



**New World
Summit**

Brussels

**Stateless State
September 19-21**

Royal Flemish Theatre (KVS), Brussels



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Royal Flemish Theatre (KVS)**

The New World Summit is an artistic and political organization founded by visual artist Jonas Staal, which explores the space of art to develop parliaments for stateless politics. Taking place in a parliament built inside the Royal Flemish Theatre, this fourth Summit will host twenty representatives of 'stateless states' worldwide.

The 4th New World Summit, titled *Stateless State*, invites twenty stateless political organizations to a parliament constructed inside the Royal Flemish Theatre in Brussels. These organizations have either been denied representation by a state, or they may wish to take over an existing state, or alternatively, create a new state altogether. Confirmed speakers at the Summit include political representatives of unacknowledged, yet nonetheless operational states, such as Kurdistan, Oromia, Basque Country and Azawad. The New World Summit explores the space of art to create new political structures that enforce equal representation of acknowledged and unacknowledged states alike.

What is at stake in *Stateless State*, the 4th New World Summit, is the question to what extent the concept of the state is still capable of representing and protecting a peoples' right to self-determination in the 21st century. During the three day program, representatives of stateless organizations and states will discuss the meaning, potential or obstacles that the state embodies today through five consecutive segments, titled *Oppressive State*, *Progressive State*, *Global State*, *New State* and *Stateless State*.

The city of Brussels is today's embodiment of the crisis of the state. It is the site of an ongoing conflict over the existence of Belgium as a federal state as well the declining supranational project

of the European Union. The rise of ultra-nationalism, which considers the EU to be a threat, calls for a return to the nation state as the only way to regain sovereignty, control migration and secure economic prosperity. At the same time, this myth of the sovereign state itself has been dismantled through whistleblowers' recent revelations of global systems of mass surveillance.

It is in the light of the crisis of the state that we have witnessed international uprisings and social movements these past years. It comes as no surprise that many of the mechanisms enacted against stateless states – such as denial of history, systemic persecution and terrorist blacklisting – are now being used to criminalize new social movements as well. The attack of the state against its own citizens, through mass surveillance and politics of blacklisting, indicates that today's condition of statelessness is on the verge of becoming a collective one.

Today's social movements are embracing stateless internationalism to engage in political models that redefine solidarities between peoples beyond mere territorial disputes. Here, statelessness is not simply a product of victimization, but the prerequisite of a necessarily new model of political organization, mobilization and action. It is through the space of art that the New World Summit sets out to define the future of this *stateless state*.

Friday 19 September
19:00 - 22:00

I: Oppressive State

19:00 – 19:10

Introduction by Jonas Staal
(NWS)

19:10 – 19:30

Introduction by chair
Jan Goossens (KVS)

19:30 – 19:50

The Framing of the Uyghur
Independence Movement:
China's War on Terror
—World Uyghur Congress
(WUC)
Rebiya Kadeer

19:50 – 19:55

Response

19:55 – 20:15

A Criminal State: The
Blacklisting of the Oromo
Liberation Struggle for
Freedom and Democracy
—Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)
Shigut Geleta

20:15 – 20:20

Response

20:20 – 20:45

Short Break

20:45 – 21:05

A People Negated within the
State: The Struggle for a Multi-
Ethnic Iran
—The Ahwazi-Arab Alliance
Karim Abdian

21:05 – 21:10

Response

21:10 – 21:30

The Formation of a Nation:
Can the Children of a Colony be
Indigenous?
—The Baster People of
Rehoboth
Martin Dentlinger

21:30 – 21:35

Response

21:35 – 21:55

Discussion

21:55 – 22:00

Closing words by chair
Jan Goossens

Saturday 20 September
13:00 - 16:00

II: Progressive State

13:00 – 13:10
Introduction by Jonas Staal
(NWS)

13:10 – 13:30
Introduction by chair
Véronique Dudouet
(Berghof Foundation)

13:30 – 13:50
National Liberation versus
Ultranationalism: The Universal
Category of the Basque
—Euskal Herria Bildu (EHB)
Josu Juaristi

13:50 – 13:55
Response

13:55 – 14:15
The New Revolutionary
Proletariat of the Philippines:
Building a Just and Democratic
Society
—National Democratic
Movement of the Philippines
(NDFP) / Free Movement of
New Women (MAKIBAKA)
Coni Ledesma

14:15 – 14:20
Response

14:45 – 15:05
Extraterritorial Activism:
From Abortion as National
Privilege to Universal Right
—Women on Waves (WoW)
Rebecca Gomperts

15:05 – 15:10
Response

15:10 – 15:55
Discussion

15:55 – 16:00
Closing words by chair
Véronique Dudouet

16:00 – 17:00
Lunch will be served

Saturday 20 September
17:00 - 20:00

III: Global State

17:00 - 17:10
Introduction Jonas Staal (NWS)

17:10 - 17:30
Introduction by chair
Jolle Demmers (Centre for
Conflict Studies, Utrecht
University)

17:30 - 17:50
From Jaffna to Geneva: National
Liberation Amid Globalizing
Liberal Order
—Tamil Eelam
Suthakaran Nadarajah

17:50 - 17:55
Response

17:55 - 18:15
The Diasporic State:
Parallel Politics of the Baluch
—Baluchistan People's Party
(BPP)
Nasser Boladai

18:15 - 18:20
Response

18:20 - 18:45
Short Break

18:45 - 19:05
Between National and Global
Repression:
Ecology, Self-Determination
and Survival in Southern
Azerbaijan
—Southern Azerbaijan Alliance
Ayda Karimli

19:05 - 19:10
Response

19:10 - 19:30
From Terrorist Organization to
Freedom Fighters:
The Geopolitical Turn on the
PKK
—Kurdistan National Congress
(KNK)
Adem Uzun

19:30 - 19:35
Response

19:35 - 19:55
Discussion

19:55 - 20:00
Closing words by
chair Jolle Demmers.

Sunday 21 September
13:00 - 16:00

IV: New States

13:00 - 13:10

Introduction by Jonas Staal
(NWS)

13:10 - 13:30

Introduction by chair
Jan Fermon (Progress
Lawyers Network)

13:30 - 13:50

Revolution without Frontiers:
The 21st Century will be that of
Peoples, not of States
—National Movement for the
Liberation of Azawad (MNLA)
Moussa Ag Assarid

13:50 - 13:55

Response

13:55 - 14:15

A Constitution without
Independence: The Blacklisted
State of West-Papua
—National Government of
the Republic of West Papua
(NGRWP)
Simon P. Sapioper

14:15 - 14:20

Response

14:20 - 14:45

Short Break

14:45 - 15:05

Independence without
Recognition: History of the De-
facto Republic of Somaliland
—Republic of Somaliland
Mohamoud Abdi Daar

15:05 - 15:10

Response

15:10 - 15:30

The Independence of One, a
Victory for Internationalism:
Scotland's referendum as the
Horizon for Self-Determination
in Europe
Speaker undisclosed

15:30 - 15:35

Response

15:35 - 15:55

Discussion

15:55 - 16:00

Closing words by chair
Jan Fermon

16:00 - 17:00

Lunch will be served

Sunday 21 September
17:00 - 20:00

V: Stateless State

17:00 - 17:10

Introduction by Jonas Staal
(NWS)

17:10 - 17:30

Introduction by chair
Maria Hlavajova (BAK,
basis voor actuele kunst)

17:30 - 17:50

Democracy beyond the State:
WikiLeaks, the Pirate Party and
the Icelandic Modern Media
Initiative
—Pirate Party Iceland
Birgitta Jónsdóttir

17:50 - 17:55

Response

17:55 - 18:15

Stateless Democracy:
How the Kurdish Women
Movement Liberated
Democracy from the State
—Kurdish Women's Movement
Dilar Dirik

18:15 - 18:20

Response

18:20 - 18:45

Short Break

18:45 - 19:50

General debate

19:50 - 19:55

Closing words by chair
Maria Hlavajova

19:55 - 20:00

Closing words by Jonas Staal

I. Oppressive State

The first section of the New World Summit explores the state as an oppressive construct that relies on processes of exclusion. The discussion revolves around states that enforce the idea of the nation as a community of a homogeneous people with a shared language and history, while actively repressing the cultural presence of peoples that could contest this imagined unity. Speakers in this first segment address the incapacity of states to respond to culturally specific claims such as civil rights movements, self-governance, and possibly full independence.

Chair: Jan Goossens

Jan Goossens is artistic director of the KVS since 2001. He studied in Antwerp, Leuven and London. At the KVS he has spent the last decade transforming the theatre into a multidisciplinary and multilingual city theatre, establishing strong ties with Brussels and the rest of the world. Working with artists and colleagues from across the language divide, for example Jean-Louis Colinet's Théâtre

National, has been a special point of focus. Goossens is also one of the pioneers behind the KVS Congo project; he is vice-president of the IETM European theatre network and initiator of 'Shared Spaces', in which cultural operators from four continents reinforce each other in a whole range of areas. He also frequently speaks out in the public debate, with regular columns in De Morgen, De Standaard and Le Soir.

The Framing of the Uyghur Independence Movement: China's War on Terror

World Uyghur Congress (WUC)
Rebiya Kadeer

The World Uyghur Congress is an organization that fights to promote the right to self-determination for the Uyghur people in East Turkestan and in diaspora. The region of East Turkestan, which had been independent until the Chinese invasion in 1876, currently covers more than one sixth of China's entire territory. Since 1876, the Uyghur people have staged more than a hundred major uprisings to regain their lost independence. The uprisings lead to the establishment of an independent state of East Turkestan in 1933, and again between 1944-1949. Following the 9/11 attacks in the US, the People's Republic of China began labeling the Uyghur people as "terrorist" and initiated large-scale military actions in the region. China's War on Terror has led to the justification of human rights abuses and the persecution of Uyghur organizations, as well as the blacklisting of several Uyghur separatist organizations by the UN and the US. Despite having been listed as a "terrorist" organization by China, the World Uyghur Congress is a non-violent organization that strives for the right to self-determination of East Turkestan.

This lecture will address the Chinese government's strategic appropriation of the US rhetoric of the War on Terror, claiming the Uyghur as the "equivalent" of Al-Qaeda. This rhetoric functions as a cover-up of the ongoing occupation of Uyghur territory and the persecution

of its citizens. Paradoxically, the US intervened when Rebiya Kadeer was sentenced to death by the Chinese state, for leaking information about separatist insurgencies. The Bush administration has vocally supported her case, yet it has also imprisoned a total of 22 Uyghurs in Guantanamo Bay since 2002. What is the future of Uyghur independence trapped in a war on terror, whose authors have become the rescuers from the violence they themselves have sanctioned?

Rebiya Kadeer is currently President of the World Uyghur Congress. In 1999 she was arrested and sentenced to death for leaking state secrets. Upon her release, which was mediated by former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, she was discharged to the US after six years of imprisonment. Prior to her arrest in 1999, Kadeer had been an acclaimed entrepreneur and philanthropist in China and held various political positions in China's parliament and other political institutions.

East Turkestan

شەرقىي تۈركىستان

Russia



A Criminal State: The Blacklisting of the Oromo Liberation Struggle for Freedom and Democracy

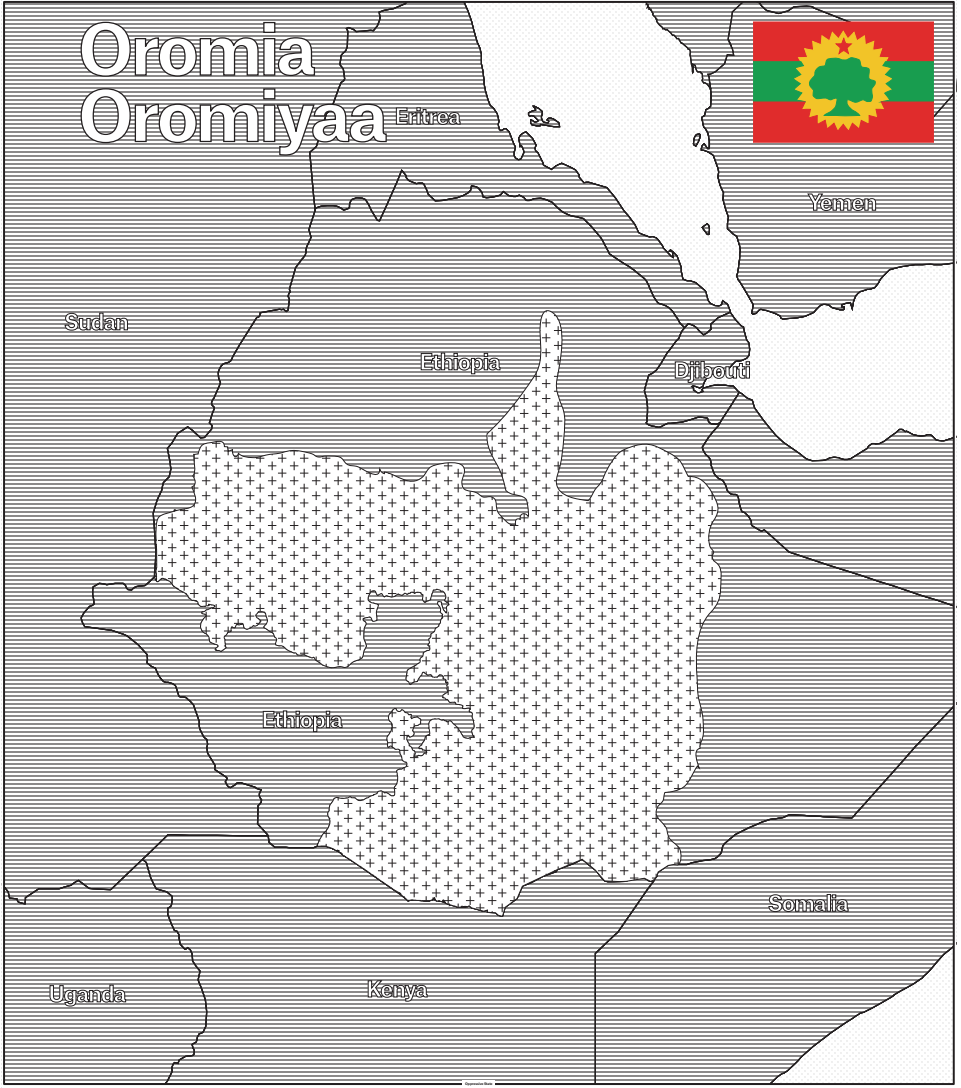
Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) Shigut Geleta

The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) is a political and militant organization that fights for the self-determination of the Oromo people. As a result of the struggle that began after the Ethiopian colonization of Oromia in the late 19th century, the OLF was formed as a secular, military organization that ousted Emperor Haile Selassie during the Marxist-Leninist revolution in 1974. The OLF has also fought the subsequent Derg military regime (1974-1991) in coalition with other military nationalist organizations, such as the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF). When the thirty-year civil war finally led to the toppling of the Derg regime in 1991 and the independence of Eritrea, the OLF participated in the mainly TPLF dominated Transitional Government of Ethiopia. As the TPLF consolidated its grip on power and continued to negate the political autonomy of the Oromo, the OLF left the Transitional Government in June 1992, which led to a violent backlash against the Oromo population. Currently, despite being a democracy in theory, both the military regime as well as the political and economical sphere are dominated by the Tigrayan minority. As a consequence, oppressed ethnicities such as the Ogaden and the Oromo continue their military and political struggle for self-determination. Following Ethiopia's adoption of the

restrictive Anti-Terrorism Proclamation in 2009, the OLF was blacklisted as a terrorist organization along with the ONLF and the Ginbot 7 movement, which led to large-scale arrests and prosecution of prominent members of these groups, including parliament members and candidates.

This lecture will address the manner in which blacklisting a political movement as 'terrorist' functions as an ideological cover-up of the enforced administrative construct of the Ethiopian state. Apart from the Oromo, who represent the largest ethnic group in the country, many other peoples struggle for independence from the contested state. At what level can we argue that the state of Ethiopia even exists, when its main legitimacy seems to be based on its capacity to suppress the very political majorities that constitute it? The blacklisting of a people's history thus becomes a way of evading confrontation with the criminal dimensions of the state itself.

Dr. Shigut Geleta is Head of the Oromo Liberation Front's (OLF) Diplomatic Division.



A People Negated by the State: The Struggle for a Multi-Ethnic Iran

The Ahwazi-Arab Alliance
Karim Abdian

The Ahwazi-Arab Alliance, an alliance of the Democratic Solidarity Party of Ahwaz (DSPA), the Ahwaz Human Rights Organization, the Ahwazi Civil Rights Society and the Centre Against Racism and Anti-Arabism in Iran, represents Iranian Arabs living in Al-Ahwaz, Iran's oil rich southwestern province, currently referred to as Khuzestan. Iranian Arabs face severe discrimination and cultural repression as Iran's central government pursues a plan of requisitioning land from Ahwazi Arabs in favor of ethnic Persians. Under a government ethnic cleansing policy called 'Hmemyesh Sarzamini' ('Land Experimentations'), 1.2 million Ahwazi Arabs have been forcefully displaced to central provinces, while 1.5 million Persians have settled in the Ahwaz region, taking over Ahwazi farmlands. Furthermore, the 1985 Gozinesh Law ('Selection Law') makes access to education, employment and governmental services conditional upon ideological screening, of which the main prerequisite is devotion to the tenets of Islam. The Democratic Solidarity Party of Ahwaz and its allied parties strive to promote the political and cultural rights of the Ahwazi Arabs as a minority in Iran. They strive for a secular, democratic and federal Iran as a multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-national state.

denies the existence of the Ahwazi-Arab nation. Since the minority occupation of 1925, central governments have pursued a policy to strip indigenous Arabs of Al-Ahwaz of their national Arab identity. Cultural expression such as the use of the Arabic language in education and claims for human rights, social and economic justices are often labeled as a 'danger to territorial integrity'. By enforcing an idea of Iran as a homogeneous Persian Shiite nation-state, a people are being negated within the state. The Ahwazi Arabs are thus actively erased from public memory and the economic and political present, which is what defines their resistance as a civil rights movement: a stateless people demanding recognition and the right to self-determination encompassing the entire spectrum from self-governing autonomy, to federation, confederation and/or independence. However, the central government of Iran perceives any plight for self-determination of minorities as a separatist or terrorist act, negating the possibility of the existence of multiple nations within one state.

Karim Abdian is Executive Director of Ahwaz Human Rights Organization, Senior Advisor to the Democratic Solidarity Party of Al-Ahwaz (DSPA), Representative of Congress of Nationalities for a Federal Iran (CNFI) and co-founder of Iran Roundtable.

This lecture will address the manner in which the Islamic Republic of Iran

The Formation of a Nation: Can the Children of a Colony be Indigenous?

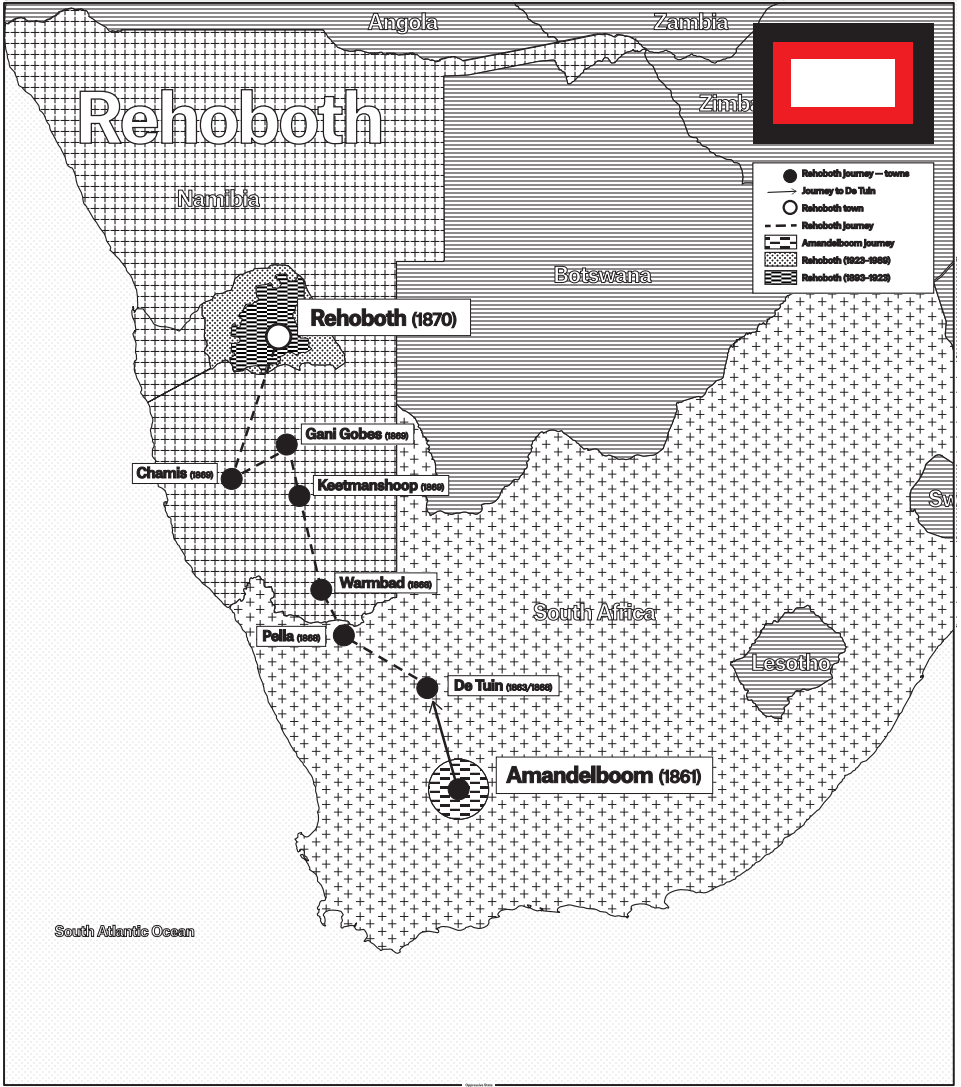
Baster People of Rehoboth
Martin Gustav Dentlinger

The Baster People of Rehoboth are the descendants of European colonists and the indigenous Khoi people of Southern Africa. The Baster community lives in the area formerly known as the Baster Gebiet, in and around the city of Rehoboth in Namibia, where they settled in 1868 after they left what is now South Africa. The Baster People of Rehoboth have known long periods of relative autonomy under both German and South African rule. Following Namibia's independence in 1990, the Rehoboth Basters lost the right of self-governance, which was based on the *Vaderlike Wette* (literally 'Paternal Laws'), the 1872 constitution of the Free Republic of Rehoboth. Furthermore, all the Baster's land and community possessions were confiscated and transferred to the Government of Namibia. Although the Namibian government claims to represent a post-ethnic "rainbow nation" state, it regards the ethnic claims of the Basters as subversive. Currently, the Baster People of Rehoboth are striving for the restitution of their land through diplomatic and juridical means and the acknowledgement of the Rehoboth Basters as an Indigenous People.

This lecture will address the complex nature of peoples that have been shaped through the history of colonial occupation, such as the Baster People of Rehoboth. These children of colonists and indigenous people have

suffered a history of exclusion, as they belonged neither to the colonizers nor to the indigenous. Nonetheless, the Baster People of Rehoboth will argue that being the product of colonial history is simply another form of indigeneity, which, just as any other peoples, allows for the right to self-governance and acknowledgment of a unique common culture, language and politics.

Martin Gustav Dentlinger is Provisional Captain of the Rehoboth Baster Community and Secretary General of the Namibian political party United People's Movement (UPM).



II. Progressive State

The second section of the New World Summit explores to what extent the state can function as a crucial part of internationalist progressive struggles. If we define progress not in terms of acquiring wealth, but in obtaining the right to self-determination for individuals and their communities, at what level can the state contribute to that process of basic democratization? And how can concepts such as “people” and “nation” overcome their framing within ultranationalist, racist rhetoric? Speakers in this second segment address the results of struggles in favor of progressive nationalism.

Chair: Véronique Dudouet

Véronique Dudouet is Director for the Non-State Actors in Conflict Transformation Programme of the Berghof Foundation. She joined the Berghof research team in 2005, and has coordinated various international projects on the roles of resistance/liberation movements and civil society organisations in conflict

transformation. Her current areas of interest include: negotiation and third-party intervention in asymmetric conflicts; transitions from armed to nonviolent resistance; inclusive political settlements and post-war governance. She also serves as Academic Advisor of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict in Washington.

National Liberation versus Ultrationalism: The Universal Category of the Basque

Euskal Herria Bildu [Basque Country Unite] (EHB)

Josu Juaristi

Euskal Herria Bildu ('Basque Country Unite') is a left-wing Basque nationalist and separatist political coalition founded in 2012, prior to the Basque parliamentary elections. It consists of the four political parties Eusko Alkartasuna ('Basque Solidarity'), Alternatiba ('Alternative') Sortu ('Create') and Aralar. Other parties include independent members of the Aberzale Left ('Patriotic Left') and former members of the political party Batasuna ('Unity'), which was outlawed in 2003 following accusations of it being the political wing of Euskadi Ta Askatasuna ('Basque Homeland and Freedom') (ETA). EH Bildu was initially banned as well due to their alleged connection to Batasuna, but the Spanish Supreme Court lifted the ban before the elections of May 2011. EH Bildu currently holds 21 of the 75 seats in the Basque Parliament.

This lecture will address the difference between ultrationalism and the national liberation movement of the EH Bildu coalition. Although EH Bildu lays a clear territorial claim, it does not promote a Basque Country in purely ethnic terms. Rather, it regards the case of the Basque people as a universal condition of all peoples striving for the right to self-determination. Thus right-wing ultrationalism regards separation from others as a victory, while left-wing internationalism treats self-determination as just one of many steps towards

articulating an internationalist commons. The progressive national state, in this context, is an internationalist one.

Josu Juaristi is a journalist and a Member of the European Parliament of the Euskal Herria Bildu coalition. As journalist his work has been focused on international matters and EU issues. From 2004 until 2011 he was director of the Basque daily newspaper GARA and since 2011 director of the weekly magazine 7K.

Euskal Herria Basque Country



Bay of Biscay
Bizkaiko golkoa

France

Spain

The New Revolutionary Proletariat of the Philippines: Building a Just and Democratic Society

National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP)
Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan
[Patriotic Movement of New Women] (MAKIBAKA)
Coni Ledesma

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) is a coalition of left-wing political parties, agricultural unions, trade unions, indigenous rights groups and women's groups in the Philippines. The largest constituents of the NDFP are the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), and its armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA). The NDFP aims to achieve national liberation and social justice in the Philippines through popular revolution and mass movements. MAKIBAKA is the affiliated women's movement founded in 1972 by Maria Lorena Barros shortly before the declaration of martial law by the Marcos dictatorship (1965-1986) in the Philippines.

This lecture will address the history of the Maoist oriented National Democratic Front in the Philippines, which has built a parallel state: a broad network of underground and above ground organizations, including many grass-roots Catholic organizations, youth councils, labor unions and the like. While the proletariat has all too often been reduced to the figure of the male worker, the Filipino National Democratic movement includes women, gay and transgender communities as fighters and as absolute equals. As a progressive parallel state it offers a wide range of services

the state is not able to provide, ranging from education and relief work after the recent hurricane Haiyan to divorce, and gay marriage. The NDFP is an early advocate of LGBTQ rights.

Coni Ledesma is a member of the Negotiating Panel of the NDFP and the international spokesperson of MAKIBAKA. As a nun she became involved as an activist for the people's rights in the Philippines in the early 1970s and she co-founded the organization Christians for National Liberation in 1972. Following the declaration of martial law in 1972 she was forced to go underground and was later arrested and imprisoned for two years.

The Philippines Pilipinas



South
China Sea

Dagat
Sulu

Malaysia

Extraterritorial Activism: From Abortion as National Privilege to Universal Right

Women on Waves (WoW)
Rebecca Gomperts

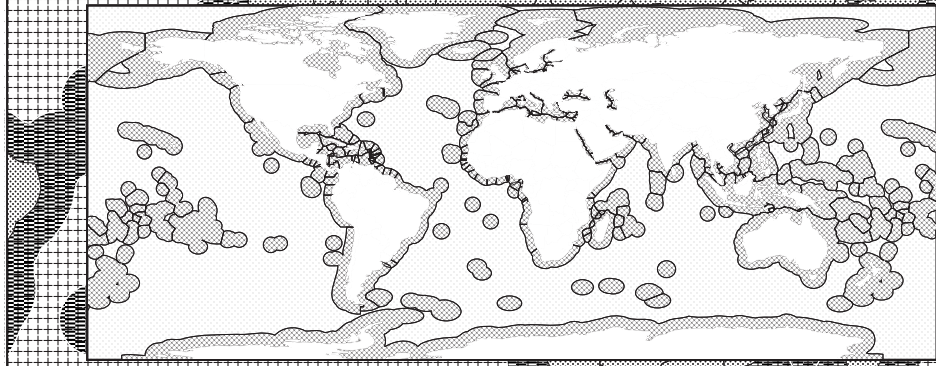
Women on Waves (WoW) is a non-profit pro-choice women's rights organization founded by Rebecca Gomperts in 1999. It aims to provide reproductive health services and counseling, particularly non-surgical abortion and contraception, to women in countries with restrictive abortion laws. It also campaigns to raise awareness and stimulate debates on such laws. With a ship it can perform abortions on international waters, where the (Dutch) laws of the ship's flag state (The Netherlands) apply. Sister organization, Women on Web, an online abortion service, refers women in countries where safe abortion services are not available to doctors that can provide abortion medicines by mail. Women on Waves works closely with local women's organizations and has sailed to Morocco, Spain, Portugal, Poland and Ireland. It has also set up telephone hotlines in 13 countries, and is currently offering Women on Web's services in 12 different languages.

This lecture will address the possibility of reforming states through extraterritorial activism. While Women on Waves sails under the Dutch flag in order to be able to perform abortions that are legal under Dutch law, it does not necessarily promote the Dutch state as such. Rather, it defends a specific emancipatory heritage of the Dutch women's rights movement, in order to defend and shape its principle into a universal

right instead of a national privilege. Starting from national pro-choice law, Women on Waves thus shapes an internationalist discourse of universalism by compounding the legal state with extraterritorial activism.

Rebecca Gomperts is the founder and director of Women on Waves and Women on Web. She studied medicine and visual arts in Amsterdam and the Netherlands. She earned her Masters Public Policy from Princeton University in The USA and her PHD from Karolinska Institute in Sweden

Extra Territorial Waters



III. Global State

The third section of the New World Summit explores the state in relation to globalization. On the one hand, it centers on stateless groups confronting crises caused by global capitalism, which are often unaccountable and uncontrollable by existing state structures. On the other hand, this segment engages with stateless groups that strive for the creation of global political structures in order to confront phenomena that pose a threat to the self-determination and survival of peoples on a global level. Speakers in this third segment will thus address globalization as a source of conflict, as well as a possible solution.

Chair: Jolle Demmers

Jolle Demmers is Associate Professor and co-founder of the Centre for Conflict Studies, Utrecht University, The Netherlands. She lectures and writes on theories of violent conflict, the role of diasporas in violent conflict, and on ethnographies of neoliberalism. She is currently academic coordinator of the EU funded Marie Curie programme Sustainable Peacebuilding (2010-2014) and is academic representative of the Thematic Network Humanitarian Net (Peace and Conflict Studies). She has conducted years of fieldwork on political

violence in central and southern Mexico and Sri Lanka. Jolle is currently engaged in writing projects on War Games, Representations of Borderland Violence, Neoliberal Panopticism, and Perpetual Peace. Her newest book is *Theories of Violent Conflict* (Routledge 2012).

From Jaffna to Geneva: National Liberation Amid Globalizing Liberal Order

Tamil Eelam
Suthaharan Nadarajah

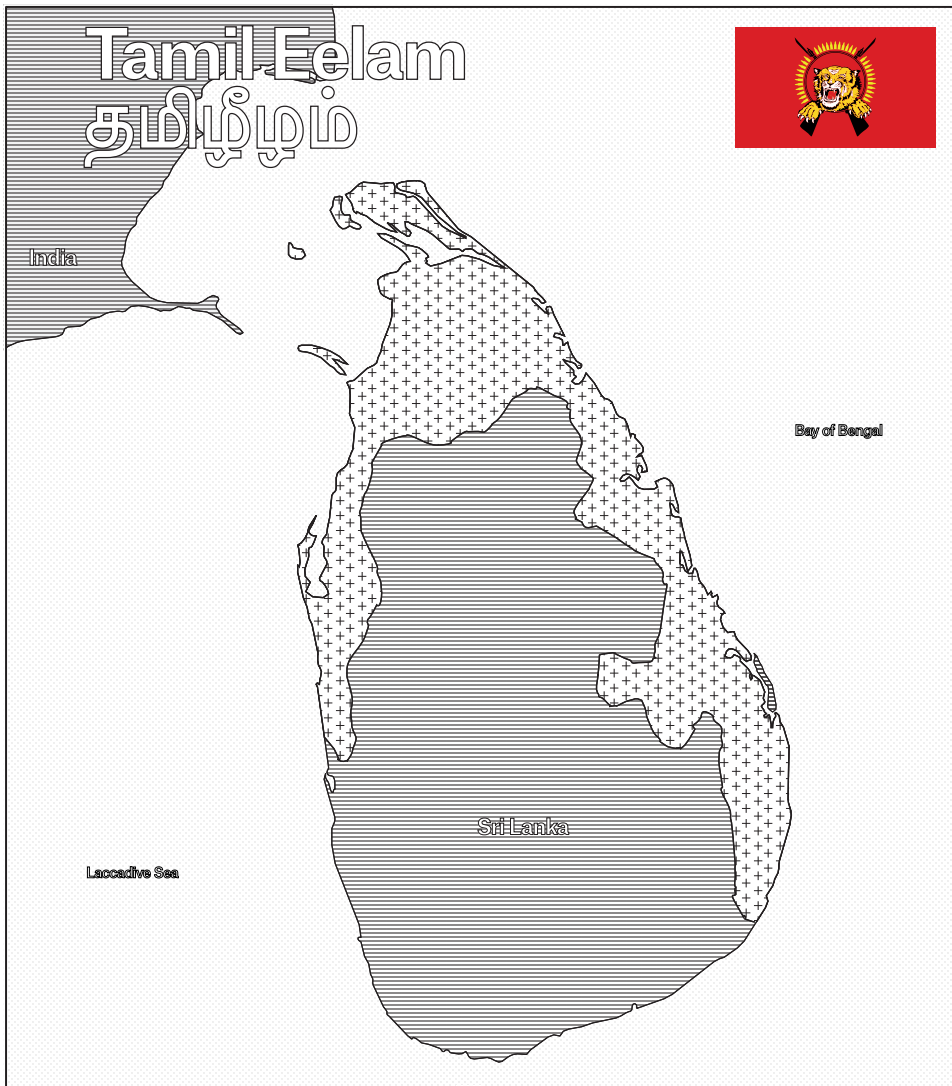
The Tamil demand for self-determination and independent statehood, first articulated in the late seventies, emerged through a long and intensifying process of non-violent resistance to Sinhala majoritarian state building in Sri Lanka. The popular mandate given to Tamil Eelam in the 1977 elections prompted a violent state response that was followed by almost three decades of armed conflict. As with many such wars, this was by no means an 'internal' conflict. Rather it was always integral to West-led efforts to expand and impose global liberal order, first as part of the 'war against communism' and, from the mid-nineties, what became labeled the 'global war on terror.' The West-backed defeat of the LTTE in 2009 produced not peace and liberal reform, but a new phase of irrevocably internationalized contestation between an intensified state-led project of Sinhala nationalist order-making and a renewed, non-violent Tamil struggle for self-determination, with the diaspora – and the Indian state of Tamil Nadu – at the fore.

This lecture will address the protracted process by which, first, a quintessentially liberal demand, self-determination, become operationalized as an emergent threat to liberal order, and, second, how the transformations – of state, society and collective identity – wrought by three decades of a global-local 'war for peace' have produced

today both a global-spanning struggle, and a new challenge for global liberalism.

Dr. Suthaharan Nadarajah is a Tamil political activist and a lecturer in International Relations at SOAS, University of London. His research focusses on the international community's efforts to secure global liberal order through frameworks of security, development and liberal governance and the consequences for political struggle. His doctoral thesis used Sri Lanka's armed conflict and the Norwegian-led peace process as case study. Sutha was editor of the English-language diaspora newspaper, Tamil Guardian, from 1998 to 2007, and press liaison for the LTTE delegation during the 2002-3 peace talks.

Tamil Eelam தமிழீழம்



The Diasporic State: Parallel Politics of the Baluch

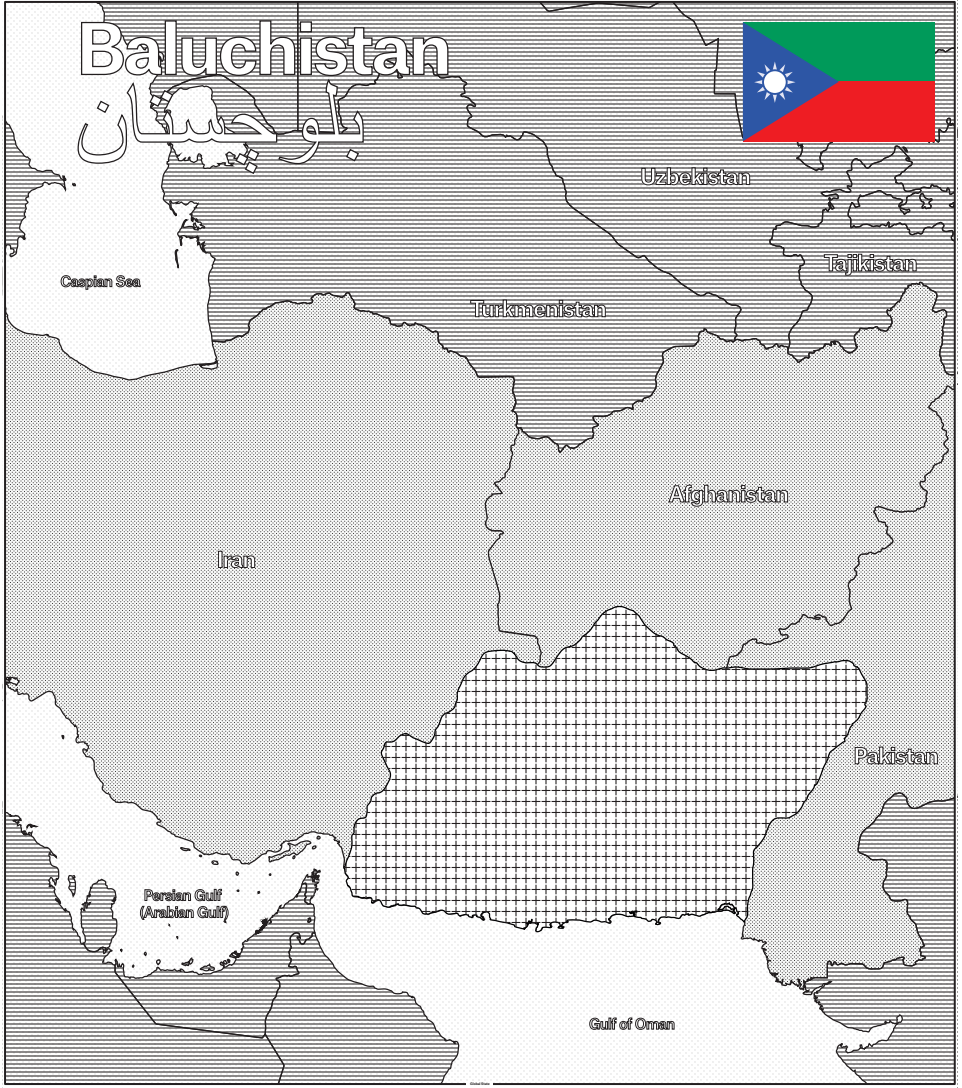
Baluchistan People's Party (BPP)
Nasser Boladai

Baluchistan is an area spreading over the states of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. It was divided during a strategic conflict between the British and Russian Empires in the 19th century, known as the 'Great Game'. In addition to discrimination, marginalization and persecution, which the Baluch have to face for supposed separatism in both Pakistan and Iran, a fortified concrete wall is currently being built to enforce the division of Baluchistan. The three-meter (10ft) high wall, which Iran is building along its border with Pakistan, serves to criminalize and obstruct trade and communication. The Baluchistan People's Party (BPP) is a civil rights movement that represents Baluch people currently living in Iran. It strives for a secular, federal and democratic Iran, as well as the recognition of the culture and right to self-determination of non-Persian Iranian minorities. The BPP has close ties to the Eastern Baluch parties striving for a federal and democratic Pakistan, as well as to the parties and organizations representing other ethnic minorities in Iran. The BPP is a member of the Congress of Nationalities for a Federal Iran, along with the South Azerbaijani and Ahwazi Arab organizations, among others.

This lecture will address the Baluch people's stateless state of being divided across different states, stretching from Iran to Pakistan and Afghanistan. Although the Baluch inhabit a territory

with vast resources – West Baluchistan produces a startling forty percent of Iran's energy – only five percent of its population has a gas connection. This demonstrates the deep discrepancy between the material conditions available for a people to gain autonomy, and the structural denial of access to these means. The lecture will examine how regional integration between federal nations of different states can help to build solidarity beyond the state. In addition, it will look into the extent to which a global network of parallel states is capable of addressing regional, national and global issues.

Nasser Boladai is the spokesperson of the Baluchistan People's Party (BPP) and a member of the International Committee of the Congress of Nationalities for a Federal Iran (CNFI).



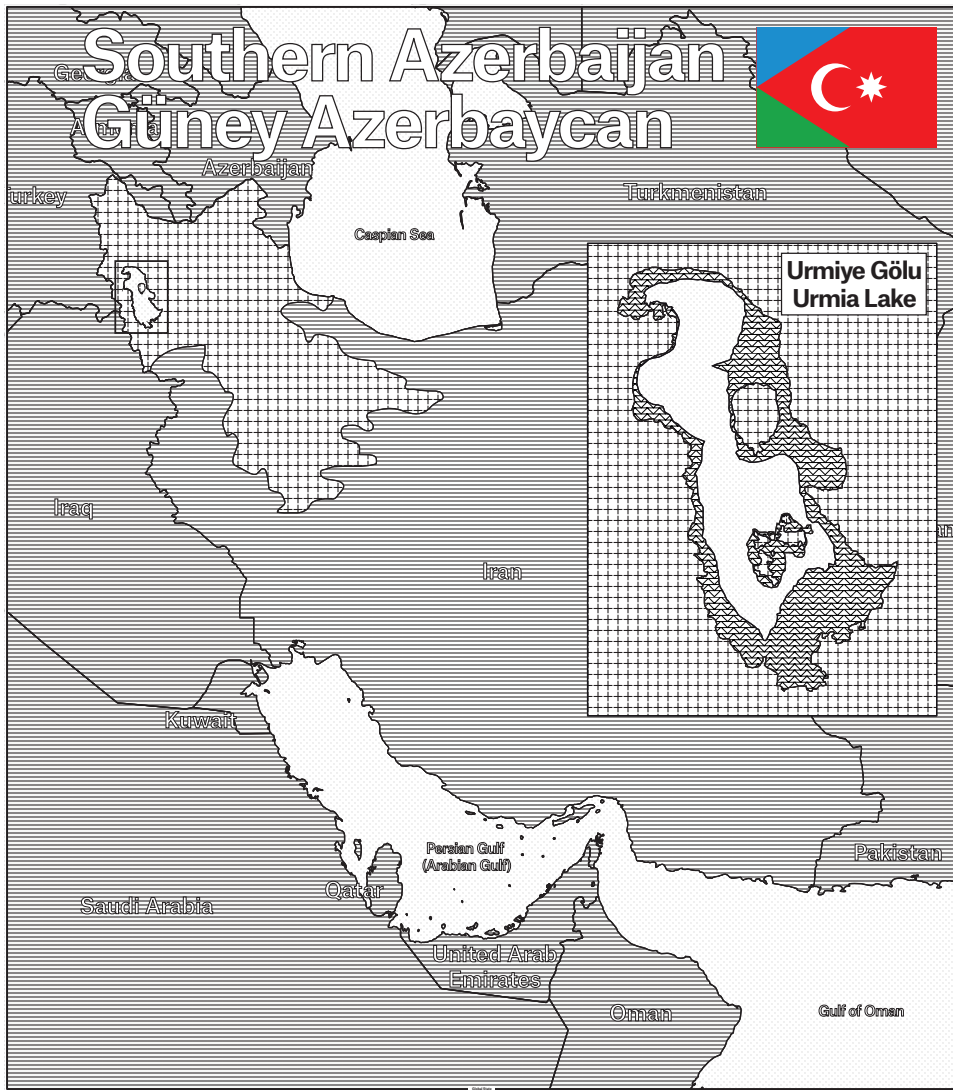
Between National and Global Repression: Ecology, Self-Determination and Survival in Southern Azerbaijan

Southern Azerbaijan Alliance
Ayda Karimli

Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, Northern Azerbaijan became the independent Republic of Azerbaijan, while Southern Azerbaijan remained part of the Iranian state. The majority of the people of Southern Azerbaijan are, like the people of Northern Azerbaijan, referred to as 'Azerbaijani Turks', who speak Azeri, a Turkic language. Southern Azerbaijanis are one of Iran's non-Persian minorities, along with the Ahwazi Arabs and the Baluch, who face political, economic and cultural exclusion, abuses and persecution. Southern Azerbaijani movements, such as the Southern Azerbaijan National Awakening Movement (SANAM), strive for the right to self-determination of all peoples in Iran. One of the main concerns of the Southern Azerbaijan Alliance is Lake Urmia, the largest salt lake in the Middle East, which has been drying up due to the dam-building policies and ecological mismanagement of the Iranian authorities since the 1950s. Lake Urmia has suffered a major drought, with far-reaching economic and ecological consequences. The drying up of the lake has caused increased levels of salt toxicity in the entire region, reaching from South Azerbaijan to Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iraq and Turkey, making the land infertile and most likely resulting in large-scale migration.

This lecture will address the friction between the demands for a right to self-determination within a state, and the confrontation of disasters whose conditions can only be addressed on a global scale. In other words, only when a political infrastructure is able to guarantee the survival of ecological formation and diversity, a specific, cultural, ethnic and indigenous struggles can gain strength and meaning. Conversely, it is also because of these specific struggles that we are able to see the consequences of global disaster at all. In this lecture, Ayda Karimli will address how, within the Southern Azerbaijan Alliance, the dialectic between the struggle for self-determination and common survival takes shape.

Ayda Karimli is the spokesperson for the Southern Azerbaijan Alliance, the alliance of the Southern Azerbaijan Democratic Party and the Southern Azerbaijan student movement. Born in Tabriz, the capital of the East Azerbaijan Province in Iran, she studied International Relations, Peace and Conflict Studies at Malmö University.



From Terrorist Organization to Freedom Fighters: The Geopolitical Turn on the PKK

Kurdistan National Congress (KNK)

Adem Uzun

The Kurdish people live across the present-day states of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria as a stateless people. Over the past 200 years, many uprisings have attempted to break the cycle of oppression and domination over Kurdistan, which eventually led to the establishment of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan, PKK), under the leadership of Abdullah Öcalan. The PKK's main dynamic for change is the perspective that a 'joint existence' is crucial for success. The Kurds' current circumstances are in conflict with Kurdish society's fabric, as the organization and construction of any society is not only about a political framework but also its moral, social and democratic components. Along with seeking a political solution to the 'Kurdish question', the PKK believes a yet more important struggle must be waged, namely that of redefining the very meaning and political practice of so-called democratic society.

This lecture will address the geopolitical conditions that made the PKK one of the parties blacklisted widest as a terrorist organization worldwide, while in the last year, the role of the PKK and its Syrian trained militia's, has been crucial to provide backing to Kurdistan in Iraq and many international armies to oppose the rise of the Islamic State (IS). At what level has the PKK, which abolished the concept of

the nation-state already in the nineties, caused an actual threat to Turkey and the international community? And is the current international turn regarding the PKK a classic example of the "terrorist" turned "freedom fighter," now that the IS forms the new supposed "global terrorist threat"?

Adem Uzun is a leading politician in the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) and a member of the Kurdish negotiation team during the 'Oslo Process' between 2009 and 2011 that brought the Turkish government together with the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

Kurdistan کوردستان



IV. New State

The fourth section of the New World Summit explores recent histories of newly formed states. The central question here is, what defines a state? What elements are crucial in the composition of a state, in terms of police forces, military, economy, administration, legislative system, elections and so forth? To what extent can a state function without international and diplomatic recognition? Speakers in this segment address the criteria and interests that define the (lack of) international support and acknowledgment of their new states.

Chair: Jan Fermon

Jan Fermon is co-founder of the Progress Lawyers Network and deputy secretary general of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. He has been an active lawyer at the Brussels Bar since 1989 where he is specialized in Belgian, European and international penal law, international humanitarian law and migration law. During his career as a lawyer he has defended labor union representative

Roberto d’Orazio and Turkish terrorism suspect Fehrye Erdal. Fermon made international fame by leading the case against US general Tommy Franks on behalf of 19 Iraqi victims of US war crimes committed during the invasion of Baghdad. As a lawyer of Professor Jose Maria Sison, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its armed wing, the New People’s Army (NPA), Fermon spoke at the 2nd New World Summit in Leiden.

Revolution without Frontiers: The 21st Century will be that of Peoples, not of States

National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA).
Moussa Ag Assarid

The National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) is a military and political organization that fights for the independence of Azawad north of Mali. After fighting French colonization and following the independence from France in 1960, Azawad became a part of Mali, in opposition to the popular wish of the people of Azawad. The many uprisings for independence since 1960 have recently culminated in the declaration of independence of April 6, 2012. However, when the MNLA's struggle for independence was hijacked by Jihadist organizations such as Al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb, the French government decided, such as Al-Qaida, the French government decided to intervene in their former colony in the form of the ongoing 'Operation Serval' in early 2013, followed by the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA).

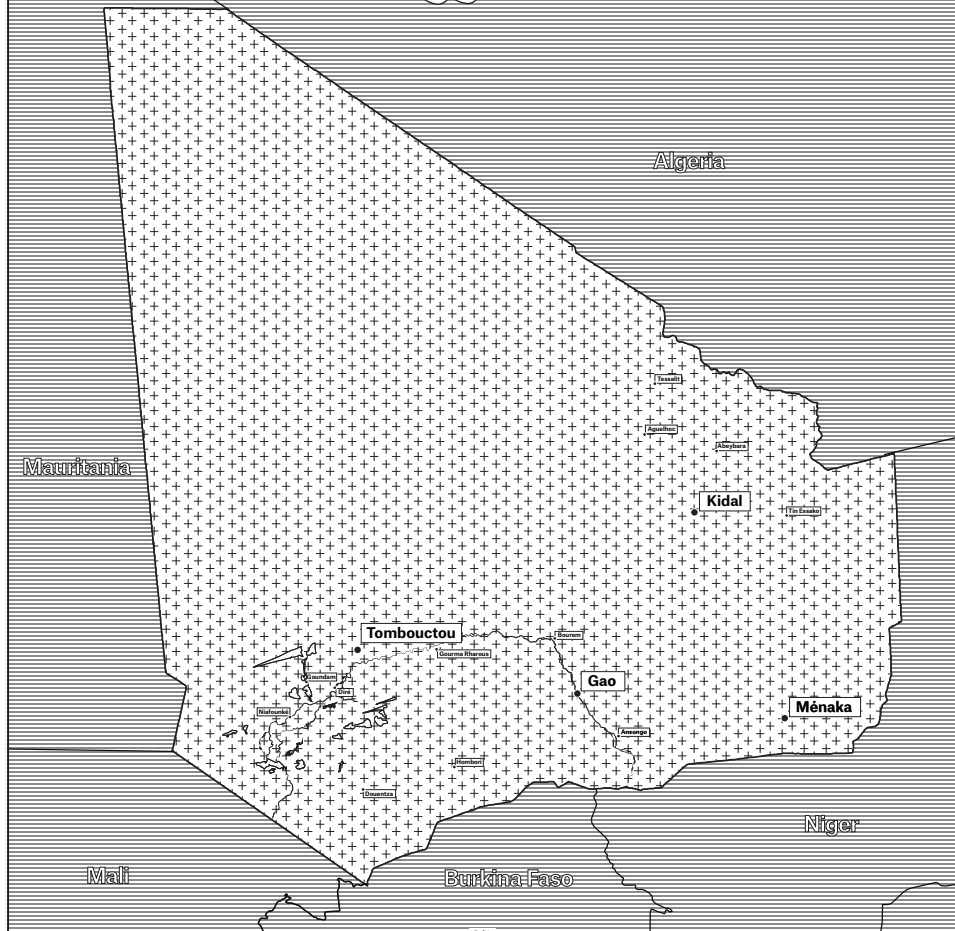
This lecture will address the foundation of the Republic of Azawad and its ambitions to become a multi-ethnic and multi-religious, secular state. The movement that declared the independence of Azawad was led by a coalition of Tuareg, Songhai, Fula and Arabs. According to Ag Assarid this diverse coalition represents the possibility of a new state led by peoples, rather than by political and economic interests of a geopolitical nature. The fundamental

difference, according to Ag Assarid, lies in the distinction between a state that is a product of colonial politics and a state resulting from national liberation.

Moussa Ag Assarid is a writer and the European spokesperson of the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad since 2012. Together with artist Jonas Staal, he founded the New World Embassy: Azawad in BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht.

Azawad

أزواد



A Constitution without Independence: The Blacklisted State of West-Papua

The National Government of the Republic of West-Papua (NGRWP)
Simon P. Sapioper

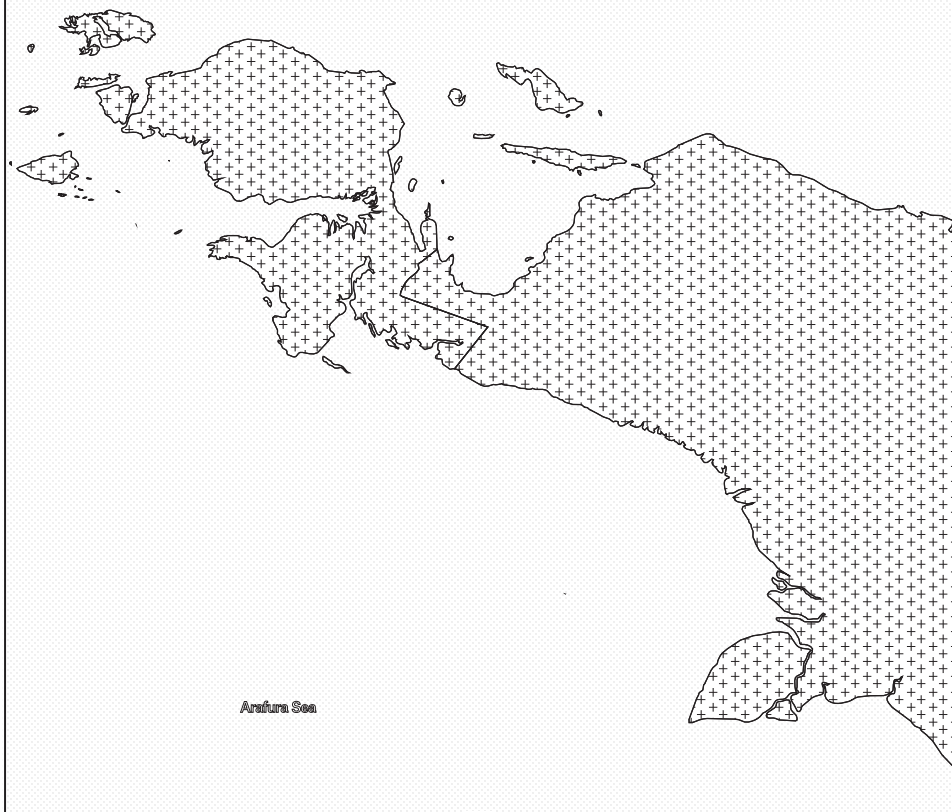
West-Papua is the western part of the island New Guinea in the South Pacific Ocean and home to over 240 different peoples and languages of Melanesian origin. Following its independence from the Netherlands in 1963, West-Papua was annexed by Indonesia. This was accepted by the UN on the condition that West-Papuan were granted the possibility of self-determination through a referendum in 1969, known as the 'Act of Free Choice'. During the referendum, the Indonesian authorities employed brute force in order to persuade the handpicked West-Papuan delegates into accepting the continuation of Indonesian occupation. West-Papuan face severe human rights abuses, destruction of natural resources, forced transmigration programs and murder at the hands of the Indonesian army, as reported by various human rights organization and research centers. Despite the many different languages and peoples, West-Papuan peoples salute the same flag and have recently drafted a common constitution. Raising this flag is considered a criminal offense by Indonesia, who has blacklisted the Free Papua Movement (OPM) and its liberation army - the representatives of West-Papua - as a "terrorist organization".

This lecture will address the process through which the constitution of West-Papua came into being, as a document that was consulted and

supported by the people. This document stands in stark contrast to the 1969 'Act of Free Choice' referendum, in which a small group of hand-picked tribal leaders were forced to vote against independence. As a consequence, the UN passed a resolution endorsing the continued Indonesian occupation. While West-Papua has all the elements in place to function as a state, its daily operations are systematically obstructed, not in the least because the Indonesian state went as far as to blacklist the government of West-Papua. This lecture will address the limits and capacities of a blacklisted government.

Simon P. Sapioper is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the second cabinet of the National Government of the Republic of West-Papua since 2010, a member of the Papua National Party (PARNA) and a member of the leadership of the National Executive Board of the Free Papua Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, OPM) since 2006.

West Papua Papua Barat



Independence without Recognition: History of the De-facto Republic of Somaliland

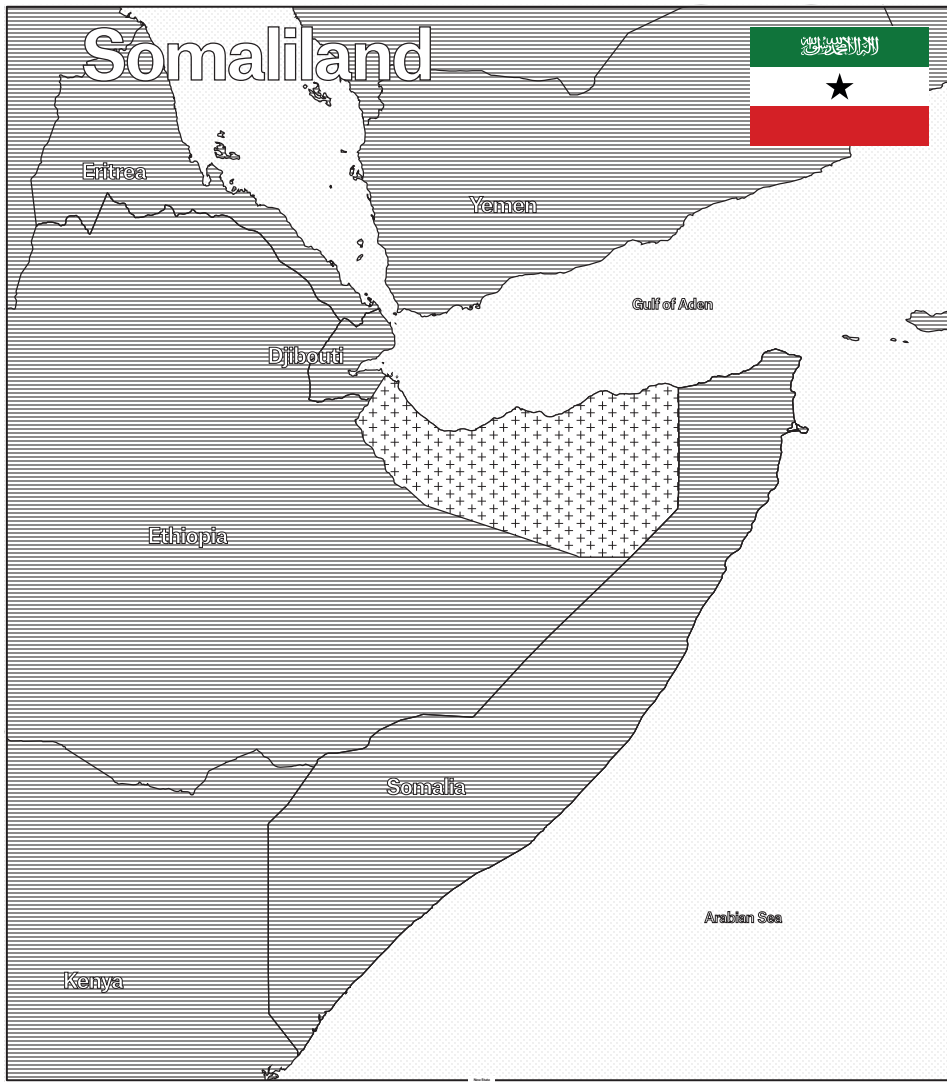
Republic of Somaliland Mohamoud Abdi Daar

Somaliland is an internationally unrecognized, yet de-facto independent state. Somaliland declared its independence from Somalia in 1991 after the ousting of Somali dictator Siad Barre. Somalia and Somaliland had been joined voluntarily for thirty years after their independence from respectively Italy and Britain. As an unrecognized state Somaliland cannot appeal for foreign aid or international support, yet in its 13 years of independence it has formed a system of basic public administration, public and private infrastructure, held three elections and absorbed thousands of people returning after the fall of Barre. It is internationally regarded as a relatively successful and democratic region. Yet, the United States, for example, refuses to recognize Somaliland, stating this is an issue of the African Union, while the African Union's holds to its charter that forbids the changing of colonial borders.

This lecture will address the national and international functioning of the Republic of Somaliland which is not recognized by any other state in the world, but exists in de-facto independence. Whereas the Republic of Somaliland can control its own territory and historiography, it nonetheless does not exist as a "state" in the geopolitical realm. What lies at the basis of exclusion from international recognition, and what are the consequences for the introduction of one's

own currency, passports et cetera? Can a state exist and not exist at the very same time?

Mohamoud Abdi Daar is the international representative of Somaliland in Brussels.



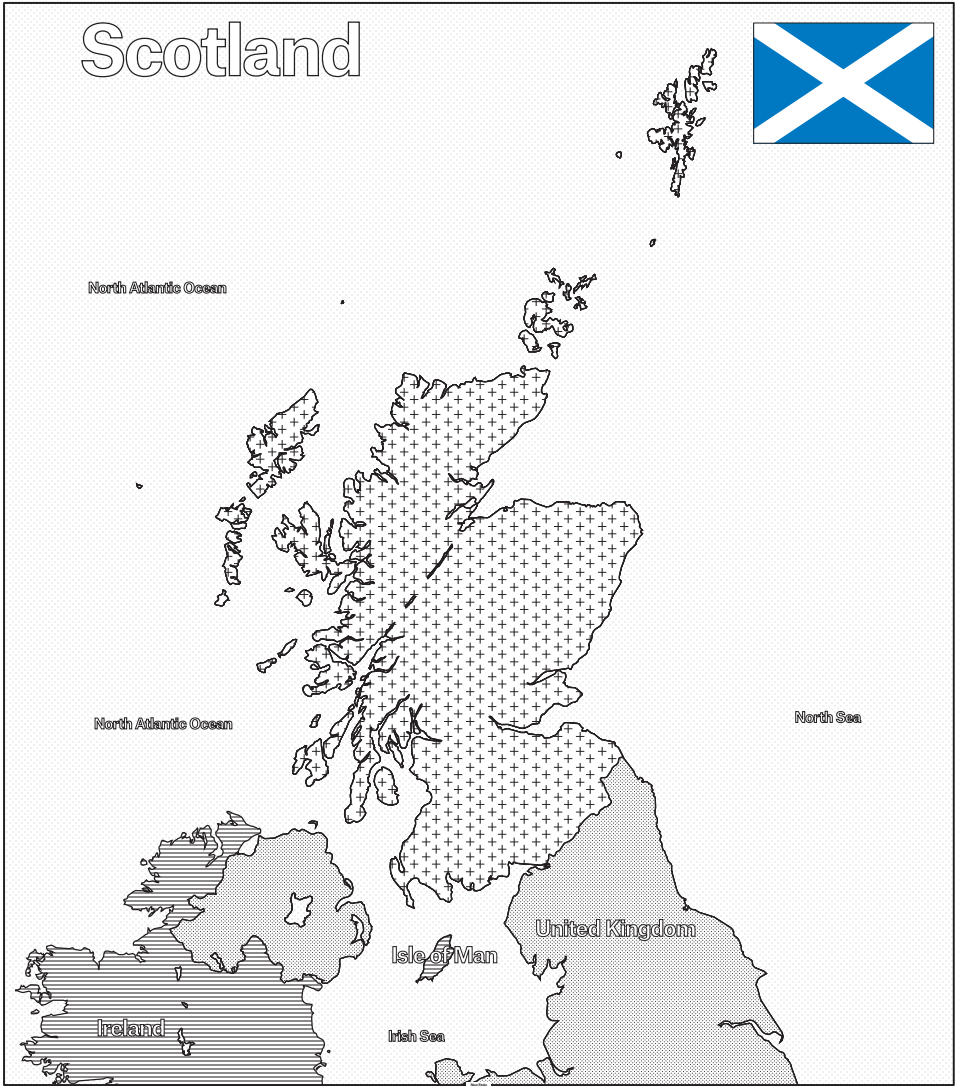
The Independence of One, a Victory for Internationalism: Scotland's referendum as the Horizon for Self-Determination in Europe

Speaker undisclosed

On September 18 2014 Scotland voted in a national referendum answering the question "Should Scotland be an independent country?". This referendum was initiated by the Scottish National Party (SNP) as part of their 2007 and 2011 election manifestos. In 2012 the British government granted the Scottish Parliament the legal powers to hold a referendum. This referendum had a long background, including increased devolution of power and the inauguration of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Today the campaign for independence is a broad, popular campaign in which the SNP is joined by the Scottish Green Party, the Scottish Socialist Party and Solidarity, as well as grassroots campaigns such as the artist-driven National Collective, the Radical Independence Campaign and Women for Independence. Many supporters of the 'Yes' campaign argue for a more progressive state and a society that disassociates itself from conservative austerity measures. Overall the referendum has revealed a strong participation in politics of the public at large.

At the first day of the 4th New World Summit, we will know whether or not the world has witnessed a new independent country. This presentation will address the consequences of the 'Yes' or 'No' vote, not only for the future of Scotland, but for other regions in Europe as well that are demanding independence. Examples include the Flanders region to the Basque Country and Catalonia.

Scotland



V. Stateless State

The fifth section of the New World Summit explores the concept of statelessness not as victimization, but as the precondition for redefining our understanding of politics and practice of democracy in particular. Whereas the general preconception is that democracy is a product of the state, this discussion will revolve around forms of organizations that have proven themselves to operate outside the traditional conception of the state, in an attempt to overcome the reduction of a people in terms of territoriality or ethnicity. Speakers in this segment address the possibility of a stateless state, of practices that can genuinely be called democratic because they have been ‘liberated from the state’ all together.

Chair: Maria Hlavajova

Maria Hlavajova is initiator and artistic director of the Former West project, and artistic director of BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht since 2000. In 2011 Hlavajova organized the project of the Roma Pavilion in the framework of the 54th Venice Biennale entitled Call the Witness, and in 2007 she curated a three-part project Citizens and Subjects for the Dutch Pavilion at the 52nd Venice Biennale, which included a new video installation by artist Aernout Mik.

She regularly edits and contributes to numerous critical readers, catalogs, and magazines internationally. In addition, Hlavajova is co-founder of the tranzit network, a foundation that supports exchange and contemporary art practices in Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia. Together with Jonas Staal, BAK co-founded the New World Academy, where stateless organizations teach artists and students on the role of art in political struggle.

Democracy beyond the State: Wikileaks, the Pirate Party and the Icelandic Modern Media Initiative

Birgitta Jónsdóttir (Pirate Party Iceland, IMMI,
co-founder WikiLeaks)

In 2010 Jónsdóttir and the Icelandic Modern Media Initiative (IMMI) successfully led a law proposal through the Icelandic parliament, proposing that Iceland should “strongly position itself legally with regard to the protection of freedoms of expression and information.” The law encompasses a Freedom of Information Act; whistleblower protection acts; protection of media sources and the communication between journalists and their sources; protection of Internet service providers, as well as non-observance of foreign rulings that violate the freedom of expression of Icelandic citizens. The subsequently founded International Modern Media Institute researches, assists and advocates for the adoption of legislation in order to develop havens for freedom of information, speech and expression internationally. In 2012 Birgitta Jónsdóttir founded the Pirate Party of Iceland, after the example of the Swedish Pirate Party.

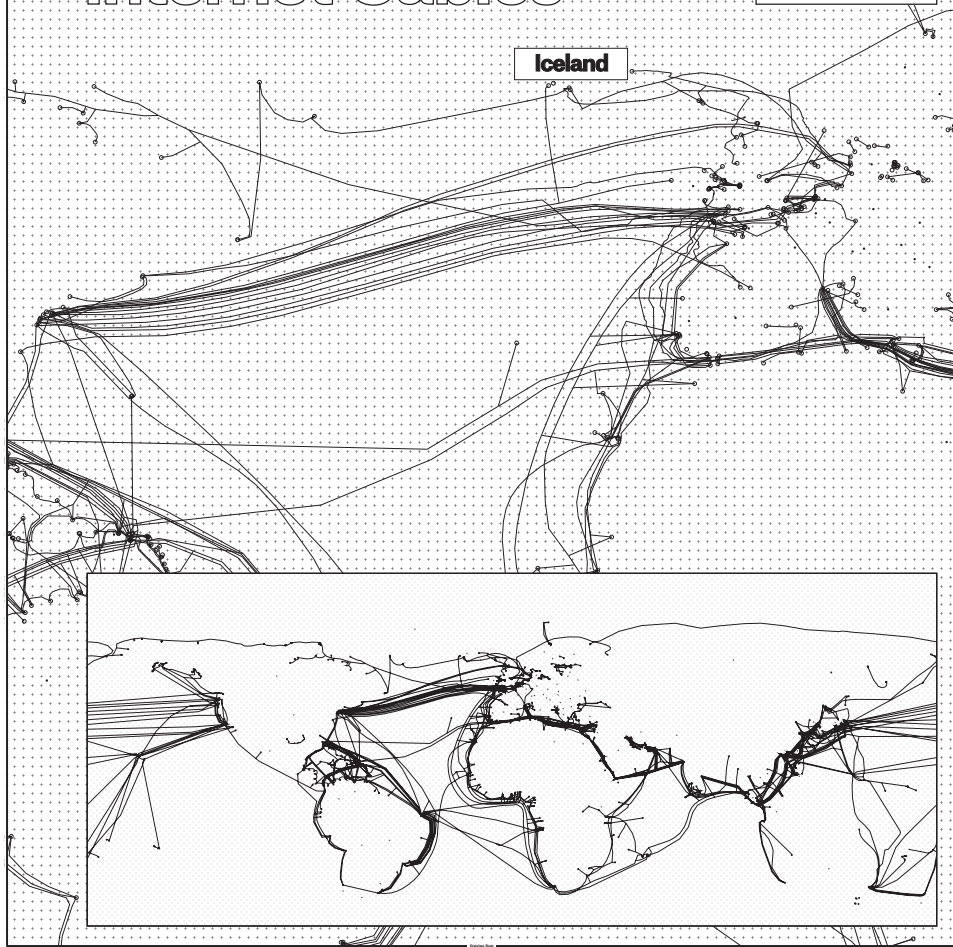
This lecture will address the role of the digital democratization movement in developing post-statist models of democracy. The so-called Pirate Parties deliberately engage with the idea of the “pirate” as nomad: as an extraterritorial entity, for whom property and culture exist in a state of movement and permanent sharing. Jónsdóttir will discuss how the project of democracy and stateless internationalism took on new forms through the digital revolution in the 21st century.

Birgitta Jónsdóttir is an Icelandic MP for the Icelandic Pirate Party, the former spokesperson for WikiLeaks and a current spokesperson for the International Modern Media Initiative.

Internet Cables



Iceland



Stateless Democracy: How the Kurdish Women Movement Liberated Democracy from the State

Kurdish Women's Movement
Dilar Dirik

Women have played an important and defining role in the Kurdish resistance since the beginning of the Kurdish Movement. In 1987, the Union of the Patriotic Women of Kurdistan (YJWK) aligned with the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK). Since then, the Kurdish Women's Movement has undergone many ideological and organizational developments. Today, the Kurdistan Communities of Women (KJK) is the umbrella organization that coordinates the Kurdish Women's Movement, with the Free Women's Party Kurdistan (PAJK) as its ideological branch. The movement not only fights for the liberation of the Kurds from state oppression but also for the liberation of women from patriarchal oppression, both by the state and within Kurdish society itself. The necessity of women's liberation was part of the writings and advocacy of Abdullah Öcalan, the founder of the PKK, from the very beginning.

This lecture will address the role of the Kurdish Women's Movement in emancipating the project of national liberation within Kurdistan. Dirik will specifically address how the Kurdish Women's Movement opposes the violence of states, but also that of male patriarchal domination. Understanding the overarching systematic oppression of society as perpetuated by the capitalist, nation-state-oriented, dominant world order, has brought the Kurdish

Women's Movement in opposition of the concept of the state. Here, the state is seen as a replication of patriarchal relations, which they believe can only be undermined through principled gender equality in radical democratic confederalism beyond power, nationalism and the state.

Dilar Dirik is an activist of the Kurdish Women's Movement and a PhD candidate in the Sociology Department of the University of Cambridge. Her work examines the role of women in the Kurdish liberation movement, by comparing the ways in which the commitment to gender equality of different Kurdish parties is related to their stance on institutions of power.





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The New World Summit is: Jonas Staal (artist and founder); Younes Bouadi (head of production and research); Renée In der Maur (project coordinator); Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei (editor, advisor); Remco van Bladel (visual identity); Paul Kuipers (architect); Robert Kluijver (advisor); Matteo Lucchetti (advisor); Imara Limon (communication); Urok Shirhan (program editor); Sjoerd Oudman (web development); Kasper Oostergetel (development and construction); Rob Schröder and Gabriëlle Provaas (film documentation); Ernie Buts (photographic documentation) – which much gratitude to the project assistance of Suzie Hermán, Henry Procter, Ferdi Speelman and Manuel Beltrán.

New World Summit organized summits in Berlin (7th Berlin Biennial, 2012); Leiden (in collaboration with Museum de Lakenhal and theater collective De Veenfabriek, the Netherlands, 2012); and Kochi (1st Kochi-Muziris Biennale, India, 2013). It also founded the New World Academy (with BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht), where stateless political groups develop collaborative projects with artists and students, as well as the New World Embassy, which represents stateless states through cultural means.

Partners:

Royal Flemish Theater (KVS), Brussels BE
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Organization (UNPO), The Hague NL /
Brussels BE
BAK, base for contemporary art, Utrecht, NL

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