react to the Declaration at all;
 9. When the International Court of Justice called on the authors of the Declaration to "provide information on the matter raised", they submitted it with a memorandum "Government of the Republic of Kosovo", but the Advisory Opinion does not mention "Republic of Kosovo" anywhere, but only "the authors of the unilateral Declaration of Independence";
 10. The Court noted that general international law did not prohibit the issuance of declarations of independence and that such declarations existed during the "eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries", and that such proclamations sometimes resulted in the creation of a new state and sometimes they are not;

11. The Court also analyzed UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) and noted three relevant elements: (1) that "all legislative and executive power with regard to Kosovo, including the administration of justice" is entrusted to UNMIK and is exercised by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General; (2) the Provisional Administration in Kosovo "temporarily suspends the exercise of the authority of Serbia arising from the continuing sovereignty over the territory of Kosovo" ...; (3) that Resolution 1244 "clearly establishes a temporary regime; it cannot be understood as setting a permanent institutional framework on the territory of Kosovo. This Resolution mandates the UNMIK only to contribute to the desired solution that would be the result of negotiations for the future status of Kosovo, without prejudice to the outcome of the negotiation process.

Completely simplified, the Court said the following: if a group of citizens in any part of any country issues an Declaration of Independence, it is not contrary to international law, because it is not legally relevant, ie. according to the authors of that declaration (it is not an act of the assembly, the government, etc.), nor according to the relevant regulations (material and formal), it does not belong to the world of law, but to the world of politics. That is why some well-known authorities in the field of international law have labeled the unilateral Declaration of Independence of Kosovo as a "declaration of independence from international law" or "a sheet of paper signed by a group of people that do not care about international law." The Court has also stated in several places unequivocally that the authors of the Declaration acted outside any legal order, domestic and international, and that their Declaration and (implicitly) any similar act cannot lead to a final settlement of the status of "Kosovo" contrary to Security Council Resolution UN 1244, the Constitutional Framework of UMNİK and the negotiation process in which the authorities of R. Serbia has an unavoidable role.

The well-known and esteemed Portuguese professor of international law, Fausto Quadros, wrote exactly about that, denying the right of Kosovo Albanians to unilateral secession (*Fausto de Quadros, Professor Catedrático da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa: Portugal não pode reconhecer o Kosovo, Sol, 19 April 2008*)

The author Kriziu says: "During the Second World War, Albanians helped many Jews who left Central and Southern Europe, providing them with food and shelter"! In World War II, Serbia was divided into occupation zones by Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Italy. The part of southern Serbia (it does not have the status of a province, it was established by the communist government), which is called "Kosovo" in the article, was under the direct rule of fascist Italy. The vast majority of Albanians were for Hitler's and Mussolini's Nazi-Fascism. It was at that time that the non-Albanian population was expelled from that occupation zone. Albanians from Kosovo were members of the 1st Battalion of the 2nd Regiment, and later the 28th Regiment

of the Handshar Division (the only SS Waffen division that was not consist of Germans) and distinguished themselves by committing war crimes in Srem (part of Serbia) and Bosnia: "In superiority and manner of execution, they surpassed their mentors", these people slaughtered everything they came across, that did not wear a fez ", and they especially stood out in the killing of Serbs and Jews (data available even on Wikipedia) In April 1944 entered the 21st Skenderbeg Division.

In 1945, the communist government issued a decree banning the return of Serbs expelled from that area by the Kosovo Albanian Nazis!

And finally, the author claims that in 1999 NATO prevented "systematic and massive massacres of Kosovo Albanians" ... Lisbon was the only capital of a NATO member that issued a declaration against the bombing of FR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Many loyal Albanians took refuge from the bombing in central Serbia, where they still live today, and not a small number of Albanians loyal to Serbia, who remained in the province, were killed along with their Serb neighbors and friends by the Albanian KLA (initially US placed KLA on the list of international terrorists, only to later be "amnestied" for geopolitical reasons). Personally speaking, I was not only a professor of law to many Albanians, but also a mentor in the preparation of master's theses and PHDs at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade (for example, Prof. Dr. Hamdi Vranići). Finally, NATO bombs with depleted uranium, dropped especially on "Kosovo", polluted the environment so much that many Kosovo Albanians are still dying of cancer (some come to Belgrade for treatment), but also Italian soldiers that served in UMNİK, which, after several lawsuits, Italy has admitted.

Let us add that the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarve and the Kingdom of Serbia have shared European values from the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1882. until today.

Ambassador of Serbia in Portugal